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OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT

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Oxford, 9th February, 1892.

will be a very useful work. What years ago when I puzzled my head aries. . . . I hope you may

in Kathiawar, 20th February, 1892.

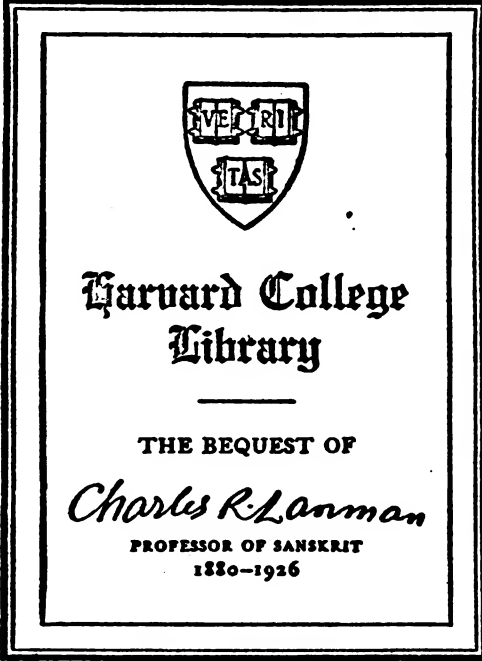
ready been out before the Public o pains to make the translation as men completed will no doubt claim a opean scholars on Sanskrit Grammar. of the book are excellent.

zburg, (Germany), 23rd April, 1893.

re gratifying to me, no doubt, than to nini's Ashtādhyāyī, the standard work do my best to make this valuable immortal literature of ancient India

in Haven, U. S. A., 17th June, 1893.

very well planned and executed, doing is also, in my opinion, very valuable opean student of the native grammar It ought to have a good sale in



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

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

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

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

Opinion of Pandit Lalchandrajī Vidyabhaskar, M.R.A.S. (London),

Guru to H. H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

स्वस्तीधरे हितपुरे हितरे प्रयागे सत्संगमप्रणयसंमतिरे बुधानां ।
 विद्याविनोदवरिवर्द्धितबुध्युषारान् वास्वन्वयाञ्छिराचन्द्रविदांवरिष्ठान् ॥ १ ॥
 इष्टातिमोदमुद्दिरोहमुदग्रशक्तौन् सच्छस्त्रसोधितसुखास्वरोधभाजः ।
 सम्यक्कलसंयु नतयोनितराम्मदीयाः यद्वाबद्धककविकर्तृतांवरिष्ठः ॥ २ ॥
 इद्वाद्भूतं विमलबोधनबोधराशिं सद्भाकृतिप्रथितकीर्तिकरप्रसृष्टं ।
 यच्छ्रीमदीयमतिमोदवहं वरेण्यं सत्पुस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोशकृत्वं ॥ ३ ॥
 चित्रंयदस्ति भवतेग्लिशबोधभाजा यद्भस्तुतो विरचितं समदृक् सुविम्बं ।
 लोकोसुचिभरचनभरणैकशीला श्रिनेचपिभमनसः प्रतिविद्यमाने ॥ ४ ॥
 सर्वेग्लिशप्रकटितंवरसूनुवृत्तो संज्ञादिपेक्षलमनो कुहकल्पसाक्षिं ।
 स्थानेवसुप्रहितवित्तवित्त्वित्तवयं यद्वासुनासुविहितोग्लिशभाषवृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥

OPINIONS (continued.)

येन स्वया मुनिमत्तावतशास्त्रसंधान् निर्मथ्यसौधरसवन्महतादरेण ।
संगुम्फितं सरलसरंकृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वदाम्यहमलं भवते इति ॥ ६ ॥
ग्रन्थस्य यरप्रसराणाखिलकीर्तिं कृत्ये याचेपराङ्गवतोप्यहमत्रविद्वन् ।
यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुखेयसदाप्रचारं ज्ञानसुखं गुरुचरं च तवाप धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
वाणीविवान्तरतवास्तुमत्वे जयोद्या यत्पूर्वपश्चिमजपोधभूते च विद्या ।
ख्यातिस्सदासकल बर्षभुजां समूहेऽप्याशीर्वचो भवतु पंडित ज्ञानचन्द्रं ॥ ८ ॥

श्रीमद्विद्वच्छिरोमणि विज्ञानामहर्निशं श्रेयोभिलाषी विद्याभास्कर । पण्डित (ज्ञानचंद्र) शर्मा
गुरुः श्रीमान्महाराजाधिराजराजराजे चर योधपुराधीश्वरावरज श्रीमन्महाराजाकिशोरीसिंह सेनाधीश्व
राणां च)

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OPINIONS (continued.)

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

The Mandalay Herald, 31st December, 1891.

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

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

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

The Allahabad Review, January, 1892.

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

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

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

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

॥ पाणिनीय व्याकरण अष्टाध्यायी का अङ्गरेजी अनुवाद ॥

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

BOOK II.

THE

ASHTĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Munsiff, Ghazipur.



Allahabad:

PUBLISHED BY SATYAJNAN CHATERJI,
at the Panini Office,
1894.

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You'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.,
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THIS WORK
IS,
WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION
IN
THESE PROVINCES,
Dedicated
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT
THE TRANSLATOR.

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PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Panini Office, }
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THE PUBLISHER.

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

समर्थः पदविधिः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थः , पद-विधिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेवन् , चः कश्चिदिह शास्त्रे पदविधिः भूवते च समर्थो वेदितव्यः ॥

1. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

1. This is a paribhāshā or interpreting aphorism. Wherever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि. The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धाम्; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि. What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (पराङ्मुखात् भावः).

The word समर्थ means capable; that is to say, that which is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence on analysis, is called समर्थ; or the word समर्थ may mean that which depends upon words as connected in sense; that is to say, a rule relating to words whose senses are connected together.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words अत्रि , असीत &c. and forms tatpuruṣha compound;' as, कष्टं अत्रिः = कष्टात्रिः 'who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense there can be no compounding; as, पर्य देवदत्त कष्टं, अत्रिो विष्णुमित्रो गृहकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and अत्रि though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ.

Similarly, it will be taught in sūtra 30 'a word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes that the quality of which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the 3rd case-affix and with the word भयं 'wealth,' as, शंकुज्या + खण्डः = शंकुजाखण्डः 'a piece cut by nippers.' Here also when the words are not connected in sense there is no composition; as, करिष्यसि शंकुज्या, खण्डो देवदत्त उपलेन 'thou shalt do it with the nippers, Devadatta is cut by the stones.'

Similarly, sūtra 36 declares, 'a word ending with the 4th case-affix, is compounded optionally with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words भयं, बलि &c.'

Thus वृषाव + शर = वृषाशर 'wood for a stake.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ स्वं वृषाव, शर देवदत्तस्य गेहे 'go thou for the stake, the wood is in Devadatta's house.'

Similarly, sūtra 37 declares 'a word ending with the 5th case-affix may be compounded with the word भय; as, वृकोभ्यो + भयं = वृकभयं 'fear by reason of a wolf.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ स्वं मां वृकोभ्यो, भयं देवदत्तस्य यज्ञदत्तात् 'come thou to me from the wolves, there is fear to Devadatta from Yajñadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra II. 2. 8 declares 'a word ending with the 6th case-affix is optionally compounded with what ends with a case-affix;' as, राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man.' But when the words are not connected, there is no composition: as, भार्या राज्ञः, पुरुषो देवदत्तस्य 'the wife of the king, the man of Devadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra 40 declares. 'A word ending with the 7th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word शौण्ड 'skilled;' as, अज्ञेवु शौण्डः = अज्ञशौण्डः 'skilled in dice.' But when the words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, अज्ञस्त्वमज्ञेवु, शौण्डः पिवति वानागारे 'thou art skilled in dice, the gambler drinks in the tavern.'

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि *i. e.* rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि; and therefore the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply here. Two words however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra यण, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra अच् immediately follows;' as, इधि + अज्ञान = इध्याज्ञान. This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as

तिष्ठतु इध्वशान स्वं शक्रेण 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छन्नं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छन्न, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

सुवामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, आमन्त्रिते,
पर-अङ्गवत्, स्वरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तनामन्त्रिते परतः परस्याङ्गवद् भवति, स्वरे, स्वरलक्षणे कर्तव्ये ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबन्तस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे समानाधिकरणस्योपसंख्यानमनन्तरत्वात् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्ययानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

2. A word ending in sup or a case affix, when followed by a word in the vocative case, is regarded as if it was the aṅga or component part of such subsequent vocative word, when a rule relating to accent is to be applied.

In other words, the word ending in a case-affix enters, as if, into the body of the vocative (āmantrita) word; as it will be taught in sūtra VI. 1. 198 which declares 'a word ending in a vocative case-affix, gets the udāṭṭa accent on the beginning *i.e.*, first syllable.' Now, this rule will apply even when a word ending with a case-affix precedes such word in the vocative case. Thus the word पती 'O two lords!' has udāṭṭa on the first syllable. Now, when this word is preceded by another inflected noun as शुभस् 'of prosperity,' the accent will fall on शु, the two words being considered as a single word; as:—अश्विन्ना यज्वरीरिषो इवत् पाणी शुभस्पती ॥ पुरुभुजा चनस्यतम् ॥ Rig. I. 3. 1. 'O Asvins, riding on quick horses, lords of prosperity, and bestowers of plenty of food, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction.' So also in the following:—कुण्डे नाटन् 'O thou wandering with a bowl. परगुण वृधन् 'O thou cutting with an axe.' मद्राणां राजन् 'O thou king of Madras.' कश्मीराणाम् राजन् 'O thou king of Kashmir.'

Why do we say 'a word ending with a case-affix?' If the preceding word ends with any other affix than a case-affix, this rule will not apply. As पीड्ये पीड्यमान 'O thou who art pained, I am pained because of this thy pain.'

Here पीड्ये 'being a तिङन्त (a verb)' is not considered as an aṅga of the vocative word.

Why do we say 'when followed by a word in the vocative case?' This rule will not apply when the subsequent word is not a vocative. As गेहे गार्ग्ये: 'Gārgya is at home.'

Why do we say 'of the subsequent?' It will not be a part of the vocative word which precedes. As देवदत्त कुण्डेनाट् 'O Devadatta wandering with a bowl' Here कुण्डेन has not become part of Devadatta, but of the subsequent word अट्.

Why do we say 'an aṅga or component part?' Both must be considered as one word for the application of the rule of accent, so that the first syllable of each word separately may not get the udātta.

Why do we say 'as if or वत्.' It is not altogether the body of the subsequent word; rules depending upon its own separate independent existence also take effect.

Thus rule VIII. 1. 55 declares 'a word ending in the vocative case is not anudātta when it follows the word अत् there intervening a word between itself and अत्; as, आत् कुण्डेनाट्! Here kuṇḍena is considered a separate word for the purposes of Rule VIII. 1. 55 and is said to intervene between आत् and the vocative word अट्.

Why do we say 'for the purposes of the application of rule of accent?' For the purposes of the application of any other rule, it will not be the aṅga of the subsequent word; as, कूणे सिंचत् 'O thou sprinkling in the well.' चर्मं नमन्. Here had कूणे and चर्मं been the aṅgas of the subsequent words for all purposes, their स and न would have been changed into ष and ष्य respectively by Rules VII. 4. 2 &c.

Vart:—When a word ending in a case-affix becomes, as if, the component part of the subsequent word, it becomes so even when there are several words in apposition with it which intervene between it and the vocative word; because that, of itself, does not constitute want of immediateness. Thus तीक्ष्णया सूच्या सीच्यन् 'O thou sewing with a sharp needle' तीक्ष्णेन परगुणा वृधन्.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of indeclinable words. As ऊर्ध्वैरधीयान् 'O thou reading loudly.' नीचैरधीयान्.

प्राक्कडारात्समासः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, कडारात्,

समासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारसंशुब्धनात् प्राग् यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम स्ते समाससंज्ञा वेदितव्याः ॥

3. From this point up to the aphorism kaḍa-rakarmadhāraye (II. 2. 38), all the terms that we shall say describe will get the designation of samāsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word **सहा** when not meaning like unto.' Here the word **समास** must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. In fact this chapter and the second chapter treat of compounds and therefore the word compound must be read in all those aphorisms.

The word **prāk** is employed for the same purpose as it was used in I. 4. 56 that is to give the designation of **समास** to various technical terms like **अव्ययीभाव** &c. which otherwise would not have got the name of **समास**.

सह सुपा ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह , सुपा (सुप् समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबिति सहेति सुपेति च नयनप्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् बहिव ऊर्ध्वं ननुक्रानिष्याम स्तनेह सुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

4. The words 'saha supā' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word **सुप्** is understood from sūtra 2, so that it consists of three words *vis.*, **सुप्**, **सह**, **सुपा**. All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sūtra may require. This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word **सह**? Well, without it the sūtra would have stood thus: **सुप् सुपा** 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word **सह** is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely:—

(1). **सह , सुप् , समस्यते समर्थेन** 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word **सह** with the help of the three words **सुप्** taken from sūtra 2, **समस्यते** from sūtra 3, and **समर्थेन** from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like **अनुव्यञ्जनम् अनुभावसम्**. The accent will depend upon these being considered as **samāsa**.

(2). **सुपा सह सुप् समस्यते** a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word. The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, **पुनरुत्स्यूत वासो देवं पुनर्भिष्टतो स्य**. This also is for the sake of accents.

अव्ययी भावश्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः , च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञानित कर्त्तर्यमनुकृतिभ्यामो ऽन्वयीभावसंज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

5. From this forward whatever we shall describe will get the name of Avyayibhāva samāsa or adverbial compound.

This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last. As far as sūtra 21, the compounds treated of, will get the designation of Avyayibhāva. The word अव्ययीभाव like the word कर्मप्रवचनीय is a self-descriptive term, and not an arbitrary term like हि , चि &c. When that which was not an indeclinable becomes an indeclinable, it is called अव्ययीभाव or 'becoming an indeclinable.' In the Avyayibhāva compound the sense of the first of its elements is the main one or the independent one on which the other depends.

अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यूह्ययथाभावात्ययासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भाव-
पश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्ययोगपद्यसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥
अव्ययम्, विभक्ति-समीप-समृद्धि-व्यूह्य-अर्थोभाव-अत्यय-असंप्रति-शब्दप्रादुर्भाव-
पश्चाद्-यथा-आनुपूर्व-योगपद्य-सादृश्य-सम्प्रति-साकल्य-अन्त-वचनेषु, (सुप सुपा
अव्ययीभावः समासः) (समर्थः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यदव्ययं वर्त्तते तत् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते अव्ययीभाव-
श्च समासो भवति ॥

6. An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity, or adversity, or absence of the thing, or departure, or not now, or the production of some sound, or after, or according to, or order of arrangement, or simultaneousness, or likeness, or possession, or totality, or termination, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayibhāva.

The words सुप् and सुपा are understood in this sūtra. The word वचन should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases.

1. विभक्तिवचन;—As अधिस्त्रि कथा वर्त्तते 'a story relating to women.'
अधिकुमारि 'relating to a girl.'
2. समीपवचन;—As उपकुम्भम् 'near to the jar.' उपमणिकं 'near to the gem.'
3. समृद्धिवचन;—As सुमद्रं 'well or prosperous with the Madras';
सुमगधं 'well with the Magadh.'
4. व्युद्धिवचन;—As दुर्गवाहिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas; दुर्वचनं 'ill with the
Yavanas.'
5. अभाववचन;—As निर्मसिकम् 'free from flies; निर्मशुकं 'free from
mosquitoes.'
6. भत्ययवचन;—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather';
निःशीतं .
7. भसम्प्रतिवचन;—As अतितैसुकम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing
quilts.'
8. शब्दमातृभाववचन;—As इति हरि इति 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे
इति हरि वर्त्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').
9. पश्चाद्वचन;—As अनुत्थं पादातम् 'the infantry after the chariots.'
10. यथार्थवचन;—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz. corres-
pondence, severality or succession, the not passing beyond something, and
likeness; thus (1) अनुकृतम् 'in a corresponding manner.' (2) प्रत्ययम् 'according
to each or several object or signification.' (3) यथाशक्ति 'according to one's
ability.'
11. आनुपूर्व्यवचन;—As अनुज्येष्ठं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter
in the order of seniority.'
12. योगपथवचन;—As सचक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel.'
13. सादृश्यवचन;—As ससखि 'like a friend.'
14. संपत्तिवचन;—As ससन्नम् 'as warriors ought.'
15. साक्रान्त्यवचन;—As सदणम् 'even to the grass' i.e. the whole,
not leaving even a scrap.
16. भन्तवचन;—As साम्नि as far as the chapter of fire (i.e. the whole
Veda).

यथा ऽसादृश्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा , असादृश्ये , (समर्थः सुप्
सुपा अव्य०भा०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथेत्येतदव्ययमसादृश्ये वर्त्तमानं सुपा सह समव्यये, ऽव्ययभावात् समासो भवति ॥

7. The indeclinable word yathā when it does not signify 'likeness' is invariably compounded with a

word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it and the compound is called an Avyayibhāva Samāsa.

Thus यथायुक्तम् ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्व invite every old Brahmana. So also यथाव्यापकम् .

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As यथादेवदत्तस्तथा यतदत्तः As is Devadatta so is Yajñadatta.

This samāsa could have been included in the last sūtra clause 10, but making a separate sūtra shows that the word यथार्थवचन there, must be limited by the present sūtra, to first three meanings of the word यथा given there and not to its fourth meaning. *vis.* there is no compounding when it means likeness.

यावद्वधारणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावद्, अवधारणे, (संयुया जहय० प्रा० समास) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्विद्येवद्वद्वद्वद्वधारणे वर्त्तमानं युवा सह समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

8. The indeclinable word *yāvat* when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called Avyayibhāva.

The word अवधारण means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, यावद् नर्चं ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्व 'invite so many Brāhmanas only and not more as there are pots': *i.e.*, if there are five pots then invite five Brāhmanas; if six pots, then invite six Brāhmanas.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation?' Observe यावदनं तावद् भुक्तम् 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' *i.e.* I donot know for certainty how much I have eaten.

सुप्प्रतिनामात्रार्थे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, प्रतिना, मात्रा-अर्थे, (अहय० भा० समासह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रार्थे वर्त्तमानेन प्रतिना सह सुवर्त्त समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

9. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word *prati*, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called Avyayibhāva.

The word **नाना** means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit,' as, **शाकयति** 'a little of vegetable,' **सूपयति** 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe **बुधं प्रति विद्योत्तरे विद्युत्** 'it lightens in the direction of the tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Though the word **सूप** was, by *anuvritti* from *sûtra* 2, understood in this *sûtra*, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the *anuvritti* of the word **अव्यय** which began with *sûtra* 6 does not extend further into the subsequent *sûtras*.

The word **प्रतिना** being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an *upasarjana* (I. 2. 43) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30).

अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्ष-शलाका-संख्याः, परिणा, (अ०स०सह) ॥

अक्षशब्दः शलाकाशब्दः संख्याशब्दश्च परिणा सह समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

10. The words **aksha**, 'a die for playing with,' **salâkâ** 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and **sankshyâ** 'numerals' are compounded with the word **pari**, and the compound formed is called **Avyayîbhâva**.

This **समास** is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called **panchikâ** which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned down, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses. Thus **अक्षपरि** 'an unlucky throw of dice,' **शलाकापरि**, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also **एकपरि** 'an unlucky throw by one over' **द्विपरि**, **त्रिपरि** and lastly **चतुपरि**. This is the maximum. But when five are of one form, then of course, he wins.

विभाषा ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन् ऊर्जुमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

11. The word **vibhâshâ** or option governs all succeeding *sûtras*.

This is an **adhikâra sûtra**. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before. Compounds like **सुमद्रं**, **यथावृषं**, **अक्षपरि** &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (**नित्य समास**), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of

the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

अपरिवहिविचित्रः पञ्चम्या ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप-परि-वहिः-
अञ्चयः, पञ्चम्या (स०अ०सह०वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परि वहिस् भञ्चु इत्येते सुबन्ताः पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यन्ते अग्ययी-
भावश्च समासो भवति ॥

12. The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahih* and indeclinables ending in *añchu* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayibhāva*.

As *अपरिवहिविचित्रः* or *अपरिवहिविचित्रो* वृत्तो देवः 'it rained away from Trigarta.' So also, *परिवहिविचित्रः* or *परिवहिविचित्रो* वृत्तो देवः 'round about Trigarta,' *वहिविचित्रः* or *वहिविचित्रो* वृत्तो देवः 'outside the village' *प्राग् ग्रामम्* or *प्राग् ग्रामात्* 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb *भञ्चु* 'to go,' are *उदञ्चु* 'north' *प्राञ्चु* 'east,' &c.

From this *sūtra* we learn by inference (*jñāpak*) that the word *वहिः* also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29).

आङ् मर्यादाभिविध्योः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मर्यादा-अभि-
विध्योः, (स०अ०वि०पञ्चम्या सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् इत्येतन्मर्यादायामभिविध्यौ च वर्तमानं पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते,
अग्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

13. The word *añ* when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

As *आपाटलिपुत्रं* or *आपाटलिपुत्रात्* वृत्तो देवः 'it rained up to Pātaliputra.' *आकुपारं* or *आकुपारो* वृत्तो देवः 'the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the boys.'

लक्षणनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणेन, अभि-
प्रती, आभिमुख्ये, (स०अ०वि०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणं चिन्तं सदाचिना सुबन्तेन सहाभिप्रतीशब्दावाभिमुख्ये वर्तमानौ विभाषा
समस्येते अग्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

14. The words *abhi* and *prati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the

goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva.

The word lakshana means a sign goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 for a further explanation of this word. As अग्निं प्रति पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also पश्चमि or अग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aims (लक्ष) they fall towards it.

Why do we say 'when meaning lakshana'? Observe कूर्पं प्रति गतः 'he turned back and went towards Srughna i.e., having turned back he went only towards the direction of Srughna but not to that place itself.

Why do we say the words abhi and prati? Observe येनाग्निस्तेन गतः 'he went in the direction of the fire.'

Why do we say 'when meaning direction towards'? Observe अन्वयङ्गा गावः or प्रत्यङ्गागावः 'the recently marked cows.'

अनुर्यत्समया ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः, यत्-समया, (स०वि०अ०-स० लक्षणैः) ३

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यत्समयासमीपवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अन्वययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

15. The word anu 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva.

As, अवनमशुनिर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Why do we say अनु? Observe वनं समया 'near the forest.'

Why do we say 'when compounded with the word, nearness to which is indicated'? Observe वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens towards the tree.'

Though this compounding was valid even by sūtra 6, because nearness is mentioned there also; it is repeated here in order to show that an Avyayibhāva compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

यस्य चायानः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, आयानः, (स०-अ०वि०स० लक्षणैः अनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यत्समयासमीपवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अन्वययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

16. The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

As, *भनुरगं गाराणसी* 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' *भनुरगं यमुना* 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

Why do we say 'length'? Observe *वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विद्युत्*.

तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि ; च (अव्ययीभावसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठद्गुपादयः समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि शुद्धरूपाणि अव्ययीभावसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

17. And the words *tisṭhadgu*, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are *Avyayībhāva* compounds.

The words *तिष्ठद्गु* &c. are all irregularly formed *Avyayībhāva* compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of *च* in the *sūtra* is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the *Avyayībhāva* compound and nothing else. They are as follow:—

Fasten these words cannot be further compounded

तिष्ठद्गु, वृद्धद्गु, आयतीगवम्, खलेयवम्, खलेवुसम्, लूनयवम्, लुबमानयवम्, पूतयवम्, पूयमानयवम्, संहृतयवम्, संह्रयमाणयवम्, संहृतवुसम्, संह्रियमाणवुसम्, समभूमि, समरदाति, सुयमम्, विपमम्, दुष्पमम्, निष्पमम्, अपरसमम्, भावतीसमम्, प्राहणम्, प्ररथम्, प्रसृगम्, प्रसृजिणम्, अवररक्षिणम्, संप्रति, असंप्रति, पापसमम्, पुण्यसमम्, इत् कर्मव्यतिहारे V. 4. 127. e. g. कक्षाकधि ॥

पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारे, मध्ये, षष्ठ्या, वा (सःअःविःसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारमध्यशब्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

18. The words *pāra* 'across,' and *madhya* 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms *pāre* and *madhye*, and the compound so formed is *Avyayībhāva*.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive *Tatpurusha* compounds. The present *sūtra* ordains *Avyayībhāva* instead. The force of

वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पारंगङ्गम् or गङ्गापारम् 'across the Ganges.' मध्येगङ्गम् or गङ्गामध्ये 'middle of the Ganges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. 1. 11., this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase; as पारं गङ्गायाः or मध्ये गङ्गायाः .

संख्या चंशयेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, चंशयेन, (स०वि०अ०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वंशे भवः वंशः, तद्वाचिना सुवन्त्वेन सह संख्या समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva.

The word वंश means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source whether through birth or knowledge. A succession of teachers and pupils, of ancestors and descendants &c., would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As, द्विमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders viz., Pāṇini and Patanjali. So, त्रिमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives viz. Pāṇini, Patanjali and Sakatāyana or Kātyāyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case: as द्विमुनि or त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम् .

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् Twenty-one Bhāradwājas. These a subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

नदीभिश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ नदीभिः, च, (स०अ०वि०संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीवचनेः शब्देः सह संख्या समस्यते, भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

20. A numeral (saikhyā) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva denoting an aggregate.

According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार); as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुनं 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās, पंचनदं 'where the five rivers meet', सप्तगोदावरम् 'where seven Godavaris' meet. See II. 4. 1, 17.

अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यपदार्थे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (स०अ०वि०नदीभिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीभिः सह सुवन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्त्तमानं संज्ञायां विषये समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avyayibhāva.

The anuvritti of the word saṅkhyā does not extend to this sūtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samāsa rule: for no Name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गा 'the country called Unmatta Ganges.' So also जौहितगङ्गा, कृष्णगङ्गा; शनैर्गङ्गा II. 4. 18.

Why do we say 'when it denotes a thing other than that expressed by the component parts of the compound'? Observe कृष्णवेणु the 'river Krishnavēṇu.'

Why do we say 'when it expresses an Appellative'? Observe शीघ्रगङ्गा देशः 'the country where the Ganges moves rapidly.'

तत्पुरुषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुष इति संज्ञाधिक्रियते प्राग्बहुब्रीहे, यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

22. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, the word Tat-purusha is the governing word, and is understood in all the following sūtras.

From this sūtra as far as the sūtra II. 2. 23 relating to Bahuvrīhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sūtra. This big term is of older coinage than that of Pāṇini, being, in fact, made by older grammarians. In the Tat-purusha compound, the sense of the last of its elements is the main one, and governs the preceding one. The Karma-dhāraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds. The rest of this chapter and 22 sūtras of the second, deal with this.

द्विगुश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः, च, (तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुश्च समासस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञो भवति ॥

23. And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha.

The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्व affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra; as sūtra 52 of this chapter already defines Dwigu. Thus पंचराज V. 4. 91 fem. पंचराजो (IV. I. 15, 21), 'an aggregate of 5 princes' द्वयः 'V. 4. 89, पंचगवन् 'an aggregate of 5 cows.' दशगवन् 'an aggregate of ten cows.' V. 4. 92.

द्वितीया अत्रितातीतपतितगतत्पस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥

द्वितीया अत्रित-अतीत-पतित-गत-अत्यस्त-प्राप्त-आपन्नैः, (सुसुवा०स०वि०सह-तत्पुरुष) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्तं सुबन्तं अत्रितादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्रितादिपुनर्निगन्त्यादीनां मूलसंख्यायाम् ॥

24. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atita 'gone by' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prāpta 'who has obtained,' and āpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-puruṣha.

As कष्ट + अत्रितः = कष्टत्रितः 'who has had recourse to trouble.' नरकत्रितः, So also:—कान्तारातीतः 'who has passed over the dreary forest.' नरकपतितः 'fallen into hell.' ग्रामगतः 'gone to village.' तरङ्गात्यस्तः 'passed the waves.' सुखप्राप्तः 'who has reached pleasure.' सुखप्राप्तः 'who has obtained happiness.'

Vart:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As ग्रामगमी, ग्रामगामी; शोदन बुभुक्षुः.

स्वयं क्तेन ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वयम्, क्तेन, (स०वि०त०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वयमित्येतत्सुबन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. The indeclinable word swayam 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is called Tat-puruṣha.

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया from the last aphorism into this, cannot take place; though, however, it is understood in the next sūtra. The word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं धीतो पदो 'feet washed by himself' स्वयं विलीनमाज्यम्.

In this compounding, the two words do not appear to have undergone any change after their composition. They are the same as they were before the composition. But by calling their juxtaposition, 'a compound,'

two indirect advantages are gained. Namely these two words are regarded as one word, and their accent is also similarly regulated. See Rule VI. I. 223.

The words ending in kta which is a Nishṭhā. affix, are past participles.

