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THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PĀNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.

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" Pt. XIII - XVI "
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DEWARIS.

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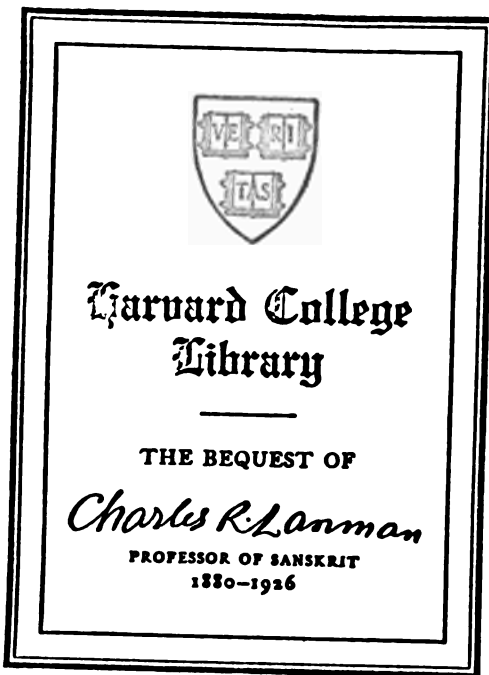
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स्वस्तीश्वरे हितपुरे हितदे प्रयागे सत्संगमप्रणयसंगतिदे बुधानां ।  
विद्याविनोदवरिवद्धितबुधुशारान् वास्वन्वयाञ्छिरिशाचन्द्रविशंवरिष्ठान् ॥ १ ॥  
दृष्टातिभोदमुदिरोहमुदमशान्तीन् सच्छास्त्रशोधितसुखास्पदशोधभाजः ।  
सम्यक्लसंतु नतयोनितराम्मदीयाः यद्वाबहुककविकर्मरतांतरेभ्यः ॥ २ ॥  
दृष्टादूतं विमलबोधनबोधराशि सद्वाकृतिप्रथितकीर्तिकरप्रशस्यं ।  
यच्छ्रीमदीयमतिभोदवहं वरेण्यं सस्युस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोद्यकृत्यं ॥ ३ ॥  
चित्रंयदस्ति भवतेग्लिशबोधभाजा यद्भवस्तुतो विरचितं समदृक् सुविम्बं ।  
तोकेसुचित्ररचनाभरणकशीला श्रिषेचचित्रमनसः प्रतिबिम्बमत्रे ॥ ४ ॥  
सत्तेग्लिशप्रकटितंवरसूत्रवृत्तौ संज्ञाविपेक्षालमनो कुरुकल्पसाक्षि ।  
स्थानेवसुप्रहितविचाविर्वात्तयै यश्चासुतासुविहिनोग्लिशभावकृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥  
येनरथा मुनिमतावृतशास्त्रसंघान् निर्मथ्यतीधरसवन्महतादरेण ।  
संगुम्फितं सरलसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वशाम्यहमलं भवतेहिताय ॥ ६ ॥  
ग्रन्थस्ययत्प्रसरणाखिलकीर्तिकृत्ये याचेपरद्भगवतोप्यहमत्रविद्वन् ।  
यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुख्यपुसराप्रचारं लाभंसुल्लेखचिरं च तवापि धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥  
वाणीविशाम्बरतवास्तुमुखे जयोद्या यत्पूर्वपश्चिमजबोधभूते च विद्या ।  
दयातस्वरासकल वर्षभूजां समूहेऽप्याशीर्विद्यो भवतु पंडित लालचन्द्र ॥ ८ ॥

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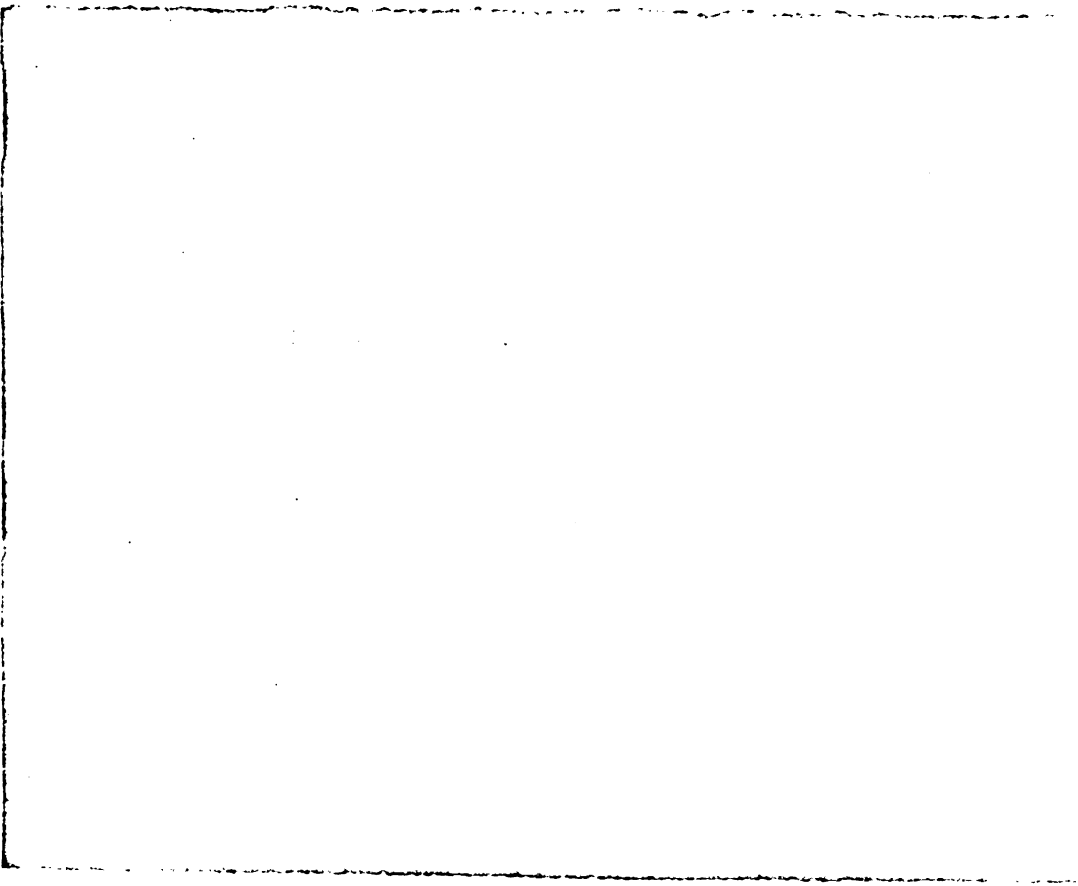
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*Ch. L. ...*







ओ३म् ।

## अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

### BOOK FOURTH.

#### CHAPTER FIRST.

ङाप्प्रातिपदिकात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङी-भाप्-प्रातिपदिकात् ॥

धृतिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेऽर्थाप्रातिपदिकादिष्वेवं  
संश्लेषितम्यम् ॥

1. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with the feminine affixes ङी, or भाप्, or after a Nominal stem.

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sūtra points out the base प्रकृति to which the affixes beginning with सु treated of in the next sūtra, and ending with कप् (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sūtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीष्, and ङीन् ॥ The term भाप्, is the common name for the three affixes दाप्, दाष् and चाप् ॥ These are feminine affixes and are taught from sūtra 4 to 65 of this chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'a Nominal stem' and has been defined in sūtra I. 2. 45, 46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Tad-dhita affix. The word ङाप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a Samāhāra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Q. All affixes are placed after the base (See Sūtra III. 1. 2); the affixes treated of in the last Book were to be placed after the root ('dhātu'); the remaining affixes taught in Books Fourth and Fifth, will therefore, be placed after all such bases प्रकृति which are not roots (dhātu); and such bases remaining are prātipadika and feminine words. What is then the necessity

of making this sūtra, when these prātipadika &c., are the only bases left to us to apply the affixes taught herein-after ?

A. To this we reply, the necessity of making this sūtra arose from the following considerations: that the word *इत्याप् प्रतिपदिकात्* should qualify the words 'इत्' 'अत्', 'the letter अ,' 'अनुसन्तादि,' and 'इत्,' wherever used in the following sūtras. So that, where a rule says: "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word," we must understand it to mean, "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word which is a prātipadika, or which ends with 'hi' or 'āp'; and not to every Vṛiddha word." The principal aphorism, besides the present, which regulates the application of Taddhita affixes, is IV. 1. 82, which declares:—"The taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified *by the first of the words in construction.*" Thus IV. 1. 157 says;—"The affix *फिन्* is added, according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, in the sense of 'descendant,' after a word which is entitled to the designation of Vṛiddham, provided it does not end with a Gotra affix." Thus the idea, 'the son of Amragupta,' may be expressed either by the phrase 'अमरगुप्तस्यापत्यम्'; or by adding the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction, viz, 'Amraguptasya,' which is a Vṛiddha word (I. 1. 73). But can we apply the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction in the following, 'ज्ञानाम् ब्राह्मणानामपत्यम्', because the word 'jñānām' the genitive plural of 'jña', is a Vṛiddha word? Certainly not, because the word 'prātipadikāt' must be read into this sūtra IV. I. 157, and the affix 'phiñ' should be added after that Vṛiddha word which is in its crude-form also a Vṛiddham, and not that which becomes Vṛiddham only in construction. Now the prātipadika of 'jñānām' is 'jña', the latter is not a vṛiddham, therefore, the rule does not apply to it. So also the word 'jñā' is a vṛiddham in its prātipadika state; but in the following phrase, it loses its vṛiddha nature; 'ज्ञथो ब्राह्मणोरपत्यम्' meaning 'the son of two wise Brāhman ladies'. Still the affix 'phiñ' must be added to the word 'jñyor', because its prātipadika is a vṛiddha word. (2) Similarly the word 'अत्' (sūtra IV. I. 160; 'the affix phiñ is applied diversely to a non-vṛiddha word, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; otherwise it would lead to similar incongruous results as in the last aphorism. (3) Similarly the word अत् in Sūtra IV. 1. 95 ('the affix इम् is added after a word which ends in the letter अ') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; that is to say, the word in its crude-form must end in अ, and not necessarily when it is in construction. If it were not so; then the affix 'इम्' will apply only to the word 'इत्स्य' in 'इत्स्योरपत्यम्' but will not apply to the words 'इत्स्योः,' or 'इत्सानाम्' in the phrases 'इत्स्योरपत्यम्' or 'इत्सानामपत्यम्' ॥ But the affix 'इम्' applies to all these three words,

(4). Similarly the word 'भ्रुवात्तरेः' in IV. 2. 44, (the affix 'भ्रु' is added to a word which has the grave accent on its beginning), must be qualified by the word *prâtipadika*. That is, the word in its crude form must have the grave accent on its initial, though in construction, it may or may not have grave accent. Otherwise, the affix 'इष्' will apply to the words 'वाचः' and 'स्वचः' which in construction are *anudâttâdi* as in 'वाचो विकारः' 'स्वचो विकारः' (VI. 1. 168); but which in their crude-forms (वाक्, स्वच्) are *udâttâdi*. And conversely, the affix 'भ्रु' will not apply to the word 'सर्वेषाम्' which in construction is *udâttâdi*, as, 'सर्वेषाम् विकारः,' but which in its crude-form is *anudâttâdi*.

(5). Similarly the word 'द्वयः' in IV. 4. 7, (the affix 'द्व' is employed after words consisting of two vowels, when the sense is that of crossing), must be qualified by the word *prâtipadika*. That is, the word in its *prâtipadika* state must consist of two vowels, though in construction it may consist of more than two syllables. Otherwise, this affix will not apply to the word *घटेन* in the phrase 'घटेन तरति,' while it will apply to the words 'वाचा' and 'स्वचा' in the phrases, 'वाचा तरति,' 'स्वचा तरति'. But this is undesirable.

Q Why have we employed the word 'hy-âp' in the aphorism? Is not the word *prâtipadika* wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the *paribhâshâ*:—"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." ?

A. Not so. The *paribhâshâ* you quote applies to that case, where there is a rule, relating to an individual word-form, given in the *Sûtra* itself. In other words, "this *paribhâshâ* is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes *prâtipadikas* generally (as the word '*prâtipadika*' does in this *sûtra*) or denotes a particular *prâtipadika*, (such as the words वा, सन्ति, पतिव, बलिन, and अरति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form *yuvâ*, also includes the feminine : but not so every-where. Moreover the words, डी, भाष् have been employed in the *Sûtra*, in order to make the *Taddhita* affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (डी) or long आ (भाष्). Thus the feminine of 'काल', and 'हरिण' is, 'काली', and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माला' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला'. After these words we can apply the *Taddhita* affix *तरप्* : as 'कालितरप्', 'हरिणितरप्', 'खट्वातरप्', and 'मालातरप्' ॥

Now, had we not used the word 'hy-âp' in the *Sûtra*, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kalitarâ,' we could not have got this form at all.

Q. The word काल takes डीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when स्रप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालित्प ॥ Why do you then say that the Taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ङ्य-अप ?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus, when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली ; and when comparison alone is meant and not feminine, we shall have कालतर; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word ङ्य-अप, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

स्वौजसमौद्घृष्टाभ्यांभिसुडेभ्यांभ्यस्डल्लिभ्यांभ्यस्डलोसामड्योस्सुप् ॥ २ ॥  
पदानि ॥ सु-औ-जस्, अम्-औद्-शस्, वा-भ्यां-भिसु, डे-भ्यां-भ्यस्, डाली-भ्यां-भ्यस्,  
डस् ओस्-आम्, डि-ओस्-सुप् ( ड्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ड्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः भवन्ति ॥

2. (After what ends with the feminine terminations डी or आप, or after a Nominal stem the following case affixes are employed for declension) :—

|      | Singular. | Dual.    | Plural.  |
|------|-----------|----------|----------|
| 1st. | su (s)    | au       | jas (as) |
| 2nd. | am        | auṭ (au) | śas (as) |
| 3rd. | ṭā (ā)    | bhyām    | bhis     |
| 4th. | ṇe (e)    | bhyām    | bhyas    |
| 5th. | ṇasi (as) | bhyām    | bhyas    |
| 6th. | ṇas (as)  | os       | ām       |
| 7th. | ṇi (i)    | os       | sup (su) |

In the above affixes, letters like ङ in सु are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final ण् is employed for the sake of forming the pratyāhāra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The force and meaning of these affixes have already been explained in a former part of this work ; and therefore, need not be repeated here. We shall now give examples of the application of these affixes to words formed by डीप्, as, कुमारी ; by डीप् as, गोरी ; by डीन् as चार्ङ्गरी ; by वाप् as खडा ; by डाप् as बहुतजा ; and by चाप् as कापीव-गन्था ; and lastly to a prātipadika. as. वृप् ।



|                 | Singular   | Dual         | Plural       |
|-----------------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| <b>कुमारी ।</b> |            |              |              |
| 1st             | कुमारी     | कुमार्यौ     | कुमार्यः     |
| 2nd             | कुमारीम्   | कुमार्यौ     | कुमारीः      |
| 3rd             | कुमार्या   | कुमारीभ्याम् | कुमारीभिः    |
| 4th             | कुमार्यै   | कुमारीभ्याम् | कुमारीभ्यः   |
| 5th             | कुमार्याः  | कुमारीभ्याम् | कुमारीभ्यः   |
| 6th             | कुमार्याः  | कुमार्योः    | कुमारीभ्याम् |
| 7th             | कुमार्याम् | कुमार्योः    | कुमारीभ्यु   |
| <b>खट्वा ।</b>  |            |              |              |
| 1st             | खट्वा      | खट्वे        | खट्वाः       |
| 2nd             | खट्वाम्    | खट्वे        | खट्वाः       |
| 3rd             | खट्वाया    | खट्वाभ्याम्  | खट्वाभिः     |
| 4th             | खट्वायै    | खट्वाभ्याम्  | खट्वाभ्यः    |
| 5th             | खट्वायाः   | खट्वाभ्याम्  | खट्वाभ्यः    |
| 6th             | खट्वायाः   | खट्वायोः     | खट्वाभ्याम्  |
| 7th             | खट्वायाम्  | खट्वायोः     | खट्वाभ्यु    |
| <b>इषद् ।</b>   |            |              |              |
| 1st             | इषद्       | इषदौ         | इषदः         |
| 2nd             | इषदम्      | इषदौ         | इषदः         |
| 3rd             | इषदा       | इषद्भ्याम्   | इषदाभिः      |
| 4th             | इषदै       | इषद्भ्याम्   | इषद्भ्यः     |
| 5th             | इषदः       | इषद्भ्याम्   | इषद्भ्यः     |
| 6th             | इषदः       | इषदोः        | इषदाभ्याम्   |
| 7th             | इषदि       | इषदोः        | इषदभ्यु      |

The words गौरी and साङ्गरी are declined like कुमारी ; and बहुपात्रा and कारीपगन्ध्या are declined like खट्वा ॥

स्त्रियाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । यस्मिन् ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः स्त्रियमित्येव तदेवित्यम् ॥

3. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes which we shall treat of hereinafter must be employed.

This is an adhikāra sūtra pure and simple. The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated', must be read in all the following aphorisms upto 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word 'prātipadika' should be read into this sūtra, from the first sūtra, not so, however, the anuvṛitti of the words 'ङी-ञाप्' ; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and ञाप् affixes.

अजाद्यतष्टाप् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजादि-अतः-टाप् ( स्त्रियाम् ऊचाप्या० ) ॥  
शुद्धिः ॥ अजादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽकारान्वाच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

4. The affix टाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the Nominal-stem 'aja' &c, and after the stems ending in short अ ॥

Of the affix टाप्, the letters ट् and प् are इत्, the real affix is आ ॥ The letter प् indicates that the affix has anudatta accent (III. 1. 4); the letter ट् is employed to distinguish this affix from चाप् and डाप् ॥

The words अज् &c, are given below. Thus अज् 'a he goat,' अजा 'a she-goat'. The words ending in short अ are such as, देवदत्त whose feminine will be देवदत्ता ॥ The word अत् is used in the aphorism, the indicatory त् shows (I. 1. 70) that the short अ having one mātra should be taken; and not the long आ ॥ Prátipadikas that end in long आ, such as कीलालपा or शुभया (III. 2. 74) do not form their feminine by taking टाप्, but are both masculine and feminine. Thus, शुभयाः कीलालपाः ब्राह्मणी 'the auspicious-going, nectar-drinking Brāhmānti'. Had the feminine of such words been formed by टाप्, then the case-affix न् of the nominative singular would have been elided after them (VI. 1. 68).

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class :—

|        |      |         |       |          |        |
|--------|------|---------|-------|----------|--------|
| 1. अज् | अजा  | 2. एडक  | एडका  | 3. कोकिल | कोकिला |
| 4. चटक | चटका | 5. अम्भ | अम्भा | 6. मूषिक | मूषिका |

N. B. The above words denote 'jāti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sūtra, the affix 'nsh' (IV. 2. 63) in the feminine.

|            |         |          |       |          |       |
|------------|---------|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| 7. बाल     | बाला    | 8. होड   | होडा  | 9. पाक   | पाका  |
| 10. वस्त्र | वस्त्रा | 11. मन्व | मन्वा | 12. विलस | विलसा |

N. B. The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in short अ in the masculine, but for the present sūtra, they would have taken the affix 'डीप्' (IV. 1. 20) in the feminine.

|                 |              |              |            |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| 13. पूर्वापहरण, | पूर्वापहरणा; | 14. अपरापहरण | अपरापहरणा; |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|

N. B. These two words are formed by the affix ह्युट्, and being टित्, would have taken डीप् (IV. 1. 15) but for this sūtra.

|              |           |             |          |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| 15. संफल,    | संफला;    | 16. मञ्जफल; | मञ्जफला; |
| 17. अजिनफल,  | अजिनफला;  | 18. दण्डफल, | दण्डफला; |
| 19. पिण्डफल, | पिण्डफला; | 20. विफल,   | विफला;   |

*N. B.* The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix णिष् (IV. I. 64) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class ; 'विफल' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as विफला; when a Bahuvrihi Compound, its feminine is विफली ॥

- |                 |              |                  |               |
|-----------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|
| 21. सत्पुष्प,   | सत्पुष्पा;   | 22. प्राक्पुष्प, | प्राक्पुष्पा; |
| 23. काण्डपुष्प, | काण्डपुष्पा; | 24. मान्तपुष्प,  | मान्तपुष्पा;  |
| 25. घतपुष्प,    | घतपुष्पा;    | 26. एकपुष्प,     | एकपुष्पा;     |

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken णिष् by IV. I. 64.

27. सूर्य            सूर्या

*B. N.* But the feminine of सूर्य is सूर्या when the meaning is 'the wife of a śūdra' ; so also when the word सूर्य is compounded with the word महत् as, महासूर्या 'a woman of 'महासूर्य' class'.

The term 'महासूर्य' is applied to the caste of Abhiras : and this compound word would have taken the affix 'टप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. I. 72, but for the vārtika, viz 'सूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim :—“ That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself ”; Therefore, the word 'śūdra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahā-śūdra'. This objection is futile : the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like भतिधीवरी भतिधीवरी and भतिभवती

28. कुंभ    कुंभा    29. इष्णिह    इष्णिहा    30. ऐवविष्णु    ऐवविष्णा

*N. B.* The above words end in consonants and would not have taken 'टप्' but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class.

31. उद्येह    उद्येहा    32. कनिष्ठ    कनिष्ठा    33. मध्यव    मध्यवा

*B. N.* The above words denoting matrimonial realtion would have taken the affix 'णिष्' by IV. I. 46.

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle naḥ, would have otherwise taken 'णिष्' by IV. I. 64.

ऋन्नेभ्योऽीष् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-नेभ्यः, ङीष्, ( स्त्रियाम् ड्याप्पा० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकाणन्तेभ्यो नकाणन्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ङीष् is employed, in forming the feminine, after Nominal stem ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Of the affix ङीष्, the letter ह् is taken in order to make a common term with ङीष् and ङीन् ; and the ष् is taken to distinguish ti from those

affixes; the real affix is ई । Thus, कर्तृ—*f.* कर्त्री; हर्तृ—*f.* हर्त्री; हण्डित्—*f.* हण्डिनी; छविन्,—*f.* छविनी ॥

उगितश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, ( स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच् इत् यत्रसंभवति यथा कयंचित् सतुगिच्छस्वरूपे, सपन्तात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धातोः उगितः प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भंश्चते शोपसंख्यानम् ॥

6. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' (उ, ङ्, or ल्) the affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

The उक् is a pratyāhāra meaning उ, ङ् and ल् । Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called उगित् । That which ends with such a word is meant here. A prātipadika pure and simple, not formed by an affix, may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanāmas: an affix may be उगित् as the affixes क्तवतु and षत्, and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित्; similarly a letter may be उगित् as नृ meaning नृ in VI. 4. 127, ("नृ is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in अर्चन् &c")

Thus, भवतु 'honored' sir.—*f.* भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवत्—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady'. Similarly पचत् (formed by adding षत् III. 2. 124), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the नुम comes by VII. 1. 82. So also यजन्ती 'a female sacrificing'; अर्चन् अर्चती 'a mare'.

*Vārt.*—Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk'. Thus the roots स्रु 'to fall down', ष्रु 'to fall down' have indicatory उ; and we get from these roots, the prātipadikas like उखासत् and पर्णश्चत्, (III. 2. 76). The उखासत् ब्राह्मणी, पर्णश्चत् ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding डीप् ।

*Vārt.*—The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix डीप् । As, प्राची, प्रतीची, उरीची ॥

घनो र च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घनः, र, च, ( स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन्नन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति रेफान्तादेशः ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घनो न ह्यः ॥

7. The affix 'डीप्' is added, in forming the feminine to the stems that end in the syllable चन्, and र is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (Uṇādi IV. 115) *f.* धीवरी 'a female artisan'; पीवन् *f.* पीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman', चर्वन् *f.* चर्वरी 'night' (चृ + वनिष् III. 2. 75) lit. that which destroys light. So also परलोकहृषी ॥

Words ending in वृन् are formed by the affixes हृवनिष्, (III. 2. 103) वृवनिष् and वृनिष् (III. 2. 74). These words end in वृन् and consequently would have taken डीप् even by IV. 1. 5; the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of वृ into र् in case of words ending in वृन् ॥

*Vārti*:—If the affix वृन् is ordained to be added to a word ending in हृष्, (a letter of हृष् pratyāhāra), and is thus immediately preceded by a soft consonant then this rule does not apply, that is to say, there is neither the application of the affix डीप् nor the change of वृ into र् ॥ Thus सहयुध्वन् is both masculine and feminine as, सहयुध्वा ब्राह्मणः or ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhman brother or sister in arms'. In चर्वन् the वृन् is preceded by र् which is a letter of हृष् class, but as वृन् is not ordained to be applied to चर् but to वृ, and we get the र् indirectly by guṇa, the vārtika does not apply to such a case. Hence चर्वन्ती ॥

पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाद्ः, अन्यतरस्याम् ( स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ पादन्तान् प्रातिपदिकान्यतरस्यां स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'डीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with word 'pād.'

The word पाद् becomes पावृ when final in certain Bahuvrihi compounds (V. 4. 140). Thus द्विपान् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई ( डीप् ). In the latter alternative, the form will be द्विपदी, the word पाद् being replaced by पवृ by VI. 4. 130, (as read with I. 4. 18). Similarly त्रिपान् or त्रिपदी ; चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

दावृत्ति ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाप्, दावृत्ति, ( स्त्रियां पाद्ः ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचिवाच्यायां पादन्तान् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां दाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. The affix दाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-Veda.

This debarbs डीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses'; similarly त्रिपदा ऋक्, चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Rik verse"? Observe द्विपदी देवदत्ता 'Devadattā (a woman) having two feet'.

न पद् स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, पद्, स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः, ( स्त्रियाम् ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ पद् संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्त्रादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

10. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'पद्' (I. 1. 24), and after 'स्वस्त्र' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः 'the five Brāhmaṇi ladies'. So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine. The following words belong to the

Svasrādi class :—स्वसा 'a sister', पुहिता 'a daughter'; ननान्ना 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's brother's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three'. चतस्रः 'four'.

मनः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः ( डीप् स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

11. The affix डीप् is not employed after a Nominal-stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

By IV. 1. 5, prātipadikas ending in मन् would have taken the affix डीप्, in as much as they end in न्; but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus रामन् 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows:—I. s. रामा; d. रामानौ, pl. रामानः ॥ Similarly पापा, पापानौ, पापानः ॥

Here by using the term मन् we mean words formed by an affix whose effective element is मन्, such as the affix मनिन् (Uṇādi IV. 144) in the words रामन् (सो + मनिन्) and पापान्; as well as words which end in मन् which does not represent an affix. This is done on the strength of the following paribhāsha :—अनिनसमन मद्गणान्यर्थवता चनर्थकेन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ "Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar denote by I. 1. 72 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस्, and मन् represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning." Therefore, words like सीमन् and अतिमहिमन्, where मन् is not an affix, but an integral part of the word, are also governed by the present sūtra. Thus, सीमा, सीमानौ, सीमानः अतिमहिमा, अतिमाहमानौ and अतिमहिमानः ॥

अनो बहुव्रीहेः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, बहुव्रीहेः, ( स्त्रियां डीप् न ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त्रन्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियाम् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

12. The affix डीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrīhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. Thus सुपर्षन् 'possessed of beautiful joints' is both masculine and feminine. As सुपर्षा, सुपर्षाणौ, सुपर्षाणः; so also सुशर्मा, सुशर्माणौ and सुशर्माणः ॥ In these cases the penultimate अ of वन् or मन् is not elided. See VI. 4. 137.

Why do we say "after Bahuvrīhi compounds"? Because after any other compounds, this rule will not apply. As आतराजन् is an Avyayibhāva compound, its feminine will be अतिराज्ञी ॥

डावुमाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ डाप्, उभाभ्यां, अन्यतरस्यां, ( मनः अनोबहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डाप् प्रत्ययो भवति उभाभ्यां मन्त्रन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्त्रन्ताद् बहुव्रीहेरेन्त्रतरस्याम् ॥

13 The affix डार् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

Of the affix डार्, the letter र् indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the ङि (I. 1. 64) of the base. Thus पामन् + डार् = पाम् + आ = पामा, This being an optional rule we have 1. ऽ पामा ढ, पामे or पामानौ, ष, पामाः or पामानः ; similarly with सीमा, as, सीमा, सीमे or सीमानौ, सीमाः or सीमानः ॥

So also in Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in अन्. As :—

|          |                       |                         |
|----------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| बहुराजा, | बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ, | बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥ |
| बहुतशा,  | बहुतशे or बहुतशाणौ,   | बहुतशाः or बहुतशाणः ॥   |

Why do we say "optionally" ? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV. 1. 7 also; i. e. when a prātipadika ending in वन्, which can be regarded as ending in अन्, is a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the change of न into र् and the application of डीर् are optional. we may apply the affix डार् instead. As :— बहुधीवा or बहुधीवरी ; बहुपीवा or बहुपीवरी ॥

अनुपसर्जनात् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन् उपसर्जनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनुपसर्जनादित्येषं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

14. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77: and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas'. That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only, which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. ( I. 2. 43 ). Thus the next sūtra declares "the affix ङि is added in forming the feminine after what ends in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicative इ, & c." Thus the word कुरुचर is formed by the affix च (III.) 2. 16), and ends in अ. The feminine of this word will be formed by डीर् as कुरुचरी, similarly मद्रचर—/ मद्रचरी । But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43), then they will not take the affix डीर् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2, 35) ; therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take डीर् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचर or बहुमद्रचरा मधुरा ॥ Similarly IV. 1. 63 says, "the affix डीर् is added after words denoting jāti" as, कुक्कुटी, शुकरी ॥ But where these words are upasarjana, 'fish' will not be added : as, बहुकुक्कुटा बहुशुकरा मधुरा ॥

As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72) does not apply to compounds ; but the present sūtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds for the purposes

of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra ; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasarjana), or principal (pradhāna). But the present sūtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

The feminine of कुम्भकार or नगरकार will be कुम्भकारी or नगरकासी, in as much as the second member here is pradhāna : the word 'kumbha-kāra' being formed by अण् (III, 2, 1), and thus making it possible to apply ङीप् by IV. 1. 15. The affix अण् referred to in the next sūtra refers to the kṛit-affix अण् (III. 2. 1), as well as to the Taddhita affix अण् ॥

टिड्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्द्वयमात्रच्तयप् ठक् ठञ्कञ्करणः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥  
दित्-ढ-अण्-अञ्-द्वयसच्-द्वयच्-मात्रच्-तयप्-ठक्-ठञ्-कञ्-करणः ( अतः स्त्रियाम् ङीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टिड्ढाणञ्-प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञ्प्रतीककृद्युनतरुणतलुनानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

15. The affix ङीप् is added, in the feminine, after the Nominal-stems ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicative ढ, or if the affix be ढ, or अण्, or अञ् or द्वयसच्, or द्वयच्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठञ् or कञ् or क्वरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvṛitti from IV. 1. 4 ; and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debar the affix टाप् of IV. 1. 4. We shall give example of each *seriatim* (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मद्रचर f, मद्रचरी (चर + ई = चर + ई ; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148.) The word kuru-chara is formed by ढ (III. 2. 16). of which ढ is indicative.

Q. It might be objected, "why is not the affix ङीप् added after the words पचमान, formed by the affix घानच् (III. 2. 124) in as much as this affix is a substitute of लृट् ; and because लृट् has an indicative ढ, therefore, its substitute will also be supposed to have an indicative ढ (I. 1. 57)."

A. To this we reply, 'the affix लृट् is not दित् as it has two indicative letters, ढ and ढ.

Q. If that be so, affixes like लृट् should also be called no दित् affixes, as they have also two indicative letters.

A. To this we reply, that if लृट् be not regarded दित्, then the indicative ढ of लृट् finds no scope any where: as the indicative ढ of लृट् has its scope in sūtra III. 4. 79. Therefore, the feminine of पचमान will be पचमाना ॥ Similarly, the indi-



catory ङ् of augments will not cause the application of the affix ढीप् ; thus पठिता विद्या ॥ Here the feminine of पठिता is formed by आ and not ङ्. This is indicated by sūtra IV. 3. 23, which says "augment तुद् is added to the affixes डुप and डुपद्". If the ङ् of तुद् could have made the affix दिन् for the purposes of this present sūtra ; the anubandha ङ् had been unnecessarily added to the affixes डु and डुल् in the above.

(2) Of words ending in ङ् we have, म, सौपर्णेय f. सौपर्णेयी so also f. वेनतेयी. The ङ् stands for the affix ङक् ; and it is replaced by एङ् (VII. 1. 2). Thus सुपर्णा + ङक् (IV. 1. 120) = सुपर्णा + एङ् = सौपर्णेयः (VII. 2. 118). There is no affix which is merely ङ् without any indicatory letters ; and denoting the feminine ; the only affix, as said above, is ङक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here :—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it", and we cannot say that the ङ् of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less ङ् of V. 3. 102 which is always Neuter.

(3) Of words in अङ्, we have already said that the affix अङ् here refers to both the Kṛit and the Taddhita affix 'aṅ'. Thus with the kṛit affix 'aṅ' we have कुम्भकार and नगरकार (III. 2. 1), the feminine of which is कुम्भकारी and नगरकारी ॥ With the Taddhita affix 'aṅ' we have औपगव (IV. 1. 92), the feminine of which is औपगवी ॥ Sometimes words formed by the addition of the affix ञ are operated upon as if they were formed by अङ् ॥ Thus चौरी, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV. 4. 62), sometimes words formed by ञ are not so treated, as बाण्डा, मोटा (IV. 2. 57).

(4) Words formed by अङ् as औत्स f. औत्सी, भौवपान, f. भौवपानी, (IV. 1. 86). Though by IV. 1. 73 the affix ढीन् would have come after the words ending in अङ्, the re-employment of this affix in the present sūtra is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix ढीप् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63 ; that is even when 'jāti' is indicated, 'ṣish' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes ह्यसप्, रसप् and मासप् are added by V. 2. 37 ; as, ऊरुह्यसी, ऊरुह्यसी, ऊरुमासी 'reaching to the thigh'. Similarly जानुह्यसी, जानुह्यसी, जानुमासी

(6) So also with words formed by तयप् (V. 2. 42). As पञ्चतयी 'of which the parts are five' so also वृषतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in ङक् (IV. 4. 1) as, आशिकी 'a female dicer', शालाकिकी. The ङ् is replaced by ङक् (VII. 3. 50).

(8) Similarly with words ending in ङङ् (V. 1. 18) : as, लावणिकी 'elegant'. The affixes ङक् and ङङ् are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix ङक् &c. For had the word ङ् merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes ङक्, ङङ् and ङङ्, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in क्त् (III. 2. 60) as, बाइरी, ताइरी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in क्त् (III. 2. 163) as इस्वी 'swift',  
पश्वी ॥

*Vart*:—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नस् and लस् (IV. 1. 87) and ईकृ (IV. 4. 59) and वदुन् (III. 2. 56) and of the words तहण and तलुन 'a youth'. Thus वीणी 'a female', पौली 'a male', चाल्की 'a female spear bearer', भास्करणी 'enriching ; वरुणी or तदुनी 'a young woman'.

यञश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञः, च, ( स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपत्यग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV. 1. 105).

Thus गार्ग्य + डीप् = गार्ग्य + ई (VI. 4. 148) = गार्ग्य + ई (VI. 4. 150) = गार्गी 'a female descendant of Garga'; so also वास्ती ॥

*Vart*:—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वेष of द्वीप + यञ् (IV. 3. 10). Its feminine will be द्वेष्या 'living on or relating to an island'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms; in which the anuvṛitti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

प्राचां स्फ स्तद्धितः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचां, स्फः, तद्धितः, ( यञः स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचामाचार्याणां मंतन यमन्तान् स्त्रियां स्फः प्रत्ययो भवति स च तद्धितसंज्ञः ॥

17. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix 'yañ', and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

Of this affix स्फ the letter ष् is indicatory (I. 3. 6), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'nish' (IV. 1. 41). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, viz by 'shpha' and 'nish'. The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prātipadika (I. 2. 46). The affix क् is replaced by the substitute भायन (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + स्फ + डीप् = गार्ग्योयणी; so also वास्त्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वास्ती ॥

The word सर्वत्र "every where", of the next sūtra is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvṛitti, in order to prohibit the applica-

tion of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 says :—'the affix चाप् comes after भावव्य' ॥ Here भावव्य ends in वप्, and by IV. 1. 16, the word भावव्य would have taken the affix णिपः IV. 1. 75 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added. Thus भावव्यायनी ॥

सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, लोहितादि कतन्तेभ्यः,  
( यञः स्त्रियांष्फ )

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र लोहितादिभ्यः कतपर्यन्तेभ्यो यमन्तेभ्यः स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata', when they take the affix yan.

The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargādi class ( IV. 1. 105 ). The present sūtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the last. The word कत refers to the independent prātipadika कत in the said subdivision, which follows immediately after the word कधि, and not to the word कुक्कत of the same class, where the word कत is not an independent full nominal-stem but a member only. Thus लोहित्यायनी, चांघित्यायनी वाध्यायणी ॥

*Kārikā* कण्वास्तु शकलः पूर्वः कतावृत्तर इत्येते ।

पूर्वोत्तरे तदन्तासी ष्फाणो तत्र प्रयोजनम् ॥

For the purposes of the application of ष्फ and भण्, the word शकल which is enumerated in the Gaṇapāṭha after the word कण्व ( See IV. 1. 105 ) should be regarded as if it stood immediately before कण्व and after कत ॥ Thus we have शाकल्यायनी ( with ष्फ ), and शकलाः with भण्, meaning शाकल्यत्वेन छात्राः 'the pupils of Sākalya'.

कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यां च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौरव्य-माण्डूकाभ्याम्, च, ( स्त्रियांष्फ ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौरव्य माण्डूक इत्येताभ्यां स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कौरव्यमाण्डूकयोरासुरेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

19. The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ॥

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ष्य to the base कूह ( IV. 1. 151 ); this word, ending in ष, would have formed its feminine by टाप् ( IV. 1. 4 ), but for the present sūtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, the word माण्डूक is formed by भण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of māṇḍūka would have been formed by णिप ( IV. 1. 15 ), but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायनी, माण्डूकायनी ॥

How do you explain the form कौरवी in the phrase कौरवी सेना ?

We explain it by saying that कौरवी is not the feminine of कौरव्य; but of कौरव, formed by adding भण् to कुरु by sūtra IV. 3. 120.

*Vart.*—The word भासुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and māṅḍūkyā. Thus भासुरायणी ॥ The word भासुरि is formed by the affix इम् added to the word भासुर; the word 'āsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix भण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112). But according to the opinion of Patanjali, the word, 'āsuri' should form its further derivative (called also शपिक) by taking the affix उ (IV. 2. 114). Thus भासुरीयः कल्पः (तेन प्रोक्तम्) ॥

वयसि प्रथमे ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, प्रथमे, ( स्त्रियां डीप् )

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमे वयसि यत्प्रातिपदिकं भुक्त्यावर्त्तते ततः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वयस्यचरमेइतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

20. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ई, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरि 'a young girl' बर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say denoting 'early age'? Observe स्यदिर 'an old woman'; वृद्धा 'an old woman'. Why do we say ending in अ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine.

*Vart.*—The sūtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age'? Thus वयुडी 'a young woman', चिरुडी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form; as in sūtra IV. 1. 116.

The words like उत्तानश्या 'an infant girl that does not know how to lie down properly' लोहितपादिका 'a female infant whose feet are still tender and red' do not directly, but metaphorically, express age, and hence are not governed by this rule.

द्विगोः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, ( स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुसंज्ञकान् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix 'डीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus द्रुपुली, पञ्चपुली ॥ But we find त्रिफला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अञ्ज &c' (IV. 1. 4).

अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्योनतद्धितलुकि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिमाण-  
विस्त-आचित-कम्बल्येभ्यः, न, तद्धित-लुकि, ( डीप् द्विगोः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिमाणन्तार् द्विगोर्विस्ताचित कम्बल्यान्ताश्च तद्धितलुकि सति डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

22. The affix डीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure ; or in 'bista', 'achita', and 'kambalya'.

This debars 'nip' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra. The words विस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', भाचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tolaḥs'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1, 19, &c.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix इम् (V. 1. 37) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. 1. 28. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimāṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by डीप् but by दाप्, thus, पञ्चाश्वी 'a female purchased for five horses'.

The words denoting 'time' or 'number' are not words denoting 'measure' as understood in this sūtra by the word 'parimāṇa'. Thus, द्विवर्षा, 'a two years old female child', त्रिवर्षा 'a three years old female child' (V. 2. 37 Vart.) So also द्विशता 'a female purchased for two hundreds', similarly त्रिशता ॥ So also with the words विस्त &c. As द्विविस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिविस्ता, द्वाचित्ता, त्रयाचित्ता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimāṇa or a 'measure'? Observe द्वाधकी, त्रयाधकी " a female purchased for two or three ādhaka". Here ādhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb. 11 oz. avoird.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samāhāra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'nip' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses', so also दशाश्वी ।

काण्डान्तात् क्षेत्रे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काण्ड-अन्तात्, क्षेत्रे, ( द्विगोः तद्धितलुकि डीप् न ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काण्डअन्तात् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति क्षेत्रे वाच्ये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix डीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kâṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kâṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *udrtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' given under the same sūtra. The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'ñip' but by ङप्; so also विक्राण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

The term 'kâṇḍa' is a word expressive of non-measure; and, therefore, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra applies to it; the present sūtra is made to regulate this prohibition. That is to say, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra is not universally applicable in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in 'kâṇḍa'; it applies to cases where the compound refers to superficial land measure. Therefore we have, द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope two kâṇḍas long'; त्रिकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope three kâṇḍas long'.

पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषात्, प्रमाणे, अन्यतरस्याम्,  
( द्विगोः तद्धितलुकिनडीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे यः पुरुषात्प्रस्तात् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति अन्यतरस्यां न डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'डीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी इत्या 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal. Why do we say 'when referring to measure'? Observe द्विपुरुषा 'a female purchased in exchange for two males; No option is allowed here. Where the Taddhita affix is not elided, the present rule does not apply. Therefore in Samâhâra Dvigu we have द्विपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषी ॥

बहुव्रीहेरुधसो डीष् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, ऊधसः, डीष् ( स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊधस् चाद्यान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'डीष्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in the word ūdhas an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrîhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डो-धस्; then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131); thus we have कुण्डोधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13. *ante*; the present sūtra enjoins डीष् instead. Thus कुण्डोष्णी (VI. 4. 134) 'a woman with full bosom'; घटोष्णी 'a cow with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrîhi compound'? Observe माता ऊधः = मा-मोधाः (II. 2. 4) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

The Sūtra IV. 1. 28 also is debarred in this case: for though the penultimate ष is elided by the VI. 4. 134, yet rule IV. 1. 28 does not apply here.

The substitution of ङ् for the final of रुधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have महोषा पर्जन्यः 'the big-bosomed cloud'.

संख्याव्ययादे ङीप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-अव्यय-आदेः, ङीप् ( बहुव्रीहे रुधस्तः स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेरव्ययादेश्च बहुव्रीहेरुधस्तस्यान्तात् ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ङीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in 'ûdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sūtra ordains 'nip', where by the last sūtra there would have been 'nish'. Thus द्वी+रुधस्+भनह्+ङीप् ( V. 4. 131 )=द्व्यूधी 'having two udders'; so also त्र्यूधी, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrîhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अर्यूधी 'many-uddered.; निर्यूधी 'having no udders.'

Why do we say 'beginning with'? So that the rule may apply to compounds like द्विविधोष्ठी and त्रिविधोष्ठी, in which the words 'dvididha' and 'trividha', though not Sankhyâ are words which *begin* with a Sankhyâ.

दामहायनान्ताच्च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाम-हायनन्तात्, च, ( स्त्रियां ङीप् संख्या बहुव्रीहेः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेर्वह्व्रीहे र्दामहायनान्ताद्दामहायनान्ताच्च स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हायनो षयसि स्मृतः ॥

27. The affix ङीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending with the words dâman 'a rope', and hâyana 'a year'.

The word हामन् was liable to be operated upon by three rules, by IV. 1. 13 ordaining डाप्, by IV. 1. 11 prohibiting totally the affixing of ङीप् and IV. 1. 28 ordaining nip optionally: the present sūtra ordains nip to the exclusion of all those rules. As द्विसात्री 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. द्विसात्री ॥

Similarly हायन would have taken long भा by IV. 1. 4, this ordains long ई ॥ Thus द्विहायनी 'two years (old girl)', त्रिहायणी; चतुर्हायणी ॥

Vârt:—The word 'hâyana' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sūtra. Therefore we have no nip here:—द्विहायना साला 'a hall of two years existence'. So also त्रिहायना and चतुर्हायना ॥ Moreover in these latter cases the न is not changed into ञ; for when हायन denotes 'age', it is then only that the न is changed into ञ and not otherwise.

अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, उपधा-लोपिनः-अ-  
न्यतरस्यां ( बहुव्रीहे डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रन्तो यो बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपो तस्मान्न्यतरस्यां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix डीप् optionally comes after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

Thus बहुराजन् is a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन्; in applying ङीप्, it loses its penultimate by VI. 4. 134 (अलोपोऽनः there is elision of अ of अन् when a *bha* affix follows). Thus बहुराज्ञी 'having many kings'. In the alternative, when ङीप् is not added, we may add the affix डीप् by IV. 1. 13. Thus बहुराजा, बहुराजे, बहुराजाः ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition 'contained in IV. 1. 12 and have बहुराजा, बहुराजानौ, बहुराजानः ॥ when the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix डीप् at all: in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as सुपर्वा, सुपर्वे, सुपर्वाः or सुपर्वा सुपर्वाणी, सुपर्वाणः ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only; for in the case of सुपर्वन् &c. rule VI. 4. 137 prevents the elision of the penultimate न्; (न संयोगाद्भग्नन्तात्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व or न) ॥

नित्यम् संज्ञाछन्दसोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, संज्ञा, छन्दसः ( अनउपधा-  
लोपिनोऽन्यतरस्यां डीप् )

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनः संज्ञायां विषये छन्दसि चनित्यं डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in the Chhandas and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrīhi compound which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to the last rule; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix डीप् ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surājñī'; अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirājñī'. Similarly in the Chhandas we have गौः पञ्चरात्री, एकरात्री, द्विरात्री 'a cow having five udders, one udder, or two udders'. एकमूर्धा समानमूर्धा ॥

केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्थकृतसुमङ्गलं भेषजाच्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥  
केवल-मामक-भागधेय-पाप-अपर-समान-आर्थकृत-सुमङ्गल-भेषजात्, च, ( संज्ञाछ-  
न्दसोः डीप् स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केवलादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः संज्ञायांछन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—केवल, मामक, भागधेय, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्थकृत, सुमङ्गल and भेषज ॥



The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसोः of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also मामकी and मामिका; भागधेयी as भागधरुणयोर्भागधेयी and भागधेया; पापी and पापा; भपरी as इताऽपरिभ्योमपवा विजिग्ये; (Rigveda I. 1. 13) and भपरा; समानी प्रवाणी and समाना; भार्यकली and भार्यकता; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला; भेषजी and भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes डीप् also by IV. 1. 41, as belonging to Gaurādi class No. 86.

रात्रेऽधाजसौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, च, अजसौ, (संज्ञा छन्दसोः डीप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ असुविषयादन्यत्र संज्ञायां छन्दसि च रात्रिश्चान्तात् डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ अजसासिद्धितिवक्तव्यम् ॥

31. The affix डीप् comes after the word रात्रि in the Chhandas, and in denoting a Name, except when the affix जस् (nominative plural) is added.

Thus या रात्री हृष्टा, रात्रीभिः (3rd pl); (Rigveda X. 127. 1. I. 35. 1) but in the nominative plural we have रात्रयः, the regular plural of the word रात्रि, as in the sentence यास्ता रात्रयः, instead of रात्र्यः ॥

*Vart.*—According to Kātyāyana, nip is not added, not only when we apply the nominative plural termination जस्; but in all other terminations beginning with जस् also. Thus रात्रि सहोषित्वा; here in the accusative singular case also the डीप् is not employed.

But how do you explain the form रात्र्यः in the following तिमिरपटले-वगुण्डिताश्च रात्र्यः; This 'rātrya' is the nominative plural of 'rātri' which is formed by the feminine affix ळिप्; and not by णिश्. The forms evolved by adding डीप् or डीष् are one and the same, except with regard to accent; that formed by णिश् has udātta accent on the final: the other has it on the initial. The word रात्रि is formed by the कृति affix ळिप् (Un. IV. 67), and therefore, it is a word which is governed by IV. 1. 45 because it is a word falling in Bahuvadi class, by virtue of the general subrule "a word ending with the vowel इ of a कृति affix, other than क्तिन् belongs to Bahuvadi class; some say that every word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् belongs to this class". Therefore it takes डीष् in forming the feminine.

अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोरुक् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्वत्-पतिवतः, नुक् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्वत् पतिवतोरुक् भवति डीष् च प्रत्ययः ॥

32. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the affix डीष् is added to form the feminine.

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end,

by sūtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्; and these words must take ङिप् by virtue of IV. 1. 5, if not by this sūtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वती and पतिवती ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore we have not the above forms in the following:—प्रयते स्वया पतिमती पृथिवी; here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वती; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् ( मत्तुप् ). Because मत्तुप् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मत्तुप् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra. The न् is changed to व् by VIII. 2. 9 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of न् to व् in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment नुक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas:—  
as सान्त्वर्वती or सान्त्वर्वती देवानुपैत् ॥ पतिवती or पतिवती वरुणवत्सा ॥

पत्युर्नोयज्ञसंयोगे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्युः, नः, यज्ञसंयोगे, ( स्त्रियां ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्त्रियां विधीयते ॥

33. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix डीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus पति वाचं यच्छ ॥ The feminine पती means legitimate wife, she who is entitled to take part in the sacrifices of her husband. The word यज्ञसंयोग is an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound and means "related through sacrifice" i. e. who shares the fruits of and is entitled to participate in, the sacrifices of her husband. But when the sense is not that of 'wife', the feminine of पति will be पति as ग्रामस्य पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahman is the head or mistress of this village'. If the word पती means 'the wife who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband', it cannot be applied to the wife of a Sūdra, for a Sūdra cannot perform a sacrifice, *a fortiori* not his wife? The term पती is, however, extended to the wife of a Sūdra also, by analogy, as the marriage of a Sūdra also takes place by offering sacrifice to Fire and making it a witness.

विभाषासपूर्वस्य ॥३४॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, सपूर्वस्य (पत्युर्नः, स्त्रियां, अनुपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य सपूर्वस्यानुपसर्जनस्य स्त्रियां विभाषा नकारादेशो भवति डीप् नु लभ्यते एव ॥

34. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपूर्वइ means when the word पति is not an upasarjana, but stands at the end of a compound. Thus वृद्धपतिः or वृद्धपत्नी; स्थूलपतिः or स्थूलपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprāpta-vibhāshā. Because it is free from the limitations of 'yajña-sanyoga' of the last sūtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी ग्रामस्य, 'this Brahman lady is the mistress of the village.' Here the feminine is पति and not पत्नी ॥

नित्यंसपत्न्यादिषु ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, सपत्नी-आदिषु, ( पर्युर्नः स्त्रि० )  
वृत्तिः ॥ सपत्न्यादिषु नित्यं षष्ठ्यैकापदेशो भवति डीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

35. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix डीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी ॥ The compound of the following words with पत्नी are governed by this rule:— 1 समान 'equal' 2 एक 'one', 3 वीर 'hero', 4 पिण्ड 'a cake', 5 भ्रातृ 'brother' 6 पुत्र 'a son', and 7 शत्रु 'a slave' (this only in the Chhandas).

पूतक्रतोरैच ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूतक्रतोः, ऐच, ( स्त्रियां डीप् )  
वृत्तिः ॥ पूतक्रतुशब्दस्य स्त्रियैकापदेशो भवति डीप् प्रत्ययः ॥

36. In forming the feminine, the letter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतक्रतु, when the affix डीप् is added.

Thus पूतक्रतायै 'the wife of Pūtakratu'. This and the two succeeding sūtras, are in a way more intimately connected with IV. 1. 48, inasmuch as the sense of the feminine words must be that of 'wife of', otherwise these sūtras will not apply. Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतक्रतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (ऋतवः) are sanctified (पूताः)'.

वृषाकप्यग्निऋसितकुसीदानामुदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषाकपि-अग्नि-ऋसित-कुसीदानां, उदात्तः ( ऐ डीप् स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृषाकप्यादीनामुदात्त एकापदेशो भवति स्त्रियां डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

37. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the letter ऐ having udātta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, ऋसित and कुसीद ॥

The words वृषाकपि and कुसीर have udatta accent on the middle vowel (Phiṣ Sū II. 19), the feminine of these has udatta, however, on the final. The words 'agni' and the rest have the udatta on the final (Phiṣ sū I. 1), their substitute ऐ will necessarily be udatta, by the rule of sthānivat bhāva, even if the present sūtra had not explicitly declared it to be so. Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛishakapi', भग्नायी, (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of 'Agni', कुसितायी 'wife of Kusita', कुसितायी 'the wife of Kusidai. The present rule only applies when the sense of the feminine word is that of 'wife of'. Otherwise we have वृषाकपिः स्त्री 'the women Vṛishakapi' and not वृषाकपायी ॥ For the accent of the word वृष, See VI. 1. 203.