खट्वा क्षेपे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खट्वा, क्षेपे, (स०वि०त०क्तेनस०)
(द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खट्वाशब्दो द्वितीयान्तः क्तान्तेन सह क्षेपे गम्यमाने समस्यते, सत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

26. The word khatwā in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, when censure is implied, and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The word क्षेप means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word as a whole and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds :—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of ~~the~~ *the* sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

As खट्वाकृतः or खट्वाहुतः (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

There is no compounding when 'censure is not meant. As खट्वामाकृतः 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts :—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmachārya i.e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmachāris were bound to sleep on ground and not on खट्वा or cots, so long as they were Brahmachāris. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खट्वाकृतः 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

सामि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामि, (स०वि०त०सह क्तेन)
(द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ 'सामीत्येतद्गम्यमाने शब्दपर्यायस्तस्य सन्ववा.चित्वा द्वितीयया नास्ति संवन्धः सत् सुवन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते सत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. The indeclinable word *sāmi* meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

The word *सामि* being an *avyaya*, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore the *anuvṛitti* of the word *द्वितीया* would be inapposite in this aphorism.

As *सामिकृतम्* 'half-done.' *सामिरीतम्* 'half-drunk' *सामिभुक्तम्* 'half-eaten.'

The object attained by this *saṁāsa* is the same as in II. 1. 25, namely making them one word and taking one accent.

कालाः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, (संवि०त०सं०द्वितीययाक्तैः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ताः कान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word *कालाः* does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by *Sūtra* I. 1. 68, the word-form *काल* but special words denoting *काल*.

As *मासप्रभितश्चन्द्रमाः* 'the new moon,' (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month). Similarly *अहस्संक्रान्ताः*, *रात्रिसंक्रान्ताः* applied to six *Muhurtas* (of 48 minutes each) which are called *अह* and *अरात्र* which sometimes occur in day time (in the summer month) and sometimes in the night (in the winter).

अत्यन्तसंयोगे च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्यन्त-संयोगे, च, (संवि० त०सं०कालाः सुपा द्वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ता अत्यन्तसंयोगे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. Words denoting time being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of complete connection throughout with the time (i.e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क्.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.' सर्वराजकन्याणी, सर्वराजगोमना.

तृतीया तद्वृत्तार्थेन गुणवचनेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, तत्-
कृत-अर्थेन, गुण-वचनेन, (स०वि०त०मु०मु०पा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयान्तं सुवन्तं गुणवचनेन अर्थवचनेन च सह समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

30. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुष, सुना are understood here: and the whole of this sūtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थः provided that the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case. As शंकुजयाखण्डः शंकुनाखण्डः 'cut by nipper' किरिकाणः 'made blind of one eye by a hog' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case?' Observe अङ्गा काणः 'blind of one eye.' Here अङ्गा in the 3rd case is not the instrumental cause that produced blindness and hence no compounding.

Why do we say 'a word expressing quality?' Observe:—गोभिर्वावान् 'sowing with the cows.' Here though 'sowing' is instrumentally caused by the cows, yet it does not qualify cows but the sower, and hence no compounding.

Guna-vachanas are those words which, not being words formed by primary or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of saṅkhyā, or sarvanāma, or jāti, or compound words, are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives.

पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रशलक्षणेः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥

पूर्व-सदृश-सम-ऊनार्थ-कलह-निपुण-मिश्र-शलक्षणेः, (स०वि०त०तृतीयास०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व सदृश सम ऊनार्थ कलह निपुण मिश्र श्लक्षणे एतेः सह तृतीयान्तं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वोद्विष्यत्परस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

31. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words pūrva 'prior,' sadṛśa 'like,' sama 'similar,' ūnārtha 'words having the sense of less,' kalaha 'quarrel,' nipuṇa 'proficient,' miśra 'mixed,' and slakṣhṇa 'polished sleek' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

From this sūtra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्वः 'prior by a month,' संवत्सरपूर्वः 'prior by a year,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसदृशः 'like the father,' मातृसमः 'similar to the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' मापोनम्, माषविकलं 'less by a māshā,' भसिकलहः 'a fight with the swords,' वाकलहः 'bandying words.' शास्त्रिपुणः 'proficient in speech,' आचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' विजमिश्रः—गुडमिश्रः 'mixed with sesamum or juggery' आचाररत्नहः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart:—The word अन्तर should be enumerated in the list, as मासापरः 'later than a month.'

कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणे ; कृता बहुलम् , (संविगततृती०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृ करणे च या तृतीया तदन्तं कृदन्तेन सह समस्यते बहुलं, तस्यैव च समासो भवति ॥

32. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a kṛit affix; and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions. As अहिनाहतः = अहिहतः 'killed by the snake' नखनिर्भिजः 'divided by the nails.' परशुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe.'

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent or the instrument'? Observe निहाभिरुचिनः 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that mentioned in sūtra II. 3. 21 and not that of II. 3. 18.'

Why do we say 'diversely'? Observe शस्त्रेण लूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle.' परशुनाच्छिन्नवान् 'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is compounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—as पादहारकः and गले चीपकः .

कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, अधिक-अर्थ-वचने,
(स०वि०त०कृत्यैकरणेत्०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकरणयोर्था द्वितीया तदन्तं सुबन्तं कृत्यैः सह समस्यते अधिकार्थवचने
गम्यमाने विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्यग्रहणे वत्प्यतोर्महं कर्तव्यम् ॥

33. A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally with a word ending in a kṛitya affix, when an exaggerated statement (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As काकपेवानदी 'a shallow river' (so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink). खलेयः कुपुः 'a shallow well' (so that a dog can lick water from the brink of it). शष्पच्छेद्यानि वृणानि 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by vapour) कण्टकसंचेद भोदनः.

This sūtra is in a way a prolongation of the last.

Vart:—The phrase 'words ending in a kṛitya affix' must not be taken universally, only the kṛitya affixes यत् and एषत् are meant in the above sūtras. The following are the kṛitya affixes:—तद्य, भनीय, यत्, क्यत्, एषत्, (see sūtra III. I. 95-132). Therefore there is no compounding when the word ends in तद्य as in काकेः पातव्या.

अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नेन, व्यञ्जनम्, (स०वि०त०-
न०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ्जनवाचि द्वितीयान्तववाचिना सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥

34. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a condiment, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying food, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन; as दध्नीदनः = दध्ना उपसिक्त द्नीदनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' So also क्षीरीदनः. The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

भक्ष्येण निम्नीकरणम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ष्येण , निम्नी-करणम्
(स०वि०त०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निम्नीकरणवाचि वृत्तीवान्तं भक्ष्यवाचिना सुदन्तेन सह समस्वते, तत्सु रूपेण च समासो भवति ॥

35. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a relish giving or refining ingredient, is compounded with a word meaning, victuals, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य; its refinement is called निम्नीकरणं. As गुडधानाः 'barley prepared with juggery,' गुरुपुष्पाः 'flattened parched rice prepared with juggery.'

The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी ,
तदर्थ-अर्थ-बलि-हित-सुख-रक्षितैः (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदर्थं अर्थं बलि हित सुख रक्षित इत्येतेः सह चतुर्थेन्द्वं समस्वते, तत्सु रूपेण च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अर्थेन निरयसमासवचनं सर्वलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

36. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix and so too with the words artha 'on account of,' bali 'a sacrifice,' hita 'salutary,' sukha 'pleasure' and rakshita 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप , सुपा are understood in this sūtra : and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थं 'for the purpose thereof,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is by Patanjali here held to be intended. As यूपस्तव दारुः = यूपस्तवः 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). कुण्डलहिरण्यं 'gold for ear-ring.' But not so here. रन्ध्रनाय स्वाली 'pot for cooking.' अश्वहननाथोल्लूजम् 'the wood mortar for threshing. From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose thereof.' The word तदर्थार्थं is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable thereto.' See VI. 2. 44. For accent see VI. 2. 45.

Vart:—With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies; as, ब्राह्मणार्थम् पत्रः 'milk for the sake of Brahmans;' and ब्राह्मणार्था दवागू 'gruel for the Brahmanas.' So also कुवेरबलिः 'a sacrifice for Kuvera' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गोहितं 'what is good for cows.' भद्रहितं 'what is good for horses' गोसुखं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोरक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass)...

पञ्चमी भयेन ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, भयेन, (स०त०वि०सु० सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्तं सुबन्तं भयशब्देन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भय भीत भौति भोःि ति ति वक्तव्यम् ॥

37. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word bhaya 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुर् सुपा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As वृकोद्योभयं = वृकभयं 'fear from wolves' चौरभयं 'fear from thieves' हस्तभयं 'fear from robbers.'

Vart:—So also with the words भीत, भौति and भोः as वृकभीतः, वृकभौतिः, वृकंभीः.

This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra 33 and an exposition of the word बहुल there. So that we may have the following compounds also: गामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village.' अधमं मृगुप्सुः.

अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपेत-
अपोढ-मुक्त-पतित-अत्रस्तैः, अल्पशः, (स०वि०त०सु०पञ्चमीस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भयेत भयोऽ मुक्त पतित अपत्रस्त इत्येतेः सह पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥ अल्पश इति समासस्याल्पविषयतामाचष्टे ॥

38. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words apeta 'gone away,' apodha 'carried away,' mukta 'freed,' patita 'fallen,' apatrasta, 'afraid of,' when the event takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tatpurusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः 'freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापत्रस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32.

By using the word **अल्पतः** 'in a gradual degree,' is shown the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following cases:—
प्रासादात् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion. **भोजनात्पन्नस्तः** 'afraid of eating.' For here the fall &c. is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

**स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्यरुच्छ्राणि स्तेन, ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोक-
 अन्तिक-दूर-अर्य-रुच्छ्राणि, स्तेन, (सप्तविंशत्युपसर्जनीसह) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोकान्तिक दूर इत्येवमर्थाः शब्दाः कृच्छ्र शब्दश्च पस्यन्त्याः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते, तरुणपथ समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तसहस्रौ पदेनेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. Words with the sense of *stoka* 'a little,' *antika* 'near,' *dūra* 'far,' and also the word *krichehhrā* 'penance,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in *ktā*, and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As **स्तोकान् मुक्तः** 'loosed from a little distance.'

So also **अन्तिकारागतः** 'come from near' **अन्तारागतः** 'come from near' **दूरादागतः** 'come from far,' **विपद्भ्यादागतः** 'come from a distance.' **कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः** 'saved with difficulty.' **कृच्छ्रान् लब्धः** 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

Vart:—The words **शत** 'a hundred' and **सहस्र** 'a thousand' are similarly compounded with the word **पर**. As, **शतात्परः**—**परशुश्रवाः** 'beyond a hundred.' So also **परसहस्रज्ञः** 'beyond a thousand.' In these examples the word **शत** and **सहस्र** being exhibited in the 1st case and thus being *upasarjana* ought to have stood as the first member of the compound (II. 2. 30); But these compounds are supposed to fall under the class of **राजदन्व** &c., (II. 2. 31) and hence the *upasarjana* stands as the second member of the compound. Irregularly is also the augment **स** (**सु**) interposed between these two words.

**सप्तमी शीपटैः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, शीपटैः (सप्त-
 विंशत्युपसर्जनीसह) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं शीपडादिभिः सह समस्यन्ते तरुणपथ समासो भवति ॥

40. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words *śaundā* 'skilled' &c. and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

The word सौष्टेः in the sūtra being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with saundā.

As, भलेषु सौष्टः = भलसौष्टः 'skilled in dice' अक्षधूर्तः 'cunning in dice' अक्षकितवः 'a gamester in dice.'

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words:—1 शौष्ट, 2 धूर्त, 3 कितव, 4 स्याड, 5 प्रवीण, 6 संवीत, 7 अम्बर when meaning place, 8 अधि, 9 पट्ट, (or अधिपट्ट), 10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 चपल, 13 निपुण, 14 संख्याड, 15 मन्त्र, and 16 समीर.

सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धे ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व-बन्धेः, च, (स०त०वि०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व बन्धे इत्येतेः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

41. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words siddha 'perfected,' śushka 'dried,' pakva 'cooked' and bandha 'bound,' and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

X As, सांकार्यसिद्धः 'perfect in Sānkāśya.' काम्पिल्यसिद्धः 'perfect in Kāmpilya.' आतपशुष्कः 'dried in the sun.' छायाशुष्कः 'dried in the shade.' स्थालीपक्वः 'cooked in pot.' कुम्भी पक्वः 'cooked in an earthen jar.' चक्रबन्धः 'bound on the wheel. For their accent see VI. 2. 32.

These are also further illustrations of the word बहुल in sūtra 32.

ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे, (स०त०वि०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, क्षेपे गन्धमाने ॥

42. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the word dhvāṅksha, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, तीर्थभाक्षः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' i.e., a very greedy person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long, any where, so a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाकः or a तीर्थबाबसः.

When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as, तीर्थभाक्ष-स्तिष्ठति 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

कृत्यैर्ज्ञे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, ज्ञे, (स०त०सु०स०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य प्रत्ययान्तेः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

43. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a *kṛitya*-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is 'Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

This compound is confined to the words formed by the *kṛitya* affix *वत्* and not to every *kṛitya*-formed word.

As, मासदेयं 'a debt repayable within a month.' So संवत्सरदेयं 'payable within a year.' त्र्यहर्देयम् 'repayable within three days.'

By using the word *कृण* we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following cases also:—पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम 'the Sāma that should be sung in the morning.' प्रातरभ्येयोऽनुवाकः 'the chapter that should be studied in the morning.'

Why do we say 'debt'? Observe मासे देया भिक्षा 'the alms that should be given each month.'

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (स०वि०वि०म०स०नी सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाम् विषये सप्तम्यन्तं सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समाप्तो भवति ॥

44 A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and is called Tat-purusha samāsa.

A *sanjñā* is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (*nitya*) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; anything which does not answer to one's expectation. So also अरण्येभाषाः, वने किंचुकाः 'anything found unexpectedly.' So also वनेबिल्वकाः, कूपेपिशाचकाः .

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance to *sūtra* VI. 3. 9. (The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short *अ* when the compound denotes appellative.)

क्तेनाहोरात्रावयवाः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, अहः-रात्र-अवयवाः, (स०वि०त०स०स०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहवयवा रात्रवयवाश्च सप्तम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समाप्तो भवति ॥

45. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्नकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपराह्नकृतम् 'done in the afternoon.' पूर्वरात्रकृतम् 'done in the first part of the night.' अपररात्रकृतम् 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अहनि भुक्तम् 'eaten in the day' रात्रौ वृत्तम् 'occurring in the night.'

This being a continuation of sūtra II. 1. 32, we have diversely रात्रिवृत्तं and संश्यामर्जितं .

तत्र ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र , (स०वि०त०सप्त०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येतत् सप्तम्यन्तं क्त्वात्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

46. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there.' तत्रकृतम् 'done there.' तत्रपीतम् 'drunk there.' By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sūtra II. 1. 25 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

क्षेपे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे , (स०वि०त०सप्त०सह क्त्वेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने सप्तम्यन्तं क्त्वात्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

47. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अत्रतरेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् 'they are as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलम् ॥

So also उदके विशीर्णम् 'dried in water,' (figuratively used for any thing unheard of or impossible.)

So also प्रवाहे मूत्रितम् (lit.) 'making water in a stream,' (fig.) 'doing a useless action.' भस्मनि हुतम् 'offered oblation in ashes,' (fig.) 'a fruitless action.'

The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.

पात्रेसंनितादयश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पात्रे ; संनित-आदयः , च,
(स०त०क्षेपे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निवारयन्ते, पात्रेसंनितादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुष संज्ञा भवन्ति क्षेपे गम्बनात् ॥

48. The words like pâtre-sammita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udatta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'बुक्तारोषादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

The following is the list of the words:—1 पात्रेसंनिताः, 2 पात्रेवहृत्स्नाः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner time). 3 उदुम्बरमशकः, 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदरकृमिः, 6 कूपकच्छपः, 7 अदरकच्छपः, 8 कूपमण्डूकः, 9 कुम्भनण्डूकः, 10 उदपानमण्डूकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरबायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिएडीगूरः, 15 पितरिगूरः, 16 गेहेषूः, 17 गेहेनर्षीः, 18 गेहेह्वेडी, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गेहेग्यादः, 21 गेहेमेही, 22 गेहेशाही, 23 गेहेदूषः, 24 गेहेधूषः, 25 गर्भेदूषः, 26 आस्यनिरुषकः, 27 गोष्ठेगूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेद्वेडी, 30 गोष्ठेपदुः, 31 गोष्ठेपण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भः, 33 कर्णेगिरिद्विटा, 34 कर्णेबुरुषुरा ॥

पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन ॥ ४९ ॥
पदानि ॥ पूर्वकाल-एक-सर्व-जरत्-पुराण-नव-केवलाः समानाधिकरणेन,
(इ०वि०त०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वकाल एक सर्व जरत् पुराण नव केवल इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुषा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

49. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pûrvakâla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purâna 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुर् सुषा is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकरणं) or abiding in a common substratum.

In the present sūtra the word-form pûrva-kâla is not to be taken

(I. 1. 68) but its significates; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it. As, स्नानान्जिह्वः 'bathed and perfumed.' कृत्समीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled.' ह्यप्रकृतम् 'burnt and healed.' एकपाटी (having) one petticoat.' एकमिच्छा (begging) once in a day.' सर्वदेवाः 'All gods.' सर्वमनुष्याः 'all men.' जरहस्ती 'old elephant.' जरह् गृच्छिः 'an old cow.' जरह् वृत्तिः 'old occupation.' पुराणान्नम् 'old rice.' पुराणावसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवान्नम्; नवावसथम्; केवलान्नम् 'only rice.'

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकस्याः पाटी 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I. 2. 42).

दिक्‌संख्ये संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-संख्ये, संज्ञायाम् ;
(स०त०वि०सुपा०समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिनः शब्दाः संख्या च समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

50. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (saṅkhyā) enter into composition with the word correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter.

As पूर्वेषुक्कामशामी 'the town of Ishukāmaśami-in-the-east.' अपरेषुक्कामशामी 'the town of Ishukāmaśami-in-the-west.' पञ्चाङ्गाः 'the five mangoes' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear).

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of an appellative?' Observe उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees.' पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas.' See IV. 2. 107.

तद्धितार्थोत्तरपद समाहारे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धित-अर्थ-उत्तरपद
समाहारे, च (स०त०वि०दिक्‌संख्येस०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे चाभिधेये दिक्‌संख्ये समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

51. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be ex-

pressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्वां शालायां भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107) serves to represent the force of a Taddhita-affix) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patañjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्वा + शाला + भ (IV. 2. 107) = पूर्वशालः (VII. 2. 117 and VI. 4. 148) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade). As, पूर्वशालामियः or अपरशालामियः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarpada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is of course impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words). The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as, पञ्चनारिपिः 'relating to five barbers.' पञ्चकपालः 'relating to an oblation offered in five cups' (कपाल) (IV. 1. 88). So also पञ्चगवधन (V. 4. 92) 'whose wealth consists of five cows,' इरागवधनः

The following are examples of aggregates:—पञ्चफली 'the collection of five fruits' (IV. 1. 21) दशपुली 'an aggregate of ten bundles,' त्रिलोकी 'the aggregate of the three worlds.' पञ्चकुमारि 'an aggregate of five virgins;' this word is neuter by II. 4 17. and the long ई is shortened by I. 2. 47.

संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-पूर्वः, द्विगुः, (स०वि०-तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितायेंतरपदसमाहारे चेत्यत्र यः संख्यापूर्वः समासः स द्विगुसंज्ञो भवति ॥

52. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound or when an aggregate is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or Numeral Determinative compound.

First to take an example of Taddhitārtha:—as, पंचेषु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पंचकपालः 'an offering prepared or offered in five cups.' So also दशकपालः 'prepared in ten cups.' These are names of Purodāsa offerings; and are formed by adding the affix भृच् in the sense of 'refining an object of food' by sūtra IV. 2. 16; then this affix is elided (लुक्) by IV. 1, 88.

To take an example when an additional member comes after the compound. As पंचनावभिः 'loving five ships.' दिनावरुच्यन् 'money which has come by two ships' (दि + नौ + रुच् V. 4. 99 = दिनाव)

Of an aggregate we have पंचवृत्ती. The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः ,

(स०वि०त०सु०सह०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितवाचीनि सुवन्तानि कुत्सनवचनेः सुवन्ते. सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

That which is found fault with is combined with the word 53. Case-inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words, expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As वैयाकरणखसृषिः 'a bad or dull grammarian.' Here it might be asked is the word व्याकरण 'grammar' a word of contempt, or the word वैयाकरण 'grammarian'? Neither 'Grammar' (it being a part of Vedānga,) nor the person who studies it *i. e.*, the grammarian, can be an object of contempt ordinarily.

The word 'grammarian' is, however, the expression of contempt in an indirect way, thus:—The person studying grammar but not studying it well, becomes an object of contempt and such a despicable person becomes also contaminated. The word खसृषि is a term of contempt *per se*. It literally means, a person who on being asked a question, and not possessing ready wit and intelligence to answer it, scratches his head and contemplates vacancy (खसृष्यति) and tries to divert the questioner's attention by exclaiming 'how beautifully clear is the sky,' such a person is called खसृषिः .

Such compounds are confined to cases where the reason for the use of any particular term is to express contempt with regard to the signification of that term. So we can not form a compound of the sentence वैयाकरणथोरः 'the thief grammarian;' for, contempt is not expressed with regard to the signification of the word 'grammarian.' But when the term 'grammarian' itself is used in a contemptuous signification, then a compound will be formed.

This aphorism is commenced in order to introduce an exception to sūtra 57, by which an adjective stands as the first member in a compound. By the present sūtra, however, the attributive word will stand as the second member.

Other examples of such compounds are: याज्ञिककितवः 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices' मीमांसक-दुर्वृत्तः 'an unbelieving logician,' 'an athiest.'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such. Therefore it is not in the following case. कुत्सितोत्राग्रणः 'the bad Brāhmaṇa' &c.

पापाणके कुत्सितैः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाप-अणके , कुत्सितैः ,
(स०त०वि०सु०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाप अणक एते सुबन्ते कुत्सितवचनैः सह समस्येते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

54. The case inflected words pāpa 'sin,' and anaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अनक are words of contempt (कुत्सन) ; by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtras I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30, that they will stand as first. As पापनापितः or अणकनापितः 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अनक-कुत्सालः 'a contemptible potter.'

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानानि , सामान्य-
वचनैः , (स०त०वि०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचीनि सुबन्तानि सामान्यवचनैः सुबन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

55. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamāna' and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common.' Thus वनश्याम कृष्णः 'cloud-black Krishna' (Krishna black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुमुदश्वेनी 'lily-white.' हंसगद्गदा 'Swan-sounding' ग्यमोथ-पारिमंडला 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadatta' or फला इव वन्दुजाः 'the rice are like fruits' पर्वता इव बलाहकाः 'clouds like mountains.'

उपमितं व्याघ्रः।दिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमितम्,
व्याघ्र-आदिभिः, सामान्य-अप्रयोगे, (स०त०वि०सु०स०उपमानानिस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमेयमुपमितं तद्वन्ति सुबन्तं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्यार्थं उपमानवचनैः सह समत्वते,
तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, न चेत्सामान्यवार्थि चन्तः प्रयुज्यते ॥

56. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyāghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of sūtra 57, by which the objective would have stood first; by the present, the attribute stands second. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव = पुरुषस्वाम्नः 'a person-tiger' (in strength) पुरुषसिंहः

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान but never with सामान्य वचन. Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:— पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव इव चूरः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखरमम्, मुखकमलं, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The words व्याघ्र &c. are आकृतिगणः i. e., this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts a priori.

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. भृश = A bear. 4. वृषभ = A bull.
5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull.
8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिम् = An elephant. 10. वृक्ष = A tree.
11. कुञ्जर = An elephant. 12. रुद्र = A kind of deer. 13. पुष्य = The spotted antelope.
14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree Butea Frondosa.
16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. मुखरमम् } A lotus-like face.
2. मुखकमलम् }
3. करकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः .

विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणम्, विशेष्येण, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशेषणवाचि सुबन्तं विशेष्यवाचिना समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह बहुलं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

57. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing thereby qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पल 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पल 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुल 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (निरत्यसमास) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake.' लोहितशालिः 'red rice':—and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामो जामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' (as being the son of Jamadagni): अर्जुनः कार्त्तवीर्यः—and in some cases it is optional, नीलमुररज्ज् or नीलोत्पल.

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.'

Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka.'

पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-प्रथम-चरम-जघन्य-समान-मध्य-मध्यम-वीराः, च (स०त०वि०सु०स० समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व अपर प्रथम चरम जघन्य समान मध्य मध्यम वीर इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुप्ता सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

58. The case-inflected words pūrva 'prior,' apara 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost,' samāna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vīra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case): with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As पूर्वपुरुषः 'ancestor,' (any one of the three, father, grandfather and great-grandfather), अपरपुरुषः 'successor,' चरमपुरुषः 'last person,' जघन्यपुरुषः 'hindermost person,' समानपुरुषः 'equal person,' मध्य or मध्यमपुरुषः 'middle person,' वीरपुरुषः 'heroic person.'

श्रेयादयः कृतादिभिः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रेणि-मादयः, कृत-
आदिभिः, (स०त०वि०सु०स०समान) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रेयादयः सुबन्ताः कृतादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः समत्वन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो
भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रेयादिषु अयर्थवचनम् ॥

59. The case-inflected words श्रेण् 'class' &c., are compounded with words कृता 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart.—The words श्रेणि &c., for the purposes of this sūtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix च् (chvi). Thus अश्रेण्यः श्रेण्यः कृताः = श्रेणिकृताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

The class of words called कृतादि are अकृति-gaṇa and cannot be known a priori. [This Samāsa is also an invariable Samāsa by reason of sūtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (च्) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)]

1. श्रेणि = A line, a series. 2. एक = One or एक. 3. पृग = A heap, collection, multitude. 4. मुकुन् = Name of Krishna or कुन्. 5. राशि = A heap, mass, collection. 6. निचय = A collection, heap. 7. विषय = An object or विशेष. 8. निधन = Poor, indigent or विधान, निधान. 9. पर = Distant. 10. इन्द्र = The god of rain. 11. देव = Divine, celestial. 12. मुण्ड = Shaved, bald. 13. भूत = Become, being. 14. भ्रमण = Sraman or भ्रवण. 15. बहान्व = Liberal minded. 16. अध्यापक = A teacher. 17. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 18. ब्राह्मण = Brāhman. 19. क्षत्रिय = Kshatriya. 20. विशिष्ट = Distinguished, distinct. 21. पटु = Clever, skillful, dexterous. 22. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 23. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 24. क्षपल = Shaking, trembling, tremulous. 25. निपुण = Skillful, dexterous. 26. कृपण = Wretched, helpless.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृत = Done, performed, made. 2. मित = Measured. 3. मद् = Thought, believed, supposed. 4. मृत = Produced, formed. 5. उक्त = Said, spoken, uttered. 6. युक्त = Joined, united. 7. समाज्ञात = Known or understood thoroughly. 8. समान्नात = Repeated, recited. 9. समाख्यात = Reckoned up, counted, summed up. 10. संभावित = Considered, supposed, imagined. 11. संवेदित = Served. 12. अवधारित = Ascertained, known. 13. भवकल्पित = Corresponded with, answered. 14. निराकृत = expelled, banished. 15. उपकृत = Assisted, benefited, served &c. 16. उपाकृत = Invited. 17. दृष्ट = Seen, looked, perceived. 18. कलित = Counted. 19. कलित =

Broken, torn, rent, burst. 20. उदाहृत = Said, uttered. 21. विश्रुत = Well-known, renowned. 22. उदित = Risen.

क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, नञ्-विशिष्टेन,
अनञ्, (स०त०वि०स०समानधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्प्रैव विशेषो यस्य सर्वमन्यत् प्रकृत्यादिकं तुल्यं तत्रञ्विशिष्टं तेन नञ्विशिष्टेन
क्तेनानेन समानाधिकरणेन सह अनञ् क्तान्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृतापकृतादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समानाधिकरणाधिकारे शाकपार्थिव्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम्, उत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥ २ ॥

60. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृतापकृतम् 'done and not done,' भुक्ताभुक्तं 'eaten and not eaten,' पीतापीतं 'drunk and not drunk,' उदितानुदितं 'spoken and not spoken.'

The intermediate augment न् or the इ, as in the following two examples, do not make the forms dissimilar. अशितानशितेन जीवति, क्लिष्टाक्लिष्टितेन वर्त्तते ॥

Vart:—The compounds कृतापकृत &c. should also be included.

भाकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृतापकृत. 2. भुक्तविभुक्त. 3. पीतविपीत. 4. गतप्रत्यागत. 5. वातानुवात.
6. क्रदाक्रयिका. 7. पुटापुटिका. 8. फलाफलिका. 9. मानोन्मानिका.