मनोरौचा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनोः, औ, वा, ( ऐ उदात्तः स्त्रियांडीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्यशब्दात् स्त्रियांडीप् प्रत्ययो भवति औकारभन्तादेशः ऐकारभोदाशः ॥

38. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, औ is optionally the substitute of the final of मनु, (as well as the udatta ऐ) ॥

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनायी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu. The word मनु has udatta accent on the first vowel, as it is formed from मन् by the affix ड (Uṇ I. 10), which by Uṇ I. 9 is treated as having an indicatory न्, and affixes having indicatory न् throw the accent on the first syllable. (VI. I. 197)

वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णाद्, अनुदात्तात्, तोपधात्, तः, नः ( वा डीप्स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तात्कारोपधाद्वाडीप् प्रत्ययो भवति, तकारस्य च नकारदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पिशाङ्गादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ असितपलितयोः प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसिक्कमित्येके ॥ भाषायामपीष्यते ॥

39. The affix डीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter न् as its penultimate letter: and the letter न् is substituted in the room of न् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated', so श्वेता or श्वेती 'black', हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udatta accent on the first vowel either by Rule VI. 1. 197 (अिनित्यादिर्नित्यम् "word formed by affixes having an indicatory न् or न् have udatta accent on the first vowel";):

because these words are formed by the Uṇadi affixes ङ् ( Uṇ III. 86 ) and इत् ( III. 93 ), or by the Phiṣ sūtra II. 10 (घर्णानां षण्णितितान्त्वान्नात् "of words expressive of colour and ending in षण्, or षि or षि or ष, the udātta accent falls on the first vowel").

Why do we say "expressive of color"? Observe प्रहता, प्रहता ॥ These words are also acutely accented on the first syllable, by rule VI. 2. 49 (गतिरन्तरः "the first word retains its natural accent in a compound of a *gati* word with a word formed by the affix *ka*"). But as these words do not express color, their feminine does not take ङिप्.

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel?" Observe श्वेता 'white.' Here though the word expresses 'color', yet it has acute ( instead of grave ) accent on the final ( by rule of Phiṣ sūtra I. 21 घृतादीनां च "the words *ghṛita* &c. have udātta on the final").

Why do we say "having the letter ष as its penultimate letter"? Otherwise the affix ङिष् will be employed in forming the feminine.

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter ष in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As चित्त्राङ्गणी 'a black Brahmanī woman'. Here चित्त्रि is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate ष, has anudātta accent on the final ( VI. 1. 197 ) as it is formed by the affix ङिष्; but as it does not end with ष, its feminine is not formed with ङिप्.

*Vart*:—The affix ङिप् comes also after the word पिचङ्ग; as, पिचङ्गी 'of tawny color'.

*Vart*:—There is prohibition in the case of the words भसित and पलित; as भसिता 'black' and पलिता 'grey'.

*Vart*:—According to some, the substitute ङ्ग replaces the final of these two words भसित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As भसिङ्गी (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिङ्गी (R. Veda V. 2. 4). According to some authorities, these latter forms are valid in literature other than the Vedic:—As गतो गणत्सुण्मसिक्किकानात् ॥

अन्यतोङीष् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यतः, डीष्, ( घर्णादनुदात्तात् स्त्रियां ) ॥  
शुक्तिः ॥ घर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात्सुसत्तान्तात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudātta accent.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sūtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism i. e. after words which have *not* ष as penultimate. The difference between ङिप् and ङिष् affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus साङ्गी, कल्पापी, चबली ॥

When the word does not express color, this rule does not apply. As लद्दा 'a bed-sted'.

When the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this will not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

विद्गौरादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व-इत्-गौर-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियांङीप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ विद्भवः प्रातिपादकेभ्यो गौरादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix ङीप् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicatory व् and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sūtra III. 1. 145 (स्त्रिपिनि ष्वन्) the affix ष्वन् is added to a root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take ङीप्. As, नर्तकी 'an actress', खनकी 'a digger'; रञ्जकी 'a dyer'. So also the words गौर &c ; as गौरी, मस्ती । The following is the list of words belonging to Gaurādi class.

1 गौर, 2 मत्स्य, 3 वनप्य, 4 घृद्ग, 5 पिङ्गल 6 ह्य, 7 गवय, 8 मुकय, 9 कृष्य, 10 पुद, 11 सुण 12 ह्रुण, 13 द्रोण; 14 हरिण, 15 कौकण, (काकण,) 16 पटर, 17 उकण, (आमल) 18 आमलक, 19 कुदल, 20 बिन्द, 21 बरर, 22 फर्करक (कर्कर) 23 तर्कार, 24 शर्कार, 25 पुष्कर, 26 शिखण्ड, 27 ललह 28 शष्कण्ड 29 सनन्द 30 सुषम, 31 सुषव 32 आलिन् 33 गजुज, 34 पाण्डव 35 आढक, 36 आनन्द, 37 आश्वस्थ 38 सुपाद, 39 आखक (आपधिक), 40 शष्कल, 41 सूर्य (सूर्ज) 42 शूर्प, 43 सूच, 44 शूष (शूष) 45 शूष, 46 शूष, 47 मेघ, 48 बल्कक, 49 धातवः, 50 सल्लक, 51 मालक, 52 मालत, 53 साल्लक, 54 वेतस, 55 वृक्ष (वृ-स) 56 अतस, 57 उभय, 58 भृङ्ग, 59 मह, 60 मड, 61 छेद, 62 पेद्य, 63 मेद्य, 64 श्वन् 65 तक्षन्, 66 अनडुही, 67 अनडुही, 68 । एषणः करणे । 69 देह, 70 देहल, 71 काकारण 72 गवाहन, 73 तेजन, 74 रजन, 75 लवण, 76 भौशाहमनि (भौशाहमनि) 77 गौतम (गो-तम) 78 पारक, 79 अयस्थूण (अयःस्थूण) 80 भौरिकि, 81 भौलिकि, 82 भौलिकि, 83 धान 84 मेघ, 85 आलम्बि, 86 आलाञ्ज, 87 आलब्धि, 88 आलक्षि, 89 केवाल, 90 आपक. 91 आरद, 92 नद, 93 दोद, 94 नौद, 95 मूलाद, 96 घातन, 97 पोतन, 98 पातन, 99 पाठन (पानद) 100 आस्तरण, 101 अधिकरण, 102 अधिकार 103 अमहायणी (आमहायणी) 104 प्रत्यवरोहिणी 105 सेचन, 106 सुमङ्गलात्सजायाम् । 107 अण्डर 108 सुन्दर, 109 मण्डल, 110 मन्थर, 111 मंगल 112 पद, 113 पिण्ड, 114 शण्ड, 115 ऊर्द, 116 गुर्द, 117 धान, 118 सूद, 119 भौड (आर्द) 120 हद (हृद) 121 पाण्ड, 122 भाण्डल (भाण्ड) 123 लौहाण्ड, 124 कदर, 125 कन्दर, 126 कदल, 127 तरुण, 128 तलुन, 129 कल्पाय, 130 बृहन्, 131 महन्, 132 सोम, 133 सौधर्म । 134 रोहिणी नक्षत्रे । 135 रेवती नक्षत्रे । 136 विकल, 137 निष्कल 138 पुष्कल । 139 कटाच्छोणिनचने । पिप्पल्यादयश्च । 140 पिप्पली, 141 हरितकी (हीतकी) 142 कोशातकी, 143 शर्गी, 144 बरी, 145 शरी, 146 पृथिनी, 147 क्रौष्टु, 148 मातामह, 149 पितामह, 150 सुगेद, 151 सुव, 152 सूर्य, 153 सकलक. 154 आलिनि, 155 पावन, 156 एत, 157 विटक, 158 भृद्, 159 रहन, 160 कन्द, 161 कण ॥

N.B.—The word गौर though denoting color, is finally acute by virtue of this sūtra ; the word मत्स्य &c. being jāti words having a penultimate च would

not have taken ङिप् (IV. 1. 63) but for this sūtra; भृश् and लक्ष् would have taken ङाप् (IV. 1. 13), एषण is formed by स्युद् and would have taken ङिप् (IV. 1. 15) इष्यतेऽनया-एषणी 'a balance, a probe'. गौतम would take ङिन् also by IV. 1. 73. Similarly it may be shown why the several words have been included in this list. By the *varṭika* मातारि षिष् given under IV. 2. 36, the affix मातारि in मातामह is treated as having an indicatory ष ॥ The word मातामह will take डीष् because it is षिन्; its inclusion in the list of Gaurādi indicates that the rule of डीष् application, because a word is षिन्, is not universal ( अनित्यः षिन् लक्षणो डीष् ) ॥ Therefore we have forms like इष्टा &c.

जानपदकुण्डगोण स्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककबरद् वृत्त्यमात्रवपनाकृति  
माश्राणा स्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनाऽयोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जान-  
पद-कुण्ड-गोण-स्थल-भाज-नाग-काल-नील-कुश-कामुक-कवरद्, वृत्ति-अमत्र-अव-  
पन-अकृतिमा-श्राणा-स्थौल्य-वर्ण-अनाच्छादन-अयोविकार-मैथुनेच्छा-केशवेशेषु (स्त्रि-  
यांडीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानपदादिभ्य एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्य एकादश वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix डीष् is employed after the eleven words 'jānapada' &c. in the sense of 'profession' &c. respectively; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10. कामुक, and कबर; the affix डीष् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female', 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair', respectively.

Thus जानपदा 'a profession', otherwise जानपदी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix भृश् to janapada, by sūtra IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to Utsadi class of words: in forming the feminine the affix डीष् will be added in this latter case, thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

( 2 ) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'a name of Durga'. ( 3 ) गोणी 'a sack' यच्च धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्त्वा नीयते otherwise गोणा, a particular name. ( 4 ) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise स्थल्य as स्थलयोदकं परिगृह्णन्ति ॥ ( 5 ) भीजा 'cooked', otherwise भाजा, ( 6 ) नागा 'a stout woman', otherwise नागा ॥ The word नाग when a guṇa-vachana word i. e. a word expressive of quality, in the sense of 'stoutness', takes the affix ङिष् in the feminine; otherwise ङाप् when expressing general qualities. When it is a jati-

vachana word it takes ङीष् under all circumstances. (7) काली 'a black-coloured female', otherwise काल्य 'cruel' (8) नीली 'a blue-coloured animal or indigo' The word मनाच्छादन in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses above indicated i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'. Such as माल्यगौः, or नीली बद्धा; or when it denotes appellative as नीली ॥ In other cases we have नील्य 'a blue-coloured cloth'. (9) कुषी 'a plough share', otherwise कुषा 'a rope or a kind of grass' (10) कामकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कामका 'a woman desirous of wealth'. (11) कवरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कवरा 'mixed, variegated'.

शोणात् प्राचाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शोणात्, प्राचाम् (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोणवद्भाष्याचार्याचार्याणां मतेन स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा बद्धा 'a red or bay mare'. By *Phit Sūtra* II. 10 referred to already in IV. 1. 39 the udatta in शोण falls on the first syllable, and by IV. 1. 40 it would have taken ङीष् always; but the present sūtra makes a niyama rule and restricts the application of ङीष् according to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians only, and not of others.

घोतो गुणवचनात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उतः, गुण वचनात् (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणवचनात् प्रातिपदिकाद् उक्तापन्तात् स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसुशब्दाद् गुणवचनात् ङीषायुसात्तार्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ स्वरसंयोगोपधात्मनिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word ending in short उ, and being expressive of a quality.

The word गुणवचनः means what expresses quality: i. e. "words not being words formed by primitive or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of *saṅkhyā* or *sarvaṇḍman*, or *jāti*, or compound words, provided they are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives as the word शुक्ल is, not as the word रूप, which though it expresses a quality, cannot be used as an adjective." (Guide to Paṇini). Thus from वदु 'dexterous', we have वद्वी or वदुः (without a feminine affix); so मृदुः or मृद्वी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say "expressive of a quality?" Observe आसुः 'a mouse' (both masculine and feminine).

*Vārt*:—After the word वसु when expressive of a quality, the affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine; in order to make the first syllable acutely ac-



cented. As, बस्वी ॥ बहु is formed by ड (Vṛ I. 10) and is ādyudatta because the ड is निम् ॥

*Vṛt.*—Prohibition must be stated after the word बह्, and words though ending in short ड, have conjunct consonant as penultimate. As बहुरिषं ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmanṇ who chooses her own husband'. Similarly पाण्डु is both gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant. As पाण्डुरिषं ब्राह्मणी ॥

The word Guṇa गुणः 'quality' has been thus defined :—

सत्वे निविशतेपैति पृथग् जातिषु इत्यते ।

भाषेयभाक्रियाञ्च सोऽसस्वमकृतिर्गुणः ॥

बह्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां षा-डीर्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ बहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां वा डीर् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. And the affix डीर् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest.

As बहुः or बह्वी ॥ The following are the words belonging to the Bahvādi class —

1 बहु, 2 पद्मति, 3 अञ्चति, 4 अद्भुति, 5 अंहति, 6 एकदि, (एकति), 7 एकिकः  
द्वै, 8 चारि, 9 वारि, 10 एति 11 राधि, 12 चाधि, 13 अहि, 14 कपि, 15 बटि, 16  
मुनि, 17 इतः प्राप्यंगान् । 18 कृदिकापचक्रिनः । 19 सर्वतोऽक्रिन्नर्यादित्येके । 20 अप्प, 21 अगत,  
22 कृपण, 23 कमल, 24 विकट, 25 विशाल, 26 विद्यहृद, 27 भरुज, 28 भृज, 29 चन्द्र-  
भागान्मघान् (चन्द्रभागा मघाव) 30 कल्याण, 31 उदार, 32 पुताण, 33 अहन्, 34 क्रोड, 35 मल,  
36 खुर, 37 गिर्या, 38 बाल, 39 चाफ, 40 गुर ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 43 भग, 44 गल,  
45 एग इत्यादि ॥

The affix णिश् also comes optionally after words ending in short इ being the names of the limbs of animals; as, धमनिः or धमनी ॥ So also after the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, not क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as राधि or राधी ॥ Some say that the feminine affix णिश् may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् ॥ The word बहु is a guṇa-word and would have *optionally* taken णिश् even by the last sūtra, its specification here is for the subsequent sūtra, by which it *necessarily* takes णिश् in the Chhandas. It is an Ākritigaṇa

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, छन्दसि, (बह्वादिभ्यः स्त्रियां डीर्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वादिभ्यः छन्दसि विषये नित्यं स्त्रियां डीर् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix डीर् is always employed in the Vedic literature, in forming the feminine of the words बहु and the rest.

Thus बह्वीषु इत्या प्रपिबन् ॥ Here बह्वी is the name of a herb.

The word नित्य 'always' is used in the aphorism, more for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, which it governs than for this sūtra. For the word

'optionally' does not govern this, and the aphorism even without the word 'nitya' ? would have been a necessary rule and not optional : for आरम्भसामर्थ्यादेव नित्योक्तिः सिद्धः, योगारम्भमिच्छ योजनः ॥

भुवश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, ( छन्दसि नित्यं स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां भुवो नित्ये डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix डीप् is always employed in the Chhandas in forming the feminine, after the word भु ॥

Thus विन्धी, प्रन्धी, सुन्धी, चम्धी ॥

But why not so in the case of स्वयम् ? Because it ends in long ऊ, while विन्धी &c. are feminine of विमु &c. ending in short इ ॥ In fact the word उक्तः "after a word ending in short इ" of Sūtra IV. 1. 44 governs this also. The word भुवः is the ablative case of भु irregularly formed by the substitution of उवइ; this form being confined to sūtras only.

पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंयोगात्-आख्यायां, ( स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंयोगादेतो र्थत्वातिपदिकं स्त्रियां वर्त्तते पुंस आख्याभूतं तस्मान् डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोपालकाशीनां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूर्यादेवतायां चार् वक्तव्यः ॥

48. The feminine affix डीप् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Relation (yoga) with a male (punsā) is called पुंयोग ॥ Thus the wife of गणक 'an astrologer' is called गणकी, so also महामन्त्री 'the wife of a chief minister', प्रथी 'the wife of a chief'; प्रचरी &c. Thus the word गणक means an astrologer, a calculator or a mathematician; and the wife of such a person will be expressed by the word गणकी ॥ But if a woman is herself an astrologer &c, she will be called गणका (by टाप्) &c. Therefore when matrimonial relation is not denoted, this sūtra will not apply.

Why do we say 'in relation to a husband'? Observe देवदत्ता यज्ञदत्ता 'two women of the names of Devadattā, and Yajñadattā, not wives of Devadatta and Yajñadatta.'

Why do we say "आख्या or a name"? The word formed will be the name of a woman whose husband is possessed of the quality denoted by the word, and not that the woman possesses that quality. In the case of a woman, therefore, the word is merely a Name or a Designation, and has no reference to the etymological meaning of the word. Moreover, the omission of the word आख्यायाम् would have made the sūtra ambiguous, for the phrase पुं योगाद् also means 'an effect produced by union with a man' such as pregnancy. And words परिसृष्टा and प्रजाता would have required ई and not आ ॥

*Vart.* :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words like गोपालिका and the rest. Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow-herd'.

*Vart.* :—The affix चाष् comes after सूर्ये in denoting the wife of Sūrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sūrya', while सूर्या will denote a human wife of Sūrya, such as, Kunti &c. The affix चाष् makes the word acutely accented on the final : for the word सूर्ये has acute on the initial, and had ङीष् been only prohibited and no specific affix ordained, then टाष् would have applied, and it would have left the accent unchanged. Hence a distinct affix चाष् is ordained.

इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययव यवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥४९॥ पदानि ॥  
इन्द्र-वरुण-भव-शर्व-रुद्र-मृड-हिम-अरण्य-यव-यवन-मातुल-आचार्याणाम्, आनुक्,  
(स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति आनुक् चागमः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिमारण्ययोर्महत्वे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यवाराधे ॥

वा० ॥ ययनाह्नित्याम् ॥ वा० ॥ उपाध्यायमातुलाभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ आचार्यादणत्वे च ॥ वा० ॥ अयंक्षत्रियाभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ मुद्रलाच्छन्सि लिष ॥

49. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow', अरण्य 'a forest', यव 'barley', यवन 'a Yavana', मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and आचार्य 'a preceptor', before the feminine affix ङीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns up to मृड, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी 'the wife of Indra', वरुणानी 'the wife of Varuṇa', भवानी 'the wife of Bhava', शर्वाणी 'the wife of Śarva', रुद्राणी 'the wife of Rudra', मृडाणी 'the wife of Mṛḍa'.

*Vart.* :—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow', अरण्यानी 'a great forest'. Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

*Vart.* :—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley

while not being a barley. In fact the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus दवानी "a kind of grain, oat".

*Vart* :—After the word दवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus दवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas'.

*Vart* :—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor', when the feminine affix comes to express the wife thereof, the augment भानुक् is optional. Thus मतुलानी or मातुल्ये 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor',

*Vart* :—And there is not the change to the lingual ष् of the dental श् of the augment भानुक् (VIII. 4. 2) after the word आचार्य ॥ Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor'.

*Vart* :—After the words अर्ये and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally : when the matrimonial relation is not intended but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya class', क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'. When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only डीष् is added. As अर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya', क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya'.

*Vart* :—In the Chhandas, the affix डीष् with the augment भानुक् is added to the word मुगल; and the affix is treated as if it had an indicatory ह् ॥ The force of the indicatory ह् is to make the vowel preceding the affix, take the acute accent (VI. 1. 193 लिति). Thus र्यारमुन् मुगलानी गविष्टे ॥ (Rig Veda X. 102. 2).

क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतात्, करण-पूर्वात्, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥  
वृत्ति ॥ क्रीतशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् करणपूर्वात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

50 The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means wherewith the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण or 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth'; so also वसनक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for dress'.

Why do we say "when the first member of the compound is the name of the means"? Observe सुक्रीता 'well purchased', दुष्क्रीता 'ill-purchased'. But why is not the affix डीष् employed in धनक्रीता in the following verse :—  
सा दितस्यधनक्रीता प्राणेभ्योपि गरीयसी 'she purchased in exchange of riches is more dear to him than life'. Here the word क्रीत has first taken the affix ट्प् form-

ing क्रीत् and then this feminine word is compounded with धन ॥ The general rule is गतिकारकोपपदानां कृत्तिः सहसमासवचनं प्राक् सुबुल्लने: "Gati, Kārakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Kṛit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter". The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृत्वा बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

कादल्पाख्यायाम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ काद्, अल्पाख्यायाम्, (करणपूर्वात् डीष् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणपूर्वात्प्रातिपदिकान् क्तान्तवल्पाख्यायां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix डीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting the means wherewith, is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting the means where with', of the last sūtra governs this also. The participle in क्त, must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्त, to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection therewith. The अल्पाख्यायाम् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word. Thus भद्रविलिप्ती घोः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds', सूपविलिप्ती पात्री 'a dish slightly covered with soup'.

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनानुलिप्ता ब्राह्मणी "a Brāhmanī lady covered with sandal essence?"

बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, च, अन्त-उदात्तात्, (काद् स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहियोंऽन्तोदात्तस्तस्मान् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्ताज्जातप्रतिषेधः ॥ वा० ॥ पाणिगृहीत्यादीनामर्थं विशेषे ॥

वा० ॥ अत्रहुनश्चकाल सुखादिपूर्वात्तिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

52. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्त, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

The word क्तान् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *svānga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svānga* word, then the application of the rule is optional. As शंस्रभिन्नी 'having a rent on the temporal bone', ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh'. गलकोष्ठणी (गलमुक्कत्तमस्या), केपलूनी ॥ By II. 2. 36 Vārt जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम्, the Nishṭhā stands in the second place, otherwise by II. 2. 36 it ought to have formed the first member of the

compound. The words वृत्त &c. are jāti words, and by VI. 2. 170, the acute is on the final.

Why do we say "after a Bahuvrīhi compound?" Observe पादपतिता which is an Ablative Tatpurusha compound (II. 2. 38). The compounding is by II. 1. 32, and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144.

*Vārt*:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle ज्ञात 'born', which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus वृत्तज्ञाता 'a female who has cut her teeth;' स्तनज्ञाता 'a female whose breast has been developed'. See II. 2. 36 *Vārt*.

*Vārt*:—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अभिशासिकं यस्याःपाणिगृह्यते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

*Vārt*:—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words:—बहु, नम, सु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, अकृता, सुकृता, मासजाता, सप्तसरजाता, सुखजाता or सुःखजाता &c.

Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदाद्वा ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-स्वाङ्ग-पूर्वपदात्, वा, (अन्तोदात्तात् कात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदादन्तोदात्तात् क्तान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाछन्दसोपिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

53. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क्त, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तोदात्तात् and क्तान्तात् govern this sūtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus चार्ङ्गजम्घ, is a word having acute accent on the final (VI. 2. 170), but as the first portion of this Bahuvrīhi is not a *Svānga* word, but a *jāti* word, its feminine will be चार्ङ्गजम्घी or चार्ङ्गजम्घा ॥ So also पलाण्डुभक्षिती or पलाण्डुभक्षिता and सुगपीती or सुगपीता ॥

Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svānga* word'? Observe वृत्तभिन्नी, ऊदभिन्नी which admit of only one form.

If the final is not acutely accented, the rule will not apply. As वृत्तच्छन्ना and वसनच्छन्ना which are not acutely accented on the final (See VI.

2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170.

*Vart*:—Diversely in the Chhandas and in Names. As मृद्वृद्धविष्णी or मृद्वृद्धविष्णा ॥

स्वाङ्गाद्योपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गात्, च, उपसर्जनात्, असंयोग-उपधात्, (वा स्त्रियां डीर्)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गयदुपसर्जनमसंयोगोपधं तदन्ताव्याप्तिपरिकान् स्त्रियां डीर् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अंगगात्रकण्ठेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. And the feminine affix डीर् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (i. e. the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant).

The *Anuvṛitti* of the words बह्व्री हेः, कान्तास्त्वोरात्तात् does not extend to this aphorism. But the *anuvṛitti* of the word वा 'optionally' does extend to this Sūtra. Thus चन्द्रमुखी or चन्द्रमुखा, अतिकेरी or अतिकेरा ॥ The word अतिकेरा is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अतिकान्ता केरात्, and केरा is upasarjana by I. 2. 44.

Why do we say "what ends with the name of a part of the body"? Observe बहुयवा 'having much barley'. Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अशिखा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical). Why do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुगुल्फा, सुपाशर्भा ॥

*Vart*:—This rule applies to a compound ending with the word अङ्ग, गात्र and कण्ठ, though in all these, the penultimate is a double consonant. Thus मृद्वृद्धी or मृद्वृद्धा; सुगात्री or सुगात्रा, स्निग्धकण्ठी or स्निग्धकण्ठा ॥

The word स्वाङ्ग has a technical meaning as given in the following verse:—

अद्रव्यं शूर्तिमस्लाङ्गं प्राणित्यमविकारजम् ।

अतस्स्य तद्वदृष्टं चेत् तेन चेत् तत्तयायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which not being a fluid, is capable of being perceived by the senses because of its having a form, is svāṅga; it must exist in a living being, but not produced by a change from the natural state; or though found elsewhere actually, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being.

नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-उदर-ओष्ठ-  
जङ्घा-दन्त-कर्ण-शृङ्गात्, च, (स्वांगात् द्वियां वा डीर्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकायन्ताव्यातिपदिकात् द्वियां वा डीर् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कबरमणिविषण्णरेभ्योनित्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ उपमानात्पक्षाच्च पुच्छाच्च ॥

55. And the feminine डीर् comes optionally after compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip' जङ्घा 'leg', दन्त 'a tooth', कर्ण 'ear', and शृङ्गा 'horn'.

This is an exception to the last and the succeeding sūtra. Some of the words above given are either such which have a conjunct penultimate letter, and thus beyond the scope of IV. 1. 54; or they are polysyllabic words and thus covered by IV. 1. 56. Though this rule is an exception to 54 and 56; yet it is qualified by IV. 1. 57. Thus तुङ्गनासिका or तुङ्गनासिकी, तिलोदरी or तिलोदरा, विम्बोष्ठी or विम्बोष्ठा, शीघ्रजंघी or शीघ्रजंघा, समदन्ती or समदन्ता, चारुकर्णा or चारुकर्णा, तीक्ष्णशृङ्गी or तीक्ष्णशृङ्गा ॥

*Vart* :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail'. As कल्याणपुच्छा or कल्याणपुच्छी ॥

*Vart* :—The affix *nish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कबर, मणि, विष and षर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and षरपुच्छी ॥

*Vart* :—So also the feminine affix *nish* is necessarily employed after the words पक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उलूकपक्षी सेना, उलूकपुच्छी शाला ॥

न क्रोडादिवह्वचः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्रोड-आदि-बहु-अचः, (द्वियां डीर्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोडायन्तार् बहुवचन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् द्वियां डीर् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

56. The feminine affix डीर् does not come after a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा 'the flank &c, of a horse', nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

The class क्रोड &c. is *ākṛiti-gaṇa*, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रोडा, कल्याणशुभ्र, कल्याणोला, कल्याणबाला, कल्याणरुफा, कल्याणगुहा, कल्याणयाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजघना, पृथुजघना, महाल्लाटा, ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrīhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by *pungvad-bhāva*, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an *upasarjana* (I. 2. 48).



सहनञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह-नञ्-विद्यमान-पूर्वात्, च, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सह नञ् विद्यमानइत्येवं पूर्वान् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

57. The affix डीप् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus संकेसा, भक्तेसा विद्यमानकेसा ॥ So also सनासिका मनासिका or विद्यमाननासिका ॥ The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. I. 55 ante: as well as IV. I. 54

नखमुखात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नख-मुखात्, संज्ञायां, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ नखमुखान्ताप्रातिपदिकान्संज्ञायां स्त्रियां विषये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

58. The feminine affix डीप् is not employed after नख, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शूर्प + नखा, = शूर्पणखा, Śārpaṇakhā the sister of Rāvaṇa'. The ण् is changed into ण् by VIII. 4 3 (शूर्पणखात् संज्ञायामगः) ॥ So also वज्रणखा, गोरुणखा, कालमुखी &c. Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness वाममुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel', or चन्द्रमुखी 'moon-faced'

दीर्घजिह्वी च छन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी, च, छन्दसि ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी इति छन्दसिविषये निपात्यते ॥

59. The form दीर्घजिह्वी 'long-tongued' is irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The word दीर्घजिह्वी is the feminine of दीर्घजिह्व् but as the latter has a conjunct consonant for its penultimate, the feminine affix डीप् would not have applied to it by IV. I. 54. The present aphorism enjoins डीप् ॥ Thus दीर्घजिह्वी in the sentence दीर्घजिह्वी वै देवानां हृष्यमलेद् ।

The word च 'and' in the aphorism is used in order to draw in the word संज्ञा from the last, so that the word *dirgha-jihvī* is always a Name. Moreover by using the feminine form *dirgha-jihvī* in the sūtra, it is indicated that the application of डीप् is necessary and not optional, as was the case in the last sūtras.

दिक्पूर्वपदान् डीप् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदान्, डीप्, (स्त्रियां) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ दिक् पूर्वपदाप्रातिपदिकान् डीप्, प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

60. The feminine affix डीप् comes after a Nominal stem which is preceded by a word signifying direction. -

This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 54 to 58. Wherever by those rules there would have been डीप्, the present enjoins डीप् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent; the affix डीप् being anudatta (III. 1. 4). Thus प्राङ्मुखी or प्राङ्मुखा, प्राङ्नासिकी or प्राङ्नासिका, But not so in प्राङ्मुखा; or प्राङ्कोटा or प्राङ्ग्रथना because these words do not take डीप् (by IV. 1. 56), therefore they never give occasion to the application of डीप् ॥ The sūtra ought to be read as if it contained two rules (1) the affix डीप् comes after a compound the first member of which is a word denoting direction and the second is a svānga word or is the word नासिका &c. the penultimate not being a conjunct consonant, (2) but डीप् is not added to Compounds ending in क्राड &c. or in a word of more than two syllables. In other words the sūtra may be translated "डीप् is the substitute of डीप् when the first member is a word denoting direction". Therefore the affix डीप् will come only there, where else the affix डीप् would have come and not otherwise. This is the reason why the anuvṛitti of डीप् is taken in the next sūtra (IV. 1. 61) and not that of डीप् ॥

वाहः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, ( डीप् स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहन्ताव्यातिपरिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The feminine affix डीप् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह ॥

The anuvṛitti of डीप् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of डीप्, though the latter was nearer. The word वाह is formed from the root वाह् with the affix ण्वि (III. 2. 64). The word वाह is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a "word ending in vāh." Thus दित्यौही 'sustaining the demon.' This form is thus evolved:—दित्य + वाह + डीप् = दित्य + ऊर् + माह + डीप् (VI. 4. 132 वाह ऊर्, Uṭh is the samprasāraṇa of vāh, when this is a *bha*) = दित्य + ऊर् + डीप् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च 'after a samprasāraṇa if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute', = दित्यौही (VI. 1. 89 एत्येधस्थूरसु 'vṛiddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or *ūth* follow'). Similarly प्रवौही 'a young heifer training for the plough.'

सख्यशिर्ष्वीति भाषायाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सखी-अशिर्ष्वी, इति, भाषायां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखी अशिर्ष्वी इत्येतौघञौ डीप्न्तो भाषायां निपात्येते ॥

62. The forms सखी and अशिर्ष्वी are irregular forms ending in डीप् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to (Vedic) Sanskrit.

Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नास्याः शिघ्रस्तीति = अशिर्ष्वी ॥ Why do we say

in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखा सप्तपरीभव and अग्निशुभिव नामदं चिद्युपनिव-  
न्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as  
भाधेनवो धुनयन्तामग्निम् ॥ सखी सप्तपरी भव ॥

जातेरङ्गी विषयादयोपधात् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, अङ्गीविषयात्, अयोप-  
धात्, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि यत्प्रातिपरिकं नच स्त्रियादेव नियतमङ्गी विषयमयकारोपभञ्च तस्मात् स्त्रियां ङीष्  
प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे ह्य गवय मुक्य मत्स्यमनुष्याणाम् प्रतिषेधः ॥

63. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word denoting a jāti or species when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter ष् for its penultimate.

The word जाति was defined under Sūtra I. 2. 52. Thus कुक्कुटी 'a hen'; सुकरी 'a she-hog', ब्राह्मणी 'Brāhmani'; वृषली 'a woman of the Sūdra caste', नादायनी 'a woman of Nadayana class', चापयणी 'a Chārāyaṇī', कवी 'a woman of Brahmans who read the Kaṭha', बह्वृची 'a woman of the class of Brahmans who read the Rig Veda'.

Why do we say "expressive of a jāti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jāti but a quality). Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness मक्षिका 'a fly' (supposed to breed without a male). Why do we say "not having the letter ष् for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'.

Vārt:—In excluding words that have the letter ष् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words which have a penultimate ष्) viz, गवय 'the Bos Gaveans', ह्य 'horse', मुक्य 'a sort of animal', मत्स्य 'a fish', and मनुष्य 'a man'. Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 इलस्तज्जितस्य 'there is elision of the ष् of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मत्सी ॥ The ष् of matsya is elided by the vārtika 'मत्स्यस्य ङ्याम्' ॥ See also VI. 4. 149. All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (IV. 1. 41.) and would have taken ङीष् independently of this vārtika.

Another definition of jāti is :—

प्रातुर्भावविनाशाभ्यां सत्वस्य युगपद्गुणेः ।

असर्वलिङ्गां बह्व्यो तां जातं कवयो विवुः ॥ (See translation under I. 2. 52)

पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलवालोत्तरपदाद्य ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि पाक-कर्ण-पर्ण-पुष्प-  
फल-मूल-वाल-उत्तरपदात्, च (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाकादि उत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिनः प्रातिपरिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ पुष्पफलमूलोत्तरप-  
दात् नु यतोनेष्यते तदजादिषु पत्यते ॥ यथा सत्याक्काण्डमान्तघटकेभ्यः पुष्पात् ॥

संभस्त्राजिनराण पिण्डेभ्यः फलात् ॥ मूलान्ममः ॥

64. And the feminine affix डीर् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jāti, followed by the following, पाक 'cooked', कर्ण 'ear', पर्ण 'leaf', पुष्प 'flower', फल 'fruit', मूल 'root', and बाल 'youth'.

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females and therefore were not provided by the last sūtra. Thus मोहनपाकी संककुर्णी, घालपर्णी, रांखपुष्पी, रासीफली शर्ममूली, and गोबाली ॥

When, however the affix डीर् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajādi class (IV. 1. 4) ; such as संफला, भस्त्रफल, ससुष्पा, भमूला &c.

इतो मनुष्यजातेः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, मनुष्य-जातेः, ( स्त्रियां डीर् )

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्ताव्यातिपरिकान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियां डीर् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इम उपसंख्यानमजात्यर्थम् ॥

65. The feminine affix डीर् comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus भवन्ती 'women of Avanti', कुन्ती 'women of Kunti', दासी 'Dākshi'. Thur भवन्ति + अयङ् (IV. 1. 171) भावन्त्यः 'men of Avanti'. In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 is elided. दासी "the female descendants of Plaksha". Why do we say "ending in short इ" ? Witness विद् 'Vaishya', दरद् 'Darat'. Why do we say "of men" ? Witness तिभितिः 'partridge'. Though the anuvṛitti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1, 63, its repetition here indicates that डीर् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is इ. Thus औदनयी ॥

Vart:—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इङ् (IV. 2. 80) though they do not denote a jāti. Thus सौतंगमी, मौनचिन्नी ॥ The affix इङ् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 and ordained to come after सुतंगम &c, and does not denote a jāti.

ऊङुतः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊङ्, उतः, (मनुष्यजातेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारान्तामनुष्यजातिवाचिनः प्रातिपरिकान् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अप्राणिजातेभ्यरङ्ङवासीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. After a Nominal-stem ending in short उ, not having the letter य as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ऊङ्.

The anuvṛitti of the words मनुष्यजाति and भयोपधान् should be read into the sūtra to complete it. Thus कुरूः 'a female of the country of the Kurus' ब्रह्मबन्धुः "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called", जीवबन्धुः "a woman of the Jivabandhu class",

Thus ऊह + ष्व = कौरुष्वः IV. 1. 172, and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 in the feminine.

The indicatory letter ह् in ऊह् is to distinguish this affix in Sôtras like नोह् धात्वोः (VI. 1. 175), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sôtra VI. 1. 175 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there.

The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form कऊ (कुरु + उ = कुरु) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4. 1. 54, in Bahuvrîhis, will not apply in the feminine forms वृद्धवन्धुः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

Why do we say "not having the letter ह् as its penultimate"? Witness भर्षर्युवाद्वाणी 'a woman of the class of Brahmanas versed in the Yajur Veda'.

*Vart.*—The affix ऊह्. comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jâti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus बलाहः 'the bottle-gourd'; कर्कन्धुः 'the jujube tree.' Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकुः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c.

बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-अन्तात्, संज्ञायाम्, ( स्त्रियां ऊह् ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ बाहुयन्तात् स्त्रियात्संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूह् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The feminine affix ऊह् comes in denoting a Name, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहुः 'Bhadrabâhû'; जालबाहुः &c. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृषबाहुः 'a woman having rounded hand' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

पङ्गोश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पंगोः, च, ( स्त्रियां ऊह् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पंगुयन्तात् स्त्रियामूह् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भसुरस्योकारोपकारलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

68. The feminine affix ऊह् comes after the word पंगु 'lame'.

As पंगु 'a female lame'.

*Vart.*—The feminine affix ऊह् is added to भसुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter र and of the letter ष of the word. As भसुः 'mother-in-law' This debars the puhyoga डीप् of IV. 1. 48.

ऊरुत्तरपदादौपम्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरु-उत्तरपदात्, औपम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊरुत्तरपदाव्यातिपरिकारौपम्ये गन्धमाने शिवाग्रुद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The feminine affix ऊरु comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus कर्णलास्तम्भोरुः 'a female with thighs like plantain-stem'. नाम नासोरुः 'a female with thighs like the nose of an elephant'; करभोरुः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison? Witness वृत्तोरुः स्त्री 'a woman with round thighs'. The word करणुकेरु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (करण)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विचकारे च करणुकरोरुभिः ॥

संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ संहित, शफ, लक्षण, वामादेः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहित शफ लक्षण वाम इत्येवमादेः प्रातिपरिकारोरुत्तरपदात् शिवाग्रुद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

70 The feminine affix ऊरु comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरुः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity)'. शफोरुः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cow's foot', लक्षणोरुः 'whose thighs are marked,' वामोरुः 'with handsome thighs.'

Vart:—So also with the words संहित and सह. As संहितोरुः and सहोरुः ॥

कद्रुकमण्डल्वोश्छन्दसि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कद्रु, कमण्डल्वोः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुशब्दात्कमण्डलुशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये शिवाग्रुद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गुग्गुलुमधुजतुपतयालनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. The feminine affix ऊरु comes in the Vedas after the words कद्रु 'tawny,' and कमण्डलु 'a water pot.'

Thus कद्रुशब्दे सुपर्णी च ॥ मालकमण्डलुं शूद्राव इत्यात् ॥

Why do we say "in the Vedas." Witness कद्रुः and कमण्डलुः ॥

Vart:—So also after the words गुग्गुलु, मधु, जतु and पतयात् ॥ Thus गुग्गुलुः, मधुः, जतुः, and पतयात् ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुकमण्डलुशब्दाभ्यां संज्ञायां विषये शिवाग्रुद् प्रत्ययो भवति । मण्डलुर्नोपै वचनम् ॥

72. The feminine affix ऊरु comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु.

This rule applies to other than Vedic forms. Thus कः 'a female named Kadrû wife of Kâsyapa', कण्डकः 'Kamaṅḍalû'. Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कः 'the tawny color.' कण्डकः 'a water-gourd.'

शाङ्गरवाद्यो ङीम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शाङ्गरवादि, अम्, ङीम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाङ्गरवादिभ्योऽमन्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The feminine affix ङीम् comes after the words शाङ्गरव and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अम् ॥

Thus शाङ्गरवी 'a Sârṅgrava woman', कापटवी 'a Kâpatava woman'. So also after a word formed with the affix अम् (as ordained in S. 86, and 104 &c. of this chapter), as, बेशी 'a female descendant of Bida'. भौषी 'a female descendant of Urva'. This sôtra applies to words expressing jāti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debar the affix ङीम् of IV. 1. 63 &c. where it came after jāti-vâchaka words; but it does not debar that ङीम् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the ङीम् of IV. 1. 48.

The difference between ङीम् and ङीम् consists in accent only, the resultant forms otherwise being the same. The words formed by ङीम् will have *udâtta* accent on the first syllable अस्त्वारिर्नित्यम् (VI. 1. 197 a word ending with an affix having an indicatory स् or न् has *udâtta* accent on the first syllable): while the word formed by ङीम् will have acute accent on the affix. Thus बेशी 'a female descendant of Bida', and बेशी 'the wife of Baida'.

The following is a list of Sârṅgaravâdi class words:—

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौगुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 वैद, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अम् the first four being formed by the अम् of (IV. 1. 83) from शृङ्ग, कपट, गुग्गुलु and ब्राह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गौतम by the अम् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurâdi class IV. 1. 41. 7 कामण्डलेव, 8 ब्राह्मकृतेव, 9 भानिषेव, 10 भानिषेव, 11 भाषीकेव ॥ These are formed by इक् (IV. 1. 123) except kâmaṅḍaleya which is formed by इम् (IV. 1. 135). 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 मौञ्जायन ॥ These are formed by इक् of IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99, and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेव is also formed by इक् (IV. 1. 123). 15 काश्यप 16 वैश्य are formed by उक् (IV. 1. 171). 17 एहि, 18 पयोहि are formed by इन् added to आ + इह 'to try', and परि + आ + इह (Uṇ IV. 117 सर्व धातुभ्य इन्) 19 आभरथ is formed by अम् (IV. 1. 105). 20 भौषयान is formed by अम् (IV. 3. 76). 21 अरत, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वमण्डः are jāti words. 24 भोगवन्, 25 गौरिमन् ॥ These take ङीम् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix मनुष्, and are consequently ङीम्, and should have taken ङीम् (IV. 1. 6). This ordains ङीम् ॥

Q. The word भोग is formed by अम् and गौरि is formed by इम् (IV. 1. 95), both are *adyuddâtta* owing to अम् (VI. 1. 197). When मनुष् is added, the accent remains unchanged, for *matuṣ* being ङीम् is *anudâtta* (III. 1. 4). There-

fore whether हीप् be added or हीन् to these words, it makes no difference in the accent, for they remain adyudatta. Where is the necessity of including these two words in this list.

Ans. To this we reply पादिषु नित्यम् इत्स्वार्थम् ॥ For had these words taken हीप् of IV. 1. 6, then the long ई would have been optionally shortened before the affixes च &c. by VI. 3. 45. But by taking हीन् the shortening is compulsory (VI. 3. 43), and not optional. Because the च in the sūtra इगित्च (VI. 3. 45) has the force of the word इति, and means the नदी words formed by adding ई to इगित् words, by enunciating the word इगित् are optionally shortened. Therefore IV. 1. 6 where the word इगित् is used is governed by this rule of optional shortening, and not the words formed by हीन् ॥

26 नृ 27 नर. The word नृ would have taken हीप् by IV. 1. 5, and नर would have taken हीप् as it denotes a jāti. These words take वृद्धि before हीन्, the form being नारी in both cases.

यङश्चाप् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, चाप् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ यङन्ताद्यातिपरिक्रान् स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति । व्यङ्गः व्यङ्ग्य सामान्यमहपमेतत् ॥  
वाचिकम् ॥ पाच यङः ॥

74. The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix व्यङ् or व्यङ् ॥

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes व्यङ् (as taught in S. 171 of this chapter) and व्यङ् (See 78) as it is the common element of both. Thus आम्बश्या 'a woman of the race of Ambashthya', सावरीया 'a woman of the race of Sauvrya', कौसल्या 'a woman of the race of Kausalya'.

Similarly व्यङ् formed words, as, कारीषगन्ध्या, वाराणा ; बालास्या ॥

Vārti:—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यम् when the letter य् immediately precedes such yañ. As सार्कारक्ष्य 'a female descendant of Sarkarāksha', पौतिमाष्या 'a female descendant of Pūtimāshya', गौकाक्ष्य 'a female descendant of Gokasha'. These words belong to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105), and by sūtra 16 would have taken हीप् ॥

The य् of the affix चाप् is for the sake of forming a common term भाष् with डाप् and दाप् ; and the च regulates the accent making the final acute (VI. 1. 163). The word गौकाक्ष्य is included in Krauḍādi list (IV. 1. 80) and takes the augment व्यङ् in the feminine, and hence it would have taken चाप् by force of the present sūtra and need not be included in the Vārtika. There is no Samprasāraṇa of the च when पुञ् or पात्ति is added to this word ( VI. 1. 13 ), the form being गौकाक्ष्यापुञ्चः and not गौकाक्षीपुञ्चः ॥

आवट्याच्च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवट्यात्, च, (स्त्रियां चाप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ आवट्याच्च स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥



75. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word भावद्वय ॥

The word भवद् belongs to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105) which after taking वप्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 16). Thus भावद्वया 'a female descendant of Avata'. But भावद्वयायनी will be the proper form according to the Eastern Grammarians. See aphorism IV. 1. 17.

तद्धिताः ॥७६॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धिताः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यानिवृत्तं कर्ममनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्धितसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

76. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita. Thus the affix त्ति taught in the very next sūtra. As युवतिः The word so formed is called Prātipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the words प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्यं मासौ ॥ अमादि पञ्चार्द्धिमश् ॥ As पार्थिव, अमिम, अदिम, पश्चिम ॥ See Vart IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sūtras like कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च I. 2. 46.

यूनस्तिः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, ति ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ युवन्पृथग्व्याप्तिपरिक्रान् स्त्रियां निः प्रत्ययो भवति । स च तद्धितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

77. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवतिः 'a young maid'. By IV. 1. 5, ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debarb it. The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीप् of IV. 1. 65, for the affix ति itself is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita : or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jāti word and hence IV. 1. 65 would not apply.

अणिमोरेनार्थयोगुरुपोत्तमयोः प्यङ् गोत्रे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण् इजोः अनार्थयोः, गुरुपोत्तमयोः, प्यङ्, गोत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे यावणिमो विहितान्वार्षो तदन्तयोः प्रातिपरिक्रयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः स्त्रियां प्यङ्कारेणो भवति । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्यणिमोरेव विज्ञायते ॥ उच्यतेऽयम् । स्वभावान् विप्रभृतीनामन्यक्षरमाह उच्यतेऽयम् । सतीपशुपोत्तमं, गुरुः उपोत्तमं यस्य तद्गुरुपोत्तमं प्रातिपरिक्रम् ॥

78. In Patronymics used in a narrower sense (counting first from the grand-child), which are formed with the affixes अण् and इज्, the feminine is formed by substituting

य (प्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes and adding the long आ under IV. 1. 74; provided that they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable,

The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिभ्योः 'of अण् and इम्,' (2) अनार्ययोः 'of non-rishi' (3) गुह्योपगतयोः 'having a heavy vowel as *upollama* i. e. last but one,' (4) प्यङ् 'the substitute is shyan' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotra.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इम् are replaced by प्यङ् before the feminine affix चार्, in those words which denoting non-rishi gotras, have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word *uttama* meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tama*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sūtra does not apply to forms like वासि &c.

Of the substitute प्यङ् the letter ष and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is व, the letter ष differentiating this affix from ज्यङ् and the letter ङ् affording a common hold for both. In forming the feminine we shall have to add चार् by IV. 1. 74. Thus करीषगन्धि 'having the smell of dung-cake', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus करीषगन्धि + अण् (IV.1. 92) Replace this affix by प्य and we have कारीषगन्ध्या ॥ कुमुदगन्धिः gives us कौमुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इम् (as taught in sūtra अतइम् IV. 1. 75): as वाराहिः gives us वाराह्या, so also बालक्या ॥

Why do we say 'of अण् and इम्' ॥ Witness आर्सेभागा from ऋतभाग ॥ Here the word ऋतभाग belongs to विशदि gaṇa, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अम् in forming gotra patronymic: this affix अम् is not replaced by प्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इम् ॥

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामिष्ठी ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औपगवी and कापटवी ॥ Why do we say 'denoting Gotra'? Witness आहिच्छत्री 'born in Ahichhatra', कान्यकुब्जी 'born in Kanyakubja'.

गोत्रावयवात् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-अवयवात् (स्त्रियां प्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणिभ्योरित्येव । गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमतः कुलाख्याः पुत्रिकपुत्रिकमुत्तरप्रभृतय, स्त्रियो गोत्रे विहितयोपनिभ्योः स्त्रियां प्यङ्कारेणो भवति ॥

79. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, प्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इम्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long.

The phrase **अभिप्रोः** of the last sūtra governs this also, not so, however, the word **अगुरुपोचनः** ॥ The phrase **गोत्रावयव** means insignificant or non-famous gotras. i. e. names of kulas i. e. कुलाख्या, such as families like पुत्रिक, भुषिक, मुलर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list. Thus **पौत्रिक्य**, **भौषिक्य** and **मौल्य** ॥

The word **अवयव** in the sūtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like **देवदत्त्वा याज्ञवल्क्या** ॥ These forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the **कौट्यादि** class of the next aphorism. In short, those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant, which means a grandson and down; can also do so.

In fact the word **गोत्रावयव** is equal to **अवयवगोत्र** or **अप्रधानगोत्र** and is a **karmadhāraya samāsa**, namely gotras not enumerated in the **प्रवराध्यायः** ॥ These are, however, technically called **कुल** ॥

**कौट्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ कौटि-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां प्यङ्)**

**वृत्तिः ॥ कौटि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां प्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अगुरुपोचनार्थं आरम्भः । अनभिप्रयत्नः ॥**

80. The affix **प्यङ्** comes in the feminine after the words **कौटि** and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix **अप्** or **इप्** ॥ In fact **प्यङ्** is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus **कौट्या** 'a female Kraudi', **लाड्या** 'a female Lādi'. The following is the list of **Kraudādi** words :—

1 **कौटि**, 2 **लाडि**, 3 **प्याडि**, 4 **भाषिणालि**, 5 **भाषिणिति**. These are formed by **इप्** (IV. 1. 95). 6 **चौपयत**, 7 **चेदयत** ( **वेदयत** ), 8 **शेकयत** ( **शेकयत** ) 9 **वेत्थयत** ( **वेत्थयत्** ), These are formed by the affix **अप्** ॥ 10 **सौधातकि**. This is formed by **इप्** with the substitute **अकङ्** (IV. 1. 97) added to **सुधान्** ॥ 11 **सूतयुवत्यान्**. The word **सूत** takes **प्यङ्** when denoting a grown-up maiden as **सुत्याः**; otherwise **सूता** 'a daughter', formed by **टाप्**, or **सूती** by **ङीप्** denoting a **jāti**. 12 **भोज सन्धि** ॥ This debars **ङीप्** of **jāti** as **भोज्याः**; otherwise **टाप्** as **भोज्याः** ( **भोजयति** ). 13 **यौतकि**, 14 **कौदि**, 15 **भौत्कि**, 16 **भौत्कि**, 17 **पाल्यलि**, 18 **पाल्यलि**, 19 **कापिष्ठलि**, 20 **गौकश्च** ( **गौकश्च** ) ॥ All these except the last are formed by **इप्**, the last is formed by **दृष्** of **Garg-ādi** class.

**द्वैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्निं काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यो, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥**

**द्वैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्नि, काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ द्वैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्नि काण्ठेविद्धि इत्येतेषामन्यतरस्यांप्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥**

81. The affix **प्यङ्** optionally comes after the words **द्वैवयज्ञि**, **शौचिवृक्षि**, **सात्यमुग्नि** and **काण्ठेविद्धि** ॥

These words end in the affix इस्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sūtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyah would have come by IV. 1. 78. but whereas by that sūtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sūtra be taken to apply to 'immediate descendants' as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87. In the alternative when प्यद् is not added, डीच् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 ante. Thus देवयस्या or देववद्वी, so also घोषिवृक्ष्या or घोषिवृक्षी, साख्यमुग्न्या or साख्यमुमी, क्राण्टेविद्या or क्राण्टेविद्वी ॥

समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थानां, प्रथमात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयमप्यधिक्रियते, समर्थानामिति च, प्रथमादिति च वेति च, स्वार्थिकप्रत्ययावधिभ्यायमधिकारः । प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिरिति यावत् । स्वार्थिकेषु इत्युपयोगो नास्ति, विकल्पोऽपि तत्रानवस्थितः, के चिन्नित्यने-  
व भवन्ति । लक्षणवाक्यानिः—तस्यापत्ये, तेन रक्तं रागान्, तत्रभव, इत्येवमादीनि भविष्यन्ति । तेषु सामध्ये  
सति प्रथमनिर्दिष्टादेव विकल्पेन प्रत्ययो भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥ समर्थानामिति निर्द्धारणे षष्ठी । समर्थानां  
मध्ये प्रथमं प्रत्ययप्रकृतित्वेन निर्द्धार्यते ॥

82. The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, viz. (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction' (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first ; (3) वा 'on the alternative', exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation: that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book ; before the beginning of the sūtra प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः (V. 3. 1). The present sūtra as a whole, of course, has no applicability to the affixes which leave to the words their own denotation (स्वार्थिक) ; for the latter affixes are in many cases compulsory and not optional, as are the affixes to be taught hereafter in Book Fourth and the first and second chapters of Book Fifth.