Vart:—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकपार्थिवः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' i.e. an era making king.

1. शाकपार्थिव. 2. कृतपसौभुत. 3. अजातोन्वलि.

सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-महत्-
परम-उत्तम-उत्कृष्टाः, पूज्यमानैः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत् महत् परम उत्तम उत्कृष्ट इत्येते पूज्यमानैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

61. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishṭa 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सत्पुरुषः 'a good person,' महापुरुषः 'a great man,' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person,' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person,' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टः गोः कईमात् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.'

वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृन्दारक-नाग-कुञ्जरैः, पूज्यमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृन्दारक नाम कुञ्जर इत्येतेः सह पूज्यमानवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

62. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛindāraka 'eminent,' nāga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant'; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow,' अश्ववृन्दारकः 'an excellent horse'. So also गोनागः, गोकुञ्जरः &c. Why do we say 'when meaning the object deserving of respect?' Observe सुषीमोनागः 'the serpent Susīma.'

कतरकतमौ जातिपरिग्रहे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, जातिपरिग्रहे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कतर-कतमौ जाति-परिग्रहे वर्तमानौ समर्थेन सुषा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

63. The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which or who of many', when used in asking questions about the genus or class, are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कतरकतः and कतरकतज्ञापः 'which of the two is kaṭha, and which kâlāpa?' कतमकतः and कतमकतज्ञापः 'which of these is kaṭha &c.'

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिग्रह in the aphorism; since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase

in the aphorism shows that the word कतम has other meanings besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jāti; as कतरो भवतोर्देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta,' and कतमो भवतां देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.' Here there is no questioning about jāti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

किं क्षेपे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्षेपे, (स०त०स०समानाधि-
करणेनवि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमित्येतत् क्षेपे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

64. The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा वो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his subjects.' किं सखा योऽभिद्रुष्यति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः वो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix टच् (V. 4. 91) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, नम्रराजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा.

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्य राजा = किं राजः 'whose king;' किंसखः

पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयशृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्बकयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रियाध्या-
पकधूर्तैर्जातिः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोटा-युवति-स्तोक-कतिपय-शृष्टि-धेनु-
वशा-वेहद्-बकयणी-प्रवक्तृ-श्रोत्रिय-अध्यापक-धूर्तैः, जातिः, (स०सह०त०-
वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पोटादिभिः सह जातिवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

65. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with the words potâ 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grishṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milk-cow,' vaśâ 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayaṇi 'a cow that has a full-grown calf,' pravaktri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brāhmana,' adhyâpaka 'a teacher,' and dhūrta 'a cunning fellow; and' the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As इमयोदा 'a young female elephant' इमयुवति 'a female elephant.' So also अग्निस्तोकः 'a little fire' उदशिवत् कलेषुम् 'a little butter milk,' गोगृष्टिः, गोधेनुः, गोवशाः, गोवेहत्, गोवम्कपणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Kaṭha', कठश्रोत्रिव, 'a Brāhmaṇa who has mastered the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठाध्यापकः 'a teacher of the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

प्रशंसावचनैश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि प्रशंसा-वचनैः, च, (स०त०वि०-जातिसह समानार्थे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि सुबन्तं प्रशंसावचनैः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

66. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with a word denoting praise and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhi (रुढि) words like मतस्त्रिका &c., which retain their specific gender though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as, गोमकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow,' अश्व मतस्त्रिका 'an excellent horse' गोमचरिर्वैका 'an excellent cow.' These words are generally used at the end of a compound to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.'

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मतस्त्रिका 'an excellent virgin.'

युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युवा, खलति-पलित-वलिन-जरतीभिः, (स०वि०त०स०सहसमानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलत्यादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः सह युवशब्दः समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

67. The word yuvā 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word जरतीभि is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे निङ्गुविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलति = युवखलति. So also युवति: खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवपलितः fem. युवपलिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युववल्गिनः fem. युववल्गिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवज्जरन् fem. युवज्जरी 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old.)

कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-तुल्य-भाख्या , अजात्या , (स०वि०त०स०सु०)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य-प्रत्ययान्तास्तुल्यपर्यायाश्च सुबन्ता अजातिवचनेन समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

68. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded with words which do not denote genus (jāti) being in the same case with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' भोज्यन्नवचं 'salt food' वानीयघीतलं 'cool drink, तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सदृशश्वेतः 'equally white.' सदृशमहान् 'equally great.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus? Observe भोज्य भोदनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57.

वर्णो वर्णेन ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः , वर्णेन , (स०त०वि०सह समानाधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णविशेषवाचि सुबन्तं वर्णविशेषवाचिना सुबन्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

69. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope,' लोहितसारङ्गः 'antelope dappled with red.' कृष्णशबलः 'dappled with black spots' &c. For accent VI. 2. 3.

*black and spotted
red and spotted*

कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, श्रमण-आदिभिः,
(स०वि०त०स०सना०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः श्रमणादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

70. The word kumâra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanâ 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

In this list of श्रमण and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as श्रमणा, प्रव्रजिता, कुलटा, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender; with the words which appear as masculine, e.g. अध्यापक, अभिरूपक, पण्डित the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.

As, कुमारीश्रमणा and कुमारश्रमणा 'a virgin ascetic-or a bachelor ascetic.'

श्रमणादिः ॥

1. श्रमणा = Labouring, toiling. 2. प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा = An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female. 5. तपसी = A hermit, devotee. 6. दासी = A female servant. 7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman. 8. अध्यापक = A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 10. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 11. मृदु = Soft. 12. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 13. चपल = Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful.

चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्पादः, गर्भिण्या,
(स०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादवाचिनः सुबन्ता गर्भिणी शब्देन समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ चतुष्पादात्कारितिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word garbhini, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

गोवर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' भजावर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat'

Vart:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here:—कालाक्षी गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called KAlākshī or Svastimati.'

Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe कालाक्षी गर्भिणी

मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयूर-व्यंसक-आदयः , च ,
स०त०वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते मयूरव्यंसकादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञाया भवन्ति ॥

72. And the words mayūra-vyamsakā 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसक is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसक .

The following is the list of such compounds :—

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मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक. 2. छात्र व्यंसक. 3. कम्बोजमुण्ड. 4. यवनमुण्ड. 5. हस्ते-
गृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas. 6. पादगृह्य or पादगृह्य. 7. लाङ्गूलेगृह्य or लाङ्गूलेगृह्य.
8. पुनर्धाय ॥ एहीडादयो ऽन्यपदार्थे as, 9. एहीडं वर्तते. 10. एहियवं वर्तते ॥ 11.
एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया). 12. अपेहिवाणिजा. 13. प्रेहिवाणिजा. 14. एहिस्वागता .
15. अपेहिस्वागता . 16. एहिद्वितीया . 17. अपेहिद्वितीया . 18. प्रेहिद्वितीया . 19.
एहिकटा . 20. अपेहिकटा or अपोहटका. 21. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा . 22. आहरकरटा .
23. प्रेहिकर्षमा . 24. प्रोहिकर्षमा . 25. निधमचूडा . 26. उद्धमचूडा . 27. उद्धरचूडा .
28. आहरचैना . 29. आहर वसना . 30. (आहरसेना) . 31. आहरचनिता . 32.
(आहरचिनिता) . 33. कृन्तविचक्षणा . 34. उद्धरोस्तृजा . 35. उद्धरावस्तृजा . 36.
उद्धमविधमा . 37. उत्पन्नविपचा or विपचा . 38. उत्पन्नविपता . 39. उद्यावचम् .
40. उद्यानीचम् . 41. आचोपचम् . 42. आचपराचम् . 43. नक्षत्रचम् . 44. निचमचम् .
45. अर्किचन . 46. स्नास्वाकालक . 47. पीत्यास्त्रिक . 48. भुक्तिसहित . 49.
प्रोष्यपापीयान् . 50. उत्पश्यपाकला or व्याकुला . 51. निपश्यरोहिणी . 52. निचप-
श्यामा . 53. अपेहिप्रपसा . 54. एहिनिपसा . 55. इहपञ्चमी . 56. इहद्वितीया ॥ जहि
कर्मणा बहुलभाभीक्ष्णवे कर्तारं चाभिदधाति . 57. जहिजोडः . 58. जहिजोडम् . 59.
जहिस्तम्बम् . 60. (जहिस्तम्बः) . 61. उज्जहिस्तम्बम् or च्च ; आरच्यतमारच्यतेन
क्रियासातस्ये . 62. अश्नीतपिबता . 63. पचतभृङ्गता . 64. खादतनोदता . 65. खादन-
चमता . 66. खादताचमता . 67. आहरनिपचा . 68. आहरनिष्करा . 69. आचप-
निष्करा . 70. उत्पन्नविपचा . 71. भिन्धिन्नवणा . 72. कृन्धिचिक्षणा . 73. पचन्नवणा .
74. पचप्रकटा .

आकृतिगणोऽयम्.

1. अकृतोऽभवः . 2. कान्दिर्णकः . 3. कन्दिशीकः . 4. भाहोपुष्टिका . 5. अहमहमिका . 6. यहच्छ . 7. एहिरियाहिरा . 8. उन्मुजावमुजा . 9. प्रथ्यान्तरम् .
10. अवश्यकार्यम् .

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॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER II.

पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-
अधर-उत्तरम्, एकदेशिना, एकाधिकरणे, (स०त०वि०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकदेशोऽस्यास्तीत्येकदेशी भवत्यपी तद्वाचिना सुबन्त्वेन सह पूर्वापराधरोत्तर-
शब्दाः सामर्थ्यादेकदेशावचनाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

1. The words pūrva 'front,' apara 'near,'
adhara 'lower,' and uttara 'upper,' are compounded when
in construction with a word signifying a thing that
has parts, provided that the thing having parts is
distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound
is Tat-purusha.

The word 'ekādhikarāṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or
qualifies the word 'ekadeśin.' This debars the Genitive Tat-purusha compound
ordained by sūtra 9; which would have placed the words 'pūrva' &c., last in
the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43
and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

पूर्व + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the
body'; अधरकायः 'the lower part of the body'; and उत्तरकायः 'the upper part
of the body.'

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe
पूर्व नाम्ने कायस्य. But not so in पूर्व छात्राणामान्वय 'invite the fore-most of
the pupils': because here the substratum (adhikarāṇa) is not unity (eka).
But how do we get the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening'? The
word 'ahna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, because we
learn this by inference from sūtra VI. 3. 110.

अद्वै नपुंसकम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्वैम्, नपुंसकम्, (स०वि०त०सु०-
स०एकदेशिना एकाधिकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद्वैत्येतन्नपुंसकमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

2. The word अर्द्ध *ardha* when it signifies exactly equal parts i. e. halves, is always neuter, and is compounded with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word अर्द्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and एकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debaras sūtra 9; as अर्द्धपिप्पलाः = अर्द्धपिप्ली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्द्धकोशातकी 'a half of the Kośātaki.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्द्धः 'half the village'? नगरार्द्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadeśin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्द्धं पशोर्वेवदासत्त्व 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādhikarāna' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्द्धं पिप्लीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्यायन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीय-
तृतीय-चतुर्थ-तुर्याणि , अन्यतरस्याम् , (स०त०वि०एक-एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि एकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते सम्बुद्धस्य समासो भवति ॥

3. The words *dvitiya*, 'second,' *tritiya* 'third,' *chaturtha* 'fourth,' and *turya* 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

(8) This also debaras sūtra (9). By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः = द्वितीयभिक्षा 'second begging.' When we apply sūtra 9, we have भिक्षाद्वितीयं. So also with the words तृतीयभिक्षा , चतुर्थभिक्षा , तुर्यभिक्षा .

Vart:—The word तुरीय 'fourth' should also be included. As भिक्षा-
तुरीयं or तुरीयभिक्षा .

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकरश्च or द्वितीयं भिक्षाणाम् .

प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राप्त-भापन्ने , च ,
द्वितीयया , (स०त०वि०स०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राप्त भापन्न इत्येतौ द्वितीयान्तेन सह समस्येते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

4. The words *prāpta* 'obtained,' and *āpanna* 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The *anuvṛitti* of the words 'ekadeśin' and 'ekādhikarapa' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्नो जीविका) or जीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः .

कालाः परिमाणिना ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, परिमाणिना , (स०-
वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणमस्यास्तीति परिमाणो वशाधिना सुबन्तेन सह सामर्थ्यात् परिमाणवचनाः कालशब्दाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

5. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

5 This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातश्च = मासजातः 'a month old' (born a month ago.) So also संवत्सरजातः 'a year old.' द्वयहजातः 'two-days' old.' &c.

नञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ् , (समर्थःस०वि०त०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ् समर्थं सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपःस्तद्धि क्षेपे ॥

6. The negative word *nañ* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As न ब्राह्मणः = अभ्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brāhmaṇa,' (though a man). The न् of न is elided by VI. 3. 73:

Vart:—The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that censure is implied as अपचसि स्वं ज्ञानं 'thou cookest not O knave.'

The word नम् has six senses:—(1) सादृश्य 'likeness or resemblance'; as अज्ञानः 'one like a Brāhmaṇa and wearing the sacred thread &c., but not a Brāhmaṇa, but a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.' (2) अभाव 'absence,' 'negation,' 'want,' or 'privation,' as अज्ञान 'absence of knowledge.' (3) भेदः 'difference' or 'distinction,' as अपरः 'not a cloth, but something different from or other than a cloth.' (4) अल्पता 'smallness,' 'diminution' used as diminutive particle, as अल्पवस्त्रा 'having a slender waist.' (5) अज्ञानात् 'badness,' 'unfitness,' having a depreciative sense, as अकाल 'wrong or improper time.' (6) विरोध 'opposition,' 'contrariety,' as अनैतिः 'opposite of morality,' 'immorality.'

ईषदकृता ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषद् , अकृता , (स०त०वि०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्त्वर्थं शब्दोऽकृतस्तेन सुपा सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईषद् गुण्यवचनेनेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

7. The word *ishat* 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a *krit*-affix; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

Vart:—It should be stated that the word *ईषद्* is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as *ईषत्कडारः* 'a somewhat proud.' *ईषत्पिङ्गलः* 'a little brownish.' *ईषद्विकटः* 'a little hideous.' *ईषदुन्नतः* 'a little raised.' *ईषत् पीतम्* 'a little yellow.' *ईषद्वक्त्रम्* 'a little red.'

Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe *ईषद्गाम्बः*; there is no compounding here.

षष्ठी ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी , (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तं सुबन्तं समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ रूपयोगा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As *राजः पुरुषो* = *राजपुरुषः* 'the king's man' *ब्राह्मणकम्बलः* 'the Brāhmaṇa's blanket.'

Vart:—When a word takes the genitive case because of its connection with a word ending in a *krit* affix; that word may be compounded with such a *krit* word. Rule II. 3. 65., states the conditions when a *krit*-formed

word governs the genitive case. Thus इजमन्नधनः 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter), पलाशशतनः 'Palāsadestroyer. leaf-cutter

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by kṛit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pāṇini, other than II. 3. 51, is a 'prātipadavidhāna' genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see vārtika under II. 2. 10.

याजकादिभिश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ याजक-आदिभिः, च, (स-
तद्विंसुसषष्ठी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याजकादिभिः सह षष्ठी समस्वते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तस्यैश्च गुणैः षष्ठी समस्वत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गुणोत्तरेण तरलोपधेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word yājaka 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by Rule 16 in the case of याजक &c.; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition. As ब्राह्मणयाजकः 'a Brāhmana's sacrificer.' क्षत्रिययाजकः 'one who sacrifices for Kshatriyas.

(याजकादि).

1. याजक . 2. पुजक . 3. परिचारक . 4. परिवेषक . 5. परिषेचक .
6. स्नापक or स्नातक . 7. भक्षापक . 8. उस्ताहक or उस्ताक . 9. उद्वर्तक .
10. होतृ . 11. भर्तृ . 12. रथगणक . 13. पक्षिगणक . 14. पौद . 15. कृद .
16. वर्तक .

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्णः 'Brāhmana-caste.' चंदनगन्धः 'sandal-scent.' कपित्थरसः 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree; and the sign of comparison तर is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः 'the whitest of all.' सर्वेषां महत्तरः = सर्वमहान् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sūtra which prohibits composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वशुक्ला गोः 'a cow whitest among all.'

न निर्द्धारणे ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, निर्द्धारणे, (सप्तविंशो-
सप्तश्री) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्द्धारणे वा षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhâraṇa).

With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhâraṇa.' As क्षत्रियो मनुष्याणां शूरतमः 'the Kshatriya is the most powerful amongst men.' कृष्णा गवां संपन्नश्रीरतमः 'the black cow is the most milk-giving amongst cows.' धावन्नधमानां शीघ्रतमः 'the runner is the swiftest amongst walkers.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41.

Vart:—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50, is never compounded. See sūtra 8. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषोऽज्ञानम्, मधुनोऽज्ञानम्.

पूरणगुणसुहितार्थे सद्व्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥
पूरण-गुण-सुहित-अर्थ-सद्-अव्यय-तव्य-समानाधिकरणेन (षष्ठीन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरण गुण सुहितार्थे सद् अव्यय तव्य समानाधिकरण इत्येतेः सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

11. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of an ordinal, an attribute, or satisfaction, or with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127) or an indeclinable, or ending with the affix tavya, or with a word denoting the same object (i. e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) छात्राणां पंचम. 'fifth amongst the pupils;' छात्राणाम् इत्यम्. (2) काकस्य काक्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' बलाकायाः शौर्यम्. (3) फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits;' फलानां दम्. (4) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् 'the doing of a Brâhmana;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the doing of a Brâhmana. (5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृता 'being done of Brâhmana,' ब्राह्मणस्य हुत्वा. (6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम्. When however the affix is तव्यम् having the indicative च (III. 1. 96.) there is compounding as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्यम् 'the Brâhmana's duty.' (7) राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pataliputraka' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the sūtra composer

Pāṇini. We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनिः । By the general rule relating to words in apposition contained in sūtra II. 1. 57, the difference between that sūtra and the present, is as to position of the words. In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first if compounded ; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

क्तेन च पूजायाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन , च , पूजायाम् , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तो चः पूजायां विहितस्तेन षष्ठी न समस्वते ॥

12. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' &c.

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजाः and पृजा itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As राज्ञो मतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects'

Why do we say 'when meaning respect'? When 'kta' has not this signification there is compounding. As छात्रहसितं 'pupil's laughing.'

अधिकरणवाचिना च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-वाचिना , च , (स० षष्ठी न क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिना क्तेन षष्ठी न समस्वते ॥

13. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating,' it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots i. e., that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III. 4. 76); as इदमेवां यातम् 'here they have gone.' इदमेवां भुक्तम् 'here they have eaten.'

कर्मेणि च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेणि , च , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मेणि च या षष्ठी सा न समस्वते ॥

14. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative.

The anuvṛitti of कृ does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashṭhi. Sūtra II. 3. 66 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed *i. e.*, when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by kṛit affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent; as भाध्वोर्वा गवां रोहोऽगोपालकेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते भोदः नस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'eating of rice agrees with Devadatta.' साधु सज्जु पयसः पानं देवदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Devadatta is indeed excellent.' विचिन्ना सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनिना 'wonderful is the structure of sūtras by Pāṇini.'

तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्-अकाभ्याम्, कर्तरि,
(सषष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि वा षष्ठी सा द्वाभ्यांकेन च सह न समस्यते ॥

15. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the genitive-case. The affix दृच् is taught in sūtra III. 1. 133, and the affix भक् is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element बु are भक्; such as वृवृद् or वृष् or वृन् (sūtra VII. 1. 1.) Thus भवतः शायिका 'your honor's repose' भवत भायिका 'your eating' भवतोऽगगामिका 'your going in front.'

The affix दृच् is employed always in forming nouns of agency; hence there can be no example of a word in a genitive case having the force of an agent, governing another word also having the force of an agent. The दृच् therefore serves no purpose in this aphorism, but applies to the sūtras that follow.

The genitive has the force of an agent under conditions mentioned in II. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इधुमसिकां ने धारयति.

कर्तरि च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च (सषष्ठीनतृजकाभ्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि च यो दृजको ताभ्यां सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

16. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka' affix when the force of these latter affixes is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the word 'aka' only and not 'trich,' for the latter always denotes the agent and nothing else.

As अर्वा इडा 'the creator of waters' पुरा वेत्ता 'the destroyer of cities' वज्रस्व भर्ता 'the holder of thunderbolt.'

It might be suggested that the word भर्तु being read in the class of वाजक (sūtra 9) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तु there means 'husband,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.'

The above are examples of words formed by इच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by भक्; thus भोजनस्व भोजकः 'the eater of rice,' सक्तुना पायकः 'the drinker of saktu.'

नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, क्रीडा-जीविकयोः, (सु०त०षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीडायां जीविकायां च निरखं षष्ठी समस्वते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

17. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka, when these affixes denote a sport or a livelihood; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis. This anuvṛtti of the word 'na' which began with sūtra 10, does not extend further. The affix इच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of 'aka.' Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभङ्गिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed.' So also वारण्यपुष्पप्रचयिका 'a play of gathering flowers.'

So also इन्तलेखकः 'one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.' नखलेखकः 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe भोजनस्य भोजकः .

कुगतिप्रादयः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु-गति-प्र-आदयः, (सु०त०-नित्यसमर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कु गति प्रादयः समर्थेन शुभान्तरेण सह निरखं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भयादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवादयः क्रुडाद्यर्थे तृतीयया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पर्यादयो ग्नानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इवेन सह निरखसमासो विभक्त्यलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतित्परत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिप्रसङ्गे कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

18. The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c., are invariably compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

The word ku means 'badness or sin'; as, कुपुरुषः 'a sinful man'; (2) Gati (I. 4. 60) as, उररीकृतं 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) उररीकरोति ॥

So also with the words प्र &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati'; as दुर् meaning 'bad,' in दुष्पुरुषः 'a bad man'; so also सु and भति meaning 'respect' in सुपुरुषः 'honorable man'; भतिपुरुषः 'excellent man'; आ means 'a little' as आपिङ्गलः 'brownish.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कौष्णं or कदुष्णम् or कवोष्णम् 'tepid.' So also दुष्कृतम्, भतिस्तुतम् and भावद्गम् ॥

Vart:—The words प्र &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus प्राचार्यैः 'a hereditary teacher'; so also ग्राम्यवासी .

Vart:—The words भति &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As भतिक्रान्तः खट्वाम् = भतिखट्वाः (I. 2. 44 and 48) 'without a bed-stead,' भतिमालः 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.'

Vart:—The words भव &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix as भवकुट्टः कोकिलया = भवकोकिलः 'what is announced by the cuckoo' *i. e.*, the Spring.

Vart:—The words परि &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix as परिग्लानोऽव्ययनाथ = पर्यव्ययनः 'weary of study.' भलकुमारिः 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:—The words निद् &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निष्कौशाम्बिः 'who has gone beyond Kausāmbi'; so also निर्वाणसिः .

Vart:—A word enters into composition with इव 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वागर्थविव 'like a word and its meaning,' वाससीइव 'like two garments.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c., when they are 'Karma pravachaniya'; as वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightning flashes in the direction of the tree.' साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

उपपदमतिङ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपपदम्, अतिङ् (स०त०-
नि०समर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपदमतिङ्गन्तं समर्थेन शुब्दान्तरेण धइ समस्वते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92), which does not end with a tense-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.'

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe एधामाहारको व्रजति 'he goes to bring fuel.

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant; since the anuvṛitti of the words सुप् सुप् is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply that we should infer that the words सुप् सुप् should not be read into this and the last aphorism. The following Paribhāsha also arises from this sūtra.

गतिकारको उपपदानां कृत्विः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुवृत्तपत्तेः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras 18 and 19 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kārakas also. Thus भ्रूव क्रीती 'a female brought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. भ्रूवेन क्रीयते सा = भ्रूव क्रीत; add ङीप् (IV. 1. 50) and we have भ्रूवक्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टांप् had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with भ्रूव the form would have been भ्रूवक्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short भ and in that case ङीप् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

अनैवाठययेन ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमा, एव, अठययेन (स०त०-
नि०स०उपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रूवयेनोपपदस्व वः समासः सोऽनैव भवति नाम्नेन ॥

20. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम्.

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in भम् are formed by the affix तमुन् (III. 4. 26) &c.

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in भम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुमुन् added by rule III. 3. 167 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय or काल 'time.')

The force of the word 'only' is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains भम् only, after any root with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix भम् as well as another affix is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sūtra III. 4. 24, declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and तमुन् come after a verb when the words भवे, प्रपन्न and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the भम् (affix तमुन्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it namely क्त्वा. Therefore in भवेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition because भवेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, भवेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-प्रभृतीनि
अन्यतरस्याम् (स०स०उ०अमैवाठययेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपरंशस्वतीयायाभिरवतः प्रभृति बान्धुपदानि तान्यमैवाठययेन सहान्यतरस्वर्गं समस्वन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47) &c., is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purushia.

The term भम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपशं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.' So also पार्श्वोपपीड or पार्श्वोरुपपीडन् रोते (III. 4. 49) 'he lies pressing on his ribs.' For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4. 52 &c. This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhāna with the भम्; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 where भम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well. This vibhāshā may therefore be called both प्रसन्न and अप्रसन्न vibhāshā. It is प्रसन्न with regard to those rules where भम् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्रसन्न with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.

क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा , च, (स०त०सृतीयाम्प्रभृतीन्य-
न्यतरस्यान् सप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययेन सह वृत्तोवा प्रभृतीन्नुपपदानि अन्यतरस्यां समस्वन्ते वत्सुवच्य
समासो भवति ॥

22. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix *ktivá*; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have क्त्वैः क्त्वैः क्त्वैः क्त्वैः . Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sūtra III. 4. 59. In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute क्वप्; otherwise not. See VII. 1. 37.

The condition of the upapadas being in the 3rd case &c., applies here also. Therefore there is no composition in अलं क्त्वा or लसु क्त्वा .

शेषो बहुव्रीहिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः , बहुव्रीहिः (स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषः समासो बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञी भवति ॥

23. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above, will be Bahuvrīhi. This is a governing aphorism and extends up to sūtra 28. Thus चिन्नगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.'

अनेकमन्यपदार्थे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेकम् , अन्य-पद-अर्थे (स०-
बहुव्रीहि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्तमानं समस्यते बहुव्रीहिय समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुव्रीहिः समानाधिकरणानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां च बहुव्रीहिवक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समनुपमानपूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समुदायविकारपद्यश्च बहुव्रीहिरुत्तरपदलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिभ्यो धातुमस्योत्तरपदस्य लोपश्च वा बहुव्रीहिवक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञोऽस्त्यर्थानां बहुव्रीहिर्वा चोत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुबधिकारेऽस्तिक्षीरादीनां बहुव्रीहिवक्तव्यः ॥

24. Two or more words, ending in any case-affix, form a compound, denoting another new thing, not connoted by those words individually; and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

The Bahuvrhi compound comes ^{a village to which water has come} with the force of all the affixes but the first; as **प्राग्मुक्तं मानं** = प्राग्को मानः 'a water-reached village.' **रुद्रयोऽनगाद्** 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' **रुद्रोऽनगाद्** 'Rūdra to whom cattle is offered,' **उद्वोदना स्थाली** 'a vessel ^{in which} which rice ^{has been placed} is placed.' **विश्वगुर्वरुणः** 'Devadatta ^{of whom there is} possessed of a brindled cow.' **वीरपुरुषको मानः** 'a village ^{in which there are} possessed of heroic men.'

Bahuvrhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As **वृष्टे देवे गतः** 'gone when it had rained.'

Why do we say 'more than one'? So that there may be compounding of many words, as in the following verse:—

सुसूक्ष्मजटकेऽथ सुजभाग्निवाससा । पुत्री पर्वतराजस्य कुतो हेतोर्विवाहित्वा ॥ .

'Why was the daughter of the king of the mountains married by Siva possessed of beautifully-delicate-locked-hair, and cheap-deer-skin-dress.'

Vart:—Bahuvrhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded; as **पंचनिर्मल-मस्य** .

Vart:—The compounds of indeclinables are Bahuvrhi; as **उच्चैर्मुखः** 'possessed of raised mouth.' So also **नीचैर्मुखः** &c.

Vart:—The second member is elided in a Bahuvrhi compound of which the first member is a word in the locative case, or a word with which comparison is made (**उपमान**). As, **कण्ठे स्थितः काञ्चोऽस्य** = **कण्ठे कालः** 'in whose throat there is blackness (Siva).' **उरसिजीमः** 'who has hair on his chest.' **उग्रस्य मुखमिव मुखं यस्य सः** = **उग्रमुखः** 'he whose face is like that of a camel.' **खरमुखः** 'ass-faced.'

Vart:—Bahuvrhi compound may be formed after eliding the second member with a word in the sixth case denoting 'collection or modification.' As **केशानां संघातः** = **केशसंघातः**, **केशसंघातधृडाऽस्य** = **केशधृद्** 'he who has a collection of hair as crest.' **सुवर्णस्य विकारोऽर्जकारोऽस्य** = **सुवर्णलकारः** 'he who has ornaments made of gold.'

Vart:—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after **त्र** &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As **प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य** = **प्रपर्णः** 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.' So also **प्रपलायः** .

Vart:—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative **नञ्** should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As, **अभियमान पुत्री यस्य** = **अपुत्रः** 'childless.' So also **अभाज्यः** 'wifeless.'

Vart:—Compounds like **भस्तिक्षीरा** should be stated as Bahuvrhi. As **भस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणो** 'a Brāhmaṇi having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

संख्ययाऽव्ययासत्तादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥
 संख्यया , अव्यय-आसन्न-अदूर-अधिक-संख्याः , संख्येये , (स०बहुव्रीहिःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्येये वा संख्या वर्तते तथा सहाव्ययासत्तादूराधिकसंख्याः समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिषु समासो भवति ॥

25. Indeclinable words and the words āsanna 'near,' adūra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyā (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyā word, when ^{that other word refers to an ability to be} ~~the sense is that of a numeral or saṅ-~~ ^{counted (i.e. when it is} ~~kyā.~~ ^{used as an adi rather than} ~~The compound is Bahuvrīhi.~~ ^{as a noun).}

Thus उपदशः (V. 4. 73) 'those who are near ten i.e. nine or eleven.' Similarly उपविंशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142). So also आसन्नदशः 'nine or eleven.' अदूरदशः 'nine or eleven.' अधिकदशः 'eleven.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्विषाः 'two or three.' द्विदशः 'twenty.'

Why do we say 'with a numeral'? Observe पंच ब्राह्मणः 'five Brāhmanas.'

Why do we say 'with an Indeclinable &c'? Witness ब्राह्मणः पंच. Why do we say 'when denoting a numeral'? Observe अधिका विग्रहि गर्वान् 'of cows more than twenty.'

दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिङ्-नामानि , अन्तराले
 (स०बहु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्नामानि सुबन्तानि अन्तराले वाच्ये समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिषु समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तमात्रे पुंश्रवणः ॥

26. Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वदिक् dakshina-pūrvā, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sūtra to indicate that no compounding takes place when the words denoting direction are derivative words whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्रपथकौचेर्वाथ दिशोर्द्यन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐन्दी 'east' and कौचेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

Vart:—Whenever a Bahuvrīhi gets the designation of Sarvanāman (I. 1. 28, 29), the first term becomes masculine, by VI. 3. 34; as *इतिना + वृत्ता* = *इतिवृत्ता* ॥

तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, तेन, इदम्, इति, सरूपे (स०बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनेति सतम्यन्ते सरूपे परे तेनेति च द्वतीयान्ते इतिव्येतस्मिन्नर्थे समप्रथमे बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. Two homonymous words, both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case) are compounded, the sense being 'this happens therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

The word *तत्र* means 'a word in the locative case,' and *तेन* 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word *सरूप* or 'similar form' applies to both. The word *इति* indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by *इति*. The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of seizing; and the word is exhibited in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of striking; the word indicated by the word *इति* is *युद्ध*; as *केशेषु केशेषु च गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धं वृत्तं* = *केशकेशि* (VI. 3. 137 and V. 4. 127.) 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; *कषाकषि* 'hair against hair'; *इण्डेथ इण्डेथ महस्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तं* = *इण्डाण्डि* 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave,' so also *मृगलामृगली*. In the above examples the *samāsānta* affix *इच्* is added at the end by rule V. 4. 127; and all such words are *Avyaya* or indeclinable. The final vowel of the first term is lengthened by Rule VI. 3. 137.

Why do we say 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following: *इलेथ मुपलेथ महस्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तम्*.

तेन सहैति तुल्ययोगे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, सह-इति, तुल्ययोगे, (स०बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहैत्येतच्छब्दरूपं तुल्ययोगे वर्तमानं तेनेति द्वतीयान्तेन च समप्रथमे बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The word *saha* 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सख्यजः 'accompanied by the pupil.' सकर्मकः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहेव श्याभिः पुत्रैर्नारं वहति गर्वणी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सलोककः, सपक्षकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (सुख्य गोगवचनं प्रायिकं).

चार्यं द्वन्द्वः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-अर्थे, द्वन्द्वः, (स०अनेकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तं चार्ये वर्त्तमानं समस्यते द्वन्द्वश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and' the set is made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meanings that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) भन्वाच्य 'collateralness of reference, (3) इतरैतरबोधः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases *vis.*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. 1. 1). Composition is enjoined therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and lumping. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षामटं गां चानव 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following द्वक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = द्वक्षान्वयोश्चो 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धव-खदिर-पलाशाः, वाक्कुचम्, वाग्दृषदम् ॥

उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्जनम्, पूर्वम् (समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनसंज्ञकं समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

30. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43) is to be placed first in a compound.

The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first. The constant application of this rule has been illustrated in the previous aphorisms. Without this rule, there would have been no fixity as to the position of words.

राजदन्तादिषु परम् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजदन्त-मादिषु, परम्, (स०उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजदन्तादिषु परमुपसर्जनं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

31: the upasarjana is to be put last in the words Rājadanta &c.

Thus राजदन्तः (दन्तानां राजा) ' a chief of teeth ' (i.e., an eyetooth). It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples ; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः . 2. भग्नेवपम् . 3. लिङ्गवासिचम् . 4. नममुचितम् . 5. सिक्कसं-
मृष्टम् . 6. मृदुलुचितम् . 7. भवङ्गिजपकने . 8. अर्पितोत्तम् . 9. (अर्पितोत्तम्) . 10.
उद्यगादम् . 11. उल्लुङ्गमुत्तम् . 12. तण्डुलकिण्वम् . 13. वृषदुपलम् . 14. आरङ्गा-
चनि . 15. (आरङ्गाचनबन्धकी) . 16. चिन्नरयवाल्मीकम् . 17. भवन्वत्प्रमकम् . 18.
शुभ्रायम् . 19. स्नातकराजानो . 20. विष्वक्सेनाशुभो . 21. अक्षिभुवम् . 22. हारणवम् .
23. शब्दार्थो . 24. धर्मार्थो . 25. कामार्थो . 26. अर्थशब्दो . 27. अर्थधर्मो .
28. अर्थकानो . 29. वैकारितम् . 30. गाजवाजम् . 31. (गोजवाजम् . 32. गोपालि-
धानपूजासम् . 33. (गोपालधानीपूजासम्) . 34. पूजासकारणम् . 35. (पूजासककु-
रणम्) . 36. स्थूलासम् . 37. (स्थूलपूजासम्) . 38. शिरोरबीजम् . 39. (शिरोस्थि) .
40. सिञ्जास्यम् . 41. (सिञ्जास्यस्यम्) . 42. चिन्नास्वाती . 43. (चिन्नास्वाति) .
44. भार्यापती . 45. इम्पती . 46. जम्पती . 47. जायापती . 48. पुत्रपती . 49.
पुत्रपद् . 50. कौशम्भ or श्मशुकौशो . 51. शिरोविजम् . 52. शिरोबीजम् . 53.
शिरोजानम् . 54. सर्पिर्भुनी . 55. मधुसर्पिणी . 56. भायन्तो . 57. अन्तारी .
58. गुणवृद्धी . 59. वृद्धिगुणो .

द्वन्द्वे चि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे , चि , (स०उ०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे च्यन्तं पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

32. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called चि (I. 4. 7) stand first.

As हरिहरो ' Hari and Hara.' So also पद्मगुप्तो and मृदुगुप्तो. Where there are more than one such चि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest to follow no fixed rule. As पद्ममृदुगुप्ताः or पद्ममृदुगुप्तः .

Why do we say ' Dvandva? Observe विसृष्टपद्मः which is Tat-purusha.

अजाद्यदन्तम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्-आदि-अदन्तम् ,
(स०उ०पूर्वम्-द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजाद्यदन्तं शब्दरूपं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुवचनियम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वन्द्वेऽप्यजाद्यदन्तं विप्रविषेधेन ॥

33. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, **उष्ट्रश्चरुः** 'the camel and the ass,' **उष्ट्रश्चाशकः** 'the camel and the hare.'

Vart:—When there are many such words there is no fixed rule. As **अश्वरथेन्द्राः** or **इन्द्ररथारवाः** .

Vart:—In the Dvandva compounds the **चि** would stand first only then, when the rule of **अजायन्त** does not prohibit it. Thus **इन्द्राग्नी** or **इन्द्रवायुः** . Here **अग्नि** and **वायु** though **चि**, do not stand first, because **इन्द्र** beginning with a vowel and ending in short **अ**, by the rule of **vipratishedha** takes precedence (I. 4. 2).

Why do we say 'अच् with a च्' (I. 1. 70)? This rule does not apply when it is long **आ** as **अश्वा** + **वृषः** = **अश्वानृषो** or **वृषारथे** :

अल्पाक्षतरम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्पाक्षतरम् , (सङ्ख्येपूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अल्पाक्षतरं सङ्ख्ये इन्द्रे समासे पूर्वमयोक्तव्यम् ॥

1 **वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अश्वानृषामानुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥**

2 **वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥**

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अश्वार्थितं च पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भानुश्च इत्यायसः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संख्याया अल्पीयस्याः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

34. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus **दक्ष + न्यसीध** = **दक्षन्यमोधी** ; and **धवलदिरपजाशाः** ॥

When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As **शश्वदुन्मुनिषीयाः** or **षीयाशश्वदुन्मुनिषः** .

1 *Vart:*—Names of seasons and stars consisting of equal number of syllables should be arranged in the compound according to their natural order of succession. As **हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः** ; **चित्रास्वाती** ; **कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ** .

When they do not consist of equal syllables, the shorter should be placed first; as **दीप्तवसन्तो** .

2 *Vart:*—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first. As, **कृशकार्थः** ; **शरशासन्** .

Vart:—The more honorable of the two is placed first; as, **मातापितरौ** 'mother and father,' **अहमेधे** 'faith and intelligence' **सिद्धातपसी** 'initiation and austerity'.

Vart:—The castes are placed according to their order: as, ब्राह्मणसभिव विद् पुरा: 'Brāhmaṇa Kshatriya Vaiśya and Sudra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vart:—The name of the elder brother is placed first; as युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ 'Yudhishtira and Arjuna.'

Vart:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्विना 'two; and three'; त्रिचतुरा 'three and four.'

सप्तमी विशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, विशेषणे, बहुव्रीहौ, (स०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनामसंज्ञकयोः सप्तम्यान्तम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा भिवस्त्वं पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्याः पूर्वनिपाते प्राप्ते गद्वादिभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तं परम् ॥

35. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrhi compound.

In a Bahuvrhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्ठेकालः 'who is black in the throat.' So also वरसिलोमा, चिनगुः, शवजगुः.

Vart:—The sarvanāmas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वश्वेतः, सर्वकुण्डः, द्वियुक्तः, द्विकुण्डः. In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a saṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वयन्तः, त्रयन्तः &c.

Vart:—The word भिव may optionally stand first; as गुदभिवः or भिवगुदः.

Vart:—After the words गद् &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गदुकण्ठः 'a hump-necked'; गदुधिराः &c.

How is then the word बहेगदुः 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vārtika.

निष्ठा, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (स०बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्ठायाः पूर्वनिपाते जायिकालसुखादिभ्यः परस्परम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मद्पर्यायैर्भ्यश्च परे निष्ठासप्तम्यौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

36. What ends with a Nishṭhā (L. 1. 26) shall stand first in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus बुद्धयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकः 'one who has made the mat'; निक्षिप्तनिक्षिः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, शाङ्गः मधी, नासजातः, and सुखजातः &c.

Vart:—The words ending in Nishṭha or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking'; as अस्तुपात्र 'ready with sword'; इण्डपाणिः 'holding sceptre in hand.'

आहिताग्न्यादिषु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आहित-अग्नि-आदिषु
(निष्ठा पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहिताग्न्यादिषु निष्ठान्त्वं पूर्वं वा प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

37. In the compounds Ahitāgni and the like, the Nishṭhā-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्वाहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

1. आहिताग्निः . 2. जातपुत्रः . 3. जातदन्तः . 4. जातश्मश्रुः . 5. तैलपीथः .
6. पुत्रपीथः . 7. मद्यपीथः . 8. कर्तार्यः . 9. गवार्थः .

आकृतिगणोऽयम् .

1. गदुकण्ठः . 2. अस्तुपात्रः . 3. (अस्तुपात्रः) . 4. इण्डपाणिः प्रभृतयोऽपि .

This आहिताग्नि class is ākṛitigaṇa; so that words like गदु &c., must be looked for in this class.

कडाराः कर्मधारये ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कडाराः, कर्मधारये,
(समासे पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारादयः शब्दाः कर्मधारये समासे वा पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

38. The words kaḍāraḥ and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhāraya.

Thus कडाराजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकडारः Kaḍārajaiminiḥ or jaiminikaḍāraḥ. 'The tawny Jaimini.'

1. कशर . 2. मनुज . 3. खन्न . 4. खौर . 5. कान . 6. कुल .
 7. खजवि . 8. गौर . 9. पुइ . 10. मिभुक . 11. पिङ्ग . 12. पिङ्गल . 13.
 (पिङ्गल) . 14. लइ . 15. वनु . 16. मउर . 17. वधिर . 18. मउर . 19.
 कन्न . 20. वरर .

This sūtra enjoins an option where by general rule guṇa words being attributes would have invariably stood first.

Why do we say 'in the karmadhāraya compound'? Observe कशर-
 पुरुषो नामः 'a village of tawny men,' which is Bahuvrīhi. Here ends the force
 of I. 4. ३ and II. 1. 3.

—:0:—

ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER III.

अनभिहिते ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-अभिहिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनभिहित इत्यधिकारोऽयं वेदितव्यः । यदित उर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनभिहित इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word.

Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned or exhibited. The force of a case-affix may be so denoted either by first, the conjugational affixes निङ् ; secondly, by the Primary affixes or कृन्, thirdly, by the secondary affixes तद्धित ; or lastly by compounds. Thus sūtra 2 declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कटं करोषि 'he makes the mat'; ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But the object can otherwise be denoted. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as कृत्यते कटः 'the mat is made.' Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. So also by the kṛit affix, as कृतः कटः 'the mat is made,' see Sūtra III. 4. 70. So also by a Tadūhita affix as शतशः or शतिकः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन क्रीतः . Similarly by samāsa, as प्राप्तमुदकं ग्रामम् = प्राप्नोदको ग्रामः ॥

कर्मणि द्वितीया ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि , द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि कारकं या संख्या स च द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयवर्तसोः कार्या धिगुपर्यादियु निषु ।

द्वितीयाऽऽवेदितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अभितः-परितः-समया-निकषा-हा-प्रति-योगेषु च दृश्यते ॥

2. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, i. e. when the verb does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

The terms *dvitīyā* &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini; they apply to the triads of *सुप्* affixes. *कटं करोति* 'he makes the mat,' *ग्रामं गच्छति* 'he goes to the village.'

The words *उभयतः*, *सर्वतः*, *धिक्* and the double forms *उपर्युपरि*, *अधोऽधः*, *अधोधि*, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative. Sometimes other cases also, as *उभयतो* *ग्रामं* 'on both sides of the village'; *सर्वतो* *ग्रामं* 'on all sides of the village'; *धिदेवदत्तं* 'fie to Devadatta'; *उपर्युपरि* *ग्रामम्* 'just over the village'; *अधोधि* or *अधोधो* *ग्रामम्* 'just below the village.'

Vart.—The words *भ्रितः*, *परितः* both meaning 'round', *सभया*, *निकषा* both meaning 'near' and *हा* 'woe be to,' and *प्रति* 'to,' govern the accusative case; as, *भ्रितो* *ग्रामम्* 'round the village,' *ग्रामं* *सभया* 'near the village'; *हा देवदत्तं* 'woe be to Devadatta'; *बुभुक्षितम्* न *प्रतिभाति* किञ्चित् 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind.' See I. 4. 49 &c.

द्वितीया च होश्छन्दसि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, च, होः, छन्दसि, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये जुहोतेः कर्मणि कारके द्वितीया विभक्ति भवति द्वितीया च ॥

3. In the *chhandas* (*veda*), the object of the verb *हु* 'to sacrifice' takes the affix of the third case, and of the second as well.

This ordains the third case-affix; and by force of the word *च* 'and' the second case-affix is also employed as *यवाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति* 'he satisfies or pleases Agni with barley-powder,' or *यवाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति* 'he throws barley-powder into the fire as oblation.'

Why do we say 'in the vedas?' In the classical Sanskrit, the accusative only must be used and not the instrumental.

अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, युक्ते, (द्वितीया)

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते निपातो साहचर्याद् जुहोते । आभ्यां योगे द्वितीया विभक्ति भवति ॥

4. A word joined with (or governed by) the word *antarā*, or *antareṇa* takes the second case-affix.

The *anuvṛitti* of *dvitīyā* is understood here and not that of *trītiyā*. Both these words *antarā* and *antareṇa* are *Nipātas*. They govern the accusative. This debar the genitive case. The word *antarā* means 'between' while *antareṇa* means, 'besides that,' 'without,' ('exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding.') As, *अन्तरेण* *पुरुषकारं* न किञ्चिद्भवति 'nothing can be

gained without exertion. अन्तरा or अन्तरेण स्त्री च मां च कर्मणः 'the bowl is between thee and me.' कोऽन्यस्सर्गो मां तरेण शक्तः पतिं कर्तुं 'who else but thee is able to retaliate.'

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अन्तरा वक्षसिर्जां च पादलिपुत्रं सुप्रस्व माकारः .

कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-अध्वनोः ,
अत्यन्त-संयोगे ; (द्वितीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काल एवमेवोऽध्वान्मेवश्च द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति अत्यन्त संयोगे गम्यमाने ।'

5. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कन्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), संवत्सरं पुष्पाः 'flowers during the year continually,' कोशं कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' कोशं पर्वतः 'the hill through one full kos.' सभा वैभवणी राजन् शवयोजनमायथा 'O king the hall of Viśravana is 100 yojanas in length.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity?' Observe मासस्य द्विरधीते or कोशास्वैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

अपवर्गे तृतीया ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपवर्गे, तृतीया, (कालाध्वनो रत्यन्तसंयोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपवर्गे गम्यमाने कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

6. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

मासेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka in a month,' कोशेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos.'

The word अपवर्ग means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरेणानुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvāka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमधीतोऽनुवाकः 'learnt for a month, but not yet completed, the Anuvāka.'

सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी-पञ्चम्यौ,
कारक-मध्ये, (कालाध्वनोर०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारकयोर्मध्ये यो कालाध्वनौ ताभ्यां सप्तमी पञ्चम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

7. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and another action (or implies an interval of time and space between two kârakas).

Ex. भय भुक्त्वा देवदत्तो पुढे पुद्गादाभोक्त्वा 'having dined today, Devadatta will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्योऽवनिष्वासः क्रोशात् क्रोधे वा लक्षं विश्वेत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos.' Here kos is the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule I. 3. 10 does not apply here.

कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीय-युक्ते,
द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्भुक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

8. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a karmapravachanīya (I. 4. 83),

Ex. शाकल्यस्व सं. हतामनुप्रावर्षत् 'It rained on (hearing) the reading of the Veda by Śākalya.' So also आगस्त्यमन्त्रसिञ्चत् प्रजाः ॥

यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्माद्-
अधिकं, यस्य, च, ईश्वर-वचनं, तत्र, सप्तमी, (कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्भुक्ते तत्र सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

9. Where a word is governed by a karmapravachanīya in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the 7th case-affix (locative) is employed.

Ex. उपस्थार्यान् द्रोणः 'A Drona is more than a Khâri,' अधिप्रब्रह्मणे पञ्चालः 'Brahmadatta is the lord of Panchâlas.' The phrase वस्वचेश्वर वचनं indicates that both the thing owned and the owner may be in the locative. See I. 4. 97.

This aphorism debars the accusative.

पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, अप-आङ्-
परिभिः, (कर्मप्रवचनीययु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप आङ् परि इत्येतेः कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

10. The fifth case-affix (Ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the following karmapravachanīyas i. e. apa, āñ and pari.

Ex. अत्र or आ or परि पाटलिपुत्रादावृष्टो देवः 'It rained off or upto or with the exclusion of, Pataliputra.'

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप; therefore, not here वृत्तं परि विद्योतते वियुत् (I. 4. 90).

प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-निधि-
प्रतिदाने, च, यस्मात् (कर्मप्र०) (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात्प्रतिनिधिर्यतश्च प्रतिदानं तत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

11. The 5th case-affix (ablative) is employed after what soever is governed by a karmapravachanīya in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

Ex. अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति 'Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna.' माषानस्मैतिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति 'he exchanges māshās for this sesamum.' See I. 4. 92 for an explanation of प्रतिनिधि and प्रतिदान .

गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थी चेष्टायामनध्वनि ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥
गत्यर्थ-कर्मणि, द्वितीया-चतुर्थी, चेष्टायाम्, अनध्वनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां धातूनां चेष्टाक्रियाणां परिसन्दक्रियाणां कर्मणि कारकेश्ववर्जिते
द्वितीयाचतुर्थी भवतः

12. In the case of roots implying motion, the place to which motion is directed takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

Ex. ग्रामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But not so in मनसा हरिं व्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari' अश्वानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way'). But not so in ओदनं पचति 'he cooks rice;' (the verb not denoting 'motion') nor in अग्नेन व्रजति (the verb not denoting 'the object.')

Note.—The word *adhvan* includes the synonyms of road (I. 1. 68) as *पन्थानं गच्छति, मार्गं गच्छति.*

Note.—The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the fourth case-affix will be employed as *पथे गच्छति.*

चतुर्थी संप्रदाने ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रदाने कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्थी विधाने सादृश्यं उपसंख्यानम् ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कूपिसंपद्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्पत्तेन ज्ञाप्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हितयोगे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

13. In denoting the *sampradāna-kāra* (I. 4. 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

Ex. उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति 'He gives a cow to the teacher' देवदत्ताय रोचते 'it pleases Devadatta' (I. 4. 33) पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति (I. 4. 36) 'he desires flowers.'

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof' as *वृषाय दारु* 'wood is for making posts.' *कुण्डलाय हिरण्यं* 'gold used for the purpose of making ear-ring.' *रन्ध्रनाय स्थाली* 'pot for the sake of cooking.' *अवहननायोलूखलं* 'mortar for the sake of threshing.'

Vart.—The verb *कूप* and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, *मूत्राय कल्पते यवागुः* 'the barley gruel tends to produce urine.' So also *मूत्राय संपद्यते जायते वा यवागुः.*

Vart.—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as.

वाताय कपिला विद्युशतपायाति लोहिनी ॥

पीता वर्षाय विल्लेया दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भतेत् ॥

'The reddish lightening portends wind, extremely red indicates heat, yellow portends rain and white lightening prognosticates famine.'

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word *हित*: as *गोभ्योहितं* 'good for cows.'

क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रिया-अर्थ-उपपदस्य, च, कर्मणि, स्थानिनः. (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च स्थानिनोऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य धातोः कर्मणि कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

14. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthâni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) therewith another verb, denoting an action, performed for the sake of the future action (kriyârthe III. 3. 10):

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III. 3. 10,) is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

फलेभ्यो व्रजति = फलान्यावर्तुं व्रजति 'he goes for fruits i. e., to bring fruits.' This debarbs accusative case. So also we have एधेभ्यः व्रजति 'he goes for fuel.' The words क्रियार्थेऽप्यस्य and स्थानिनः are in apposition. The first is a Bahuvrîhi compound of क्रियार्थ + उपपद् and means 'a verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action (kriyârtha).' Thus in एधानाहर्तुम् 'to bring fuel'; the infinitive verb आहर्तुम् is क्रियार्थोपपद्, the object of this verb is एधः; when this verb is suppressed, it becomes स्थानिनः; the object of this verb takes the fourth case-affix.

Why do we say 'of the verb whose upadada denotes the purpose of the action?' Observe प्रविश पिंडीम्.

Why do we say 'in denoting the object.' Witness एधेभ्यो व्रजति शुकटेन 'for fuel he goes with a cart.'

Why do we say 'when suppressed'? Observe एधानाहर्तुं व्रजति.

तुमर्थोच्च भाववचनात् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम-अर्थात्, च भाव-वचनात्, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमर्थभाववचनप्रत्ययान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाचतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

15. The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III. 3. 11.) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

Ex. यागाय व्रजति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = यष्टुं व्रजति. So also स्थागाय व्रजति, भूतये व्रजति.

The word तुमर्थ means 'having the same significance as the affix तुम्'.

नमःस्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधालंबषह्योगाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमः-स्वस्ति-स्वाहा-स्वधा-भलम्-वषह्-योगात्; च, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमः स्वस्ति स्वाहा स्वधा भलं वषद् इत्येतेषां चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

16. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with the words *namah* 'salutation,' *svasti* 'peace,' *svâhâ*, *svadhâ* (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), *alam* 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and *vashaṭ* a term of oblation.

Ex. *नमो देवेभ्यः*, *स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः*, *स्वाहाग्नेये*, *स्वधा पितृभ्यः*, *अलं मल्लो मल्लाय* 'Salutation to Gods'; 'peace to the people'; 'svâhâ to fire'; 'svadhâ to the Pitris'; 'an athlete is a match for an athlete' &c. The word *अलं* includes its synonyms also, as *प्रभुः*, *शुक्तः* &c.; so *वषट्पिण्डन्नाय*, *वषट्प्रथे*.

The च indicates that the Dative will debar Genitive, in spite of II. 3. 73, in the case of these words, though used benedictively; as, *स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूयात्* ॥

सन्यकर्मवयनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु ॥ 99 ॥ *पदानि* ॥ *सन्य-कर्मणि*, *अनादरे*, *विभाषा*, *अप्राणिषु*, (*चतुर्थी*) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ *सन्यकर्मणि प्राणिवर्जिते विभाषा चतुर्थी विभक्ति भवति अनादरे गन्धमाने* ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *यदेतदप्राणिव्यति तदनावादिभ्यति वक्तव्यम्* ॥

17. In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb *manya* 'to think,' the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. *न स्वा तृणं तृणाय वा मन्ये* 'I do not consider thee worth a straw.' *न स्वा वुसं वुसाय वा मन्ये* 'I do not consider thee worth a chaff.' Why do we use the word *मन्ये*? Observe *न स्वा तृणं चिन्तयामि*. The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb *मन्यति*. So also the sūtra uses the form *मन्य* with the vikarana *इषच्*, indicating that it is Divâdi that governs a dative, and not the Tanâdi *मन्*; for the latter governs the accusative only, as *न स्वां तृणं मन्ये*.

When contempt is not meant, the verb does not govern the Dative, as:—

अभ्रानं दृषहं मन्ये, *मन्ये काष्ठमुज्जूलजम्*। *अन्धायास्तं सुतं मन्ये यस्य माता न पश्यति* ॥

'I consider a rock to be a stone, I consider mortar but as wood, I consider him to be the son of a blind woman whose mother cannot see.'

So also when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative:—as *न स्वां शृगालं मन्ये* 'I do not consider thee even as a jackal.' The case of *न स्वां शृणे मन्ये* is an exception.

Vart:—Instead of using *अप्राणिषु* in the sūtra, the word *अनावादिषु* should be used. The following words belong to Nāvâdi class, they are always in the accusative after the word *मन्ये*, never in the Dative:—*नौ* 'ship,' *काक* 'crow,' *अन्न* 'food,' *शुक* 'parrot,' and *शृगाल* 'jackal.'

कर्तृकरणयोः स्तृतीया ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणयोः तृतीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि करणे च कारको हतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुभीया विधाने प्रकृत्यासीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

18. In denoting the agent (I. 4. 54) or the instrument (I. 4. 42), the third case-affix is employed.

Ex. देवदत्तेन कृतं 'done by Devadatta,' हानेन क्षुनति 'he cuts with the sickle.' So also, यज्ञदत्तेन भुक्तम्, परसुना क्षिनति ॥

Vart:—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' शब्द 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्विद्वीण, पंचक and साहस्र as प्रायेण याज्ञिकः, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण धावति, द्विद्वीणेन क्रीणाति &c.

सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहयुक्ते, अप्रधाने, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहायेन युक्तेऽप्रधाने तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

19. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

Ex. पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता 'the father has come with the son.'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह as, पुत्रेण सह 'with the son.' So also when the word सह is understood, as Pāṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 बुद्धो बुना &c.,

Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, शिष्येण सहोपाध्यायस्त्वगौः .

येनाङ्गविकारः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, अङ्ग-विकार, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गिनो विकारो लक्ष्यते ततस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

20. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अङ्गुष्ठा काणः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खञ्जः 'lame of foot.' पाणिना कुण्डः &c. The word aṅga in this sūtra applies to the whole body, whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here.