These affixes will come after the word, that is signified by the first of the words in construction, in an aphorism. Thus IV. 1. 92 declares तस्यापत्यम् 'his son'. Here the first word is तस्य 'his', therefore, the affixes forming the patronymics will come after the word signified by 'his': i. e. after the word in the genitive case. As 'उपगोरपत्यं = भोपगवः 'the son of Upagu'. Here the affix अत् comes after the word उपगु which is the first word representing 'tasya' in the genitive case in the sentence उपगोरपत्यम् ॥ Similarly in the sūtra तेनरक्तं रागान् (IV. 2. 1) ; here the first word is तेन, therefore, the affix will be added to the word in the instrumental case in a sentence representing the word तेन 'by which' ; as कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम्, 'Kāshāya is a cloth, coloured

by *Kashdya*. Similarly in sūtra तत्र भवः 'there staying' (IV. 3. 53.) here the first word is तत्र, 'there', in the locative case, therefore the affix will be optionally added to the word in the locative case in a sentence, representing the word तत्र 'there' : as सुप्त भवः = सोप्तः "who stays in Srughna'.

The word समर्थानाम् is the genitive plural of समर्थ, and the force of the genitive is that of specification or 'nirdhāraṇa':—i. e. 'among the words in construction, the first is specifically pointed out as the *prakṛiti* or base, to which the affix is to be added'. Why do we say "among the words in construction"? Witness कम्बल उपगोरपत्यं देवदत्तस्य 'the blanket of Upagu; the son of Devadatta'. Here the two words उपगोरपत्यं are not in construction, for उपगोः governs कम्बलः; and अपत्यं is governed by देवदत्तस्य ॥ Why do we say "after the first"? So that the affix may come after the first word उपगोः in the genitive case, and not after अपत्यं which is in the nominative case, Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence; thus we may say उपगोरपत्यं, instead of the Taddhita formed word भौपगवः ॥ The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (samāsa); as उपगवपत्यम् 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the samāsa rule here is not superseded by Taddhita-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4 2. because the anuvṛitti of अन्यतरस्याम् is understood here: so that in the alternative when the Taddhita affix is not employed, the samāsa rules will find scope.

This sūtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk: "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional".

प्राग्दिव्यतोऽण् ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, दीव्यतः अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्दीव्यत्संघटनान् यानि त ऊर्ध्वमनुकमिष्यामोऽण्यस्यस्तत्र भवतीति देवितव्यम् ॥

83. The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter upto the aphorism tena divyati &c.

Up to aphorism IV. 4 2, the affix अण् has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an adhikāra sūtra or a paribhāshā sūtra or a vidhi sūtra. The application of this aphorism will be illustrated throughout the next three chapters. Thus in IV. 1. 92 तस्यापत्यम् we read the present aphorism and add the affix अण् in the sense of 'his son'. As भौपगवः 'the son of उपगुः'; कापटवः 'the son of Kapaṭu'.

This affix has various meanings, such as, a patronymic (IV. 1. 92),

coloured with (IV. 2. 1), sidereal time (IV. 1. 3), revealed sama-veda (IV. 1. 7), covered car (IV. 2. 10) &c.

अभ्रपत्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्रपत्यादिभ्यः, च ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ अभ्रपत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः प्राग्शीव्यतीयेष्वयेष्व् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix अण् comes after the Nominal-stems 'abhravapati' &c, in the various mentioned senses taught antecedently to tena divyati &c.

This is an exception to the next aphorism, by which the affix ष्व would have come after words ending with 'pati.' The present sūtra enjoins अण् instead. Thus अभ्रपति + अण् = अभ्रपतम् (VII. 2 117 तद्धितेष्वपानदि 'when a Taddhita affix follows with an indicatory म् or ष्व, there is vṛiddhi in the room of the first vowel among the vowels'). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4. 148 यत्येति च where long ई follows, and when a Taddhita affix follows, there is elision of the इ or ई, or म् or ष्व, of a bha'.)

The following is a list of words belonging to अभ्रपत्यादि class :—

1 अभ्रपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 द्यतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति, 6 स्थानपति, 7 दत्तपति, 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, ( पशुपति ) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्वपति, 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति, 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 शेषपति ॥

दित्यादित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्यः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिति, अदिति, आदित्य, पत्युत्तरपदात्, ण्यः ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ दिति अदिति आदित्य इत्येतेभ्यः पत्युत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकाद्याग्शीव्यतीयेष्वयेष्व् ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यमाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाङ्मतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गृथिय्या आम्रौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ देवाद्यमम्रौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहिषदित्येषम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकरुच ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकस् छन्दसि ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्यामोकारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्रेमोपत्येषुबहुषु ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्र गोरजादिप्रत्ययप्रसङ्गे यन् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ण्यादयोर्यदिसोपलक्षणादपवासात्पूर्वदिप्रतिषेधेन ॥

85. The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena divyati &c, after the Proper Names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya ; and that which has the word पति at its final member.

Thus दिति + ण्य = दैत्यः 'the son of Diti.' आदित्यः 'the descendant of Aditi', आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with पति, as मज्जापति + ण्य = मज्जापत्यम् ; so also सेनापत्यम् ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word यम ; as, यान्यम् ॥

Vārt :—In the Chhandas, after the words वाच्, मति and पितृमन् ॥ As वाच्यम् (Vs, 13, 58.) मात्यम् and पितृमत्यम् ॥

*Vārt*:—The affixes ऋ and अण् come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + ऋ = पार्थिव ; पृथिवी + अण् = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV. 1. 4, and that of the latter पार्थिनी applying IV. 1. 15.

*Vārt*:—The affixes वस् and अस् come after the word देव 'a god'. As देव्यम् or देवम् 'divine'.

*Vārt*:—There is elision of the ङि of बहिस्, and there is the affix वस् ; as बहिस् + यस् = बाह्यः 'external'. *Vārt*:—and the affix ईकृन् may be employed. As बहिस् + ईकृन् = बाह्यीकृन् : 'external'. (VII. 2. 118 किति च, there is vṛiddhi of the first vowel when the Taddhita affix has an indicatory क्). *Vārt*:—In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकृन् as बाह्यीकृन् : the difference being in the accent (VI. 1. 197).

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vārtika declares that its ङि portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the ङि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called ऋ *bha*. In fact the following vārtika अव्यायानाङ्क् (the ङि of the *avyaya* base is elided) given under sūtra VI. 4. 144 (the ङि of the base *bha* is elided when a *taddhita* affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the *avyaya* भारन् we get भारती &c ; here the ङि is not elided.

*Vārt*:—Of the word स्थानन् the ङि is replaced by ऋ as मन्थस्थानः ॥

*Vārt*:—The ङि of लोमन् is replaced by ऋ in the plural when the patronymic affixes follow ; as बहुलोमाः, इरलोमाः ॥ Why do we say in the plural number ? Witness भौडुलोमिः, चारलोमिः (IV. 1. 99).

*Vārt*:—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो, let the affix यन् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c) from गो is expressed by गव्यम् (VI. 1. 79). Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel' ? Observe गोभ्यो दिते or भागतं = गोरुप्यम् and गोनयम् ॥

*Vārt*:—These affixes ष्य &c, taught in this sūtra will come, to the exclusion of all the other affixes hereinafter taught, which are employed in especial senses. Thus अण् is employed especially to denote a descendant. But after the words दिति &c अण् will not be employed, but ष्य, as दैत्य "a descendant of दिति". So also वानस्पत्यम् = (वानस्पतीनाम् समुहः), to the exclusion of IV. 2. 37 &c. In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यम् (I. 4. 2) does not hold good here.

If that be so, how do you explain the form दैतेयः ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word दिति but from दित्ती, the feminine of the word दिति, formed by the affix ङीष् (IV. 1. 45, the word दिति being formed by the Kṛit affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take ङीष् in the feminine). To the feminine word दित्ती is added इक् and we get दैतेयः ॥ The Paribhāshā प्रातिपरिक्रमहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि महणम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also,

to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form हेतेय as incorrect, as not to be found either in the Mahābhāshya or any Vārtika.

उत्सादिभ्योऽम् ॥ ८६ ॥ उत्स-आदिभ्यः, अम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्सादिभ्यः प्राग्गीव्यतीयेष्वयेष्वम् प्रत्ययो भवति । अजस्तत्पवाराणां च बाधकः ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ मीमादृच्छन्सीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

86. The affix अम् comes after the word उत्स &c. in the various senses taught antecedently to tena-dīvyati &c.

This debars the affix अम् taught in IV. 1. 83 as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus उत्स + अम् = औत्सः, औत्सानः ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to उत्सादि class.

1 उत्स, 2 उद्दान, 9 विकर, 4 विनर, 5 महानर 6 महानस, 7 महाप्राण, 8 तरुण, 9 तलुन । 10 वृक्षयासे । 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पंक्ति, 14 जगती, 15 त्रिष्टुप्, 16 अनुहन्, 17 अनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उद्यानर, 29 मीष, 21 पीतुकुज. । 22 उदस्थान हेते । 23 पृष संघ, 24 भङ्गकीय, 25 रयन्तर, 26 मधेदिन, 28 इहन्, 28 महन्, 29 सत्त्वन्, 39 कुह, 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उष्णिह्, 34 ककुम्, 35 सुवर्ण, 35 देव, 37 मीमादृच्छन्सीति ॥

*Vārt*:—The word मीष in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody'. Therefore it is not so here : मैष्ठी त्रिष्टुप् 'The Graishmi Tristup metre'. But मैषः 'belonging to summer'. The word छन्स here means 'metre', and not Veda. The word वृक्षयासे = वृक्षय मते, the phrase मते meaning असमासे, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Grammarians). Thus the compound will be गोवृक्षयिः ॥ The Paribhāshā महणवत् प्रातिपदिकेन सन्त विधिप्रतिषेधः does not apply here. Therefore, tadantavidhi applies here and we have आधेनवम् (अधेनूनाम् समूहः) ॥ The word उदस्थान takes अम् when meaning a 'place': as औदस्थानो हेते; otherwise औदस्थनिः 'the son of Udasthāna.' The word पृषन् takes अम् when meaning 'a share,' otherwise it will take अम्, as पार्शतोऽम् ॥

स्त्री पुंसाभ्यां नञ् झञ्चौ भवनात् ॥ ८७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धान्यानां भवने इति वक्ष्यति । तस्य प्रागित्यनेनैव संबन्धः प्राग्भवनसंज्ञादनाधेर्थास्तेषु स्त्री च-  
द्व्यात्पुंसान्नाथ यथाक्रमं नञ्झञ्चौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

87. The affixes नञ् and झञ्चौ come after the words स्त्री and पुंस respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one-as far as "dhānyānām bhavane kshetre khañ" (V. 2. 1).

Thus स्त्री + नञ् = झैणम् 'feminine.' The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various, Therefore



the word स्त्रीणम् will have all those various significations; thus, it will mean either स्त्रीणुभवे (IV. 3. 53) 'existing in females,' or स्त्रीणां समूहः (IV. 2. 37) 'a collection of females,; or स्त्रीभ्यभागत् (IV. 3. 74) 'what has come from females'; or स्त्रीभ्यो हितं (V. 1. 5) 'suitable for females' &c.

Similarly पुंसु + समूह = पौंसम् 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वन् taught in V. 1. 115. For Pāṇini himself uses the form पुवन् (and not पौंस) in sūtra VI. 3. 34, thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वन्, the affix लम् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीवन्, ॥ The forms स्त्रीलम्, स्त्रीता, पुंसुलम् and पुंस्त्वा are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. The ल् of पुंसु is elided before लम् by VIII. 2. 23. had it not been elided, one affix नम् would have been taught in the sūtra, and not two.

द्विगोर्लुङ्गनपत्ये ॥ << ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, लुक्, अनपत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगोर्यः संबन्धी निमित्तत्वेन लङितः प्राग्शीप्यतीयो ऽपत्यप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा तस्य लुङ्गभवति ॥

88. A Taddhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by luk, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena divyati &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase प्राग्शीप्यतः of IV. 1. 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase भवनात् of the last. Thus पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः 'prepared in five cups.' Similarly दशकपालः "prepared in ten cups." द्विवेदः 'he who studies two Vedas.' त्रिवेदः "who studies three Vedas." Here the affixes denoting संस्कृतं (IV. 2. 16), and षष्ठीते (IV. 2. 59) have been elided. Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic."? Observe द्वेदेवराजिः 'a descendant of two Devadattas.' त्रैदेवराजिः 'a descendant of three Devadattas.' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena divyati?" Observe द्वेपातयजिकः ॥

The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus पञ्चकपालस्यैर् = पञ्चकपालम् ॥ Or the genitive case in द्विगोः may be taken as sthāna-shashṭhi, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक्-elision in the room of Dvigu,' the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the affix which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided

after such a word, because it becomes a *prâtipadika* like others, as *पाञ्चकपालम्* ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in *पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः* ? This is not so ; there is no *Taddhita* added, and the word *पञ्चकपाल* can never be analysed into *पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः*, ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any *Taddhita* affix to *पञ्चकपाली*, viz *पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः*, *पञ्चकपालाद्वा संस्कृतः*, and *पञ्चकपालः* (a *Samahâra Dvigu*). A *Samahâra* and a *Taddhitârtha Dvigu* of these are analysed in the same way, while the third *पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः* will always remain a *वाक्य* and never give rise to a *Taddhita*.

How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in *त्रैविद्यः*, *पाञ्चनदः* and *पाङ्कुलः* ? The word *त्रैविद्यः* does not mean *तिस्रो विद्या अधीते* but *त्र्यययवा विद्या, त्रिविद्या, त्रिविद्यामधीते = त्रैविद्यः* ॥ Similarly *पाञ्चनदः* does not mean *पंचसु नदीषु भवः* but *पंचानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः = पंचनदः*, *पंचनदे भवः = पांचनदः* ॥ So also with *पाङ्कुलं* ॥

Why the affix is not elided in *पंचभ्यो गङ्गभ्य आगतं = पंचगर्गरूप्यम्* or *पंचगर्गमयम्* ? Because the elision of those affixes only take place which begin with a vowel.

गोत्रेऽलुगचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, अलुक्, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रइत्यादिना येषां गोत्रप्रत्ययानां लुगुक्तस्तेषामजाते प्राप् दीप्यतीदे विषयश्लो प्रतिपिद्यते ॥

89. The *luk*-elision of *Patronymic* (*Gotra*) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by *Sutras* II. 4. 63 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati &c* (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of *गार्ग्यं* is *गर्गाः* (II. 4. 64). But the disciples of *गर्गाः* will be formed by the affix *छ* (IV. 21. 114) which is a *pragdivyatlya* affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix the base will be considered to be *गार्ग्यः* as if there was no elision. Thus *गार्ग्याः + छ = गार्गीयाः* (VII. 1. 2 and VI. 4. 151), and not *गर्गीयाः* ! Similarly *वाल्मीयाः*, *आत्रयीयाः*, *सात्पायणीयाः*, 'disciples of *Vâtsyas*, *Atreya*s, *Khârpâyaṇas*.'

Why do we say "गोत्रे" i. e. "when the *Gotra* affix is elided"? Observe *कोबलम्, बारम्* ॥ Here the affix denoting "fruit" is elided by *लुक्* by *Sûtra* IV. 3. 163. Then when the *pragdivyalya* affix *अच्* is added, the *luk*-elision is maintained. Thus the fruit of *बदरी* is *बदरम्*; from which *बारम्* 'belonging to or coming from the jujube-fruit.'

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe *गर्गेभ्य आगतम् = गर्गरूप्यम्* and not *गार्गरूप्यम्*; and *गर्गमयम्*; and not *गार्गमयम्* ॥ Here the affix *रूप्य*,

a *prâgdivyatiya* affix taught in *sûtra* IV. 3. 81 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to *गर्ग* and not *गर्गम्* ॥ Similarly the next affix *नयद्* (IV. 3. 82).

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a *prâgdivyatiya* affix"? Thus *गर्गोऽथो हितम् = गर्गीयम्* 'who is fit for the Gargas'. Here the affix *ह* (V. 1. 1) has the sense of 'suitable for that', as taught in *Sûtra* V. 1. 5 not one of the *prâgdivyatiya* senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

The *Gotra*-affixes are taught to be elided in the plural only: and when after such supposed elision a Singular or Dual Person is intended, this rule will still apply and there will be no elision. Thus *विद्* will form its *Gotra* derivative by *अम्* (IV. 1. 104) as *विद् + अम् = वैद्* ॥ The plural of *वैद्* will be *विदाः* by the elision of *अम्* ॥ One *yuvan* or two *yuvan* descendants of these *विदाः* will be formed by the affix *इम्* (IV. 1. 95), for the application of which the word *विदाः* will be supposed not to have lost its *अम्*, therefore *इम्* will be added to *वैद्*, thus *वैद् + इम्*; then this *इम्* is elided by II. 4. 58. The resultant form is *वैद्*, *वैदो* ॥ The many descendants (in the plural) of one *वैद्* or two *वैद्* will be *विदाः* ॥

यूनि लुक् ॥९०॥ पदानि ॥ यूनि लुक् (अचि)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग् दीप्यत इति वर्तते । अचीति च । प्राग्दीप्यतीयेऽप्यसौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते शुद्धित्येऽनुत्पन्ते एव युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । तस्मिन्निवृत्ते सति यो यतः प्राप्नोति स ततो भवति ॥

90. There is *luk* elision of the *Yuvan* Patronymic forming affix (IV. 1. 163) when a *prâgdivyatiya* affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

The elision of the *Yuvan* affix must take place mentally; having done which, we should then look out for the proper *Prâgdivyatiya* affix to be added to the word-form thus remaining. Thus the *Patronymic* (*Gotra*) of *फाण्डाहत्* is *फाण्डाहतिः* (IV. 1. 95) formed by adding *इम्* ॥ The *Yuvan* form of the latter (by *Sûtra* IV. 1. 150) will be *फाण्डाहतः* ॥ When we intend to add a *Prâgdivyatiya* affix to this last word, (e. g. an affix having the sense of "the pupils of";) we should first mentally elide the *Yuvan* affix *ञ* (IV. 1. 150) from this word *फाण्डाहत* ॥ Having done which we get the form *फाण्डाहतिः*; and it is with regard to this form *फाण्डाहति* that we should search out what is the proper pupil-denoting affix: and that by *sûtra* IV. 2. 112 is *अण्* ॥ Thus *फाण्डाहति + अण् = फाण्डाहताः* 'the pupils of *Phânḍāhṛitas*'. Had we in the *first* instance applied the pupil denoting affix to the *Yuvan* word *फाण्डाहत*, such affix would have been *ह* and not *अण्*, for the latter is ordained for those cases only where the word ends with the *Gotra* affix *इम्* (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the *Patronymic* of *भागवत्* is *भागवति* (IV. 1. 25). The

Yuvan of भागविति is भागवित्तिः (IV. 1. 148). The pupils of Bhāgavittika will be भागवित्ताः by adding the affix अण् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of तिका is तैकायनि formed by क्तिम् (IV. 1. 154). The Yuvan of तैकायनि is तैकायनीय formed by the affix छ (IV. 1. 149). The word denoting the pupils of तैकायनीय will be formed by adding छ (IV. 2. 114) not to this word, but to तैकायनि ॥ Thus तैकायनीयः ॥

Similarly the Patronymic of कापिञ्जलात् is कापिञ्जलादिः (IV. 1. 95). The Yuvan derivative of the latter will be कापिञ्जलायः; (IV. 1. 151). The word denoting pupils of the कापिञ्जलाय will be कापिञ्जलायाः (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly Patronymic from लुचुक is लुचुकायनिः (IV. 1. 160), the Yuvan of the latter is लुचुकायनः (IV. 1. 83); the word denoting the pupils of the latter is लुचुकायनाः by (IV. 2. 112 formed from लुचुकायनि) ॥ Why do we say "an affix beginning with a vowel"? Observe काष्ठाहतरूप्यम् and काष्ठाहतरमयम् ॥ Why do we say "a Prāgdīvyatiya affix"? Observe भागवित्तिः काव हिं = भागावित्तीयम् ॥ (See the last Sūtra).

फक्फिञोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ फक्फिञोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फक्फिञोर्युवप्रत्ययोः प्राग्दीप्यतीयेऽन्त्यौ प्रत्यये विवक्षितेऽन्यतरस्यां लुग् भवति ॥

91. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् when a Prāgdīvyatiya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

By the last sūtra, all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ्. Thus the patronymic of गर्ग is गार्ग्य (IV. 1. 105); the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is formed by फक् (IV. 1. 101) गार्ग्यायणः ॥ The word denoting the pupils of Gārgyaṇa will be गार्गीय or गार्ग्यायणीयाः; वास्कीयाः or वास्कायनीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix फिञ् (IV. 1. 156). Thus from यास्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV. 1. 112). The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायनि (IV. 1. 146). The pupils of Yāskāyani will be called यास्कीय or यास्कायनीयाः ॥

तस्यापत्यम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-अपत्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थनिर्णयोः, पूर्वैश्चरत् प्रत्ययेऽभिसेवद्यते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थात्प्रत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्यये भवति, प्रकृत्यो भवति प्रकृत्यर्थविशिष्टप्रकारार्थोऽपत्यमात्रमेव गृह्यते ॥

92. The affix अण् mentioned in IV. 1. 83 and those which follow it denote 'the descendant of some one'.

This sūtra points out the meaning of the affixes; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83) e. g. अण्, ण्य, अम् &c and to the affixes that follow. The affixes herein taught have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which

is in the genitive case. The translation given by Dr. Ballantyne of this aphorism is:—" Let the affixes already mentioned or to be mentioned come optionally in the sense of *the offspring thereof*, after what word ending with the sixth case-affix and having completed its junction (with whatever it may require to be compounded with), is in grammatical relation there to".

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोत्पत्यम्; or by adding मञ् (IV. 1. 83) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगवः "the offspring of Upagu". आम्भपतः (IV. 1. 84) 'the offspring of आम्भपति', देत्स्वः (IV. 1. 85) 'the offspring of Diti' औत्सः (IV. 1. 86) "the offspring of Utsa". स्त्रेणः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a woman'. वीत्सः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a man'.

The Universal sūtra तस्येदम् (IV. 3. 120) will include this मपत्य also for the word इदम् may be applied to any-thing like मपत्ये, समूहः, विकारः, निवासः &c. Since by that rule IV. 3. 120 मञ् &c, may be applied in the sense of *apatyam* also, what is the necessity of this present sūtra? The present sūtra is made in order to debar those affixes like छ, (IV. 3. 114) which debar the affix मञ् &c in the case of तस्येदम् ॥ How can an ऋषैरिक् affix debar a षैरिक् affix? The उत्सर्ग affixes मञ् &c are treated like षैरिक् for this purpose. Thus these affixes मञ् (IV. 1. 83-87) debar the छ in the Vṛiddham under certain circumstances. Thus मानोरपत्यं = मानवः, so also श्यामगवः from श्यामगुः (श्यामा गावोत्सव) ॥

*Kurikā* तस्येदमित्यपत्योपि बाधनार्यं कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्सर्गः षेण एवासौ वृद्धान्यस्व प्रयोजनम् ॥

एको गोत्रे ॥ ९३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं, तस्मिन् विवक्षिते भेदेन मपत्यस्य मपत्योत्पत्तिप्रसङ्गे निवृत्तः क्रियते । गोत्रे एक एव भवति, सर्वेऽपत्येन युज्यन्ते ॥

93. The one and the same affix is employed when a more distant descendant, how low so-ever, is to be denoted.

The word Gotra is defined in Sūtra IV. 1. 152 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sutra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गर्गि (IV. 1. 95). The son of गर्गिः (or in other words the grandson of गर्गः) is गर्गर्षः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of गर्गर्षः will also be called गर्गर्षः, no new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever, the affix मञ् will be added to the word गर्ग, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sūtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the

base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of गार्भं will be formed by adding the affix इञ् not to the base गार्भं (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 strictly applied), but to the base गर्भ ॥ So that *one* base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्, यूनि, अस्त्रियाम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अयमपि नियमः यून्यपत्ये विवक्षिते गोत्रादेव प्रत्ययो भवति, न परमप्रकृत्यमन्तरयुवः ॥

94. When a descendant of the description denoted by Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (gotra): but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan, and no new affix is added.

This is also a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Thus the Yuvan of गार्भं is गार्भ्यायणः (IV. 1. 101). Similarly दास्यायणः, दाक्षायणः, द्वाक्षायणः, औपगविः, नादायनिः ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan"? Observe दाक्षी which is the feminine of दाक्षिः (Gotra) as well as of दाक्षायणः (Yuvan). Similarly द्वाक्षी feminine of द्वाक्षिः and द्वाक्षायणः ॥ In short, Yuvan affixes are not added in the feminine. If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the sūtra should be divided in two, e. g. गोत्राद् यूनि प्रत्ययो भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ (1) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

अत इञ् ॥ ९५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यापत्यमित्येव । अकारान्तास्थातिपरिकादिभ्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix इञ् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debars अञ् (IV. 1. 83). Thus दास्यापत्यं = दाक्षिः 'descendant of Daksha'. Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter ण् added to अ, by I. 1. 69 and 70)? The descendant of शुभ्रयाः or कालालपाः (words which end in long आ) will not be formed by the affix इञ् ॥

The descendant of इसरथ by this sūtra is इसरथि, but the form इसरथ formed by अच् is also met with. As “प्रदीयताम् साधारथाय मेयित्नी” ‘Give Sita to the son of Dasaratha.’

बाह्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः घञ्-भ्योऽपत्ये इस् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संभ्रूयाम्भसोः सलोपश्च ॥

वा० ॥ बाह्वादिप्रभृतिषु येषां रघिनं गोत्रभावे लौकिके ततोऽन्यत्र तेषां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वा० ॥ संबन्धिघञ्दानां च तत्सङ्घात्यादिषेधः ॥

96. The affix इस् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words ‘Bāhu’ &c.

Thus बाह्विः “a descendant of the clan of Bāhu.” The words ‘Bāhu’ &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इस्. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra.

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (भाकृतिगण).

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपवाकु, 4 निवाकु, 5 शिवाकु, 6 वदाकु, 7 उपनिन्दु ( उपविन्दु ) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकल, 10 खडा, 11 बलाका, 12 मूषिका, 13 कुचल, 14 भगल ( कुचल ) 15 ध्रुवका, 16 ध्रुवका, 17 सुनिषा, 18 कुर्मिना, 19 पुष्करसङ्, 20 अनुहरन्, 21 देवघर्मन्, 22 अग्निघर्मन्, 29 अन्नघर्मन्, 24 सुघर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 पञ्चन्, 28 सप्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितौजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावन्, 32 उदङ्गु, 33 चिरस्, 34 माष, 35 घाघविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवञ्चिन्, 38 घङ्खलतोविन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमदिन्, 41 प्राकारमदिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीगर्त, 44 कृष्ण, 45 युधिष्ठिर, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गह, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्गु, 52 उदङ्कः संज्ञायान्, 53 संभ्रूयाम्भसोः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55 खडाल, 56 सलक ॥ भाकृतिगणोऽप्यम् ॥ तेन । 57 सात्वकिः 58 आह्विः 59 ऐन्द्रघर्भिः 60 आज्ञधेनविः इत्यादि ॥

*Vart*:—The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इस् will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाह्वः ॥

*Vart*:—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning ‘father-in-law’ is श्वशुर्कः, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वशुरिः ॥

The च in the sūtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus जाम्बिः, ऐन्द्रघर्भिः, आज्ञधेनविः, आज्ञधन्धविः, औजुलोभिः ॥

सुधातुरकञ् च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधातुः अकङ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधातृघञ्दासपत्ये इस् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्धियोगेन च तत्साकङ्गादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यासवृद्धनिषासङ्घातविम्बानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The affix इम् is placed after the word sudhātri in denoting the descendant, and the ऋ of sudhātri is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधानुरपत्यम् = सौधासकिः 'the descendant of Sudhātri.'