इत्थंभूतलक्षणे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूत-लक्षणे, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश्चिद्विकारं प्राप्त इत्थंभूत, ततश्चलक्षणमित्थं भूतलक्षणं, ततस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

21. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

जटाभिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.' अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना छाननप्राप्तीत् 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamandalu.' So also ह्यग्निगोपाध्यायन् 'a teacher by the fact of having students.' शिखया परिव्राजकम् 'a Parivrājaka by a tuft of hair.' But not so here, कमण्डलुपाणिछाननः 'a student has kamandalu in his hand.' Because here in the compound कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark.

Why do we say ittha-bhuta? Observe वृत्तं प्रति विद्योत्तनां

संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-ञः, अन्यतरस्यां, कर्मणि, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्णस्व जानातेः कर्मणि कारकं द्वितीयायां प्राप्तायामन्यतरस्यां तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

22. After the verb sam-jñā the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पित्रा or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.' मात्रा or मातरं संजानीते ॥

हेतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतौ, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलसाधनयोग्यः पदार्थो लोके हेतुरुच्यते ; तद्वच्चिन्तित्वात् तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

23. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case affix.

विद्यया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame.' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, family;' कन्यया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (l. 4. 55). Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called hetu.

अकर्तार्युगे पञ्चमी ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्तारि, ऋणे, पञ्चमी, (हेतौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जितं यद्वृणं हेतुस्ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

24. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartri or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

Ex. शताद्रुद्धः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe गुतेन बन्धितः; 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here गुत being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

विभाषा गुणेऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा , गुणे ,
अस्त्रियाम् , (हेतौ पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणे हेतावलीलिङ्गे विभाषा पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

25. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of an action, and not being of the feminine gender.

Ex. जाड्यने जाड्यताम् वा बद्धः 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.' पांडित्येन or पांडित्याद् मुक्तः 'saved through learning.'

Guna-vachana nouns are generally abstract nouns. Therefore not here धनेन कुञ्जम् . If an abstract noun is of feminine gender, this rule will not apply, as बुद्ध्या or प्रज्ञया मुक्तः 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill or wisdom.'

षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी , हेतु-प्रयोगे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुगुणस्य प्रयोगे हेतौ षोडशे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

26. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word hetu is used along with such a word.

Ex. भक्षस्य हेतौ वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.'

सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः तृतीया ,
च , (हेतुप्रयोगे) (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्नो हेतुगुणप्रयोगे हेतौ षोडशे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति षष्ठी च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तकारणहेतुषु सर्वैसां प्रायदर्शनम् ॥

27. After a sarvanāman (I. 1. 27) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word hetu is used with it, the third case-affix is employed, as well as the sixth.

Ex. कस्य or कोन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' वस्य or येन हेतुना वसति .

Vart;—When the words निमित्त or कारण are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed; as किं निमित्तं or कोन निमित्तेन or कस्मै निमित्ताय or कदाचित् निमित्तम् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति . Similarly with the words

kāraṇa and hetu. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68) but its synonyms also; as किं प्रयोजनं or कौ प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाच्च &c., वसति .

अपादाने पञ्चमी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने , पञ्चमी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपादाने कारके पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पञ्चमीविधाने ऋत्लोपे कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रमाद्ययानयोश्च पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यतश्चाश्रकालनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तमुक्तारकाले सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवनः प्रयगा सप्तमी च वक्तव्या ॥

28. When the Apādāna-kāraka (I. 4. 24) is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. ग्रामादागच्छति 'he comes from the village' (I. 4. 24); वृक्षेभ्यो विभेति (I. 4. 25), अभ्ययनात् पराजयते (I. 4. 26) &c.

Vart:—The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ष्यर् is elided; as प्रासादात्कञ्च प्रेक्षते = प्रासादात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a palace.'

Vart:—And under similar circumstances in denoting the location the place where an action is performed is put in the ablative case, as, भासने उपविश्य प्रेक्षते = भासनात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a seat.'

Vart:—In questions and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:—कुतो भवान्? पाटलिपुत्राद् 'whence is your Honor coming? From Patali putra.'

Vart:—That point of time or space from which distance in time or space is measured is put in the ablative case:—as, गवीधूमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि 'Sankāsyā is from Gavīdhuma four yojanās.' कार्तिक्या आमहायणी मासे 'Agrahāyana is one month from Kārtika. The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case, as मासे .

Vart:—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative; as गवीधूमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनेषु ।

अन्यारादितरत्तदिक्शब्दाञ्चत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥
अन्य-आरात्-इतर-ऋते-दिक्शब्द-अञ्च-उत्तरपद-आच्-आहियुक्ते , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्य आरात् इतर ऋते दिक्शब्द अञ्चत्तरपद आच् भाहि इत्येतैर्बोणे पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

29. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with ârât 'near or remote' or itara 'different from' or pite 'without,' or words indicative of the 'directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. अन्यो, निनी, इतरो, अर्यान्तर्, विज्जणो वा देवदत्तात् 'different from Devadatta' आरात् देवदत्तात् 'remote from or near to Devadatta.' The word ârât meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sūtra 34, but this enjoins 5th case-affix. कृते देवदत्तात् 'excepting Devadatta.' पूर्वो ग्रामात् 'east of the village,' उत्तरो ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् वसन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer' प्राक् पश्यन्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village' दक्षिणा दक्षिणाहि वा ग्रामात् 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb añchu are also विक्रम्यः ; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the next sūtra does not come after them.

षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, अतसर्थ-
प्रत्ययेन ॥

वृत्तिः अतसर्थेन प्रत्ययेन युक्ते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

30. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28).

The affix अतसुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28.

Ex. ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्तात् उपरि वा 'to the south or north, foremost, in or above the village.'

एनपा द्वितीया ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एनपा, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एनवन्यतरस्यामदूरे पञ्चम्या इति वक्ष्यति । तेन युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

31. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

Ex. दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.'

पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृथग्-
विनः-नानाभिः , तृतीयां , अन्यतरस्याम् , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथक् विना नाना इत्येते षोडशे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

32. When joined with the words prithak 'without,' vinā 'without' and nānā 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

Ex रामान्नमेव रामं वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Rāma.'

This sūtra may be divided into two parts:—(1) पृथग् विना नानाभिः (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् . By this arrangement we can read dvitiya into the aphorism.

विना वातं विना वर्षं विद्युत्प्रपतनं विना ।

विना हस्ति कृतान्दोषान् कोनेनौ पातितौ द्रुमौ ॥

करणे च स्तोकात्पठच्छ कतिपयस्यात्स्ववचनस्य ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥
करणे , च , स्तोकात्-अल्प-कृच्छ्र-कतिपयस्य , असत्स्ववचनस्य , (तृतीया-
पञ्चमी-अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोकात् अल्प कृच्छ्र कतिपय इत्येते-षोडशस्ववचने-वः करणे कारकेऽन्यतरस्यां तृतीया भवति तत्र पञ्चम्येव ॥

33. When expressing an instrument-kāraka, optionally after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' krichchhra 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects.

Ex. स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा मुक्तः and अल्पान्मुक्तः or अल्पेनमुक्तः &c, 'he got off easily &c. But स्तोकेन विषेन हतः, अल्पेन मधुना मत्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance. So also स्तोकात् मुञ्चति 'he loosens a little.' Here स्तोकात् is used as an adverb and not as an instrument (करण) .

दूरान्तिकार्थैः षडन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्ति-
क-अर्थैः , षष्ठी , अन्यतरस्याम् , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थैः शब्दयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

34. When in conjunction with words having the sense of dūra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is optionally employed.

Ex. माताद् मामस्य वा वनं दूरं विप्रद्वष्टं, अन्तिकं, अ-यात्रां, निकटं समीपं वा 'the forest is distant from or near to the village.'

The force of the word **अन्यतरस्यां** is to indicate that the 5th case-affix employed in the alternative, would have run into this sūtra, had we not used 'anyatarasyam.'

दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्तिक-अर्थेभ्यः, द्वितीया, च, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारालञ्चनी इतीवापि समुचीयते ॥

35. After the words having the sense of *dūra* 'distant,' and *antika* 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

Ex. दूरं दूराद् दूरेण वा ग्रामस्य and अन्तिकेन, अन्तिकेन or अन्तिकं ग्रामस्य .

This rule applies only when these words have their original signification and do not denote a substance. Otherwise the proper case-affix should be employed, as दूरः पन्याः, दूराच्च पये रेहि .

सप्तम्यधिकरणे, च, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, अधिकरणे, च, (दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवत्यधिकरणे कारके चकारा दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तमीविधाने क्तस्येन्निपयस्य कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साध्यसाधुप्रयोगे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कारकार्हाणां चा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भकारकार्हाणां चा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तद्विपर्याये च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तात्कर्मसंयोगे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

36. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location (I. 4. 45) as well as after the words meaning 'distant' or 'near'.

Ex. कटे आस्ते 'he sits on the mat' अन्तिके दूरे वा ग्रामस्य 'near or distant from the village.' स्यात्स्यां पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely the second, third, fifth and seventh.

Vart:—Words like अधीतिन् 'who has learnt,' गृहीतिन् 'who has comprehended;' *i. e.*, words formed by adding इन् to the past participle in क्त, govern the locative of that which forms their object:—as अधीती व्याकरणे 'versed in Grammar.' परिगणित्वा यज्ञिके 'well versed in sacrificial rites.' भाषन्ती छन्दसि 'well read in the Veda.' See V. 2. 88.

Vart:—The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown; as मातरि साधुरसाधु वा 'well behaved or ill-behaved towards his mother.'

Vart:—The Locative absolute is used in cases other than those specified in the next sūtra, namely, in cases where the action done or suffered does not indicate the time of another action; as ऋद्धेषु भुञ्जानेषु हरिभ्रू भासते 'the poor are sitting, while the rich are eating,' हरिभ्रूषु भासानेषु ऋद्धा भुञ्जते 'the rich are eating, while the poor being seated.' So also *vice versa*.

Vart:—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done; as.

धर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति, संतयोर्हन्ति कुंजरम् ।

केशेषु चमरीं हन्ति सोमि पुष्कजको इतः ॥

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, भावेन, भाव-लक्षणम्, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावः क्रिया । यस्य च भावेन यस्य च क्रियाक्रियान्तरं लक्ष्यते ततो भाववतः सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

37. By the action (bhava) of what-soever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दूयमानासु गतः 'the cows being milked, he went away' दुग्धास्वागतः 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु दूयमानेषु गतः, हुतेष्वागतः.

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe यो जग्मिः स भुङ्क्ते. Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यो भुङ्क्ते स विदधातः.

षष्ठी चानादरे ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, च, अन्-अःदरे, (सप्तमी, भावेन भावलक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनादराधिके भावलक्षणे भाववतः षष्ठीसप्तम्यो विभक्ती भवतः ॥

38. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. रुद्धतः रुद्धति वा मात्राजीन् 'in spite of her weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with-standing' 'in spite of' 'for all,' &c., नन्वाः पश्यन् इव इतः पश्यतो राजसस्य 'the

Nāndas were killed like so many beasts, Rakshasa looking on,' (not-withstanding that Rakshasa was looking on).

स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥
स्वामिन्-ईश्वर-अधिपति-दायाद-साक्षिन्-प्रतिभू-प्रसूतैः, च, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिन् ईश्वर अधिपति शब्दाद् साक्षिन् प्रतिभू प्रसून इत्येतेषां षष्ठी सप्तमी विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

39. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after words when they are joined with svāmin 'master,' īśvara 'lord,' adhipati 'ruler,' dāyāda 'an heir,' sākshin 'witness,' pratibhū 'a surety,' and prasūta 'begotten.'

गवां गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वर 'master of cows.' So also गवामधिपतिः or गोषुधिपतिः, गवां शब्दाद् or गोषु शब्दाद्, गवां or गोषु शास्त्रो, प्रतिभूः &c.

These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sūtra ordains Locative as well.

आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुक्त-
कुशलाभ्यां, च, असेवायाम्, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुक्तो व्यापारितः कुराजो निपुणः ताभ्यां योगे भासेवायां गम्यमानायां षष्ठी सप्तम्यौ विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

40. In conjunction with the words āyukta 'engaged,' and kuśala 'skilful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

Ex. आयुक्तः कुराजो वा कटकरणं कटकरणस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in mat-making.'

When not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different; as आयुक्तो गौ शकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

यतश्च निर्द्वारणम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, च, निर्द्वारणम्,
(षष्ठी-सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यतो निर्द्वारणं ततः षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

41. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class).

Ex. गवां गोषु वा कृष्ण बहुक्षीराः 'among cows the black one gives much milk.' ननुस्यानां or ननुष्वेषु क्षत्रियः गुरुतमः .

A nirdhāraṇa or specification is made by separating one from the many by reason of its genus, quality and action (II. 2. 10).

पञ्चमी विभक्ते ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, विभक्ते, (यतश्च निर्द्धारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्निर्द्धारणाभवे विभक्तमस्ति ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥ विभागो विभक्तं ॥

42. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, मायुराः पाटलिपुत्रेभ्यः सुकुमारतराः 'Mathura is more beautiful than Pataliputra.'

साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्थायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधु-निपुणाभ्यां, अर्थायाम्, सप्तमी-अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधु निपुण इत्येताभ्यां योगे अर्थायां गम्यमानायां सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति न चेत्, प्रतिः प्रयुज्यते ॥

43. In conjunction with the words 'sādhu 'good,' and nipuṇa 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case-affix is employed; provided that the word prati is not used.

मातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother'? But साधुर्वेदवत्सो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्वेत्योक्तः 'the servant is good towards the king.' Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

The exception applies not only to प्रति but to other prepositions, like परि, अनु &c., as, मातरं परि साधुर्वेदवत्सः ॥

प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च, ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रसित-उत्सुकाभ्यां, तृतीया, च, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रसित उत्सुक इत्येताभ्यां योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्सप्तमी च ॥

44. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

Ex. निद्रायां निद्रया वा उत्सुकः 'longing for sleep.' कोशः or कोशेषु प्रसितः

नक्षत्रे च लुपि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रे, च, लुपि, (द्वितीया
सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुपन्तान्नक्षत्रशब्दात् द्वितीयासप्तम्यो विभक्ती भवतः ॥

45. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Ex. पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पावसमधीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk.' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV. 2. 5. So also मघादिः पललोदनं मघासु पञ्जलोदनम्. But not so here पंचालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchāla'. Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe मघासु महः 'the planet in the Maghā.' Here there is no elision. But why not in अघपुष्यः, अघकृत्तिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्रातिपदिक-अर्थ-लिङ्ग-परिमाण-वचन-मात्रे, प्रथमा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे लिङ्गमात्रे परिमाणमात्रे वचनमात्रे प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

46. Where the sense is that of the Nominal-stem (I. 2. 45) or of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. उच्चैः 'aloft,' नीचैः 'below,' कुमारी 'virgin,' वृक्षः 'tree,' कूडं 'owl,' द्रोणः 'a measure'. By 'number' grammatical number is meant; as एकः 'one,' द्वौ 'two,' बहवः 'many'.

The sense of a Prātipadika is to denote mere existence. Genders are three, masculine, feminine and neuter. Measures are such as droṇa, khāri, āḍhaka &c.. Numbers are singular, dual and plural. The Nipatas which do not denote anything are also Prātipadika.

संबोधने च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संबोधने, च (प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने च प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

47. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. हे राम 'O Ram' हे रामो, हे रामाः ॥

साऽऽमन्त्रितम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामन्त्रितम् (सम्बोधने प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने वा प्रथमा तदन्तं शब्दरूपमामन्त्रितसंज्ञं भवति

48. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or vocative (VIII. 2 .78).

एकवचनं संबुद्धिः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः, (आमन्त्रितम् प्रथ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितप्रथमाया यदेकवचनं तत्संबुद्धिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

49. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

The vocative singular is called sambuddhi, when it is employed in the vocation. Thus VI. 1. 69 declares 'after an inflection base ending in एद् or in a short vowel, a consonant is elided if it be that of Sambuddhi' as हे राम ॥

षष्ठी शेषे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मादिभ्योऽन्यः प्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वामिसंबन्धादिः षोषस्तत्र षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

50. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining cases, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c. different from that of a word related to a verb and from that of a Nominal-stem.

Ex. राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beast's foot' पितुः पुत्रः 'father's son.'

ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञः, अविदर्थस्य, करणे, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरविदर्थस्याज्ञानार्थस्य करणे कारको षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

51. Of the verb ज्ञा jñā, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुनो जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice with honey'. So also सर्पिषो जानीते. The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of

'to act, or to engage in;' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as, सर्पिषि रक्तः प्रसहते वा . Compare I. 3. 45.

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

अधीगर्थदयेयां कर्मणि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-इक्-अर्थ-दय-ईशां,
कर्मणि , (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधीगर्थाः स्वरणार्थाः । इव हानगतिरक्षणेषु । ईश एरवन् । एतेषां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhik) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of īśa 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मातुः अभ्यति 'he remembers the mother,' सर्पिषो दयते 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं गान्धाणामोटे 'he can not rule his limbs.' But not so here मातुर्गुणैः स्मरति because गुण here is not the object. The word शेव is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that मत्स्मरति is also allowed.

रुजः प्रतियत्ने ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुजः , प्रतियत्ने , (कर्मणि
शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेः कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते प्रतियत्रे गम्यमाने षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

53. The object of the verb kri takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I. 3. 32).

Ex. एधोदकस्योपस्कुरुते 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, च is inserted).

When प्रतियत्र is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as कर्तं करोति .

The word शेव is also understood here. So that we have also एधोदकम् उपस्कुरुते ॥

रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामञ्जरे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुज-अर्थानां ,
भाववचनानाम् , अञ्जरे , (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजार्थानां धातूनां भाववचनानां भावकर्तृकाणां जरिवर्जितानां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भञ्जरे संताप्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. The object of verbs having the sense of *ruj* 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb *jvaraya* 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

Ex. चौरस्य इजति रोगः 'the disease afflicts the thief' चौरस्यामवति भानवः ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कूजति इजते 'the river breaks the banks.' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ।

The word चौर is also understood here. Thus चौरं इजति रोगः ॥

आशिषि नाथः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, नाथः (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाथु नाथु याञ्चोपनाथैर्वर्वाग्नीःषु पठयते, तस्याग्नीःक्रियस्व कर्मणि कारके शेषे स्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

55. Of the verb *nāth* when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुनो नाथते 'he blesses the honey.' But मन्ववक्रमुपनायति, अंग पुत्री-काधीभ्य 'he solicits mānavaka saying (child) son, study.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

जासिनिप्रहणनाटकाथपिषां हिंसायाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जासि-निप्रहण-नाट-काथ-पिषां, हिंसायाम्, (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जासि निप्रहण नाट काथ पिष् इत्येतेषां धातूनां हिंसा क्रियाणां कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

56. The object of the verbs *jāsi* 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' *han* 'to strike' preceded by *नि* and *प्र*, *nāṭ* to 'injure,' *krāth*, and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure', takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्य योज्जासयति, निरहन्ति, निहन्ति, प्रहन्ति, प्रपिहन्ति, उन्नाटयति, काथयति, पिनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root *जसु* belonging to the Churadi class should be taken, and not *Divādi*. *हन* with the prepositions *pra* and *ni* may be taken in any order. The root *क्रय्* takes in the causative *vridhhi* irregularly. This verb is *Bhvādi* and falls into the subdivision *ghatādi*, and is called there a *मित्* verb; all *मित्* verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix *णिप्* (VI. 4. 92). Thus *काथ* is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure?' Observe धानः पिन्दि 'he pounds the barley.'

The word घेव is also understood here as चौरमुज्जासवति . Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं दिनस्ति , चौरं विहन्ति ॥

व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहृ-पणोः , समर्थयोः
(कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृ पण इत्येतयोः समर्थयोः समानार्थयोः कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

57. The object of the verbs vyavahri and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य व्यवहरति or पणते 'he deals in, or stakes hundred.'

Why does not the verb पण take the affix भाव्? It takes भाव् when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Not so here शलाकां व्यवहरति 'he throws the dice,' ब्राह्मणान् पणायते 'he praises the Brahmanas.' The word घेव is also here understood, so that we have शतं पणते 'he stakes a hundred.'

दिवस्तदर्थस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः , तदर्थस्य । (व्यवहृपणोः
समर्थयोः कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृपणिसमानार्थस्य दीव्यतेः कर्मणि षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

58. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य दीव्यति 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' But not in ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति 'he jokes with the Brahmana.'

The yoga vihbāga, when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtras, in which the anuvritti of दिव runs, and not of others.

विज्ञाषोपसर्गे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विज्ञाषा , उपसर्गे , (दिवस्त-
दर्थस्य कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गं सति दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

59. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga (or preposition).

Ex. शतम्ब शतं वा प्रति क्षिपति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.' But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism ; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, शलाकां प्रति क्षिपति 'he throws the missile.'

द्वितीया ब्राह्मणे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया, ब्राह्मणे, (द्विव-स्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणविषये प्रयोगे द्विवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

60. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking' takes the second case-affix in the Brahmana literature.

Ex. गामस्व तदः सभायां क्षिप्येयुः (Maitr. S. 1. 6. 11) In the Vedic literature the simple verb div takes the accusative instead of the genitive. And with upasarga it is optional. The anuvṛitti of the word शेव does not extend to this sūtra, or the following.

प्रेष्यन्नुद्योर्हविषो देवतासंप्रदाने ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष्य-न्नुद्योः, हविषः, देवता-संप्रदाने (षष्ठी कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेष्यन्नुद्योर्हविषः कर्मणः षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति देवता संप्रदानेति ॥

61. The object of the verb preshya and brūhi (imperative singular of Divādi verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient.

Ex. अग्नये छागस्व हविषोवपाया मेदसोऽनुब्रूहि प्रेष्य वा 'send to fire as oblation, the goat, the fat, and the marrow.' But not here:—अग्नये छागं हविर्वपां मेदोऽनुब्रूहि. Because the verb is not preshya or brūhi. So also not here अग्नये गौमयान् प्रेष्य. Because it is not an oblation. Not here too माणवकाय पुरोडाशां प्रेष्य. Because the recipient is not a deity. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

Vart:—This rule does not apply when the word प्रस्थित 'set out' qualifies the word हविः as; इन्द्राग्निभ्यां छागं हविर्वपां मेदः प्रस्थितं प्रेष्य 'send to Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.

चतुर्थ्यर्थे बहुलं उन्दति ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी-अर्थे, बहुलं, उन्दति (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उन्दति विषये चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति बहुलम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठ्यर्थे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

62. In the chhandas the sixth case-affix is employed diversely with the force of the fourth case-affix.

Ex. पुरुषमृगधन्वमसः or चन्द्रमसे 'to the moon, a male deer.' गीधा कालका शर्वा चाटस्ते वनस्पतीनाम् or वनस्पतिभः 'to you lords of the forest, are lizard, kálaka bird, &c. So also वाबुरस्रा उवा मन्थत् (R. Ved. X. 136. 7).

Why do we say 'diversely?' Observe कृष्णोराञ्चै, क्षिप्रतो हस्ती .

Vart:—In the Veda, the 4th case-affix is employed in the sense of the sixth: as या खर्वेण पिबति तस्यै खर्वोजायते 'who soever woman drinks with a woman in her courses, gets herself in menstua. So also वा दतो भावति तस्यै श्यावदन् 'who cleans her teeth, her teeth become black.' वा नखानि कृन्तति तस्यै कुनखः 'who pairs her nails, her nails become ugly.' So on, in वाऽङ्क्तस्यै काणः याऽङ्क्तस्यै पुश्र्भा , या केशान् प्रजिखति तस्यै खजति ॥ भह्व्याये जाटः (T. S. 2. 5. 1. 7).

यजेञ्च करणे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजेः , च, करणे , (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजेर्धातोः करणे कारके छन्दसि बहुजं षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

63. The sixth case-affix is diversely employed in the chhandas in denoting the instrument of the verb yaj 'to sacrifice.'

Ex. पृतस्य or पृतेन बजते 'he sacrifices with butter.' सोमस्य or सोमेन बजत ॥

कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्वो-अर्थप्रयोगे, काले , अधिकरणे (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्वोऽर्थानां प्रत्ययानां प्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

64. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (adhikarāṇa) after a word denoting time (kāla), when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

Ex. पंचकृत्वोऽद्भोभुंक्ते 'he eats five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.' As द्विरद्भोऽधीते 'he studies twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वसुच्?' Observe भद्रि शेवे 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अहनि भुंक्तम् . Nor when the time is not meant, as द्विः कात्यापाश्यां भुंक्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when location is

! Good
Good.
she who
drinks
with a
brother
(Cook)
will
become
crippled
herself.

not meant: as द्विरहो भुञ्जे . The शेष being understood we have द्विरहन्वधीषे .

कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः , कृति ।
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतप्रयोगे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

65. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛit affix (III. 1. 93).

Ex. क्रियां कालिदासस्य 'the composition of Kalidāsa.' भाहता कर्तॄना 'the performer of sacrifice.' So also भवतः शायिका 'your turn of lying down.' भर्ता सप्त , पुरा भेत्ता वज्रस्य भर्ता . But not in शस्त्रेणभेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.'

Why do we say 'kṛit'? Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्वाकटं . In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि ॥ ६६ ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ, कर्मणि, (कृति षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयोः प्राप्तोर्यसिन्कृति सोयमुभयप्राप्तिस्तत्रकर्मण्येव षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति , न कर्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भक्ताकारयोः स्त्री प्रथमयोः प्रयोगे नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शेषे विभाषा ॥

66. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the words formed by kṛit-affixes, are both used in a sentence, in the object only, the sixth case-affix is employed, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

आश्चर्यो गवां द्दोहोऽगोपालकेन 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते मे भोदनस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'The eating of rice by Devadatta pleases me;' पयसः पानं यत्तदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Yajñadatta.'

Vart:—'When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, when, as some say, the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender, or as others say, when the terminations are of any gender; as, विश्विना जगतः कृतिर्हेरेर्हृदिणा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.' शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्येण आचार्यस्य वा 'the dissertation on words by the āchārya' विश्विनाहि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः or पाणिनिना 'beautiful is the structure of sūtra by Panini.' Apte.

कृतस्य च, वर्तमाने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृतस्य, च, वर्तमाने (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतस्य वर्तमानकालविहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ननुसके भावउपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शेषवितानत् सिद्धम् ॥

67. The past participle ending in क् when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

Ex. राज्ञां पूजितः 'honored by kings,' अहमेवमतौ नहीपते: 'I alone am regarded by the king.'

Why do we say 'क्त' ? Observe ओदनं पचमानः 'rice is cooked.' Why do we say 'when denoting the present tense'? Observe ग्रामं गतः 'gone to the village.'

Vart:—When used as abstract neuter nouns, past participles are used with the genitive, as मयूरस्य नृतं 'the dancing of a peacock.' छात्रस्य हसितं 'the laughing of the students.' कौकिलस्य व्याहृतम् 'the screaming of the cuckoo.' When, however, agent is desired to be particularised, the instrumental case is employed: as छात्रेण हसितम् .

This sūtra debaras sūtra 69 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishṭhā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

अधिकरणवाचिनश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणवाचिनः , च ;
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क् अधिकरणे चेति बह्व्यति तस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

68. The past participle in क् is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishṭhā contained in II. 3. 69. As इदमेवामासितम् 'this is their seat.' इदमेवां शयितं 'this is their sleeping.'

In connection with verbs taking two objects, both take the genitive case, when a word ending in kṛit-affix denotes the agent, as they would have taken the accusative: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामस्य चैत्रः 'Chaitra is the leader of the horse of the village.' When, however, one is the principal, then the object takes the genitive: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामं चैत्रः , 'Chaitra leads the horse to the village.'

न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृनाम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल-उ-उक-
अव्यय-निष्ठा-खलर्थ-तृनाम् , (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल उ उक अव्यय निष्ठा खलर्थ तृन् इत्येतेषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उक प्रतिषेधे कर्मभावायामप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययप्रतिषेधे तौसुनूकसुनोरप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विपः शतुर्वा वचनम् ॥

69. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle ending in the affix ल, or उ, or उक, or by an Indeclinable, or by a Past Participle in क्त and क्तवतु, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल्ल् or by a Noun of agency formed by तृन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the Agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debar Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक् is formed by ल + उ + उक = ल + उक = लोक् .

1. The word ल means 'the substitutes of ल i. e., the Present Participles in श्त्, शानश् (III. 2. 124), कानश् (III. 2. 106) क्तसु (III. 2. 107) क्ति and क्तिन् (III. 2. 172). Thus ओदनं पचन्, पचमानः, पेचानः or पेचिवान्, पपिः सोमन्, इदिर्गाः ॥

2. The affix उ is enjoined by III. 2. 168, as, कटं चिकीर्षुः, ओदनं बुभुषुः ॥ The prohibition applies when a word ending in इष्णुश् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term; as, कन्यामजंकरिष्णुः ॥

3. The affix उक is ordained by III. 2. 154: as आगामुकं वाराणसीं रक्ष आहुः ॥

Vart:—But the word कानुक in secular Sanskrit, governs the Genitive, as शस्याः कामुकः 'lusting for the slave.'