*Vārt*:—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास, वरुद, निषाद, चण्डाल and इन्ध्र when the Patronymic इम् is to be added. Thus वेदासकिः, वासुदकिः, निषासकिः, चाण्डालकिः, वैश्वकिः ॥

गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, कुञ्जादिभ्यः, च् फञ् ॥  
श्रुतिः ॥ गोत्रसंज्ञके उपत्ये वाच्ये कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'Kuñja' &c, when a remoter descendant (called Gotra) is to be denoted.

This debars इम् ॥ Of the affix च्फञ् the letter झ् is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix फञ्; such as in sūtra V. 3. 113, by which the words ending in affix च्फञ् take the further affix ष (ञ्च), in order to form a complete word. The letter झ् of this affix causes Vriddhi (VII. 2. 117). Then remains फ् which by sūtra VII. 1. 2, is replaced by भायन् ॥ Thus कुञ्ज + च्फञ् = कौञ्ज + भायन् + अ = कौञ्जायन्. This is not a complete word as yet. We must add ष by sūtra V. 3. 113. Thus the full word is कौञ्जायन्ः 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is कौञ्जायन्यो, plural is कौञ्जायनाः; the affix ञ्च being elided by II. 5. 62, in the plural, it being an affix of the तद्गण class (IV. 1. 174). Similarly ब्रौधायन्यः, ब्रौधायन्यो, ब्राधायनाः ॥

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जिः "the son of Kuñja". Here इम् is added by IV. 1. 95 in denoting immediate descendant. There is difference in the accent of these words, in the different numbers. Thus in the singular and dual, the accent will be regulated by the latter झ् of the affix ञ्च which is added in those numbers. But this affix being elided in the plural, the accent there will be regulated by the letter च् of च्फञ् ॥ That is to say, in the singular and dual, the udatta will fall on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197); in the plural, it will fall on the last syllable (VI. 1. 164).

The word गोत्रे of this sūtra governs the succeeding sūtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112: so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sūtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

1 कुञ्ज, 2 ब्रध, 3 चण्डाल, 4 भस्मन् 5 गण, 6 लोमन्, 7 घट, 8 घाक, 9 शुण्डा, 10 शुभ, 11 निषाद्, 12 स्कन्ध, 13 स्कम्भ, 14 घकट, 15 शुम्भा, 16 शिव, 17 शुभ-दि ॥



नडादिभ्यः फक् ॥ ९९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नड and the rest.

Thus नाडायनः (नड + फक् = नाड + आयन VII. 2. 118 and VII. 1. 2). Similarly चारवणः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नड will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word चालंकु is changed to चालंक before this affix. Thus चालंकावनः ॥ The word चालंकि occurs in वेलादि class II. 4. 59, the Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus चालंकि is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes इङ् by IV. 1. 96, as belonging to Bahvādi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word भूमिधर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e. g. भूमिधर्मावनः = चार्व-गणकः; otherwise the form will be भूमिधर्मः ॥ The word कुण्ड will form काण्डावनः when a Brāhmaṇa is meant; otherwise कार्णिः, so also एणावनः = वासिष्ठः, otherwise एणिः ॥ The word क्रौट् is changed to क्रोट् as क्रोट्यावनः ॥

1 नड, 2 चर, ( चर ) 3 बक, 4 कुञ्ज, 5 इतिक, 6 इतिच, 7 उपक, 8 एक, 9 ल-मक, 10 चालंकु चालंकु च। 11 सप्तल, 12 वाञ्छ, 13 तिक। 14 भूमिधर्मन्वृषगणे। 15 प्राण, 16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 शस, 19 मिच, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किंकर, 24 कि-ङ्कन, 25 कातर, 26 कातल, 27 काश्यप ( कुश्यप ) 28 काश्य, 29 कात्य ( काण्ड ) 30 भञ्ज, 31 भमुष्य ( भमुष्ण ) 32 कुण्डरप्ये ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठे। 33 भमिच, 34 लिगु, 35 चिच, 36 कुमार, 37 क्रोट् क्रोट् च। 38 लोह, 39 कुर्ग, 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिवाफा, 42 भम, 43 वृण, 44 शकट, 45 सुमनस, 46 सुमत, 47 मितव, 48 ऋच, 49 जलंधर, 50 अश्वर, 51 कुगंधर, 52 इंसक, 53 इण्डिन्, 54 इस्तिन्, 55 पिण्ड, 56 पंचाल, 57 यमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्य, 59 स्थिरक, 60 ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बरर, 63 अश्वल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्, 66 इन्ध, 67 भक्त, 68 कामुक, 69 ब्रह्मरत्न, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 घोत्र, 72 भलोह, 73 वण्डप, 74 जन्, 75 अश्वक, 76 वान-प्य, 77 नाप्य, 78 अन्वजत, 79 अन्तजन, 80 इत्तर, 81 भंसक, 82 वान, 83 काम, 84 वात ॥

हरितादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ हरित-आदिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरितादिर्विशयन्तर्गणः। हरितादिभ्यो ऽऽन्तेभ्योपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix फक् comes after the words हरित &c, when they end in the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 104).

The words हरित &c, form a subdivision of विद् class, which class by IV. 1. 104 takes the affix अञ् in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारित (हरित + अञ्). The son of हारित will be formed by this sūtra and not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हारित + फक् = हारितायनः "the son of Hārita or the great-grandson of Hārita". In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sūtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 one Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra affix

अस् will not take again another Gotra affix कक् ॥ Therefore, कक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

यभिजोऽय ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञ्-इजोः, च, (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बभन्तादिभन्ताच्च प्रातिपरिकाशपत्ये कक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. The affix कक् is added in denoting a descendant after a Nominal-stem ending in the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The कक् of this sūtra has, like that of the preceding sūtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गर्ग+इञ् (IV. 1. 105)=गार्ग्यः ॥ गार्ग्यं+कक्=गार्ग्यायणः ॥ इक्ष+इञ्=इक्षिः; इक्षि+कक्=इक्षायणः ॥ It is not every word which ends in यञ् or इञ् which takes the Yuvan affix कक्; but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV. 3. 10 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप+यञ्=द्वीप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix कक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतंगम &c, the force of the affix being चातुर्यिक ॥ Thus सौतंगमिः. This word will not take the affix कक् ॥

शरद्धच्छुनकदर्माद्भृगुवत्साप्रायणेषु ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरद्धत्, शुनक, दर्मात्, भृगु, वत्स, आप्रायणेषु (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोच इत्येव । शरद्धन् शुनक दर्म इत्येतेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये कक् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं भृगुवत्साप्रायणेष्वपत्यविशेषेषु ॥

102. The affix कक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant after the words 'saradvat', 'sunaka', and 'darbha', when they denote the descendants of Bhṛigu, Vatsa and Agrāyana respectively.

Thus शरद्धातायनः=भार्गवः otherwise शरद्धत्ः (formed by यञ्) सौनकायनः=वात्स्यः; otherwise सौनकः, शर्मायणः=भामायणः, otherwise इक्षिः, (formed by इञ् IV. 1. 95).

The words शरद्धन् and शुनक belonging to विशादि class would by IV. 1. 104 have taken the affix यञ् in denoting Gotra, the present sūtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins कक् instead.

द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोण, पर्वत, जीवन्तात्, अन्यतरस्याम् (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोच इत्येव । द्रोणादिभ्यः प्रातिपरिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्यदन्यतरस्यां कक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix कक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words 'Drona,' 'parvata,' and 'jivanta.'

This debars इद् of IV. 1. 95. Thus द्वीपावनः or द्वीपिः, पार्वतावनः or पार्वतिः, अश्वत्थानः or अश्वत्थिः ॥

The affix क् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अश्वत्थाना the son of Droṇa, called द्वीपावनः and not द्वीपिः in the phrase “अश्वत्थाना द्वीपावनः”? The द्वीप here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhârât, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्वीपावनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthâmâ was called Drauṇâyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

अनुप्यानन्तर्ये विदादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुषि-आनन्तर्ये, विदादिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

शुचिः ॥ गोत्रस्यैव । विदादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्येऽप्रत्यये भवति । वे पुनरानुषिचम्याः पुत्रापत्येभ्योऽनन्तर्ये एव भवति । अनुप्यानन्तर्यस्यस्यावगम्यः, अनुषिभ्योऽनन्तरे भवतीति ॥

104. The affix अञ् comes after the words ‘Bida’ &c, in denoting a remote (Gotra) descendant : but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting immediate descendant.

This Sûtra consists of four words : अनुषि “non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage”; आनन्तर्ये ‘in expressing an *immediate* descendant.” विदादिभ्यः “after Bidâdi words” अञ् “the affix अञ्.” Thus of the words falling in Bidâdi class, the words like पुत्र ‘son,’ कुट्टिन् daughter,’ ननान् ‘sister-in-law’ are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix अञ् is added to these words, it has the force of denoting immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र + अञ् = पौत्रः ‘grand-son.’ कुट्टिन् + अञ् = कौट्टिन्ः “daughter’s son.” But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix अञ् makes the Gotra descendants. Thus विद् + अञ् = वैद्ः ‘the grandson or a descendant lower than that of Bida.’

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes, we come to this two fold meaning of this sûtra? To this we reply, that the phrase अनुप्यानन्तर्ये should be thus construed. The word ‘anūṣhi’ is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word आनन्तर्ये is the same as अनन्तर the affix अञ् being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like पौत्र &c. denote the *immediate* (anantara) descendant of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (gotra), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means :—‘after a Bidâdi word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix ‘an’ is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant.’

Q. Another way of explaining the phrase is this, the word 'ānantarya' is equal to 'nairantarya' = 'uninterrupted succession.' Therefore, where there is an uninterrupted succession of Rishis between the first name and the person to be designated by a Patronymic, there the affix 'an' will not be added. Thus the word कश्यप belongs to the Bidādi class. 'Indrabhū' a seventh descendant of Kaśyapa, will not be denoted by काश्यप formed with अम्, because between इन्द्रभू and कश्यप, there is an unbroken series of Rishis, but by अम् of IV. 1. 114. Therefore the following phrase will be valid इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ For अम् is elided in the plural by II. 4. 64, but काश्यपानाम् is plural of काश्यप formed with the general patronymic अम् of IV. 1. 114 and hence not elided.

A. This explanation is not to be preferred, merely in order to explain the word काश्यपानाम् in इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ The general Patronymic ऋषि affix अम् of IV. 1, 114 is not debarred by this अम् ॥ Therefore काश्यप with अम् will denote इन्द्रभूः, which may also be denoted by काश्यप formed with अम् ॥ For had the above explanation been correct, then विश्वानिभ the grandson of Kusika could never be called कौशिकः (formed with अम्), for both Gādhi the father of Viśva-mitra, and Kuśika the grand-father were Rishis.

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words विद् &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus विद् forms वैदि 'a descendant of Bida' by IV. 1. 96 इम् and not by ऋष्यप् of IV. 1. 114, because विद् is supposed to belong to the Akṛtigaṇa of Bāhvādi.

1 विद्, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज, 6 उपमन्त्र, 7 किलात, 8 कन्वर्ष (किन्वर्ष) 9 विश्वानर, 10 ऋषिषेण (ऋषिषेण) 11 ऋतभाग, 12 ह्यथ, 13 मियक, 14 मा-पस्तम्ब, 15 कूचदार, 16 शारदन्, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 सिधु, 21 बिन्दु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शयिक, 25 अश्वानतान, 26 इयामाक, 27 इयानक, 28 इयावलि, 29 इयापर्ण, 30 हरित, 31 किशस, 32 बह्यस्क, 33 भर्कशुष (भर्कशुष्क) 34 बध्यो-ग, 35 विष्णु, 36 वृद्ध, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रचित, 39 रयीतर (रयन्तर) 40 गविष्ठि, 41 निषार, 42 शबर, 43 अलस, 44 मडर, 45 वृडाकु, 46 हृपाकु, 47 वृडु, 48 पुनर्भू, 49 पूष, 50 इहिवृ, 51 ननान्, 52 परस्त्री परशु च । 53 किल्वलप, 54 सम्बक, 55 इयायक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु when taking the affix अम् ॥ Thus पराश्रिया अपत्यं = पारशुवः (the son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Śūdra woman, who though married to the Brāhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशक्तिकादि (VII. 3. 20) and कल्याण्यादि (IV. 1. 126) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारश्वेण्यः, with double वृद्धि of both members by VII. 3. 20: which does not take place in the case of पारशुवः ॥

गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ १०५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रस्यैव । गर्गादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये बन्ध् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्यः, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वात्स्यः &c.

1 गर्ग, 2 वत्स, 3 वाजासे । 4 संस्कृति, 5 भञ्ज, 6 व्याघ्रपात्, 7 विरभृत्, 8 मा-  
चीनयोग, 9 भगस्ति, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस, 12 रेव, 13 अग्निवेद्य, 14 शंख, 15 घट, 16  
घक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 भवद्, 20 मनस्, 21 धनेज्जब, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विभावसु, 24 अर  
माण, 25 लोहित, 26 संसित, 27 बभ, 28 वस्व, 29 मण्डु, 30 गण्डु, 31 शंङ्कु, 32 त्रिगु, 33  
गुहलु, 34 मन्तु, 35 मंशु, 36 अलिगु, 37 जिगीशु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्तु, 40 मनाची, 41  
सूनु, 42 कयक, 43 कन्यक, 44 कृष, 45 वृक्ष ( वृक्ष ) 46 तनु, 47 तरुष, 48 तलुष, 49  
तण्ड, 50 वतण्ड, 51 कपिकत, 52 कत, 53 कष, 54 भूत, 55 कुङ्कत, 56 भनडुह, 57 कवि, 58 पुद्-  
कुत्स, 59 शक्ति, 60 कण्व, 61 शकल, 62 गोकश, 63 भगस्य, 64 कुण्डिनी 65 यज्ञवल्क, 66 पर्णवल्क,  
67 अभयजात, 68 विरोहित, 69 वृषगज, 70 रूगज, 71 शण्डिन, 72 वर्णक ( चमक ) 73 सुलुक,  
77 मुद्गल, 75 सुसल, 76 जगदग्नि, 77 पापघार, 78 जतृकर्ण ( जातृकर्ण ) 79 महित, 80 मन्वित, 81  
अभ्रमथ, 82 शर्कराश, 83 वृत्तिगण, 84 स्थूरा, 85 अररक ( भररक ) 86 एलाक, 87 पिङ्गल, 88 कृष्ण,  
89 गालन्द, 90 उलूक, 91 तितिक्ष, 92 भिषज ( भिषज् ) 93 भिषज, 94 अहित, 95 भाण्डत, 96 हन्व,  
97 वेकित, 98 पिकित्सित, 99 देवह, 100 इन्द्रह, 101 एकल, 102 पिप्पल, 103 बृहसि, 104 सुलोहिन्,  
105 सुलाभिन्, 106 उष्य, 107 कुट्टिगु, 108 संहित, 109 पथ, 110 कन्धु, 111 युव, 112 कर्कटक,  
113 रुष, 114 प्रचूल, 115 बिलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

The word मनु is found in the लोहितदि sublist of this class. It ought to take ष् after बन्ध् in the feminine by IV. 1. 18, how then the form मानवी in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix बन्ध् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no shpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जगदग्नि is called जगदग्न्वः which is a Name of Parasúram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyása the son of Parásara is called पापघार्यः ? These are exceptions formed by गोत्र रूपाध्यायेः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatyā forms are by कृष्यण् (IV. 1. 114) i. e. जगदग्निः and पापघारः ॥

मधुबध्नोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधु, बध्नोः, ब्राह्मण-कौशिकयोः  
( यञ् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुबध्नाश्च बध्नुश्च गोत्रापत्ये यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं ब्राह्मणि कौशिके वाच्ये ॥

106. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and बध्नु when the words so formed mean 'Brāhmaṇa' and 'a Kausika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brāhmaṇa.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu."  
बाधव्यः = कौशिकः Otherwise बाधवः ॥

The word यञ् belongs to the Gargādi class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sūtra also. The present sūtra declares a restriction, viz. यञ् takes यम् only then when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargādi class serves another purpose : as it belongs to the sub-class लोहितारि, the rule IV. 1. 18 becomes applicable to it ; so that its feminine is formed by ण्क. Thus वाङ्मयायणी ॥ In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapātha, instead of writing यञ् alone, there was यञ् कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sūtra.

कपिवोध्यादाङ्गिरसे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, बोधात्, आङ्गिरसे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपिवोध्यादाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोधि, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + यञ् = काप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras.' So also बोधिः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras ? Observe कापेयः (IV. 1. 122) "the gotra-descendant of Kapi" so also बोधिः formed by यञ् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bāhvādi (IV. 1. 96) class.

The word कपि occurs in Gargādi class. The present sūtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargādi class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1. 18. Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi."

वतण्डाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वतण्डात्, च, ( गोत्रे, यञ् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डाच्चत्वादाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

108. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word 'वातण्ड,' when meaning a descendant of Angirasa.

Thus वातण्ड्यः = भांगिरसः, otherwise वातण्डः ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105) and in the Śivādi class (IV. 1. 112). It would have taken both affixes यञ् and यञ्. The present sūtra declares that when it means an Angirasa, then वतण्ड will not take यञ् of the णिवारि class : and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both these affixes e. g. वातण्ड्यः and वातण्डः any descendant of Vātaṇḍa.

लुक् स्त्रियाम् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डाच्चत्वादाङ्गिरस्यां स्त्रियां यञ् प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

109. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतण्डः we get वतण्ड्य in the masculine. In the feminine the यम् is elided by luk, and we have वतण्ड्य + डीन् (IV. 1. 73) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vataṇḍa of the clan Angirasa." Why do we say "of Angirasa?" Observe वतण्ड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitaḍi rule (V. 1. 18). When वतण्ड takes यञ् under Śivādi class, its feminine is वतण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with यञ् yet in the feminine, there is not ष्वङ् substitution (IV. 1. 78), because Vataṇḍa is a Rishi-Name.

अंश्वादिभ्यः कञ् ॥ १० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इति निवृत्तम् । अंश्वादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये कञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. The affix 'कञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अंश्व &c.

The anuvṛtiti of Angirasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus अंश्व-कञ् = अंश्व-आयन (VII. 1. 2) = आंश्वायनः (VII. 2. 117) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'. Similarly आंश्वायनः There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g. आनेय, वैश्व, and आनडुह ॥ After these words the affix कञ् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix. The word आनेय is formed by अन्वि + इक् (IV. 1. 122), वैश्य = विति (a Rajarshi)-+ इक् (IV. 1. 171), and आनडुह = अनडुह + यञ् (IV. 1. 105). The word चाव takes षाण् only when it denotes an Atreya, as चायायनः, otherwise चाविः with इञ् or चावः with यञ् ॥ The word जात takes 'षाण्' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted, as जातस्यापत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातेवः with इक् ॥ The word आनेय takes 'षाण्' when denoting a Bhāradvāja, as आनेयायनः, otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, leaving the form आनेवः ॥

The words भरद्वाज आनेये of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhāradvāja Gotra, then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhāradvāja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with यञ् of IV. 1. 104.

1 अंश्व 2 अहमन् 3 शंख 4 शूद्रक 5 विर 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 खर्जूर (खजूर) 9 खण्डार 10 बस्त 11 विजुल 12 भडिल 13 भण्डिल 14 भडिल 15 भण्डिल 16 प्रकृत 17 एनीर 18 क्षान्त 19 काष्ठ 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलांक 22 भर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट 25 चक्र 26 अविष्ट 27 पविन् 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 दयान 31 धूम 32 धूम 33 वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कुट 36 चाप आनेये 37 जन 38 अड 39 खड 40 मीष 41 भई 42 किल 43 विघोष 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 चुप 48 शंसक 49 वैश्व 50 (वैश्व) माष्य 51 धर्म्य 52 आनडुह 53 पुंसि जाते 54 अर्जुन 55 प्रहल 56 सुमनस् 57 दुर्मनस 58 नन 59

(मनस्) शान्त 60 धन 61 भावेव भरहाजे 62 भरहाज भावेवे 63 उत्स 64 भातव 65 कितव 66 वर  
67 धन्व 68 पाद 69 शिव 70 खरि 71 मण्डक 72 श्रीवा 73 कुल 74 काण 75 नड 76  
वीर्य, 77 वर, 78 खेड, 79 नक्त 80 भोजस, 81 नन ॥

भर्गात्त्रैगर्ते ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भर्गात्त्रैगर्तस्य त्रैगर्ते गोत्रे कश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'कश्च' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta.

Thus भर्गात्त्रैगर्तः = त्रैगर्तः ; otherwise भार्गिः (IV. 1. 95).

शिवादिभ्योष्ण ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव-आदिभ्यः, अष्ण ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इति निवृत्तम् । अतः प्रयुक्ति सामान्येन प्रत्यया विज्ञावन्ते । शिवादिभ्योऽपत्येऽप्य् प्रत्य-  
यो भवति ॥

112. The affix अष्ण comes in the sense of a descen-  
dant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word गोत्रे (IV. 1. 98) does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अष्ण debarbs इष्ण &c, Thus शिव-अष्ण = शिवः 'a descendant of Śiva'. Similarly शीघ्रः ॥

The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class; being a common noun denoting an artisan. it would have taken the affix इष्ण by IV. 1, 153; the present sūtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of ष्य ordained by IV. 1. 152. Thus तक्षन्-अष्ण = तक्षणः ॥ तक्षन्-अष्ण = तक्षणः ॥ The अ is elided by VI. 4. 134, The word गंगा occurs in this class, as well as in Subhrādi class IV, 1. 123) and Tikādi (IV. 1. 154). There are thus three forms of this word :—गांगः; गांगायनिः and गांगेयः ॥ The word विपाद्या occurs in this class as well as in Kuñjādi class (IV. 1. 98) It has thus two forms: विपाद्याः and विपाद्यायन्वः with chphañ.

The affix अष्ण will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river: the affix इष्ण (IV. 1. 121) would have debarred the तन्नामिक अष्ण of (IV. 1. 113) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river name शिवेयी would be formed by अष्ण (IV. 1. 113), as शिवेयः but this is replaced by शिवणः ॥

1 शिव 2 प्रोष्ठ 3 प्रोष्ठक 4 चण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 इण्ड 8 कुडार 9 ककुम् (ककुभा) 10 धन-  
भिम्भान 11 कोहित 12 सुख 13 संधि 14 मुनि 15 ककुत्थ 16 कडोड 17 कोडड 18 कडूय 19 कडव  
20 रोध 21 कर्षिजल (कुर्षिजल) 22 खंजन 23 वतण्ड 24 वृणकर्ण 25 खरिह 26 जनह 27 परिल



28 पारिक 29 विह 30 वैहव 31 पारिका 32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 अटिलिका 35 बधिरिका 36 मञ्जीरक 37 38 मञ्जीरक 39 वृष्णिक 40 खञ्जार 41 खञ्जाल 42 कर्मार 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 भालेख 46 विभ्रवण 47 रवण 48 वर्तनास 49 श्रीवास 50 विटप 51 पिटक 52 पिटाक 53 तशाक 54 नमाक 55 कर्णनाभ 56 अरस्काह 57 पूया 58 उल्सेप 59 पुणेहितिका 60 सुणेहितिका 61 सुणेहिका 62 आर्ष-भेत (अर्षभेत) 63 सुविह 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मसूरकर्ण 66 खर्जूरकर्ण 67 खसूरक 68 तक्षन् 69 कटिपथे 70 गंगा 71 विपाद्य 72 बस्क 73 लघ्न 74 बुह्य 75 भयःस्थुल 76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 पर्ण 78 मल-न्तन 73 विरूपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 इत्य 82 सपत्नी 83 द्वयो नप्याः 84 विवेणी विवर्ण च ॥ 85 गोपिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कवोध, 88 गोभिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तराक, 91 बराक, 92 परल ॥ 16 is an आकृतगण ॥

अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुद्धिद्वयस्याचानादिस्तद्वाद्वा । अवृद्धाभ्यः इति छन्दधर्मः । नदीमानुषीभ्य इत्यर्थधर्म, स्तेनाभेद-  
स्यकृतयो निर्विद्यन्ते । तन्नामिकाभ्य इति सर्वनाम्ना प्रत्ययप्रकृतेः प्रत्ययवर्धः । अवृद्धानि ज्ञानि नदीनां  
मानुषीणां च नामधेयानि तेषोऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्यये भवति । इकोऽपवाकः ॥

113. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women, when such words are not Vriddham words; and when they are used as names and not as adjectives.

The word Vriddham in the sūtra, does not mean the technical Patronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sūtras like IV. I. 166, but means the Vriddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word whose first syllable is a Vriddhi letter (I. I. 73). The word अवृद्धाभ्यः shows the *orthography* of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदीमानुषीभ्यः declares the *meaning* of that word and both attributes refer to one and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vriddhi letter in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river. The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः 'a son of the Yamunā.' ऐरावत 'son of the Irāvati.' वैतस्तः 'son of the Vitastā.' नार्मदः 'son of the Narmaddā.' These are all *names* of rivers. Similarly शैक्षितः 'son of Śikshitā' चैन्तित 'son of चिन्तित' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vriddha word?' Observe चान्द्रभाग्यात् अपत्यं = चान्द्रभागेयः ; so also वासवदत्तेयः formed by इक् (IV. I. 120). Why do we say being 'names of rivers or women.' Observe सौपण्ड्यः and वैनतेयः ॥ Why do we say "when it is a name?" Observe शोभनाय अपत्यं = शोभनेयः 'the son of a beautiful woman.'

इक् (IV. I. 120) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed from feminine bases. The present sūtra is an exception to that.

ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ ११४ ॥ ऋषि, अन्धक, वृष्णि, कुरुभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषयः प्रसिद्धा वसिष्ठारयः । अन्धका वृष्णयः कुरुव इति वंशाख्या । ऋष्यादिकुर्वन्तेभ्यः प्रादि-  
पदिकेभ्योऽपत्येऽण्प्रत्यये भवती, प्रोऽपवाकः ।

114. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vrishni, and Kuru.