4. Indeclinables formed by कृत् affixes, as, कटं कृत्वा, ओदनं भुङ्क्ता ॥ *Vart*:—This prohibition, however, does not apply to the indeclinables formed by नोसुन् (III. 4. 16) and कसुन् (III. 4. 17), as, पुरा सूर्यस्थोदेतोराधेयः, पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृजो विरपशिन् (I. 1. 40).

5. Nishṭhā i. e., क्त and क्तवतु; as ओदनं भुङ्क्वान् देवदत्तेन कृतम् .

6. The words formed by खल्ल् affixes (III. 3. 126), as, ईषत्करो भवता कटः, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता .

7. The तृन् in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the त् of श्त् (III. 2. 129) and the final न् of तृन् (III. 2. 135), meaning the affixes शानन् (III. 2. 128), चानश् (III. 2. 129), श्त् (III. 2. 130) and तृन् (III. 2. 135). As सोमं पचमानः, नदमात्तानः, अधीयन्, पारायणम्, कर्ता कटान्, वदिता जनापवादान् ।

Vart:—Optionally so, when the root द्विप् takes the affix श्त्, as, चौरं or चौरस्य द्विपन् ॥

अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्षयोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक-इनोः, भविष्यद्-आधमर्षयोः (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकस्य भविष्यति काले विहितस्येनस्तु भविष्यति आधमर्षे च विहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

70. The sixth case-affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक denoting futurity, or in इन् denoting 'futurity and indebtedness.'

The affix भक, such as एवज, वृम् &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix इन् such as णिनि (III. 3. 3 and 170) denotes both. Thus कटं कारको व्रजति 'he goes to make a mat.' औदनं भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with इन्, as, ग्रामं गमी or गामी 'he has to go to the village.' शतं शयी 'he owes hundred.'

Why do we say 'when denoting futurity or indebtedness'? Observe यवानां लावकः 'the cutter of barley.' सक्त्यां पावकः, भवरुं करी कटस्व ॥

Why is the Genitive employed in the following वर्णशतस्व पूरकः, पुनपोनाणां शर्कः? The words पूरक and शर्क, though formed by भक (III. 1. 133), are not formed by that भक which denotes futurity, *vis.*, III. 3. 10. The present sūtra relates to this latter भक, and not every भक in general.

करयानां कर्त्तरि वा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यानां, कर्त्तरि, वा.,
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानां प्रयोगे कर्त्तरि वा षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्मणि ॥
सर्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयप्राती कृत्ये षष्ठ्या प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

71. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kṛitya).

By II. 3. 65, verbal nouns, (krit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those verbal nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus भवतः or भवता कटः कर्त्तव्यः (III. 1. 95).

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent'? In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As गेयो मानवकः साम्नाम् ॥

Vart:—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कृष्टव्या मामं शाखा देवदत्तेन, नेतव्या पावमजा देवदत्तेन ॥

तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥
तुल्य-अर्थैः, अतुल-उपमाभ्यां, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यार्थैः चर्द्धैर्वागे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवत्यन्यतरस्यां, पक्षे षष्ठी च, तुलोपमा शब्दो वञ्चयिष्या ॥

72. The third or the sixth case-affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to, or resemblance'; excepting तुला and उपमाः.

Thus तुन्यो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य, सद्गुणो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य ॥ But with तुला and उपमा the Genitive must necessarily be employed. As तुला देवदत्तस्य नास्ति, उपमा कृष्णस्य न विद्यते ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of च was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sūtra; but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word द्वितीय instead, which is not desired.

On this sūtra, Professor Apte says:—'Pāṇini says that the words तुला and उपमा can not be used with the Instrumental. But this is against good usage: as, तुलां यकारोहति संतवाससा (Kum. Sam. V. 24), नमसा तुलां समाहरोह (Raghuvamśa VIII. 15). स्फुटोपमं भूतिसितेन शंभुना (Māgh I. 4).'

चतुर्थी आशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥
चतुर्थी, च, आशिषि, आयुष्य-मद्र-भद्र-कुशल-सुख-अर्थ-हितैः, (अन्यतर-स्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायाम् आयुष्य मद्र भद्र कुशल सुख अर्थ हित इत्येतेषां चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति । अकारो विकल्पानुकर्षणार्थः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अभायुष्यादीनां पर्यायप्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

73. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words āyusha 'long life,' madra 'joy,' bhadra 'good fortune,' kuśala 'welfare,' sukha 'happiness,' artha 'prosperity,' and hita 'good.'

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional: in the alternative we have Genitive.

Vart:—In this sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं देवदत्ताय भूयात् or आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥ Similarly चिरं जीवितं, मद्रं, भद्रं, कृष्णं, निरामयं, सुखं, शं, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पठ्यं देवदत्ताय or देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥

Why do we say when 'benediction is intended'? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य सः 'the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.' Here there is no option allowed: and the Genitive case is only employed.

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॥ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IV.

द्विगुरेकवचनम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः । एक-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुः समासः एकवचनं भवति ॥

1. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samāhāra Dvigu i. e., an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. As, पञ्चपशून् 'an aggregate of five cows,' पञ्चपशून् (IV. 1. 21.). The sense of Dvigu being that of one, it follows that it retains the singular number even when further modified by other affixes, and used as an attributive and though no longer a Dvigu; as, पञ्चपशून् शोभना ॥

द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वः , च, प्राणि-
तूर्य-सेना-अङ्गानाम् (एकवचनं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणितूर्यानां द्वन्द्व एकवचनं भवति, तथातूर्याङ्गानां सेनाङ्गानां च ॥

2. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, पाणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोभीषं 'the head and neck' मण्डिक-
बाणदिकम् 'players on the mṛḍaṅga and panava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्वरोहम्
'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' शीणावाद् रूपरिवाद् रथिकपादावम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29.)

In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c., the singular is optional; (II. 4. 12.) The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samâhâra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samâhâra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14) are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samâhâra Dvandva; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12.) are optionally either Samâhâra or Itaretara Dvandva.

अनुवादे चरणानाम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुवादे, चरणानाम् ।
(द्वन्द्वः, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवचनवृत्ति, अनुवादे गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वेषोरथतन्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools when the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and hence means such a person. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvâda.

This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and इद् only; as उद्गात् कठकालापम् 'kaṭha and kâlâpa arose (again, further demonstrating their doctrines)'; प्रत्यष्टात् कठकौथुमम् 'kaṭha and kauthuma established again.'

Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उद्गुः कठकालापाः or प्रत्यष्टुः कठकौथुमाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and इन् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्दिषुः कठकालापाः and उद्गन्ति कठकालापाः.

Note:—This sūtra is translated thus by Mr. Iyengar, 'Aggregation alone is admissible between words denoting persons belonging to the different charaṇas of the Vedas, when they are used along with the aorist derived from the roots sthâ and iñ, in the sense of recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt, as distinguished from learning them the first time.' Prof. Bohthlingk's translation is, 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.'

अध्वर्युऋतुरनपुंसकम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्युऋतुः, अ-नपुंस-
कम् । (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युऋतुवाचिनां शब्दानामनपुंसकनिष्पन्नां इन्द्र एकवचनवति ॥

4. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided they are never used in the neuter gender.

As, अर्काश्वमेधम् 'the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices,' सायाह्नान्तिरात्रम् 'the Sāyāhna and Atirātra sacrifices.'

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices? Observe इषुवज्जो 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' उग्निवृत्तमिदो ॥

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजस्यवाजपेयो 'the Rājasūya and Vājapeya sacrifices.'

Why have we इक्षुषीर्मासो? Because the word ऋतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifices in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Paurṇamāsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

अध्ययनतोऽविप्ररुष्टाख्यानाम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्ययनतः, अवि
प्ररुष्टाख्यानाम्, (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्ययनेन निमित्तेन येषामविप्रकृष्टा प्रत्यासन्ना आख्या तेषां इन्द्र एकवचनवति ॥

5. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदकक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement; so also क्रमकवार्तिकम्.

Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रो 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवेद्याकरणो 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

जातिरप्राणिनाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिः, अप्राणिनाम्,
(द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिनां शब्दानां इन्द्र एकवचनवति, प्राणिनो वर्जयित्वा ॥

6. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jāti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus भारगुस्त्रि 'the probe and the knife'; धानागुक्कुलि 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe नन्दकपाञ्चगम्यौ 'Nandaka and Panchajanya.'

Why do we say 'not of living being'? See ब्राह्मणज्ञपियो "Brāhmanas and the Kshatriyas.'

This rule applies to the jāti or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजाति) and not the jāti names of qualities and actions. (गुणक्रियाजाति), Thus रूपरसगन्धस्पर्शा: 'colour, savour, odour, and tangibility'; गमनाकुञ्चनप्रसारणानि 'going, contraction and expansion.'

Even with jāti names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, इह कुण्डे बदरामलकानि तिष्ठन्ति 'in this bowl are the badari and āmalaki fruits.'

The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jāti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going.

विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदी देशोऽग्रामाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशिष्ट-लिङ्गः, नदी, देशः, अग्रामाः, (द्व०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशिष्टलिङ्गानां भिन्नलिङ्गानां नदीवाचिनां शब्दानां देशवाचिनां च ग्रामवर्जितानां इन्द्र एकवचनवत्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अग्रामा इत्यत्र नगराणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयतश्च ग्रामाणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. A Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus गंगाशोणम् 'the Ganges and the Sona.' कुरुवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.' उद्ध्यैरावती कुरुकुरु जाङ्गलम् ॥

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गंगायमुने 'the Ganges and the Yāmuna.' Both being feminine gender, so also मद्रकैकयाः ॥

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुङ्कुमयुर्वी 'the hen and the pea-hen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवशाकुकिन्वी, Jambaba and Sálukinī' which are the names of two villages or grāma.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलासगन्धमादने 'the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana.'

Vart:—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathura and Pātaliputra.'

Vart:—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

क्षुद्रजन्तवः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्र-जन्तवः, (द्वन्द्व एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुद्रजन्तु वाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्ववति ॥

8. A Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus शुकालिन्म 'the louse and the nit'; इंसमशकम् 'the bug and the mosquito.' The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size; others say, all below the mongoose are kshudrajantu.

येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ येषां, च, विरोधः, शाश्वतिकः (द्वन्द्वः, एकवच०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येषां शाश्वतिको विरोधस्तद्वाचिनां चन्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्ववति ॥

9. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only among whom there is permanent enmity i. e., natural and eternal antipathy or quarrel, is singular.

The word विरोध means enmity; and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, मार्जारभूषकम् 'the cat and the rat'; श्वशृगालम् 'the dog and the jackal'; भहिनकुलं. 'the snake and the mongoose.'

Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गोपालिगालंकायनाः कलहायन्ते 'Gaupāli and Sālankāyana are quarrelling.'

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even

if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus rule 12 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4, 2.) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as अश्वमहिषम्, 'the horse and the buffalo'; काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ शूद्राणाम्, अनिरव-
सितानाम्, (द्वन्द्वः, एकवचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिरवसितशूद्राणां चत्वारि द्वन्द्व एकवचसि ॥

10. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Sûdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तत्तायस्करम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith'; रजकतन्तुवायम् 'the washerman and the weaver.'

The word अनिरवसित means one not expelled (from the dish).

A Sûdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvāsita Sûdra.

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृताः 'the Chandāla and the Mritapa.'

गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवाश्व-प्रभृतीनि, (एक-
वचनम्, द्वन्द्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि कृतैकवद्भावानि द्वन्द्वरूपाणि साधुनि भवन्ति ॥

11. The word gavāśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse.' So also गवाविकम्.

गवाश्ववृत्तिः

1. गवाश्वम्. 2. गवाविकम्. 3. गवैडकम्. 4. अजाविकम्. 5. अजे-
डकम्. 6. कुम्भवापनम्. 7. कुम्भकौरातकम्. 8. पुत्रपौत्रम्. 9. श्वचण्डालम्. 10.
स्त्रीकुमारम्. 11. हासीमाण्डकम्. 12. शास्त्रीविच्छकम्. 13. उष्ट्रखरम्. 14. उष्ट्र-
शम्. 15. मूत्रशकृत्. 16. मूत्रशरीषम्. 17. यकुन्नेः. 18. मांसशोणितम्. 19.
दर्भेश्वरम्. 20. दर्भपृतीकम्. 21. भर्जुनशिरीषम्. 22. दण्डोलपम्. 23. हासीवासम्.
24. कुटीकुटम्. 25. भगवतीभागवतम्.

Vart:—In this list, the forms as given, are singular; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोश्वम् or गोश्वी. In this form of गो and अश्व the next rule applies and option is allowed.

विभाषा वृक्षसृगृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववहवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वृक्ष-सृग-ृण-धान्य-व्यञ्जन-पशु-शकुनि-अश्ववहव-पूर्व-अपर-अधर-उत्तराणाम्, (६८९०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृक्ष सृग गृण धान्य व्यञ्जन पशु शकुनि अश्ववहव पूर्वपर अधरोत्तर इत्येतेषां इन्द्रो विभाषकवदवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुप्रकृतिः फलत्वेना वनस्यातिमृगशकुनिसुप्रजन्तुधान्यवृणानाम् ॥

12. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of trees, wild animals, grass, corn, condiment, domestic beasts and birds, and the compounds aśva-vaḍava, purvā-para and adharottara, are optionally singular.

12 Thus, वृक्षान्वयोधम् or वृक्षान्वयोधाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees'; रुरुपुषतम् or रुरुपुषताः 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes'; कुशाकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kāsa grass'; व्रीहियवम् or व्रीहियवाः 'the rice and the barley' दधिपृतम् or दधे 'the curd and the butter' गोमहिषम् or वाः 'the cow and the buffalo'; तित्तिरिक्पिञ्जलम् or जाः 'the Tittiri (a kind of partridge) and the Kapinjala birds'; अश्ववहवम् or वाः 'the horse and the mare'; पूर्वपरम् or दे 'the first and the last'; अधरोत्तरम् or रे 'the upper and lower.'

Vart:—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass, is singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as, बदरामन्त्रके तिष्ठतः 'a badari and an āmalaki fruit are here'; रथिकाभारोहो 'a charioteer and a horseman'; वृक्षान्वयोधो 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; रुरुपुषनो 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; हंसचक्रवाको 'a Hansa and a Chakravaka bird'; बूकान्निभो 'a louse and a nit'; व्रीहियवो 'a brihi and yava grain'; कुशाकाशौ 'the kuśa and kāśa grass.

विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धं, च, अनधिकरण-वाचि, (विभाषा ६९९८) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धार्थानां शब्दानामनधिकरणवाचिनामद्रव्यवाचिनां इत्येकवदवति विभाषानुर्कर्षणार्थं चकारः ॥

13. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat'; सुखदुःखम् or सुखदुःखे 'pleasure and pain'; जीवितमरणम् or जीवितमरणे 'life and death.'

The word विप्रतिषिद्धं means words of contrary significations. च indicates the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, कामक्रोधौ 'lust and anger,' which are not of contrary significations.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णे उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances.

न दधिपय आदीनि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दधिपयः, आदीनि (दृ०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिपय आदीनि शब्दरूपाणि नैकवद्भवन्ति ॥

14. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipayā' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिणी 'the clarified butter and the honey.'

With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number which previous sūtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी . 2. सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिणी . 3. ब्रह्मप्रजापती . 4. शिव-वेभ्रवणौ . 5. स्कन्दविशाखौ . 6. परिव्राट्कौशिकौ . 7. प्रवर्ग्योपसद्वौ . 8. शुक्ररूपणौ . 9. इभावाहिणी ॥ निपातनादीर्यः ॥ 10. रीक्षातपसी . 11. अद्वातपसी . 12. वेधातपसी . 13. अभ्ययनतपसी . 14. उलूलमुसले . 15. आद्यावसाने . 16. अद्वामेधे . 17. चक्रसाने . 18. वाङ्मनसे .

अधिकरणैतावत्वे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-एतावत्वे, च, (न दृ०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणं वर्तिपदार्थः, स हि समासस्यार्थस्याधारः तस्यैतावत्त्वे परिमाणे शून्यमाने द्वन्द्वो नैकवद्भवति ॥

15. A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etavatya) of concrete things (adhikarajña) is not singular.

Components pronounced by the
As, दश दन्तोष्ठाः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; दशमर्षिकपाणविकाः 'ten sets of drum and panavika players.' Compare II. 4. 2.

विभाषा समीपे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा समीपे, (अधिकरणैतावत्वे, द्वन्द्वः एकवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य समीपे विभाषा द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

16. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

As, उपरसे दन्तोष्ठे or उपरशा दन्तोष्ठाः 'nearly ten i. e., nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'; उपरसे मारुङ्गिकपाणविकम् or उपरशा मारुङ्गिकपाणविकाः 'nearly ten (nine or eleven) mridaṅga and paṇava players.'

An indeclinable, when compounded with a numeral, may either be a Bahuvrīhi or an Avyayibhāva compound. When the compound is singular in form, it is Avyayibhāva, and when it takes proper number-terminations, it is Bahuvrīhi compound. As, उपरसां ; उपरशाः (II. 2. 25).

स नपुंसकम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, नपुंसकम् (एकवचनम्, द्वन्द्वः, द्विगुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्याद्यनेकवशाद्यो विहितः स नपुंसकनिष्करो भवति द्विगुरंशुश्च ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकारान्तो स रूपो द्विगुः स्त्रियां भाष्यते ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाऽऽव्ययः स्त्रियामिदः ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनो मलोपश्च वा च द्विगुः स्त्रियाम् ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पान्नादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

17. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules, is always a neuter gender.

As, दशपदम् 'an aggregate of ten cows,' पाणिपादम् 'hands and feet,' शिरोपीडम् 'head and neck.'

This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short भ, is employed in the feminine gender only; as पञ्चपूनी, दशरथी.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in आप् affix, is optionally feminine; as, पञ्चखट्वम् or पञ्चखट्वी.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in भम्, is optionally feminine and the न is elided; as, पञ्चतक्षम् or पञ्चवक्षी.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पान् &c., पञ्चपानम्; चतुर्भुजम्; त्रिभुवनम्.

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययी भावः, च, (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावश्च समासो नपुंसकः स्त्रियाम् भवति ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुण्यसुदिनाभ्यामद्भः स्त्रीवतेऽव्यते ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पयः संख्याव्ययान्तेः स्त्रीवतेऽव्यते ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाविशेषणानां कर्मस्य नपुंसकनिष्करोता च वक्तव्या ॥

18. An Avyayibhāva (II. 1. 6.) compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अधिजि 'pertaining to a woman'; so also, उषकुमारि, उष्मत्तर्गम् &c.

But for this rule, an Avyayibhāva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

Vart:—Neuter gender is employed after the word अह् preceded by पुराव or सुदिन; as पुरायाहम् 'sacred day'; सुदिनाहम् 'lucky day.'

Vart:—The word पथ is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Avyaya; as विपथम्, चतुष्पथम्, विपथम्, सुपथम्.

Vart:—Adverbs, qualifying verbs, are put in the neuter gender (and accusative case); as मृदु पचति 'he cooks mildly,' शोभनं पचति 'he cooks well.'

तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारयः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, अनञ्कर्मधारयः (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकमात्रं कर्मधारयं च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

19. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle नाञ्, and of the Karmadhāraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sūtras.

This is a governing sūtra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be neuter. Thus, ब्राह्मणसेनम् or. ना (II. 4. 25); but दृढसेनो राजा (the compound not being Tat-purusha); भवेना (it being a compound with नञ्=अ); and परमसेना (it being Karmadhāraya).

संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, कन्था, उशीनरेषु . (तत्पुरुषः नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये कन्थान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् कन्था उशीनरेषु भवति ॥

20. When denoting an appellative, a Tat-purusha compound ending with the word kanthā 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Uśīnaraś.

As, सौमिकन्यम् 'the town of Sauśami'; आह्वरकन्यम् 'the town of Ahwara.'

When not an appellative, the form is different; as, वीरणकन्या. So also if the town is not in the country of the Uśīnaras; as राक्षिकन्या.

This debars the rule (II. 4. 25.) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याधिख्यासायान् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञा-
उपक्रमं, तद्-आदि-आधिख्यासायान् (तत्पुरुषः, नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति तदाद्याधिख्यासायां ततो-
उपज्ञोपक्रमयोरादौराधिख्यासायां गन्धमानावान् ॥

21. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñā' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work which is first invented or commenced.

As, पाणिन्युपज्ञनाकाज्ञापकं व्याकरणम् 'the grammars Kalāpa &c., had their commencement with Pāṇini's invention'; व्याद्युपज्ञं दुष्करणं 'Vyādi-invented Dushkarāṇa'; आढ्योपक्रमं ग्रामाद् 'the palace is an invention of rich folks.' नन्दोपक्रमणि मयानि 'the measures are the invention of king Nanda.'

Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवदत्तोद्यो रथः 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as वाल्मीकिरिज्ञोक्ताः 'the slokas invented by Vālmiki.' N. P. Prof. Bohnlingk gives पाणिन्युपज्ञनकाज्ञकं व्याकरणम् 'The Grammar omitting the time of day is the work invented by Pāṇini, (VI. 2. 14.)

छाया बाहुल्ये ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छाया, बाहुल्ये, (तत्पुरुषः,
नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छायान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति बाहुल्ये गन्धमाने ॥

22. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhâyā 'shadow' is neuter in gender when the sense is that of profuseeness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, शूलभङ्गायम् 'A crowd of locusts darkening the sky.' इमुलायम् 'the sugarcane shade i. e., groves of sugarcane.' Otherwise, कुम्पच्छाया 'the shadow of a wall.' (VI. 2. 14, accent.)

The sūtra 25 gives optional neuter; this rule enjoins invariable neuter when chhâyâ has the sense of profuseness.

सभा राजानुष्यपूर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभा, राजा-मनुष्य-पूर्वा (तत्पुरु०नपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् सभा राजपूर्वा मनुष्यपूर्वा च भवति ॥

23. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhâ 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Râjâ, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court,' ईश्वरसभम् 'Lord's Court.'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' the word is not neuter; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राजा; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68.

So also रक्षसभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas,' विशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Pisâchas.'

But in काष्ठसभा, देवदत्तसभा &c., the word is not neuter; for the word non-human has a technical significance meaning Râkshasa or a monster.

अशाला च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशाला, च, (तत्पुरु० नपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशाला च या सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

24. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhâ, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, स्त्रीसभम्, दासीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies and slaves;' otherwise अनायसभा 'the poor-house.'

विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिधानाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥
विभाषा, सेना-सुरा-छाया-शाला-निधानाम्, (नपुंसकं, तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः । सेना सुरा छाया शाला निशा इत्येवमन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति विभाषा ॥

25. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words senâ 'army' surâ 'wine,' chhâyâ 'shadow,' śālâ 'house' and nisâ 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhâraya compound.

As *brāhmanasēna*, *brāhmanasēnam* 'the Brāhmana army,' *avāsura*, *avāsura* 'the barley wine,' *kuṣṭhachāyā*, *kuṣṭhachāyā* 'the shadow of the wall,' *gōśālā*, *gōśālā* 'the cow house,' *śvanishā*, *śvanishā* 'tomorrow night.' But *abhayā* 'non-army,' *paramasēna* good army,' the former being negative and the latter *karmadhāraya* compound. For accent see VI. 2. 14, 123.

परवलिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परवत्-लिङ्गम्,
द्वन्द्व-तत्पुरुषयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य यलिङ्गं तद्वति द्वन्द्वस्य तत्पुरुषस्य च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विगुप्राप्तपञ्चालपूर्वगतिसमासेषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The gender of *Dvandva* or *Tat-purusha* compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to *Itaretara* *Dvandva* or coupling by mutual conjunction *kuṣṭhāṁśvayāvini* 'those two (fem) the cock and the peahen' *śvayāvīkuṣṭhāvinī* 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The *Samāhāra* *Dvandva* is always neuter. So also in *Tat-purusha* compound not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As *arḍhapippalyā*, *arḍhapippalī* 'half a pippali'; *arḍhakośāmbī*.

Vart:—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) *Dvigu* compound, (2) compounds with *श्र*, *भाप* and, *भल*, and (3) compounds with *Gati* words; as, *pañcakapala*: 'Purodāsa prepared in five cups'; *śraśvājīvikā*: (*श्र* + *जीविका*) 'has obtained living,' *भापजजीविकः*, *भलजजीविकः*; *niṣkōśāmbi*: 'gone beyond Kauśambi.

पूर्ववदश्ववदवौ ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववद्, अश्व-वदवौ,
(लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्ववदवयोः पूर्ववलिङ्गं भवति ॥

27. The gender of the compound of the word *aśva* 'horse' and *vaḍava* 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 12; in that case it will be neuter. *arḍhapaṇḍarāvini*; *arḍhapaṇḍarā*, *arḍhapaṇḍarā*: &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

हेमन्तशिशिरावहोरात्रे च च्छन्दसि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्त-
शिशिरौ, अहो-रात्रे, च, छन्दसि, (पूर्ववत्, लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरौ अहोरात्रे शयवयो रछन्दसि विषये पूर्ववलिङ्गं भवति ॥

28. Of the compounds 'hemantasiśirau' and 'ahoratre' the gender is like that of the first word; in the Chhandas. (vedas).

हेमन्तशिशिरावृत्तनां शीष्णानि , अहोरात्रे इह मूनः ॥

This aphorism debars the general rule given in II. 4. 26.

This applies to these words in all cases and numbers, not being confined to them in the dual number, though exhibited in the sūtra in the dual number, as:—पूर्वपक्षाभितयः , अपरपक्षाः पुरीषम् , अहोरात्राणीष्टकाः 'The white fortnight is fuel-wood, the black fortnight is the dung-cake, and days and nights are bricks (of the altar of sacrifice).'

Why do we say 'in the Vedas ? Observe दुःखे हेमन्तशिशिरे, अहोरात्राविधौ पुण्यौ . In the Vedas the ordinary rules of gender are often set aside; this is an individual example of the universally exceptional nature of the Vedic language.

रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्र-अहन-अहाः , पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्र अह अह इत्येते पुंसि भाष्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुवाकादयः पुंसि वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Dvandva and Tatpurusha compound ending with rātra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

These words refer to kṛit and Samāsānta affixes. Thus the word रात्र is formed by रात्रि + अच् (V. 4. 87) अह is formed by V. 4. 88 and अह by V. 4. 91. The general rule II. 4. 26 also does not apply here.

द्विरात्रः , त्रिरात्रः 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वाह्नः , अपराह्नः , मध्याह्नः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon', द्वयः 'two days' त्रयः, 'three days.'

Vart:—The words अनुवाक &c., are masculine, as अनुवाकः , शंयुवाकः , सूक्तवाकः &c.,

अपथं नपुंसकम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपथम् , नपुंसकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपथ शब्दो नपुंसकनिज्ञो भवति ॥

30. The Tatpurusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

अपथमिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road' अपथानि गाहते मूढः 'the fool roams on wrong roads.' But अपथोदेशः a (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrīhi the word is masculine so; also अपथा नगरी ॥

अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धर्चाः, पुंसि, च,
(नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ अर्धर्चाः शब्दा पुंसि नपुंसके च भाव्यते ॥

31. The words 'ardharcha' &c., are spoken of in masculine and neuter.

As अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse', गोमत्रः and गोमत्रम् 'cow-dung.' These twofold genders sometime, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus वज्रः 'treasure,' वज्रः or वज्रम् 'lotus', शंखः 'treasure,' and शंखम् or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सैन्धवः or सैन्धवम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सारः 'best' सारं 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मम्.

1. अर्धर्च. 2. गोमत्र. 3. कषात्र. 4. कार्पाण. 5. कुतप. 6. कुसप.
7. (कुणप). 8. कषात्र. 9. शङ्ख. 10. गृध. 11. वृष. 12. ध्वज. 13. कवच.
14. वज्र. 15. गृह. 16. सरक. 17. कंस. 18. दिवस. 19. वृष. 20. अन्ध-
- कार. 21. वृष्ट. 22. कमण्डलु. 23. नष्ट. 24. भूत. 25. द्वीप. 26. छान.
27. चक्र. 28. धर्म. 29. कर्म. 30. मोक्ष. 31. शतमान. 32. बान. 33. नख.
34. नखर. 35. चरण. 36. पृष्ठ. 37. शक्ति. 38. दिन. 39. राजत. 40. सक्त.
40. विधान. 41. सार. 42. पात्र. 43. पुत्र. 44. सैन्धव. 45. औषध. 46. भाद्रक.
47. चपक. 48. शौण. 49. खलीन. 50. पाणिप. 51. पट्टक. 52. वारवाण.
53. (वारवाण) 54. शीथ. 55. कपिल. 56. शुष्क. 57. शाल. 58. शील. 59.
- शुष्क. 60. (शुष्क). 61. शीथ. 52. कवच. 63. रेणु. 64. (चरण). 65. कपट. 66.
- शीकर. 67. मुसल. 68. सुवर्ण. 69. धर्म. 70. पूर्व. 71. वज्र. 72. क्षीर.
73. कर्म. 74. आकाश. 75. अष्टावह. 76. नङ्गल. 77. विधन. 78. निर्वास.
79. जम्ब. 80. वृत्त. 81. पुस्त. 82. वृत्त. 83. ह्वेदित. 84. शृङ्ग. 85. निगड.
86. (खल). 87. मूलक. 88. मधु. 89. मूल. 90. स्थूल. 91. शराव.
92. बाल. 93. वज्र. 94. विमान. 95. मुख. 96. प्रवीर. 97. छान. 98.
- वज्र. 99. कटक. 100. कटक. 101. (कर्पट). 102. शिखर. 103. कल्क.
104. (वस्त्रक). 105. नटक. 106. (नाटमदक). 107. बलक. 108. कुसुम.
109. वृष. 110. वृष. 111. कुण्डल. 112. किरीट. 113. (कुम्भ). 114.
- अर्ध. 115. अङ्गुश. 116. तिमिर. 117. आश्रम. 118. भूषण. 119. इष्कस.
120. (इष्वास). 121. मुकुल. 122. वसन्त. 123. तटाक. 124. (तटाम).
125. पिटक. 126. पिटक. 127. पिटक. 128. पिष्वाक. 129. माष. 130.
- कीरा. 131. फलक. 132. दिन. 133. देवत. 134. पिनाक. 135. समर.
136. स्थापु. 137. अनीक. 138. उपवास. 139. शाक. 140. कर्पाव. 141.
- (विशाल.) 142. चवाल. 143. (चवाल). 144. खण्ड. 145. हर. 146. विष्ट.
147. (रण). 148. (बल). 149. (नक). 150. वृणाल. 151. हस्त. 152. धार्द्र.

153. हल. 154. (सूत्र.) 155. ताएडप. 156. गाएडीव. 157. भएडप. 158. पटह. 159. चौध. 160. चौध. 161. पार्श्व. 162. शरीर. 163. फल. 164. (छल. 165. पुर. 166. पुरा. 167. राष्ट्र. 168. भम्बर. 169. विन्ध. 170. कुदिन. 171. मण्डल. 172. (कुकुट). 173. कुडप. 174. ककुह. 175. खण्डल. 176. तोमर. 177. तोरण. 178. मञ्चक. 179. पञ्चक. 180. पुङ्ख. 181. मध्य. 182. (वाल). 183. छल. 184. वल्मीक. 185. वर्ष. 186. वल. 187. वसु. 188. वेह. 189. उद्यान. 190. उद्योग. 191. स्नेह. 192. स्तेन. 193. (स्त्रन). 194. (स्वर). 195. संगम. 196. निष्क. 197. क्षम. 198. शूक. 199. क्षत्र. 200. पवित्र. 201. (यौवन). 202. (कलह). 203. मालक. 204. (पालक). 205. मूषिक. 206. (मण्डल). 207. (वन्कल). 208. कुज. 209. (कुञ्ज). 210. विहार. 211. लोहित. 212. (विषाण). 213. भवन. 214. भरण्व. 215. पुलन. 216. इह. 217. भासन. 218. ऐरावत. 219. सर्प. 220. तीर्थ. 221. जौमन. 222. (लौमश). 223. तपाल. 224. लौह. 225. इण्डक. 226. शपथ. 227. प्रतिस्वर. 228. सार. 229. धनुष्. 230. मान. 231. वर्यस्क. 232. कूर्च. 233. तण्डक. 234. मह. 235. सहर. 236. भोदन. 237. प्रवाल. 238. शकट. 239. अपराङ्ग. 240. मीड. 241. शकल. 242. तएदल॥

इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽनुदात्त तृतीयादौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पद. नि ॥ इदमः ,
अन्वादेशे , अथ , अनुदात्तः तृतीयादौ ॥

वृत्तः ॥ इदमोऽन्वादेशे विषयव्यादेशो न त्वनुदात्तस्य तृतीयादौ विभक्तौ परतः ॥

32. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvādeśa) there is the substitution of aś which is anudātta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

The word अन्वादेश means literally saying (Ādesa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvādeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इदम् by 55 and not only the final म्. Anvādeśa means repeating in a second sentence with reference to the preceding in which it has already been used. Both pronouns, the antecedent and the subsequent, must refer to the same object. As, आभ्याम् छात्राभ्याम् रात्रिपथिता, अथो आभ्यामहरपथितम् 'These students studied in the night and they have read in the day also.' The substitute अश् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71.)

अस्मै छात्राय कम्बलं देहि, अथो अस्मै शाकटमपि देहि 'Give this student a blanket and give him also a cloth'. अस्य छात्रस्य शोभनं शीलम्, अथो अस्वु प्रभूतं स्वम्, 'this student's conduct is excellent, and his wealth is great.'

So also when the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71) comes after the Pronominal as इमं कृपायां छात्राभ्यां रात्रिरधीता, अथो आभ्यामहरप्यधीतम्.

The mere mentioning in a subsequent sentence is not anvādeśa: it is the employment again of what has been employed to direct one operation, to direct another operation. Therefore the rule does not apply here:—देवदत्तं भोजय, इमं च यज्ञदत्तम् 'feed Devadatta and this Yajñadatta.'

एतद्स्त्रतसोस्त्रतसो चानुदात्तो ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतद्, त्र-तसोः त्र-तसो, च, अनुदात्तो, (अन्वादेशे, अश्, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतदोऽन्वादेशविषयस्य अशादेशो भवति अनुदात्तस्त्रतसोः परतः ॥ तौ चापि प्रतसावनुदात्तो भवतः ॥

33. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes च (V. 3. 10) and तस् (V. 3. 7) follow, and the affixes च and तस् are anudatta also (gravely accented.)

Thus अत्र 'here,' and अतस् 'hence' in the following:—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः; अथो अत्र युक्ता अधीमहे। 'We live in this (etasmin) village, happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).' एतस्माच्छात्राच्छान्तोऽधीष्व, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीष्व। 'Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar.' By rule V. 3. 5 अश् is declared to be the substitute of एतद्; its repetition here is to indicate that this अश् of anvādeśa is anudatta.

द्वितीयाटीस्त्वेनः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया-टा-ओस्त्, एनः; (इदम्, एतद्, अन्वादेशे, अनुदात्ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयां टा ओस् इत्येतेषु परत इदमेतदोऽन्वादेशविषययोरेनशब्द आदेशो भवति अनुदात्तः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ एतदिति नपुंसकैकवचने वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. When an affix of the 2nd case or ए (Ins. Sing.) or ओच् (Loc. dual) follows, एन which is anudatta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

The word इत् is also understood in this sūtra though it was not so in the last. This skipping is technically called 'frog-leap.' Thus:—इत् or एत् छात्रं छन्दोऽध्यापय, भयो एत् व्याकरणमप्यध्यापय 'teach this pupil Prosody, and teach him Grammar also.' अनेन or एतेन छात्रेण रात्रिधीत 'भयो एत् नृनाहरप्यधीतम् 'this pupil studied in the night and he studied in the day also.' भनयोः or एतयोः छात्रयोः शोभनं शीलम्, भयो एतयोः प्रभूतं स्व 'the family of these two students is respectable and their wealth is great.'

Vart:—The word एत्, neuter and singular, is also used in anvādeśa: as, इत् कुण्डमानम् प्रक्षालयेत् 'bring this bowl and wash it.' The above three Sūtras regulate the accent only of certain pronouns.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्ध-धातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित् ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रान्तिष्यामस्तदाऽर्द्धधातुके वेदितव्यम् ॥

35. The clause 'when the affix is *Ārdhadhātuka*' is understood in the following aphorisms up to aphorism 58 of this chapter.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 42, 'that वच् is the substitute of इत् when लिङ् follows.' The words 'when the affix is *ārdhadhātuka*' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The result will be that in the *Ārdhadhātuka* लिङ् namely the आशीर्लिङ् or the Benedictive mood, इत् is replaced by वच्, but not so in the *Sārvadhātuka* लिङ् i. e., the Potential mood (विधिलिङ्). Thus, Benedictive वध्यात् 'may he kill'; but Potential इत्यात् let him kill.'

The word आर्द्धधातुके is in the 7th case; the force of this case-affix here is not that given in I. 1. 66. i. e., the sūtra does not mean 'when an *Ārdhadhātuka* affix follows.' But the 7th case has the force of indicating the subject, the meaning of the sūtra being 'when the subject is an *ārdhadhātuka* affix.' The result of this explanation is, that the various substitutions enjoined hereafter should be made first, and then the respective affixes should be applied. Thus whenever we want to affix any *ārdhadhātuka*-affix to भस् 'to be,' we must first substitute भू for it, and then take the proper *ārdhadhātuka*-affix which would come with regard to भू. Thus we can apply वत् to भू by rule III 1. 97 which says: 'after verbs ending in vowels वत् is applied.' But this affix could never have been applied to भस् which ends in a consonant. Thus we have भव्यम्. So the substitution does not depend upon any particular affix, but *ārdhadhātuka*-affixes as a class.

अदो जग्धिर्ल्यसि किति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्; जग्धिः, ल्यप्-ति, किति, (आर्द्ध-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदो जग्धिरादेशो भवति स्वपि परतः वकारादौ च किति प्रत्यये ॥

36. The word जग्धि is the substitute of अद् 'to eat,' when the affix ल्यप् (VII.1.37) or an ârdhadhâtuka कित् affix beginning with त follows.

प्रजग्ध 'Having eaten.' (प्र + अद् + ल्यप् = प्र + जग्ध् + च). So also जग्ध 'eaten' (अद् + क् = जग्ध् + च).

The ह् in जग्धि is merely for the sake of articulation and is not an anubandha, otherwise there would have been the insertion of the nasal न् (नुन्). So also the ह् in दधि &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. But अद् + क् = भक्षः 'food' is an irregularity.

The employment of ल्यप् in this sūtra indicates the existence of this Paribhāshā. 'A bahiraṅga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaraṅga rules.' Because in case this maxim did not exist, the substitution of जग्ध् for अद् before ल्यप् which is taught in this sūtra, would follow already from the word किति (before that which is distinguished by an indicatory क्) in this rule, i. e., जग्ध् would (by maxim 'that which is bahiraṅga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is antaraṅga has taken effect') first be substituted for अद् before क् and ल्यप् afterwards for क्.

Why do we say 'before affixes beginning with त'? Observe भयते 'is eaten.'

Why do we say 'before affixes having indicatory क्'? Observe भक्षस्वन्.

लुङ्सनोर्घस्लु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्-सनोः, घस्लु (अद्; आर्द्ध-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि सनि च परतोऽसौ घस्लु आदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घस्लुभावेऽप्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

37. When luṅ (aorist) or san (desiderative) follows घस्लु is the substitute of अद् 'to eat.'

भयसत्, भयसतान्, भयसन् 'he ate.' The ल् in घस्लु is servile and indicates the substitution of अद् for च्छि of the Aorist (III. 1. 55.) So also in desiderative, as, जिषत्सति, जिषत्सवः जिषत्सन्ति 'wishes to eat.'

Vart:—The verb अद् is replaced by च्छ् when the affix भच follows. Thus प्र + अद् + भच = प्रश्च + भच = प्रपसः 'voracious.'

घञपोश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञ्-अपोः, च, (अद्ः, घस्लु, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घञि भाषि च परतोऽक्षौ घस्लु भावेशो भवति ॥

38. And when the affix घञ् and भृ follow घस्लु is the substitute of भृ.

घासः 'food, grass,' भृ + घञ् = घास + भ (III. 3. 19). प्रघसः 'voracity.'
प्र + भृ + भृ = प्र + घस .

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलं , छन्दसि , (अद्ः,
घस्लु, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमसौ घस्लु भावेशो भवति ॥

39. In the chhandas (Vedas), घस्लु is diversely substituted for भृ.

पस्ताङ्गुणम् । सन्धिश्चने । (Yajur Veda Vaj. S. XVIII. 9). Sometimes it does not take place; as आतामय मभ्यतो मेव उद्भूतम् .

The word बहुलं is used in this sūtra and the word अन्यतरस्याम् in the next. There is evidently difference between the senses of these words; otherwise Pāṇini would not have employed them in such juxtaposition, had they been synonymous. For then the anuvritti of बहुलं in the next sūtra would have been sufficient. The following verse indicates that difference.

कश्चित् प्रवृत्तिः कश्चिदप्रवृत्तिः , कश्चित्प्रवृत्तिः कश्चिदप्रवृत्तिः ।

विशेषविधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य , चातुर्विधं बाहुल्यं वदन्ति ॥

'Sometimes they are, where there is no express rule for their application; sometimes they are not applied, in spite of an express rule for their application; sometimes they are optionally employed or not, and sometimes there is some other result, licence permitted by the rule.' Thus in घस्ताम् there is not elision of the penultimate.

लित्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ लिति , अन्यतरस्याम्,
(अद्ः, घस्लु, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिति परतोऽक्षौ अन्यतरस्यां घस्लावेशो भवति ॥

40. When लिट् (Perfect) follows घस्लु is optionally the substitute of भृ.

जघास or भाद् 'he ate,' जत्ततुः or आद्तुः 'they two ate,' जभुः or आद्भुः 'they all ate.' The word जत्ततुः is thus formed:—पस् + भतुस् = पस् + पस् + भतुस् (VI.

1. 8) = व + वस् + भुस् (VII. 4. 60) = व + वस् + भुः (VII. 4. 62) = व + वस् + भुस् (VIII. 4. 53) = व + वस् + भुस् (VI. 4. 98.) = वस्वतुः (VIII. 3. 60).

वेञ्चो वयिः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेञ्चः, वयि, (लित्यन्यतरस्यान्, आर्द्धः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेञ्चो वयिरादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां लिटि परतः ॥

41. When लिट् follows, वयि is optionally the substitute of वेम् 'to weave.'

In the Perfect tense thus we have two roots: Let us first take वेम्. Then we have regularly वे + लिट् = वे + एज् = वयो. The roots in वृ, वृ and ओ are treated like roots ending in आ thus:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	} In this case samprasâraṇa ordained by VI. 1. 17 does not take place by VI. 1. 40.
1.	वयो	वयिव	वयिन	
2.	वयिय or ववाय, ववयुः	ववयुः	ववयुः	
3.	ववो	ववतुः	ववतुः	

When however we take the base वव्, the वृ being for the sake of articulation only, we have the following forms:—वव् + एज् = वव् + वव् + भ (VI. 1. 8) = वव्व + वव् + भ (VI. 1. 17) = ववव ; the व is not changed into वृ by VI. 1. 38. In this dual we have वव् + भुस् = वव्व + भुः (VI. 1. 15) = व + वव्व + भुः (VII. 4. 60) = वव्वतुः. The affix भुस् being कित् affix by rule I, 2. 5 there is samprasâraṇa before reduplication. Thus we have ववव, वव्वतुः, वव्वतुः. Further by rule VI. 1. 39 before कित् affixes व may be optionally substituted for व, i. e., वव्वतुः or ववतुः and वव्वतुः or ववतुः.

हनो वध लिटि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, वध, लिटि (आर्द्धः घातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः । हन्तेर्घातोर्वध इत्ययमादेशो भवति लिटि परत आर्द्धघातुके ॥

42. वध् is the substitute of हन् 'to kill' when the ârdhadhâtuka लिट् (Benedictive) follows.

वध्यात् 'may he kill,' वध्वास्तात् 'may they two kill,' वध्यासुः 'may they all kill.'

The substitute वध ends with short अ, this अ is elided. This elision being like the original (sthânavat I. 1. 56), in forming the Aorist वध्, we have अवध् + • + ईत् = अवधीत्. Here zero being sthânavat prevents the vṛddhi of अ of व which otherwise would have taken place by VII. 2. 7.

लुङि च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङि; च (हृनो, बध, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि च परतो हृनो बध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

43. And when लुङ् (Aorist) follows, च् is the substitute of हृन् .

भवधीत् 'he killed,' भवधीष्टान् 'they all killed.' The division of this aphorism from the last sūtra (yoga-vibhāga) indicates that the next rule applies to Aorist only and not to Benedictive as well. There is no option in Benedictive Atmanepada.

आत्मनेपदेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्य-
तरस्याम्, (हृनो, बध, लुङि, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेषु निरखे प्राप्ते विकल्प उच्यते । आत्मनेपदेषु परतो हृनो लुङ्पठ्यतरस्यां बध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

44. When Atmanepada affixes follow, च् is optionally the substitute of हृन् in the लुङ् (Aorist).

Thus भावधिष्ट or भाहत् ; भावधिषाताम् or भाहसाताम् ; भावधिषत् or भाहसत् .

The verb हृन् becomes Atmanepadi when preceded by आ (I. 3. 28). By sūtra I. 2. 14, the Aorist-affixes in the Atmanepada are कित् after हृन् and by VI. 4. 37 the न is elided before कित् affixes, then by VIII. 2. 27 the च् is elided. Thus भाहन् + सिच् + च = भाहत् .

इणो गा लुङि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, गा, लुङि, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणो गा इत्ययमादेशो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इण्वदिक इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

45. ण is the substitute of the root इण् when लुङ् follows.

भगात् 'he went.' (II. 4. 77) भगाताम् 'they two went' भगुः 'they all went.' The repetition of the word लुङ् in this sūtra though its anuvṛitti was coming from the last aphorisms, indicates that there is no option allowed even in the Atmanepada, ण being the invariable substitute in all the Padas. Thus भगाधि भवता 'you went.' The form भगात् is thus evolved भ+गा+सिच्+त्=भगात् (II. 4. 77.)

Vart:—ण is the substitute of इक् 'to remember' in the Aorist, as it is of हृन्. Thus अभ्यगात् 'he remembered.' अभ्यगाताम्, अभ्यगुः. The root इक् belongs to Adādi class.

जा गनिरबोधने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जा ; गनिः , अबोधने ,
(चहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जो परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्व गनिरादेशो भवति ॥

46. When the affix जि (Causal) follows, गमि is the substitute of इण् when the sense is not that of 'informing' but that of 'going.'

गमयति 'makes him go' गमयतः, गमयन्ति &c. But प्रत्यावयति 'causes to believe.' अभिगमयति. The इ of गमि is for articulation. So also इक् to 'remember'; as, अभिगमयति ॥

सनि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि , च , (इणः , अबोधने ,
गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्व गनिरादेशो भवति ॥

47. And when सन् (Desiderative) follows, गमि is the substitute of ण् when the sense is not that of 'informing.'

जिगमिषति 'wishes to go' जिगमिषतः, जिगमिषन्ति. But अर्पान् प्रतीचिषति 'he wishes to inform the meaning.' So also with इक्, as अभिजिगमिषति. The yoga-vibhāga indicates that the anuvṛitti of सन् only runs in the next sūtra and not of णि. The form is thus evolved in the Parasmaipada; गन् + सन् = गन् + गन् + णि. The form is thus evolved in the Parasmaipada; गन् + सन् = गन् + गन् + णि (VI. 1. 9) = ग + गन् + ण (VII. 4. 60) = ज + गन् + ण (VII. 4. 62) = ज + गन् + इट + ण (VII. 2. 50) = जिगमिष, and then we add the personal terminations.

इडश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडः , च , (सनि ; गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडश्च सनि परतो गनिरादेशो भवति ॥

48. And of इड् 'to study,' गमि is the substitute when सन् follows.

अभिजिगांसते , • सेते , • सन्ते 'he wishes to study.' The root इड् is always preceded by the preposition अभि. This will be Atmanepadi by I. 3. 12 and I. 1. 56. The form is similarly evolved by the application of rules VII. 2. 58, and VI. 4. 16.

गाड् छिटि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाड् , छिटि , (इडः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाड्देशो भवतीको छिटि परतः ॥

49. गाम् is the substitute of इद् when लिद् (Perfect) follows.

The substitute being like its original (I. 1. 68.) गाम् would have been Atmanepadi, even without the indicatory, इ. Why has then this इ been added to it? The object is that in the sūtra I. 2. 1. गाम् there should mean this substitute गाम् and not the verb गाम् 'to go.'

Thus we get अधिजगे 'he studied'. अधिजगते, अधिजगिरे. See VI. 4. 64 and III. 4. 8.

विभाषा लुङ्लृङोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लुङ्लृङोः (इङः, वि, गाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि लृङि च परत इङो विभाषा गाम्देशो भवति ॥

50. गाम् is optionally the substitute of इद् when लुङ् (Aorist) and लृङ् (Conditional Future) follow.

Let us take the case when गाम् replaces इद्. The affixes of लुङ् and लृङ् are treated as ङित् by I. 2. 1. and then by the Rule VI. 4. 66 (When an Ārdhadhātuka affix, beginning with a consonant and distinguished by an indicatory क or इ follows; then let ई be the substitute of long आ of the verbs termed घृ and of मा, त्या, गा, पा, हा, सी), we get अध्यगीष्ट (अधि+अ+गी+इत्), अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत्. In the alternative we have अध्येष्ट, अध्येषाताम् and अध्येषत्.

So also in लृङ्; as अध्यगीष्यत्, अध्यगीष्येताम्, अध्यगीष्यन्त, or in the alternative, अध्येष्यत्, अध्येष्येताम् and अध्येष्यन्त.

णौ च संञ्चङो, ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, च, सन्-चङो, (इङः, गाम्, विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ सन्चरे चङ् परे च परत इङो विभाषा गाम्देशो भवति ॥

51. गाम् is optionally the substitute of इद् in the causative लि, when that causative takes the affix san (desiderative) and चाञ् (Aorist).

अधिजिगापयिषति or अध्यापिपयिषति 'he desires to teach.' The form is thus evolved: गा + लिच्=गाणि (VII. 3. 36); then by the rules already stated, we get the above form with the affix सन्. अध्यजीगपत् or अध्यापिपत् 'he taught.' The ई is changed into आ by VI. 1. 48. Thus इ + लिच् = आ + लिच् = आ + व् + इ = आणि. This rule applies to the desideratives of causatives and aorist of causatives.

अस्तेभूः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तेः, भूः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेर्भातोर्भू इत्यव्ययदेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ॥

52. भू is the substitute of the verb भस् 'to be,' when an ārdhadhātuka affix is to be applied.

भविता 'he will be,' भवितुम् 'in order to be,' भवितव्यम् 'must be.' Now the Perfect tense affixes are also ārdhadhātuka affixes (III. 4. 115). The Perfect of भस् is therefore the same as that of भू, namely, बभूव &c. There is, however, an important exception to this rule, namely, when भस् is employed as an auxiliary verb in forming Periphrastic Perfect of other verbs. In that case भस् forms its Perfect tense regularly, भास, भासतुः, भासुः &c. This apparent breach of the present sūtra is explained by taking the term कृम् in III. 1. 40. as a Pratyāhāra including कृ, भू and भस्, and if भस् could not form its Perfect in the regular way, its inclusion in this Pratyāhāra would be useless; hence we conclude, that as an auxiliary verb, भस् forms its Perfect regularly.

ब्रूवो वचिः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रूवः, वचिः, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रूवो वचिरादेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके विषये ॥

53. वचि is the substitute of ब्रू 'to speak' when any ārdhadhātuka affix is to be applied.

वक्ता 'he will speak,' वक्तुम् 'in order to speak.' The इ of वचि is for the sake of articulation only. The substitute being like the principal, वच् is Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, as कचे 'he spoke,' वक्ष्यते 'he will speak.'

चक्षिहः ख्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चक्षिहः, ख्याम्, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चक्षिहः ख्यामादेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लशादिरप्यव्ययदेश इत्येवे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्जने प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ असनयोध प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञान्त्वोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. ख्याम् is the substitute of चक्षिह 'to perceive, to tell,' when any ārdhadhātuka affix is to be applied.

आख्याता 'he will perceive or tell'; आख्यातुम् 'in order to tell'; आख्यातव्यम् 'must be told.' The substitute being like the principal, चक्षिह being always Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12), ख्याम् would have also been always Atmanepadi. But in that case the letter म् would have no scope; it therefore follows that ख्याम् is not always Atmanepadi, but under conditions mentioned in I. 3. 72.

Vart:—This substitute is also said to begin with कृत् instead of क्त . Thus आकृशावा , आकृशावुम् , आकृशावन् .

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when meaning 'exclusion'; as दुर्जनाः संवह्याः 'bad men should be excluded.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the affixes भस and भन follow: as नृचक्षा राक्षसाः 'the Rākshshasas are cruel.' This is Vedic Sanskrit; modern नृचक्षः. The meaning of the root चक्ष here, is 'to injure.' So also विशक्तः पण्डितः; here the affix is भन .

Vart:—Substitutes are made diversely in denoting appellatives and not qualities and in the Vedic Sanskrit; as भक्षम् 'food' (here the substitute कृत् does not replace भक्ष); वधकम् 'killer' (वध being substituted for हन् before एवञ्); गात्रं 'body' (गा is substituted for हण before the unādi affix हन्); विशक्तः (here चक्ष is not replaced by क्त्वा before भन); भञ्जितम् 'a court yard' (here भञ्ज is not replaced by क्त्वे as the next sūtra 56 requires).

वा लिटि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, लिटि, (चक्षिङ्, ख्याञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतश्चक्षिङ्ः ख्यामादेशी वा भवति ॥

55. ख्याञ् is optionally the substitute of चक्षिङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The चक्षिङ् also is an ārdhadhātuka affix and by the last sūtra ख्या would always have been the substitute of चक्षिङ्; the present sūtra makes this substitution optional, as भाचक्षयौ , भाचक्षयतुः and भाचक्षयुः . In the alternative we have भाचक्षणे , भाचक्षणाते and भाचक्षणिरे ; 'he told &c.'

अजेर्व्यञ्जपोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजेः, व्यी, अचञ्-अपोः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजेर्धातोर्नीत्ययमादेशी भवत्यार्द्धधातुके परतो व्यञ्जपो वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ व्यञ्जपोः प्रतिषेधे व्यञ्ज उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वजादावार्द्धधातुके विकल्प इष्यते ॥

56. व्यी is the substitute of the verb अञ् 'to drive,' 'to lead,' when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows, with the exception of the affixes चञ् (III. 3. 18.) and अप् (III. 3. 69).

प्रवायकः 'driver,' प्रवायणीवः .

Why do we say 'with the exception of चञ् and अप्'? Observe चञ् + अञ् + चञ् = समाजः 'society'; उवाञ्जः 'driving out': So also with अप्, as समाञ्जः 'a multitude or herd of animals &c.' उवञ्जः 'driving out of cattle.' See III. 3. 69.

Why have we used व्यी with a long ई? For the sake of forms like व्यीनाः &c.

Vart.—Prohibition must also be stated (along with वृत् and भृत्) of the affix क्यप्, as समझ्या 'a meeting, fame.'

Vart.—The substitution is optional before árdhadhâtukas beginning with a letter of वल् Pratyáhâra (all consonant except व) as प्रवेता or प्राजित्त प्रवेतुम् or प्राजित्तुम्. See VI. 2. 144 for accent.

वा यी ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, यी, (अजे: वी, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यो परभूते भजेर्वा वी इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

57. वी is optionally the substitute of भृत् when the affix वृत् (III. 3. 15 &c.) follows.

This declares an option in case of the affix वृत्, the word वृत् in the Sûtra referring to this affix; as, प्रवयनः or प्राजनो वृत्: 'driving stick or whip.'

व्यसन्नियार्थजितो युनि लुगणित्रो ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्य-सन्निय-
आर्थ-जितः, युनि, लुग्, अण्-इत्रोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एयान्तात् क्षत्रियगोत्रात् आर्थादजितश्च परयोरनित्रोर्बुनि लुग् भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अग्राह्यगोत्रमात्राद्युवप्रत्ययस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

58. After a word ending with the Gotra affix ण्व (IV. 1. 151 and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi (seer), and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicative म्, the affix भृत् and इत् employed in forming वृत् (IV. 1. 163) descendants, are elided by the substitution of लृत् ॥

1. Thus by sûtra IV. 1. 151 (the affix एय comes after कुरु &c., in denoting descendent) we get कुरु + ण्व = कौरव्यः (VII. 2. 117) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendent than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कौरव्य + इत् (IV. 1. 95). Now this इत् is elided by the present sûtra, and we get the form कौरव्यः which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) descendent of Kuru. So that कौरव्यः is the name both of the father and the son.