This debars the affix इक् ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvamitra &c. Thus वासिष्ठः, वैश्वामित्रः ॥ So also आकल्कः, एन्धसः being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka ; and वासुदेवः, भानुवृद्धः being persons belonging to the family of Vṛishṇi, and नकुलः, साहदेवः being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

The word भ्रात्रे is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sūtra enjoins अण् ; but IV. 1. 122 enjoins इक् ; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of भ्रात्रे will be formed not by अण् but by इक् ॥ Thus भ्रात्रेवः ॥ Similarly उग्रसेन a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औग्रसेन्यः IV. 1. 152 by ण्य ; and not by अण्, so also वैश्वकसेन्य 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vṛishṇi, family ; so also भिमसेन्यः 'son of Bhimasena' a person of Kuru family.

*Note.*—The words or sabdās are eternal ; how is it then that rules applying to them should be made dependant upon their occurring in particular families or not, when families themselves are non-eternal ? In other word, how a rule affecting a permanent object is conditioned by an impermanent adjunct ? To this, some reply that Pānini has by mere coincidence (and not as cause and effect) classified certain definite number of words as belonging to certain families, and then the rule made applicable to them. Moreover a permanent object is sometimes designated by an impermanent object : as the permanent time is designated by the name of Saka. Others say that the families of Andhaka &c., are also permanent, and the words 'Nakula' 'Sahadeva' &c., found therein are, of course, permanent.

मातृहस्तसख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, उतः, संख्या, सम्, भद्र, पूर्वायाः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ मातृहस्तसख्यापूर्वात्संभद्रपूर्वायापत्ये ऽण् प्रत्यये भवति, उकारभ्रान्तादेशः ।

115. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word mātṛi when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words सम् or भद्र; and the letter उ is substituted for the final ऋ of mātṛi.

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्वैमातुरः "son of two mothers i. e. son of one and adopted by another." द्विमातृ + अण् = द्वैमातृ + उ + भ = द्वैमातृ + उ + र् + भ (I. 1. 51.) Similarly बाष्पमातुरः, सांमातुरः, and भाद्रमातुरः ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short उ for the

28 पाविक 29 विह 30 वैद्य 31 वार्षिका 32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 अटिलिका 35 बधिरिका 36 मञ्जीरक 37 38 मञ्जरीक 39 वृष्णिक 40 खञ्जार 41 खञ्जाल 42 कर्भार 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 आलेखन 46 विभवण 47 रवण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 श्रीवाक्ष 50 विटव 51 पिटक 52 पिटाक 53 तशाक 54 मनाक 55 ऊर्णनाभ 56 अरस्कार 57 पृथा 58 वस्त्रेप 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुपोहितिका 61 सुपोहिका 62 आर्ष-धेत (अयंभेत) 63 सुविह 64 मसूरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जूरकर्ण 67 खपूरक 68 तप्तम् 69 कटिषणे 70 गंगा 71 विपाद्य 72 बल्क 73 लक्ष 74 बुद्ध 75 अयःस्थूल 76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 पर्ण 78 अल-न्न 73 विकृपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 इत्य 82 सपत्नी 83 द्वयो नद्याः 84 विवेणी विवणं च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कवोध, 88 गोमिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 बडाक, 92 परत ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिदस्याच्चाभावोऽस्ति इत् इत् । अवृद्धाभ्यः इति छन्दधर्मः । नदीमानुषीभ्य इत्यर्थधर्मः, स्तोत्राभेद-  
प्यकृतयो निर्विद्यन्ते । तन्नामिकाभ्य इति सर्वनाम्ना प्रत्ययप्रकृतेः प्रत्ययवर्धः । अवृद्धानि ज्ञानि नदीनां  
मानुषीणां च नामधेयानि तेषोऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्यये भवति । इकोऽपवाहः ॥

113. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a des-  
cendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women,  
when such words are not Vriddham words; and when they  
are used as names and not as adjectives.

The word Vriddham in the sūtra, does not mean the technical Pat-  
ronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sūtras like  
IV. I. 166, but means the Vriddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word  
whose first syllable is a Vriddhi letter (I. I. 73). The word अवृद्धाभ्यः shows the  
*orthography* of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदी-  
मानुषीभ्यः declares the *meaning* of that word and both attributes refer to one  
and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vriddhi letter  
in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river.  
The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः 'a son of the Yamunā.' ऐरावत 'son of the Irāvati.'  
वैतस्तः 'son of the Vitastā.' नार्मदः 'son of the Narmaddā.' These are all *names*  
of rivers. Similarly शैक्षितः 'son of Śikshitā' चान्तिता 'son of चान्तिता' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vriddha word?' Observe चान्नुभाभ्याम्  
अपत्यं = चान्नुभाभ्याम् ; so also वासवदत्तेभ्यः formed by इक् (IV. I. 120). Why do we say  
being 'names of rivers or women.' Observe सौपर्णेभ्यः and वैनतेभ्यः ॥ Why do we  
say "when it is a name?" Observe शोभनाया अपत्यं = शोभनेभ्यः 'the son of a beautiful  
woman.'

इक् (IV. I. 120) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed  
from feminine bases. The present sūtra is an exception to that.

ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ ऋषि, अन्धक, वृष्णि, कुरुभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषयः प्रसिद्धा वासिष्ठारयः । अन्धका वृष्णयः कुरुव इति वंशाख्या । ऋष्याविकुर्वन्तेभ्यः प्राति-  
पदिकेभ्योऽपत्येऽण्प्रत्यये भवती, प्रोऽपवाहः ।

114. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vrishni, and Kuru.

This debars the affix इम् ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvamitra &c. Thus वासिष्ठः, वैश्वानिषः ॥ So also आकल्कः, एण्डः being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka ; and वासुदेवः, भानुरुद्धः being persons belonging to the family of Vṛishṇi, and नकुलः, साहदेवः being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

The word आनि is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sūtra enjoins अण् ; but IV. 1. 122 enjoins इक् ; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of आनि will be formed not by अण् but by इक् ॥ Thus आनिवः ॥ Similarly उग्रसेनः a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औग्रसेन्यः IV. 1. 152 by ण्य ; and not by अण्, so also वैश्वकसेन्यः 'son of Vaishvakṣena' a person of Vṛishṇi, family ; so also भिमसेन्यः 'son of Bhimasena' a person of Kuru family.

*Note.*—The words or sabdās are eternal ; how is it then that rules applying to them should be made dependant upon their occurring in particular families or not, when families themselves are non-eternal ? In other word, how a rule affecting a permanent object is conditioned by an impermanent adjunct ? To this, some reply that Pānini has by mere coincidence (and not as cause and effect) classified certain definite number of words as belonging to certain families, and then the rule made applicable to them. Moreover a permanent object is sometimes designated by an impermanent object : as the permanent time is designated by the name of Saka. Others say that the families of Andhaka &c., are also permanent, and the words 'Nakula' 'Sahadeva' &c., found therein are, of course, permanent.

मातृद्वयसंख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, उत्तः, संख्या, सम, भद्र, पूर्वायाः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ मातृद्वयसंख्यापूर्वासंभद्रपूर्वायापत्ये ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति, उकारभ्रान्तारेणः ।

115. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word mātri when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words सम् or भद्र; and the letter उ is substituted for the final ऋ of mātri.

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्विमातुरः "son of two mothers i. e. son of one and adopted by another." द्विमातृ + अण् = द्विमातृ + उ + अ = द्विमातृ + उ + ए + अ (I. 1. 51.) Similarly चाण्मातुरः, सांमातुरः, and भाद्रमातुरः ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short उ for the

ह of मातृ; for the word मातृ would have taken the affix अण् by the general rule IV. 1. 83. The sūtra contains the word पूर्वायाः in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word मातृ denotes female. Thus संनिमित्ते = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be संमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'. Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सौमात्रः 'son of Sumātrī'. The word देमात्रेवः is formed by IV. 1. 123 as belonging to Śubhrādi class.

कन्यायाः कनीन च ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्यायाश्चादपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति इकोपवादः । तस्मिन्नियोगेन कनीनश्चाण्मादेशो भवति ॥

116. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'Kanyā'.

Thus कन्याया अपत्यं = कनीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz Karṇa or Vyasa'. This debars the इक् of IV. 1. 121. The word कन्या means a virgin, the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. मुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् वा पुंयोगेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जज्ञाति, यथा कुन्ती, यथा सत्यवती ॥

विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलादत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलात्, वत्स, भरद्वाज, अत्रिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशुङ्गछगलादत्रेभ्यो यथासंख्यं वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिष्वपत्यविशेषेण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, and छगल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvāja and Atri respectively.

Thus विकर्णः = वात्सः otherwise विकर्णिः ॥ शौङ्गः = माह्वाजः, otherwise शौङ्गिः ॥ छागलः = आत्रेयः, otherwise छागलिः ॥

In some texts the word शुंग is used and not शुंग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौङ्गेयः, by IV. 1. 120 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः ॥

पीलाया वा ॥ ११८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पीलाया अपत्ये ण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant.

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by

IV. 1. 113; but this मण् would have been prohibited by IV. 1. 121 as it is a dissyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Thus पेलः or पैलेकः 'son of Pila.'

ढक् च मण्डूकात् ॥ ११९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मण्डूकघञ्शरपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix ढक् comes optionally in the sense of a descendant after the word मण्डूक as well as the affix मण् ॥

Thus we get three forms, मण्डुक + ढक् = माण्डूक्यः; मण्डुक + मण् = माण्डूकः; मण्डुक + इण् = माण्डुकिः ॥

स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् ॥ १२० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीमहणेन टावादिप्रत्ययान्ताः घञ्श गृह्यन्ते । स्त्रीभ्योऽपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वडवाया वृषे वाच्ये ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मण् कुञ्चाकोकिलात्स्युतः ॥

120. Words ending in the feminine affixes take the affix ढक् in forming their Patronymic.

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes षप् &c.' That is, words ending in long षा and ई of the feminine. Thus विनता + ढक् = वैनतेयः (IV. 1. 2). So also सौपर्णेयः "Son of Vinatā or Suparnā". But इदविडः and हारदः formed by मण् meaning sons of इदविड and हारद, for though these words are feminine, they do not end in feminine affixes.

*Vdt.*—The affix ढक् comes after वडवा when meaning वृष ॥ Thus वाडवेयः = वृषः "bull." Here 'ḍhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be वाडवः 'the son of a mare.'

*Vdt.*—The feminine words कुञ्चा and कोकिला take the affix मण् in forming the patronymic. Thus क्रौञ्चः "the son of a curlew." कौकिलाः "the son of a cuckoo."

द्वयचः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-अचः (स्त्रीभ्यां ढक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्ताश्रय्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

Thus दत्ताया अपत्यं = दत्तेयः 'son of Dattā', गौपेयः "son of Gopi". This debars the मण् of IV. 1. 113.

Why do we say 'having two vowels?' Observe वायुनः 'son of वयुना', which is a trisyllabic word, and not dissyllabic.

इतश्चानिजः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, अन्, इजः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चकारो द्वयच इत्यस्यानुकर्षार्थः । इकारान्ताग्र्यानिपविकाशनिप्रस्ताश्रय्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix 'इक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इम् ॥

The anuvṛtti of 'stri' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sūtra is to draw the anuvṛtti of the word द्याचः of the last sūtra. Thus आचैवः 'the son of Atri'. वैधेयः 'the son of निधिः' ।

Why do we say " after a word ending in short इ "? Observe साक्षिः "son of इक्ष" ॥ Here इक्ष though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इम्'? Observe साक्षायणः 'son of साक्षि' ॥ Here though साक्षि is a dissyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix इक् for इ here is the affix इम् (IV. 1. 95.); so also लाक्षायनः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मारीचः "son of मरीचिः"

शुभ्रादिभ्यश्चः ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुभ्र-आदिभ्यः, च ( इक् )

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभ्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपादिकेभ्यो इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

123. The affix 'इक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

This debarbs इम् and other affixes. The word च in the sūtra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the इक्, as it is an आकृतिगणः ॥ For though the words मगा, पांडव are not in the list, we find still forms like गानेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = चाचैवः ॥

1 शुभ्र, 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 घातदार, 5 घालायल, (घालायल) 6 घालाकाभ्र, 7 लेखाशु, (लेखाश्र), 8 विकसा, (विकास), 9 रोहिणी, 10 रुक्मिणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 दिष्, 13 घालूक, 14 भञ्जवस्ति, 15 शक्राधि, 16 विमान्, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक्र, 19 विश, 20 वेदतर 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उष, 24 ज्ञातल (घातल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सूक्रण्डु, 27 निक्षि, 28 अतिथि, 29 गार्दन्त, 30 कुसाम्ब, 31 मकण्डु, 32 घालाहर, 33 पवष्टुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्वासिष्ठ । 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 भयीव, 39 प्रवाहण, 40 भरत ( भारत ) 41 भरत; 42 मृकण्डु, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 भालीव, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदक्ष, 49 सुवक्षम्, 50 सुशामन्, 51 कट्ट, 52 तुङ्ग, 53 अकशाव, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुठारिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्वाशान्, 59 परिधि, 60 वायुवत्त; 61 शकल, 62 घालाका, 63 खडूर, 64 कुत्रेरिका, 65 अशोका, 66 गन्धपिङ्गला, 67 खडोन्मगा, 68 अनुदष्टिन्, ( अनुदष्टि ) 69 अरतिन्, 70 यलीवर्दिन्, 71 विष, 72 बीज, 73 जीव, 74 भन्, 75 अदमन्, 76 अम्भ, 77 अञ्जिर 78 घातावर, 79 घालाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मद्यदु, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकण्डु, 86 वमदु, 87 कट्ट, 88 मृकण्ड, 89 गुद, 90 रुद्र, 91 कुशेरिका, 92 शवल, 93 अञ्जिन ॥

विकर्णकुपीतकात्काश्यपे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, कुपीतकात् काश्यपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशब्दस्कुपीतकशब्दश्च काश्यपे उपत्यविशेषे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

124. The affix ङक् comes after the words 'Vikarna' and 'Kushita', when they mean the descendants of Kāsyapa.

Thus वैकर्णेयः and कौशीतकेयः = काश्यपः; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौशीतकिः formed by IV. 1. 95.

सुवो बुक् च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवः, बुक्, च (ङक्)  
वृत्तिः ॥ सुवोऽपत्येङक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च बुगागमः ।

125. The affix 'ङक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word सू and the augment बुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus सू + ङक् = सु + बुक् + ङक् (I. 1. 46) = सुव् + ङक् = धैवेकः (VII. 1. 2)

कल्याण्यादीनामिन्ङ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कल्याणी-आदीनाम्, इन्ङ् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ कल्याणी इत्येवमादीनां शब्दानामपत्ये ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च इन्ङादेशः ॥

126. The affix 'ङक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इन्ङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sūtra teaches merely the substitution of इत्ङ्, for they would have taken the affix ङक् by IV. 1. 120. But in the case of other words, the Sūtra teaches both the substitution of इन्ङ् and the addition of ङक् ।

Thus कल्याणी + ङक् = कल्याणिन् + ङक् = कल्याणिनेयः 'son of Kalyāṇī.' सुभगा + ङक् = सुभगन् + ङक् = सुभगिनेयः ॥ Similarly सौभागिनेयः ॥ In these last two words, there is Vṛiddhi of both the initial vowel उ and the second vowel अ of भ. This is done by the special rule VII. 3. 19.

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुसृष्टि, 6 अनुसृति (अनुसृष्टि) 7 ज्वरी, 8 बलीवर्षी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्यमा, 12 परस्त्री ॥

कुलदाया वा ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलदायाः, वा (ङक्)  
वृत्तिः ॥ कुलदाया अपत्येङक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वा इन्ङादेशो भवति । आदेशार्थे वचनं प्रत्ययः पूर्वमेव सिद्धः ।

127. The affix 'ङक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलदा, and इन्ङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलदा means literally one who wanders (अव्रति) from one family (कुल) to another, i. e. an unchaste woman. This sūtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलदा would have taken ङक् by the general rule IV. 1. 120. Thus कुलदा + ङक् = कुलदिन् + ङक् = कौलदिनेयः or कौलदेयः 'son of an unchaste woman.' This word कुलदा being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ङक् by IV. 1. 131. Thus कौलदेरः ॥



चटकाया ऐरक् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चटकायाः, ऐरक् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ चटकाया अपत्ये ऐरक् प्रत्ययो भवति । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चटकायेति वक्तव्यम् । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खि-  
यापत्ये कुम्बकम् ॥

128. The word चटका takes the affix ऐरक् in form-  
ing the patronymic.

Thus चाटकैः 'son of Chaṭakā'.

*Vart*:—So also after the masculine word चटक् ॥ Thus चाटकैः 'son of  
Chaṭakā'.

*Vart*:—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-eli-  
sion of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका will be चटका, the टक्  
being added as belonging to Ajādi class IV. 1. 4.

गोधाया द्रक् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोधायाः, द्रक् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये द्रक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'द्रक्' comes in the sense of a des-  
cendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + द्रक् = गोधैः ॥ Of the affix 'ḍhak', the letter ह् is replaced  
by ए (VII. 1. 2), क् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) and makes the udātta accent  
fall on the final (IV. 1. 165). Thus the real affix is एह्, but the ह् is elided by  
VI. 1. 66 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Subhrādi class IV. 1. 123, also, thus it  
takes the affix 'ḍhak' as well. Thus गोधैः ॥

आरगुदीचाम् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ आरक्, उदीचाम् (गोधायाः) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये उदीचाम् आर्याणां मतेन आरक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

130. The affix 'आरक्', comes in the sense of a  
descendant after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of  
Northern Grammarians.

Thus गोधाः ॥ It might be objected that the आरक् contains the letter आ  
unnecessarily, for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends  
in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the  
very fact that Pāṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there  
are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix  
रक् would not suffice. Thus the words अड and एण्ड also take this affix, as  
आडारः, पाण्डारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for  
the sake of showing respect only.

धुद्राभ्यो वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुद्राभ्यः, वा (द्रक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुद्रा अङ्गहीना धर्महीनाश्च । अयं धर्मेण तरुभिधायन्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः प्रकृतयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । शुद्राभ्यो वापरत्ये इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix 'इक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting mean objects.

The anuvṛitti of इक् is to be read in this sūtra, and not of भारक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. The word शुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. This sūtra debar इक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेतः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेत्यः, शसेतः or शसेत्यः 'son of a female-slave'.

पितृष्वसुदछण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृष्वसुः, छण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुदछणपत्ये ङण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-ष्वसु'.

This debar अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसु + छण् = पितृष्वसुः 'the son of the father's sister'. The छ of the affix is replaced by ईब ॥

ढकि लोपः ॥ १३६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुदछणपत्ये ढकि परतो लोप भवति ॥

133. The final vowel of 'पितृ-ष्वसु' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृष्वसु + ढक् = पितृष्वसेयः ॥ This sūtra indicates by jāpaka that the word पितृष्वसु takes the affix 'ḍhak' also.

मातृष्वसुश्च ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृष्वसुः, च (छण्, ढकि लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरित्येतद्वेक्षते, पितृष्वसुर्यदुक्तं तन्मातृष्वसुरपि भवति । छण्प्रत्ययो ढकि लोपश्च ॥

134. So also, after the word 'मातृष्वसु' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics.

The Sūtras IV. 1. 132, 133 above apply to मातृष्वसु also. As मातृष्वसुः or मातृष्वसेयः 'the son of a mother's sister'.

चतुष्पाद्भ्यो ढञ् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्-पाद्भ्यः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादभिधायिनीभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्योऽपत्ये ढञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'ढञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This debar अण् &c. Thus कमण्डलु + ढञ् = कामण्डलेयः (IV. 4. 147, the ड being elided before ढ). So also घेतिसोहयेः and जाम्बयः from घितिसोहृ and जम्बु ॥

गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृष्टि-आदिभ्यः, च (इञ्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ गृष्ट्यादिभ्यः शब्देऽधोपत्ये इञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

136. The affix 'इञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'गृष्टि' &c.

This debars इञ् and इक् &c. Thus गार्द्वेयः; हार्द्वेय ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix इञ् by the last Sūtra. The present sūtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'.

1 गृष्टि, 2 इष्टि, 3 बलि, 4 इलि, 5 विभि, 6 कुत्रि, 7 मज्जवस्ति, 8 निचडु ।

राजश्वशुराद्यत् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ राज-श्वशुरात्, यत् ॥  
वृत्तिः राजश्वशुराद्यभ्यामपत्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix यत् comes in the sense of the descendant, after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर'.

This debars इञ् and इक् respectively. Thus राजन्वः (IV. 4. 168) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word; it does not mean 'the son of a RAJA.' The word राजन् will mean 'the son of a King.' So also श्वशुर्यः 'son of the father-in-law.'

क्षत्रादघः ॥ १३८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षत्रशब्दात्प्रत्यये घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix 'gha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'Kshattra.'

Thus क्षत्रियः 'a Kshatriya.' This is also a class name. The son of क्षत्र will be क्षात्रिः ॥ The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ which means the affixes तरप् and तमप् (I. 1. 22).

कुलात्खः ॥ १३९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात्केवलाधोपत्ये खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal-stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula.'

In the next sūtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'dhakañ.' That indicates by implication that the present sūtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus कुलीनः, आर्यकुलीनः, श्रोत्रियकुलीनः ॥

अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां यद्दकञौ ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपूर्वपदान्. अन्यतरस्यां. यत्, दकञौ ॥

वशिः ॥ अत्रिग्रमानं पूर्वपरं यस्य तत्पूर्वपरं, सभासंसन्धिः पूर्वपरस्याभावेन कुलशाब्दो विशेष्यते । अपूर्वपदात्कुलशाब्दादन्वतरस्यां यत् ढकञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः । ताभ्यां मुक्ते खोपि भवति ॥

140. The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढकञ्' come optionally after the word 'kula,' when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपर means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कोलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally,' we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udatta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

The word पर has been defined in I. 4. 14. The word बहु is not a pada. Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकुलेयकः and बहुकुलीनः ॥

महाकुलाद्ञ् खञौ ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ महा-कुलात्, अञ्, खञौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यतरस्यामित्युनवर्तते । पक्षे खः ।

141. The affixes 'अञ्' and 'खञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahākula.'

Thus माहाकुलः, माहाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. 1. 139.

दुष्कुलाद्ढक् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुष्कुलात्, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुष्कुलशाब्दात्प्रत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

142. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkala.'

Thus दुष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ख also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

स्वसुश्छः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वसुः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसुशाब्दात्प्रत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant, after the word स्वसु ॥

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus स्वसुश्छः 'the sister's son.'

भ्रातुर्व्यञ्च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातुः, व्यञ्च, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातुशाब्दात्प्रत्ये व्यञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति । चकाराच्छञ्च ॥

144. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we get the affix छ as well.

This debarb भत् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भ्रातृवः 'the brother's son'. The त् of व्यन् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

व्यन्सपत्ने ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यन्, सपत्ने (भ्रातृः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृव्यन् व्यन्प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चैवमिदं सपत्न उच्यते ॥

145. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ' when the sense is that of 'an enemy'.

The word सपत्न means 'enemy'. The sense of descendant is not connoted by this affix. The difference between व्यन् and व्यन् is in accent (VI. 1. 185 and VI. 1. 197). Thus पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy". भ्रातृव्यः कण्ठकः "the enemy is a thorn".

रेवत्यादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-आदिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवतीत्येवमादिभ्योऽपत्ये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debarb ठक् &c. Thus रेवती + ठक् = रेवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also माभ्रपालिकः (VII. 3. 50)

1 रेवती, 2 माभ्रपाली, 3 मणिपाली, 4 द्वारपाली, 5 वृकवञ्चिन्, 6 वृकवन्धु, 7 वृकमाह, 8 कर्णमाह, 9 वृण्डमाह, 10 कुक्कूदाश, 11 (ककुदाश) 12 चामरमाह,

गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ञ च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने, ञ, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रमश्नति गोत्रं शृणोते । गोत्रं या स्त्री तत्रभिधायिनः शब्दात्प्रत्ये ञः प्रत्ययो भवति ; चकारादठक् च, कुत्सने गम्यमाने । पितुरसन्निधाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोपत्यस्य कुत्सा ॥

147. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ञ comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting a Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sūtra we get the affix ठक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy ; hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्गः, as गार्गः ज्ञान् ॥ So also गार्गिकः ॥ Similarly the son of म्लोचुकायनी will be म्लोचुकायनः and म्लोचुकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix, Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant'. Observe कारिकेयो ज्ञान् (formed by ठक् IV. 1. 120). Why do we say 'female descendant? Observe औपगदि ज्ञान् ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe गार्गेयो माणवकः which is to be explained as गार्गेयो अपत्यं पुमान् युवा भवति ॥ मानामहादेरुपलक्षणार्थोऽयं प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

वृद्धाद्दृक्सौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्, दृक्, सौवीरेषु, बहुलम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्सौवीरगोत्रास्पत्ये बहुलं दृक् प्रत्ययो भवति कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā भागपूर्वपक्षे विंशतिर्द्वितीयस्तार्णबिन्दवः ॥

द्वितीयस्त्वाकशापेयो गोत्राद्दृक्बहुलं ततः ॥

148. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'दृक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant after a Vriddha word denoting Sauvīra Gotras.

Thus भागविधिकः 'the son of Bhāgavitti'. So also तार्णबिन्दविकः formed from वृणबिन्दु + अण् (IV. 1. 83) तार्णबिन्दवः, and then adding दृक् ॥ In the alternative we have the affix दृक् (IV. 1. 101) as भागविचायनः, so also तार्णबिन्दविः ॥ The word अकशाप belongs to Śubhrādi class IV. 1. 123: and forms आकशापेयः, his son will be आकशापेयिकः or आकशापेयिः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed, we have भागविचायनः only.

The operation of this sūtra is, in fact, confined to the three words भागवित्ति, तार्णबिन्दव, and आकशापेय as given in the kārikā.

Q. What is the necessity of using the word 'Vriddha' in the sūtra, for the anuvṛtti of the word 'gotra' is understood in the sūtra, and a Sauvīra class Nominal-stem formed with a Gotra affix will necessarily have a Vriddhi letter in its first syllable? The word Vriddha is employed in the sūtra to stop the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः; for had 'Vriddha' not been used, then with the anuvṛtti of गोत्र from the last sūtra, there would have come the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः also, but by using 'Vriddha' the anuvṛtti of 'Gotra' only is taken, and not that of 'striyāh'.

Why do we say "of the Sauviras"? Observe औपगविर्जाल्मः ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting contempt'? Observe भागविचायनो माणवकः ॥ Why do we say 'diversely'? The word बहुल indicates the anomalous nature of these four sūtras IV. 1. 147 to 150. Thus the first of these viz IV. 1. 147 only denotes contempt, the last of these viz IV. 1, 150, denotes 'Sauvīra' only and not contempt; whilst the middle two namely IV. 1. 148 and 189 denote both 'contempt' and 'Sauvīra'.