Now it may be objected: 'the word कौरव्यः belongs to the विक्रादि class and by IV. 1. 154, it will take the affix क्तिम्. Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यायणिः (VII. 1. 2.)' To this we reply, the word कौरव्यः which we see in that list of विक्रादि &c., is not the word कौरव्यः which we formed by adding एय under rule IV. 1. 151; that विक्रादि word is formed by एय under rule IV. 1. 172, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कौरव्यः which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendent of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114. which tells us that 'the affix भृच् may be added to the words which are the names of Rishis, or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishinis or Kuru.' The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and स्वफल्कः is a person of that family. Then स्वफल्कः + भृच् = स्वाफल्कः 'a descendent of Svaphalka.' This is a Gotra descendent. In forming Yuvan descendent we have स्वाफल्कः + इम्. Now this इम् must be elided by the present sūtra. So that स्वाफल्कः means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishis family. The sūtra last mentioned IV. 1. 114. will also hold here. We take the word वसिष्ठः ; and वसिष्ठः + भृच् = वासिष्ठः ; the Yuvan affix इम् will similarly be elided after this ; and thus the word वसिष्ठः means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicative ञ्. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 104. declares 'the affix भृच् comes after the words विद् &c., in denoting Gotra descendents.' Thus विद् + भृच् = वैद् ; Then add इम् to denote Yuvan descent, and we have वैद् + इम्. By the present rule this इम् is elided and thus we have वैद् : both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix इम्. Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix भृच्. Now rule IV. 1. 154 says 'the affix क्तिच् comes after the words तिक् &c., in denoting descendent.' Thus तिक् + क्तिच् = तैकायनिः (VII. 1. 2.) Then to form the Yuvan descendent we add भृच् by IV. 1. 83. Thus तैकायनिः + भृच्. By the present sūtra, this भृच् is elided, and we have तैकायनिः both applicable to the father and the son. Other examples can be multiplied.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 says:— 'The affix भृच् comes after शिब् &c., in forming Gotra.' कौहड + भृच् = कौहड. Now this is neither a word formed by एच् nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi ; nor any affix having ञ् goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix इम् will not be elided after this. Thus कौहड + इम् (IV. 1. 95) कौहडिः 'son of Kaubada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendent is elided'? An affix not denoting Yuvan descendent will not be elided. Thus the pupils of वामरथः are called वामरथ्याः which word is thus formed: वामरथ + एच् = वामरथ्यः 'a descendent of Vāmaratha' (IV. 1. 115). Then to denote pupils we add भृच् by IV. 2. 111. Thus वामरथ्यः + भृच् = वामरथ्यः 'a pupil of Vāmarathya.'

Why do we say 'Yuvan affix भृच् and इम् are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan

descendent of दाक्षि (grandson of दक्ष) will be दाक्षावणः. Here the affix क् (IV. 1. 101) is not elided.

Vart.—All Yuvan affixes are elided after Gotra words not denoting Brahmin Gotras; as दौहिः applies equally to father and son; जावलिः father, जावलिः son; भौहृन्वतिः father, भौहृन्वतिः son; भाण्डीजद्विः father, भाण्डीजद्विः son. Here, first इम् is added by IV. 1. 173, then क् to denote Yuvan descendent. Then this क् is elided by the present Vartika.

पैलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पैल-आदिभ्यः, च (युनि, लुग-णिजेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पैल इत्येवमादि-यथ युवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

59. And after the words पैल &c. there is the लुक् elision of the युवन affix.

पीला + भण = पैलः (IV. 1. 118). 'The Gotra descendent of Paila.' पैलः + क्तिन् (IV. 1. 156). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix क्तिन् is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word. Some say that the 'Paila &c. words are formed by the affix इम्; (IV. 1. 95) and then the 'luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 60. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prachyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. शालङ्कि. 3. सारथकि. 4. सारथकानि. 5. राहवि. 6. रावणि. 7. भौहृन्वि. 8. भौहृन्वि. 9. भौहृन्वि. 10. भौहृन्वि. 11. भौहृन्वि. 12. भौहृन्वि. 13. वैवस्थानि. 14. पैङ्गलावनी. 15. राहसति. 16. भौहृन्वि. 17. राणि. 18. भौहृन्वि. 19. भौहृन्वि. 20. भौहृन्वि. 21. भौहृन्वि. 22. तद्राजावणः. 23. तद्राज.

इजः प्राचाम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इजः, प्राचाम्, (युनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे च इम् तदन्तायुवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

60. After a word ending with the Gotra affix इम् (IV. 1. 95) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prachya (Eastern) is denoted.

पान्नागर + इम् = पान्नागारिः 'the Gotra descendent of Pannāgara'; after this the Yuvan affix क्तिन् (IV. 1. 101) is elided by the present rule, and so पान्नागारिः is both the father and the son. So मान्यरेपणिः father and son. The word प्राचाम् here qualifies the word Gotra understood and does not show that it is an optional rule in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. When the Gotra of Prāchyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus दाक्षिः and दाक्षावणः 'son of Dākshi.'

न तौल्वलिभ्यः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तौल्वलिभ्यः, (युनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौल्वल्याङिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य न जुग् भवति ॥

61. After the words तौल्वलि and the rest there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौल्वलिः is the name of the father and तौल्वलायनः is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. I. 101).

1. तौल्वलि . 2. भारणि . 3. पारणि . 4. रावणि . 5. वैजीवि . 6. वैवति .
7. वार्कलि . 8. नैवति . 9. नैवकि . 10. डैवनिवि . 11. डैवमति . 12. डैववति . 13. चाफहकि . 14. वैल्वकि . 15. वैकि . 16. वैङ्कु . 17. आनुहारति . 18. आपुराहति .
19. पोष्करसाहि . 20. आनुरोहति . 21. आनुति . 22. प्रागोहति . 23. वैमथि . 24. प्राडाहति . 25. बान्धकि . 26. वैशीति . 27. आसिनासि . 28. आहिसि . 29. भाधुरि .
30. वैमथि . 31. आसिबन्धकि . 32. पौष्य . 33. कारेणुपालि . 34. वैकनि . 35. वैरकि . 36. वैहति ॥

तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्राजस्य, बहुषु, तेन-एव, अस्त्रियाम्, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्राजसंतस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्तमानस्य अस्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति, तेनैव चेदगोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

62. There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV. I. 174) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that the plural number is taken by the base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that the base is not used in the feminine.

आङ्गः = अंग + अण (IV. I. 170) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural अङ्गाः 'the princes of Aṅga.' The affix अण् is elided by the present rule, and the Vriddhi vanishes with it too (I. 1.63); but आङ्ग्यः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of आङ्गी 'a princess of Aṅga.' But प्रियवाङ्गः 'he to [whom the prince of Vanga is beloved]' forms its plural प्रियवाङ्गाः 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vanga,' there being no elision.

यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्क-आदिभ्यः, गोत्रे, (बहुषु, तेनैवास्त्रियाम्, लुग्)

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्क इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति तेनैव चेदगोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

63. After the word यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and

not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural; but not in the feminine.

यस्क + भम् = यास्कः 'a descendent of Yaska not nearer than grandson.' In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यस्काः 'the descendents of Yaska.'

यस्कादवः ॥

1. यस्क . 2. लय . 3. द्रुय . 4. भयस्थूण . 5. भयः स्थूण . 6. वृणकर्ण .
7. सदानस . 8. कम्बलहार . 9. बहिर्याग . 10. कर्णाटक . 11. पर्णाटक . 12. पिण्डी जङ्ग .
13. वकसस्य . 14. वकसक्य . 15. विन्नि . 16. कुन्नि . 17. भजवस्त्रि . 18. मिन्यु .
19. रत्नोमुख . 20. गङ्गारथ . 21. उस्कास . 22. वटुक . 23. मयक . 24. मन्यक .
25. पुष्करद् . 26. पुष्करसद् . 27. विषपुट . 28. उपरिनेखल . 29. क्रोटुकमान .
30. क्रोटुमान . 31. क्रोटुमार . 32. क्रोटुमाव . 33. शीर्षमाव . 34. प्रवदप . 35. पवक .
36. वपुक . 37. भलन्वन . 38. भडिल . 39. भण्डिल . 40. भडित . 41. भण्डिल .

यज्जोश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्-अजोः, च, (बहुषु, तेनेवालुग) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्रोऽप्यत्र गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुम् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यत्रादीनामेकद्वयोर्वा तत्पुरुषे यस्या उपसंख्यानम् ॥

64. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यम् (IV. I. 105) and भम् (IV. I. 104.) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + यम् = गार्ग्यः; plural गर्गाः 'the male descendents of Garga'. So also वत्साः 'the male descendents of Vatsa'; the singular being, वात्सवः. Similarly, विद् + भम् = वैदः (IV. I. 104); plural विदाः and not वैदाः; similarly भोर्वा singular; भोर्वाः plural.

But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gārgya is beloved,' प्रियवैदाः 'those to whom Baida is beloved.'

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्यैः, वैद्यैः, feminine plurals.

Of course these affixes must be Gotra or patronymic affixes, otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप + यम् = द्वीप्यः 'living on the island,' plural द्वीप्याः; here the affix यम् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स + भम् = भौत्सः 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural भौत्साः.

Vart:—In forming Tat-purusha compound of the singular and dual genitive, the affix यम् and भम् are optionally elided. Thus गार्ग्यैस्व कुलं = गार्ग्यै-कुलं or गार्ग्यकुलं, गार्ग्ययोः कुलं = गार्ग्यकुलं or गर्ग्यकुलं .

Similarly वेदस्य or वेदयोः कुलं = वेदकुलं or विदकुलं .

Why do we say 'the affixes यम् or अम्'? Because other affixes will not be elided in forming तत्पुरुष compound; such as आङ्ग-कुलं ।

Why do we say 'singular or dual'? Because in the plural तत्पुरुष compound these affixes must necessarily be elided and not optionally; thus गर्गाणां कुलं = गर्गकुलं .

Why do we say 'in forming तत्पुरुष compound'? Because in forming other compounds, these affixes will not be elided. Thus, उपगार्भे which is an अन्वयीभाव compound, meaning गर्गस्य समीपं . Of course, it is only in the Genitive तत्पुरुष that this rule is applicable; it will not therefore apply in कर्मधारय तत्पुरुष &c., as परमगार्भेः ।

अत्रिमृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमङ्गिरोभ्यश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्रि-
मृगु-कुत्स-वसिष्ठ-गोतम-अङ्गिरोभ्यः, च, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्वयादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

65. And after the words अत्रि, मृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ, गोतम अङ्गिरस, there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in feminine.

Thus the plural of आनेच (अत्रि + इक IV. 1. 122.) the descendent of अत्रि, is अत्रयः, the regular plural of अत्रि. So also, singular भार्गवः, plural भृगवः; singular कौरसः, plural कुत्साः; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमाः, अङ्गिरसः. In all these the affix has been elided. Thus मृगु + अम् = भार्गवः 'the descendent of Bhrigu. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes इक and अम् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आनेचः भार्गवः; dual आनेचौ भार्गवौ; plural आत्रयः, भृगवः &c.

But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus प्रियानेचाः or प्रियभार्गवाः ।

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus:—आनेच्यः
त्रियः ।

बह्वच इज प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः, इजः प्राच्य-
भरतेषु, (बहुषु लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वच प्रातिपदिकाद् य इज विहितः प्राच्यगोत्रे भरतगोत्रे च वर्तते तस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

66. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इम् (IV. 1. 95) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of पद्मागारिः is पद्मागारः, there being elision of इङ्; so also मंय-रेषणः plural of मान्यरैषणिः; so the plural of बौधिस्रिः is बुधिस्रिः 'the descendents of Yudhishtira. But वैक्किः and पौष्पः not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैक्कवः and पौष्पवः . . .

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prâchyas and Bhâratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाकवः plural of बालाकिः, हस्तिदासवः plural of हस्तिदासिः .

Though the Bhâratas are Prâchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prâchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhâratas as in V. 4. 60. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhâratas will not be elided. Thus भार्जुनिः father, भार्जुनायनः son.

न गोपवनादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गोप-यन-आदिभ्यः (लुग्), ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपवनादिभ्यः परस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग् न भवति ॥

67. After the words गोपवन, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64. Thus गोपवन + भञ् = गोपवनः, plural गोपवनाः; singular शौमवः, plural शौमवाः. The गोपवन &c.. belong to Vidâdi class, vide IV. 1. 104, and are the following:—गोपवन, शिशु, विन्दु, मजन्, भञ्, भवतान, इयामक and इशारण. The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by Rule 64. Thus हरिताः किंशसाः &c.

तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिक-कितव-आदिभ्यः, द्वन्द्वे, (बहुलुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिकादिभ्यः कितवादिभ्यश्च द्वन्द्वे गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

68. After the words तिक कितव &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक + फिम् = तैकायनिः (IV. 1. 154). Its plural is तैकायनवः। तैकायनवः + कैतवायनवः = तिककितवाः। There is elision of फिम्. So also बांखरिः plural बांखरवः (IV. 1. 95) + भाण्डीरययः = बांखरभंडीरयाः; there is elision of इम् (IV. 1. 95). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिककितवाः 2. बहूलभण्डीरयाः 3. उपकलमकाः (भोरकायनाः + लामकायनाः. IV. 1. 99, elision of फक्). 4. पक्कनरकाः (पाक्कवः + नारकवः. IV. 1. 95, elision

of इम्). वकनखगुपपरिणताः, 6. उज्जककुभाः (ओम्भवः IV. 1. 95. + काकुभाः IV, 1. 112, then the elision of इम् and अण्). 7. लङ्गुरान्तनुषाः (the elision of इम् IV. 9. 95 as in 4). 8. उरसलंकताः (ओरसायनवः IV. 1. 154 + लंकटयः IV. 1. 95, elision of किम् and इम्. 9. ऋक कपिष्ठलाः (elision of इम् as in 4) 10. कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः (elision of इम्) 11. अग्निवेश—हाचेरकाः (आग्निवेश्यः IV. 1. 105 + हाचेरकः IV, 1. 95, elision of both यम् and इम्).

उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपक-आदिभ्यः,
अन्यतरस्याम्, अद्वन्द्वे, (बहुषु लुग् द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपक इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोनप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति अन्यतरस्यां द्वन्द्वे च
द्वन्द्वे च ॥

69. After the words उपक &c. there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix when the words take the plural whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-kitavādi of the last sūtra. The elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, उपकलमकाः, ऋककपिष्ठलाः, कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः. But the plurals of औपकायनयः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक (IV. 1. 99) is उपकाः or औपकायनाः; of लामकायनः is लमकाः or लामकायनाः; of ऋकिक is ऋकाः or ऋकिकयः. The plural of कापिष्ठलिः is कपिष्ठलाः or कापिष्ठलयः. The plural of काष्णाजिनिः is कृष्णाजिनाः or काष्णाजिनवः. The plural of कृष्णसुन्दरः is कृष्णसुन्दराः or काष्णसुन्दरवः.

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone. They are as follow:—

1. पण्डारक . 2. अण्डारक . 3. गडुक . 4. सुपर्यक . 5. सुपिष्ट . 6. पयूर-
कर्ण . 7. खारीजङ्घ . 8. शलाबल . 9. पतञ्जल . 10. कठेरणि . 11. कुपीतक . 12.
काशकृस्त्र . 13. निराष . 14. कलशीकण्ठ . 15. रामकण्ठ . 16. कृष्णपिंगल . 17.
कर्णक . 18. पर्यक . 19. अटिलक . 20. वधिरक . 21. जन्तुक . 22. अनुज्ञोम . 23.
अर्द्धपिंगलक . 24. प्रतिलोम . 25. प्रतान . 26. अनभिहित . (27. चूडारक . 28. उदङ्ग .
29. सुधायुक . 30. भवन्धक . 31. पदञ्जल . 32. अनुग्रह . 33. भपजग्ध . 34. कमक .
35. लेखाम्ब . 36. कमन्धक . 37. पिञ्जल . 38. मसूरकर्ण . 39. मराष . 40. कसामत्त .
41. रामकण्ठ) ॥

आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्ति कुण्डिनच् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगस्त्य-
कौण्डिन्ययोः, अगस्ति-कुण्डिनच्, (बहुषु लुग्, अणो यञः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरणो यञश्च बहुषु लुग् भवति पतिशिष्टस्त्वथ प्रकृतिभागस्त्व
अथासंख्ययणस्ति कुण्डिनच् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

70. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes अण् and वम् of the words भगस्त्व and कौण्डिन्य, when they take the plural; and the words भगस्ति and कुण्डिन्य are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of भगस्त्व is भगस्तयः (as if it was the plural of भगस्ति) and of कौण्डिन्यः is कुण्डिनाः. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 114.) after भगस्त्व and the affix वम् (IV. 1. 105) after कौण्डिन्य are elided.

The च in कुण्डिन्य is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 163); the word कुण्डिन्य has udatta on the middle vowel; and its substitute will also have the same accent. There is no elision however in भागस्तीवारज्या (IV. 1. 89) कौण्डिन्यारज्याः (IV. 2. III).

सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि सुपः, धातु-प्रातिपदिकयोः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपो विभक्तेर्धातुसंज्ञायाः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाश्च लुग् भवति ॥

71. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or as a crude form.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III. 1. 8) he wishes for a son of his own. A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (I. 2. 46); as कटभितः 'having recourse to pain' राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुत्रम् इच्छति = पुत्रीयति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कटभितः = कटभितः &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक ?

Because when it gets any other name, such as भङ्ग &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्षः, वृक्षः ।

अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदि-प्रभृतिभ्यः, शपः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदिप्रभृतिभ्य उकारस्य शपो लुग् भवति ॥

72. After the verb भृ 'to eat' and the rest, there is luk-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

Thus भृ + शप् + ति = भृति 'he eats'; हन्ति 'he kills'; ईदृष्टि 'he envies'. The Adādi verbs belong to the second conjugation. In this class of verbs, therefore, the terminations are added direct to the root.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये शपो बहुलं लुग् भवति ॥

73. In the Chhandas (Vedas) there is diversely the luk-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

There is elision in other conjugations than Adādi; and there is sometimes even no elision in Adādi verbs. As वृत्रं हन्ति 'he kills Vṛitra.' हन् + शप् + ति = हन्ति instead of हन्ति । So also, अहिः शयते instead of शेते. (Rig. V. I. 32. 5). In these cases the Vikarāṇa शप् has not been elided.

In some cases the शप् is elided as चाध्वन् नो देवाः instead of चायध्वन् ॥

यङोऽचि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, अचि, च, (लुग् बहुलम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङो लुग् भवति अचि प्रथये परतः, चकारेण बहुलं महाननुकृत्यते नतु छन्दसि इति ॥

74. And there is diversely the luk-elision of यङ् (III. 1. 22) when the affix भञ् (III. 1. 134) follows.

By using 'diversely' there is elision of यङ् when other affixes than भञ् follow, both in the sacred and profane literature; as लोलुबः 'much cutter' (लोलुब + भञ्); पोषुत्रः 'much purifier.' सनीधंसः from धंस 'to drop.' दनीधंसः from धंस 'to fall,' the नी being added by (VII. 4. 84).

So also यङ् is elided before other affixes than भञ्; thus शाकुनिकी जालपीति, इन्द्रमिवीवहीति ॥ See also I. 1. 4.

जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुहोति-अदिभ्यः, श्लुः, (शपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुहोत्यादिभ्य उन्तरस्य शपः श्लु भवति ॥

75. After the verbs ह् 'to sacrifice' and others, there is ślu-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

These verbs belong to the Juhotyādi class. जुहोति 'he sacrifices' (VII. 1. 10). श्लु causes the reduplication of the root. So also विभेति 'he fears.' विनेत्ति from निञ् 'to purify,' he purifies.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः श्लुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं शपः श्लु भवति ॥

76. In the Chhandas there is ślu-elision of शप् diversely.

Elision does not take place where ordained, and takes place where not ordained. दाति मिथानि (instead of ददाति) 'he gives pleasant objects,' धाति instead of दधाति .

So also there is *flu*-elision of the vikaranas after roots other than those belonging to the JuhotyAdi class. Thus; पूर्णो विवष्टि, जनिम विवक्ति.

गातिस्थासुपाभूभ्यः सिचः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥
गाति-स्था-सु-पा-भूभ्यः, सिचः, परस्मैपदेषु, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाति स्था सु वा भू इत्येतेभ्यः परस्मै सिचो लुग् भवति परस्यै पदेषु परवः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ गापो मंहने इणपिबश्चो मंहनम् ॥

77. There is *luk*-elision of the affix सिच् (III. 1. 44) in the Parasmaipada, after the verbs गौ 'to go,' स्था 'to stand,' the verbs called च् (I. 1. 20), वा 'to drink' and भू 'to be.'

गौ is the substitute of इष् (II. 4. 45). सिच् the affix of the Aorist is elided after these verbs in the Parasmaipada as अगात् 'he went,' अस्थात् 'he stood,' अदात् 'he gave,' अधात् 'he held,' अवात् 'he drank,' अभूत् 'he was.'

Vart:—The verbs गौ and वा in the aphorism mean the गौ 'to go' (which is the substitute of इष्, and not गौ 'to sing,') which also assumes the form गा, and वा 'to drink' and not वा 'to protect.' The verbs गा 'to sing' and वा 'to protect' will form their Aorist with सिच् without its elision; thus अगासीत् 'he sang,' अवासीत् 'he protected.'

In the Atmanepada the सिच् is not elided; thus अगासातां मानो देवत्सेन.

विभाषा घ्राधेद्शाछास; ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, घ्रा-धेद्-शा-छासः, (सिचः परस्मै विभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्रा धेद् शा छा सा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्व सिचः परस्मैपदेषु विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

78. After the verbs घ्रा 'to smell,' धेद् 'to drink,' शा 'शो' 'to pare,' छा (छो) 'to cut,' and सा (सो) 'to destroy,' there is optionally the elision of सिच्, when the parasmaipada terminations are employed.

Thus अघ्रात् or अघ्रासीत् 'he smelled,' अधात् or अधासीत् 'he drank,' अशात् or अशासीत् 'he pared,' अछात् or अछासीत् 'he cut' and असात् or असासीत् 'he destroyed.'

There is no option allowed in Atmanepada; thus, अगासातां सुमनसौ देवत्सेन ॥

The root धेद् is a Ghu verb, and in its case, the सिच् would have been elided by the last rule also. The present declares an option.

तनादिभ्यस्त्वयासोः, ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदिभ्यः, त-यासोः,
(सिचःविभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनादिभ्य उत्तरस्व सिचस्त्वयासोः परसो विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

79. After the verbs तन् 'to expand, and others there is optionally the luk-elision of सिच् when the Atmanepada affixes त् and यास् of the second person follow.

Thus भवत् (VI. 4. 37) or भवतिष् 'he expanded,' भवयाः or भवतिष्वाः 'thou didst expand.' Similarly भवत् or भवतिष् 'he gave,' भवयाः or भवतिष्वाः 'thou didst give.'

The roots तन् and सन् must both belong to the Atmanepada, and not to Parasmaipada. Hence in the Parasmaipada there is no elision of सिच्. Thus, भवतिष् वृत्तम् 'you did expand.'

मन्त्रे घसन्ह्वरणशब्दहाद्बृक् कृगमिजनिभ्यो लेः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥
मन्त्रे-घस ह्वर-णश-बृ-दृह-आत्-बृक्-कृ-गमि-जनिभ्यः, लेः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये घस इत् षण् वृ दृह भात् वृक् कृ गमि जनि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्व लेः लुग् भवति ॥

80. In the Mantra portion of the Vedas there is luk-elision of the sign of the Aorist (& Perfect), after the verbs च् 'to eat' इत् 'to be crooked,' षण् 'to destroy' वृ 'to choose,' 'to cover,' दृ 'to burn,' verbs ending in long आ, वृच् 'to avoid,' कृ 'to make,' गमि 'to go' and जनि 'to be produced.'

The word लि is the name given by ancient grammarians to the affixes of Perfect tense as well as the Aorist, or it might be common term for all tense-affixes. Thus from घस we have भक्षन् in the sentence, भक्षन् पितरो ऽमी' मन्त्र पितरो' ऽतीदन्व पितरः पितरः शुन्धन् (Yajurveda XIX. 36 so also Rig. I. 82. 2).

From the verb इत् we have माहर्निनस्व स्वम्. From षण् we have प्रणष्ट् in the following verse मानः संसो भरुषो धूर्तिः प्रणष्ट्मर्त्यस्य । रक्षा गोत्रहण्यस्वते ॥ (Rig. I. 18. 3.)

The word वृ in the sūtra includes both वृह् and वृम्, as the word वेन in the following ब्रह्मं जज्ञानं प्रथमं पुरस्ताद्विष्टी' मवः सुरुषो वेन आ'वः । सवृ धृष्ट्वा उपमा अंस्य विष्टाः सुतश्च योनिमुसंतश्च वि चः ॥ (Yajurveda 13. 3.)

From इह we have आधक् as in संस्वभृभिर्नो' नेपिच्यो मार्षस्करिः पर्यंसा मान् आधक् ॥ (Rig. VI. 61. 14). The word आत् means verbs ending in long आ as प्रा 'to fill.' Thus, निचः देवानामुद्गावनीकं चक्षुर्भिनस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः । आमा यावा वृथिवी भन्तरिक्तं सूर्ये आत्मा जगतस्तस्य च ॥ (Rig. I. 115. 1.)

The root वृच् gives us वृक् as in the following verse:—ना नो भस्मिन्नाधने परा- वग् भोरभुवया । संवर्गे संरथिं जवः ॥ (Rig. VIII 75. 12).

From कृ we have कृत् as in the following verse कृत् कर्म कर्म कृतः सद्
शाचा मयो मुर्वा । हे देवः कर्म कृत्वास्तं शैतं सचामुवः ॥ (Yajurveda III. 47).

From गन् we have अगन्; as in the following verse: वृतेव बत बहुभिर्वसवो
स्वेरभि जागुर्वातो अनुगन् । कृषांतमग्निं रघंतः वृष्टं वपावतं विथहा शीदिसांसं ॥ (Rig. VI. 1.1).

From जन we have अजन्त as अजन्त वा अस्य इत्याः . This is an example from
the Brâhman literature, as the word मन् in the sūtra refers also to the
Brâhman literature.

आमः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, (डे, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमः परस्व जे ईग् भवति ॥

81. There is luk-elision in the room of that
tense-affix (ञि) which comes after आम् of the Perfect.

आम् is used in forming Periphrastic Perfect ईहांचके 'he endea-
voured. Here, after the verb ईहाम् all tense-affixes are elided, and the Perfect
of कृ is added to form its Perfect. Similarly रुहांचके, ईसांचके ॥

अव्ययादाप्सुपः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्, आप्-सुपः, (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययादुत्तरस्यापः सुपश्च लुग् भवति ॥

82. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine
termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) after an Avyaya
or Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र शान्तायाम् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there,'
does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तत्त्वाम् 'in
that.' So also कृता 'having done' हिरण &c. Here the case-affix is elided.

नाठ्ययीभावादतीग्मृत्त्रपञ्चम्याः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्ययी-
भावात्, अतः, अन्, तु, अपञ्चम्याः, (सुपः लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्ताठ्ययीभावादुत्तरस्व सुपो न लुग् भवति, अमादेशस्तु तस्व सुपो नवरत्न-
पञ्चम्याः ॥

83. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix
ater an Avyayi-bhâva compound that ends in आ; आम् is
the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the
fifth case-affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the last
sūtra; instead of luk-elision, we have आम् added to the words ending in short
अ; for examples of this, see sūtra II. 1.6; as उपकुम्भंतिष्ठति 'upakumbha is
standing'; उपकुम्भं पश्य 'see the upakumbha.'

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ'? Because after Avyayībhāva compound ending in any other vowels there is not substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes; as अधिली, अधिकुमारी.

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayībhāva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अन् substitution; as उपकुम्भोदानम्.

तृतीया समस्योर्बहुलम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-समस्योः, बहुलम्, (अन् अव्ययीभावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीया समस्योर्विभक्तयोर्बहुलमम्भावो भवति अव्ययीभावे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समस्या ऋद्धि नदी समास संख्यावयवेष्वो नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

84. The change to अन् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayībhāva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

उपकुम्भेन or उपकुम्भम् कृतं 'done by upakumbha'; उपकुम्भे निधेहि or उपकुम्भम् निधेहि 'put it in the upakumbha.'

Vart. The अन् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayībhāva compound denotes prosperity (II, 1. 6.) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19); as, सुमद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas'; similarly उन्मत्तगङ्गम् । ज्योहितगङ्गम् । एकविंशतिभारद्वाजम् । The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vārtika.

लुटः प्रथमस्य द्वारौरसः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटः, प्रथमस्य डा-रौ रसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुडादेशस्य प्रथमपुरुषस्य परस्मैपदस्यात्मनेपदस्य च डा रौ रस इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति त्रयासंख्यम् ॥

85. डा, रौ and र्त्स् are substituted respectively in the room of the three-affixes of the third person of लृट् (First-future), both in the Parasmaipada and the Atmanepada.

Thus in the Parasmaipada कर्ता 'he will do,' कर्तारौ 'they two will do,' कर्तारः 'they will do.' So also in the Atmanepada we have अभ्येता, अभ्येतारौ, अभ्येतारः।

Why do we say 'in the 3rd person'? Observe इवः कर्तासि । इवोऽभ्येतासे ॥

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