फेच्छ च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ फेः, छ-च (कुत्सने-सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्त्सौवीरगोत्रास्पत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति अकाराद्दृक् कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā यमुन्वन्न सुयाना च वाच्यार्थायणिः किम्: स्मृताः ।

सौवीरेषु च कुत्सायां द्वौ योगौ शब्दवित् स्मरेत् ॥

189. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix दृक्) comes in the sense of a des-

endant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix किम् and denoting a Sauvira Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन्दा will be यामुन्दायनिः formed by the affix किम् (IV. 1. 154) as this word belongs to Tikādi class. The son of Yāmundāyani will be either यामुन्दावनीदः or यामुन्दायनिकः ॥

But when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनिः will be यामुन्दायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + झप् = यामुन्दायनि + α(II. 4. 58) = यामुन्दायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Suvira country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तेकायनिः ॥

The केः of the sūtra refers to किम् and not to किन्, for a stem formed by किन् will not have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called 'Vṛiddham'; and the anuvṛitti of this word is understood in the sūtra.

According to the Kārikā, three किम्न्त stems, all belonging to Tikādi class, are only governed by this sūtra viz यमुन्दा, सुयाग and वार्ष्यायनिः ॥ The son of वृष is Vārshyāyaṇi.

फाण्टाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णकिञ्चौ ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ फाण्टाहृति-मिमताभ्यां-ण-किञ्चौ (सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाण्टाहृतिमिमताभ्यां सौवीरविषयाभ्यामपत्ये णकिञ्चौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affixes ण and कि come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvira country, after the words Phāntāhṛiti and Mimata.

This debarbs कृ. By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, the word मिमता consisting of less syllables than फाण्टाहृत, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sūtra indicates, that Sūtra I. 3. 10 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and किम् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively, Thus फाण्टाहृतः or फाण्टाहृतायनिः ; मिमतः or मिमतायनिः ॥

When not denoting Sauvira Gotras, we have फाण्टाहृतायनः and मिमतायनः (by कृ ॥ See IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99). The word मिमत belongs to Naḍādi-class. (IV. 1. 99).

कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-आदिभ्यः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु इत्येवमादिभ्यः षष्ठेभ्योऽपत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः ॥ So also गार्ग्यः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV. 1. 172, so that the form कौरव्य is evolved both under the present

sūtra and sūtra 172; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the ष्व of IV. 1. 172, loses its affix in the plural, because ष्व of IV. 1. 172 is a Tadrāja affix (see II 4. 62): but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sūtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्यः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikādi class (IV. 1. 154), and it takes as such the affix किम्. As कौरव्यावपिः ॥

The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakāra. Rathakāra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yājñyavalkya Smṛiti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix ष्व not by this Sūtra, but by the succeeding sūtra.

The word केशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be केशिन्वः ॥ There will not be puṅvadbhāva as required by VI 3. 34 &c. For had there been puṅvadbhāva, then by अस्यै तद्धिते, all Bha bases will become puṅvad before a taddhita affix except ढ ॥ Therefore केशिनी + ष्व = केशिन् + ष्व ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 will appear and cause the elision of षि and we shall have केशिन् + ष्व = केशिन्वः ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore, the form वेन्व्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

The word वामरथ occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kaṇvādi class, a subdivision of Gargādi (IV. 4. 105). Thus disciples of वामरथः will be formed by the affix भञ् (IV. 2. 111). As वामरथ + भञ् = वामरथः (VI. 1. 105). The plural will be वामरथाः (II. 4. 64). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16) or वामरथ्यावनी (IV. 1. 17). The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यायनः (IV. 1. 101). So also it will take भञ् when the sense of collection &c is expressed (IV. 3. 127): as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kaṇvādi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यञ् will have udātta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197) the accent of वामरथ्य will be governed by ष्व ॥

1 कुट्ट, 2 गर्गर (गर्ग), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 भञ्जमार (भञ्जमारक), 5 रथकार, 6 वा-  
वृक, 7 सम्राजः क्षत्रिये, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक् (or वाच्)  
12 वामरथ, 13 पितृमन्, 14 इन्द्रलाजी, (इन्द्रजालि), 15 एजि\*, 16 वातकि\*, 17 शम्भोष्णीपि,  
18 गणकारि, 19 केशोरि, 20 कुट्ट, 21 घालका (घालका), 22 सुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक),  
25 शुभ्र\*, 26 भञ्ज, 27 वर्भ, 28 केशिनी, 29 वेनाच्छन्सि, 30 शूपर्णाय, 31 इयावनाद, 32  
इयावरथ, 33 इयावपुष, 34 सख्यकार, 35 वडभीकार, 36 पथिकार\*, 37 मूढ, 38 घकन्धु, 39 शङ्ख,  
40 घाक, 41 घाकिन्, 42 घालीन\*, 43 कर्त, 44 हर्त, 45 इन्, 46 पिण्डी (इनपिण्डी),  
47 वामरथस्य कण्वादिचत्वरवर्जम्. (is a Vartika). 48 विस्फोटक, 49 काक, 50 स्फाण्टक,  
51 पातकि, 52 धेनुजी, 53 शुद्धिकार.



सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनान्त, लक्षण, कारिभ्यः, च ( ण्यः ) ॥

शुभ्रः ॥ सेनान्तान् प्रातिपदिकाल्लक्षणशब्दान् कारिष्यनेत्यभापत्ये ष्यः प्रत्ययो भवति । कारिष्यः कारुणां तन्नुवायादीनां शब्दकः ॥

152. The affix 'ण्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshana,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters, &c. Thus कारिष्येण्यः, हारिष्येण्यः, लक्षण्यः, तान्नुवाय्यः, कौम्मकारिः, नापित्यः ॥

उदीचामिश् ॥ १५३ ॥

शुभ्रः ॥ सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यो ऽपत्ये इम् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचां मतेन ॥

153. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इश्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshana,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus कारिष्येण्यः, हारिष्येण्यः, लक्षण्यः, तान्नुवाय्यः, कौम्मकारिः ॥ As to the word इश्च 'carpenter.' See IV. 1. 112. It will have तार्षणः and तार्षण्यः, but will not take इम् ॥ The word नापित्य being a Vridhdha, non-gotra word, will take किम् under IV. 1. 157 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितायनिः ॥

तिकादिभ्यः किम् ॥ १५४ ॥

शुभ्रः ॥ तिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'किम्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c.

Thus तैकायनिः, कृतवायनिः ॥ The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate च as वाच्य्यायनिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya: because it is immediately preceded by the word भौरव - उरसा घेते - उरवः क्षत्रियः, his son will be aurāṣa with, अम् which ends in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. 1. 168). But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ष्य of IV. 1. 150 will take the affix इश्च and not किम् of this Sūtra. See II. 4. 58 and 68.

1 तिक, 2 कितव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाल ( बाल ) 5 पिता, 6 उरव ( उरव ), 7 छात्र ( छात्र ) 8 सेन्धव, 9 यमुन्ध, 10 रूप्य, 11 माम्य, 12 नील, 13 अमिष, 14 गोकर्ष, 15 कुह ( कर्ह ) 16 देवरय, 17 तैतल ( तैतिल ) 18 भौरव ( भौरव ), 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिक, 21 भौरिक, 22 औपयत, 23 चेटयत, 24 शीकयत ( शैकयत ) 25 शैतयत, 26 वाजयत ( वाजयत K.) 27 चन्द्रमत्, 28 शुभ्र, 29 गङ्गा, 30 वरेण्य, 31 सुपामन्, 32 भारव ( भारव ), 33 वृषका, 34 खल्यका ( खल्यः खल्य ) 35 वृष, 36 लोमक, 37 उरव ( उरव्य ) 38 च

३९ सुयामन्, ४० कृष्य (कृष्ण), ४१ भीत, ४२ आजन्, ४३ एत, ४४ लयक, ४५ भजवर, ४६ वसु, ४७ बन्धु, ४८ भावन्धका (as well as भावन्धका).

कौसल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौसल्य-कार्मार्याभ्यां च (किम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौसल्यकार्मार्यस्यान्ध्यानपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इगुकोसलकर्मार्याभ्यां वृषाणां कुट् ॥

155. The affix किम् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kausalya, and Kârmârya.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कौसल्यायनिः and कार्मार्यायणिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean "the son of कौसल्य or कार्मर्य," but they mean "the son of कौसल, and कर्मर," because of the following Vârtika

Vârti:—The words इगु, कौसल, कर्मर, छाग and वृष take the augment वृट् before the affix किम् ॥ Thus इगुव्यायनिः, कौसल्यायनिः, कार्मार्यायनिः, छाग्यायनिः and वार्यायणिः ॥

अणो द्वयचः ॥ १५६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्ताद् द्वयचः प्रातिपदिकारपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्यसारीनां वा किम् वक्तव्यः ॥

156. The affix 'phiñ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अण्'.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कार्यायणिः 'son of Kârtra,' हार्यायणिः 'son of a Hârtra.'

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अण्"? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of Dâkshî' (IV. 1. 101). Why do we say a 'dissyllabic word? Observe भौषगविः 'son of भौषगव' ॥

Vârti:—The pronouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix किम् or अण् ॥ Thus त्यासायनिः or त्यासः, दासायनिः or दासः, तासायनिः, or तासः ॥

उदीचां वृद्धाद्गोत्रत् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, वृद्धात्, अगोत्रात् (किम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धं वृद्धरूपमगोत्रं तस्मात्प्रत्यये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

157. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, after words with a Vridhhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आश्वगुप्त्यायनिः "son of आश्वगुप्त," मानस्त्रायणिः 'son of मानस्त्र' ॥ नरपितायनिः 'son of a barber.' This latter is formed in spite of IV. 1. 152, because rule I. 4. 2 applies here.

Why do we say 'according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians'? Observe आश्वगुप्तिः. Why do we say 'after a word having a Vridhhi in the first syllable'? Observe याज्ञवल्किः 'son of याज्ञवल्क्य.' Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name? Observe भौषगविः ॥

वाकिनादीनां कुक्च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाकिन-आदीनां, कुक्-च (फिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाकिन इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन्दोऽपत्ये फिन् प्रत्ययो भवति सस्तत्रियोगेन तेषां कुगगनः ॥

158. The augment क् (Kuk) is added to the words Vākina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

This वाकिनकायनिः, गोषेकायनिः ॥ This debars इम् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of उदीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनिः, गोषिः ॥

1 वाकिन, 2 गोषि (गोषे K.) 3 कार्कष (कार्कष्य K.), 4 काक, 5 लूक, 6 चर्षि-  
विणोर्नलोपच ॥

पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रान्ताव्याप्तिपरिकायः फिन्प्रत्ययस्तास्मिन् परभूते अन्यतरस्यां कुगगनो भवति पुत्रान्तरस्य ॥

159. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pūtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read into this sūtra. Of course, a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra-word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिन् by IV. 1. 157; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कुक् optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायनिः or गार्गीपुत्रायनिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥  
So also वात्सीपुत्रकायनिः, वात्सीपुत्रायनिः and वात्सीपुत्रिः ॥

प्राचामवृद्धात्फिन्बहुलम् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, अवृद्धात्, फिन्, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाच्छब्दरूपात्पत्ये फिन् प्रत्यया भवति बहुले प्राचां मतेन ॥

160. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vṛiddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phin' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायनिः or ग्लुचुकिः 'son of Gluchuka', ॥ महिषुम्बकायनिः or माहि-  
षुम्भिः ॥ Why do we say, "not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable"? Ob-  
serve एजसन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुलम् and अन्यतरस्याम् all denote optional rules,  
so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are  
used in this sūtra viz. प्राचां and बहुलम्? The mention of Grammarians is made as  
a token of respect, and बहुलम् is used to express the non-uniformity of the sūtra  
construction. In some places this affix फिन् is not at all added, as शाशिः,  
प्लाशिः ॥

मनोज्ञांतावय्यतो पुक् च ॥ १६१ ॥ मनोः-जातो, अज्ञ-यतो, पुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुयादादम् यन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतस्तस्मान्नियोगेन पुगागमः समुदायेन येज्जातिर्गम्यते ॥

Kārikā अपत्ये कुत्सिते मूढे मनोरौत्सारिकः स्मृतः ।

नकारत्वे च मूर्खन्यस्तेन सिद्धाति मापवः ॥

161. The affixes अज्ञ and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment पुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that, the whole word so formed denotes a class name (jāti).

Thus मनु+पुक्+अज्ञ=मानुषः "a man or man-kind". So also मनुष्यः formed with यत् ॥ These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण् as मनु+अण्=मानवः 'son of Manu', as in मानवी प्रजा ॥ So also the word मानव, there व is changed into ञ and denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied.

अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ १६२ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौत्रप्रभृति अदपत्यं तद्गोत्रसंज्ञं भवति ॥

162. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra.

When an offspring, with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be गार्गी, and the son or grandsons &c of गार्गी: with reference to Garga will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Similarly वात्स्यः ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendants or the son will not be called Gotra. Thus कौञ्जिः, गार्गीः ॥

जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीवति, तु, वंश्ये, युवा (अपत्यं-पौत्रप्रभृति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिजनप्रबन्धो वंशः । तत्रभवो वंश्यः पित्रादि, स्तस्मिन् जीवति एति पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं युवसंज्ञं भवति ॥

163. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only.

The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or 'a line'. One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंश्यः ॥ When such

a vaṅśya is alive, then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan. The phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य in the sūtra should be construed as पौत्रप्रभृतेर् अर् अपत्यम् 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last sūtra, however, this phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रभृति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c." Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus गर्भः being the head, we have गर्भिः

अपत्यम् — { गर्भिः (son or putra)  
 गर्भः (Gotra)  
 गार्ग्यायणः (Yuvan) if Gārga or Gārgi &c

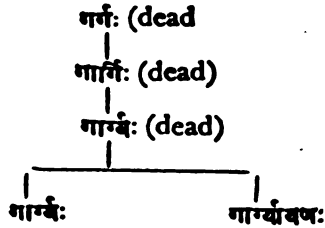
be alive). The force of the word नृ, in the sūtra is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well.

भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातरि, च, ज्यायसि ( जीवति-अपत्य-पौत्रप्रभृति-युष्वा ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातरि ज्यायसि जीवति कनीयान् युवसंज्ञो भवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यम् ॥

164. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Even when a वंश्यः like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not vaṅśya), the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive ; thus:



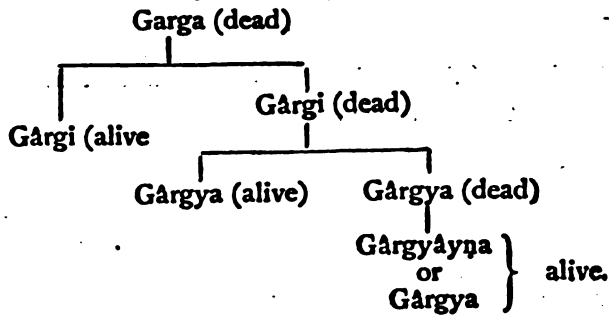
The word वंश्यः is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a vaṅśya, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This sūtra applies to cases when Vaṅśya is not meant. Thus Gārgyāṇa is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gārgya; similarly Vātsāyāna, Dākhsāyāna, and Plākshāyāna.

वान्यास्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्मिन्, स-पिण्डे, स्थविरतरे, जीवति ( अपत्यं-पौत्र प्रभृति युष्वा ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातुरप्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवन्तं वा भवति ॥

165. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a more superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The sapinda relationship extends up to seven degrees. The word स्यविर means 'superior', and स्यविरतर is comparative and means 'more superior', that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*. The word जीवति is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛitti of जीवति also from IV. 1. 163. This जीवति of the sūtra qualifies the word descendant, the जीवति which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinda thus :—



Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धस्य, च, पूजायाम् (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धमिति साक्षान्तरे परिभाषणाद्गोत्रं वृद्धमिच्छुष्यते । वृद्धस्य युवसंज्ञा वा भवति पूजायां गम्यमानायाम् । संज्ञासामर्थ्याद्गोत्रं युवप्रव्ययेन पुनरुच्यते ॥

166. The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word Vṛiddha is another term for Gotra. As तत्र भवान् गार्ग्यायणः or गार्ग्यः "you honored Gargyaāyana or Gargya". This sūtra is in fact a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini. Similarly तत्र भवान् वात्स्यायनः or वात्स्यः, तत्र भवान् साक्षायणः or साक्षिः ॥

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, वात्स्यः and गार्ग्यः ॥ The definition of Vṛiddham as given by other Grammarians is अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धम् ॥

यूनश्च कुत्सायाम् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, च, कुत्सायाम्- (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सायां गम्यमानायां युनो वा युवसंज्ञो भवति ॥

167. The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus गार्ग्यो जाल्मः or गार्ग्यायणो जाल्मः ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्यायणः ॥ This is also a Vārtika and not a sūtra.

जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियाद् अम् ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदशब्दात्, क्षत्रियात् अम् ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दो यः क्षत्रियवाची तस्मात्पत्ये ऽम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
 पार्थिकम् ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदशब्दात्तस्य ऽम्प्रत्ययत्वम् ॥

168. The affix अम् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word, which while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus पाञ्चालः 'the son of Pañchala', so also ऐहिकः and वैदेहः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriya, but not of the name of a country, अम् will not be used but अन्, the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रुह्यवः 'the son of Drūhya'; पौरवः 'the son of Puru.' Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriyas? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV. 1. 95) 'the son of Pañchāla a Brahmana'; so also वैदेहिः ॥

*Vdt.*—Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king thereof. Thus पञ्चालनाम् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchāla or of the country of Pañchālas'. So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

The words Pañchāla &c. originally are names of Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them,' is elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus the same word पञ्चालि comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchāla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchāla &c. as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pāṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sūtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sūtra IV. 2. 81. These words when denoting a country are always in the plural, as पञ्चालः, in denoting the Kshatriya, they are in the singular.

साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वेय-गान्धारिभ्यां, च (अम्) ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्याम्प्रत्यये ऽम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

169. The affix अम् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sālveya' and 'Gāndhāri'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sūtra IV. 1. 171 they having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyan', the present sūtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus साल्वेयः 'the son of Sālveya, or the king of Sālveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gāndhāri

or the king of Gāndhāri? The vārtika under Sūtra IV. 1. 168 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'

इङ्मगधकलिङ्गसुरमसादङ् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्मगध-कलिङ्ग-सुरमसात्-अङ् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाभिधायिनो इङ्मगध कलिङ्ग सुरमस इत्येतेभ्यश्चापत्येऽङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix अङ् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sūramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas.

This debars इङ् ॥ Thus इङ्मगः, इङ्गः; इङ्मगधः, कलिङ्गः, and इङ्मसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Banga, Magadha, Kalinga and Suramasa.' Similarly इङ्मसः, इङ्मसः ॥ The Vārtika 'इत्येतेभ्यश्चापत्येऽङ्' given above applies to this also, as इङ्मगो राज्ञा, गान्धारो राज्ञा &c.

वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाङ्प्रत्यङ् ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्ध-इत्-कोसल-अजादात्-अङ् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादित्येव । वृद्धाच्च प्रातिपदिकारिकापन्ताच्च कोसलाजादशब्दायां चापत्ये अङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पाण्डोर्जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाद् इङ् प्रत्यङ् ॥

171. The affix 'अङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajāda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars इङ् ॥ Thus, to give example of Vriddha words, इङ्मगधः, इङ्मसः 'the sons or kings of Ambashtha and Sauvira'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have इङ्मवन्त्यः and इङ्मन्त्यः 'the son or kings of Avanti and Kunti'. These are words ending in short इ ॥ So also इङ्मसन्त्यः and इङ्मसः, which are neither Vriddhas nor end in short इ ॥

Vārt :—The affix 'इङ्' comes after the word 'Pāṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus इङ्मसः, otherwise it will be इङ्मसः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-नादिभ्योः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादित्येव । कुरुशब्दान्नादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

172. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.



This debars 'an' and 'ah'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषधः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥ How do you explain the form नैषधोर्हति चेरपम्? This is an archaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्यार्थपतेः सुतायां? This is a poetic license.

सात्वावयवप्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकादिभ् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सात्वावयव-प्रत्यग्रथ-  
कलकूट-अश्मकात्, इभ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदघञ्जात् कश्चियदित्येव ॥ सात्वावयवेभ्यः प्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकाद्येभ्यश्चापत्ये इस् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

*Kārikā* उदुम्बरस्तिष्यला मद्रकाय युगन्धयः ।  
भुलिङ्गाः चारदण्डाश्च सात्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥

173. The affix इभ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sālva; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakūta', and 'Asmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word सात्वा is the name of a Kshatriyā woman, her son will be सात्वयः (IV. 1. 121) formed by इक्; also सात्वः formed by भ् ॥ The dwelling place of सात्व will be also सात्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called सात्व are six, viz Udumbarāḥ, Tilakhalāḥ, Madrakarāḥ, Yugandharāḥ, Bhulingāḥ and Saradaṇḍāḥ. The patronymic from these will be : औदुम्बरिः, तैलखलिः, मद्रकारिः, युगन्धरिः, भौलिङ्गिः and चारदण्डिः ॥ So also the affix 'iñ' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As प्रात्यग्रथिः, कालकूटिः and आश्मकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to Mahābhāshya, the words Busa, Ajamiḍha, and Ājakanda also take this affix, as बौसः, आजमीडिः and आजकन्दिः ॥

ते तद्राजाः ॥ १७४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेऽभाष्यस्तद्राजसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

174. These (viz the affixes अञ् IV. 1. 168 &c) are called Tadrāja ('the king there of') affixes.

The affixes treated of in these six sūtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrāja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of before S. IV. 1. 168; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan see II. 4. 62. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

कम्बोजाल्लुक् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कम्बोजात्-लुक् (तद्राजस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कम्बोजात् प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुग्चनं चोल/पर्यम् ॥

175. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrâja affix.

Namely the affix **अम्** which would have come after the word **कम्बोज** because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided. Thus **कम्बोजः**; 'The king of Kamboja'.

*V4rt*:—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Cholâ' &c. Thus **चोलः**; 'the king of Cholâs'. So also **केरलः शकः, हवनः** ॥

**स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुष्यश्च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, अवन्ति-कुन्ति-कुरु-ष्यः, च ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुष्येभ्य उत्पन्नस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुम्भवति ॥**

176. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrâja is elided after the words **Avanti**, **Kunti** and **Kuru**.

That is to say the affix 'nyah'. (IV. 1. 171) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'nya' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus **अवन्ती, कुन्ती** and **कुरुः** 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word **कुरु** takes **रुह** in the feminine by IV. 1. 66. Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe **आवन्त्यः, कौरव्यः** and **कौन्त्यः** ॥

**अतश्च ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः-ञ (स्त्रियाम्, लुक्) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अकारप्रत्ययस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुम्भवति ॥**

177. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrâja affix **अ**, the affix is **luk**-elided.

Thus *m. शौरसेनः, f. शूरसेनी*; *m. मातङ्गः, f. मङ्गी* ॥ The word **अतः** of the sūtra should not be construed by the rule of *tadanata vidhi* (I. 1. 72). If so construed it will mean "a Tadrâja affix ending in **अ** is elided". There have been taught five Tadrâja affixes, namely 'an (**अ**)', 'aṅ (**अ**)', 'nyah (**अ**)', 'nya (**अ**)' and 'in (**इ**)'. Of these the first four all end in **अ**; therefore all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of the previous sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of 'Avanti', 'Kunti' and 'Kuru'. But the very fact of this sūtra IV. 1. 176 indicates by **ज्ञापक**, that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore, the feminine of **आम्बहयः** is **आम्बहया**, of **सौवीर्यः** is **सौवीर्या** ॥

नप्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः ॥ १७८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राच्येभ्यो भर्गादिभ्यो यौधेयादिभ्योत्पन्नत्वं लुङ् भवति । अतश्चेत्यनेन खिवां लुङ् प्राप्तः भक्ति-  
पिडाति ॥

178. The Tadarāja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bharga' &c and 'Yaudheya' &c.

This sūtra debars the elision of the Tadrāja affix अ (required by the last sūtra). Thus पांचाली, वैदेही, भांगी, बांगी, नागधी these being all Eastern people dwelling in countries east of the Sarāvati river. Similarly of भर्ग &c. Thus भार्गी, कारुषी, कैकेयी ॥ So also of यौधेय &c. Thus यौधेयी, यौधेयी and यौधेयी ॥ The Tadrāja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the fifth Adhyāya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अम्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 applies not only to the Tadrāja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrāja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119. Thus the Tadrāja affix अम् in (V. 3. 117) added to वसु &c. is elided in the feminine: e. g. m. पार्श्वः f पर्शु, m आसुरः f असुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 करुष (करुष), 3 कैकेय, 4 कम्भीर, 5 सात्व, 6 तुत्याल, 7 उरस  
( उरस and उरस ). 8 कौरव्य.

1 यौधेय, 2 कौकेय, 3 यौधेय, 4 ज्यावायेय (यावायेय), 5 धौतेय (धौतेयः धौतेय)  
6 विगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 उचानिर, 9 धौतेय ॥

ओ३म् ।

## अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

तेन रक्तं रागात् ॥ १ ॥

शुक्तिः ॥ तेनेति सूतीयासमर्थाद्वागविशेषनाथिनः षट्साद्वक्तमित्यतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

1. The affix अण् already ordained ( IV. 1. 83 ) comes after the name of a colour in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb रङ्ग means to change white into another color. That by which a thing is coloured is called रागः 'color'. तेन 'by which', i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus कपायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = कापायम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also मांजिष्ठम्, कौस्तुभम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तने रक्तं वस्त्रम्, here the affix अण् will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

In the sentence "कापायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ, हारिद्रौ कुक्कुटस्याक्षौ" the words कापाय and हारिद्र are used metaphorically.

From this sūtra up to IV. 2. 12 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word which is in the instrumental case in construction in a sentence (IV. 1. 82): as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

लाक्षा रोचना शकल कर्दमादठक् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ लाक्षा, रोचना, शकल, कर्दमात्, ठक् ॥

शुक्तिः ॥ लाक्षादिभ्यो रागवचनेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो रक्तमित्यतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नील्या अन् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पीतात् कन् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ हरिद्रामहारजनाभ्यामम्बक्तव्यः ॥

2. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words **lakshâ, rochanâ, sakala, and kardama,** (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars **अप्** ॥ Thus **लाक्षाया रक्तं बन्धं - लक्षिकम्**, so also **रोचनिकम्, साकलिकम्** and **कार्दमिकम्** ॥

According to the opinion of Patanjali, the affix **अप्** also comes after **शकल** and **कर्दमः** । Thus **साकलम्** and **कार्दमम्** ॥ According to **Mahâbhâshya** the words **शकल** and **कर्दम** do not occur in the **sûtra**, but are given in the **Vârtika**.

*Vart:*—The affix **अप्** comes after **नीलीः** as **नील्या रक्तं - नील बन्धं** ॥

*Vart:*—The affix **कन्** (I. 3. 8) comes after **पीत**, as **पीतेन रक्तं - पीतकम्** ॥

*Vart:*—The affix **अप्** comes after **हरिद्रा** and **महापञ्चन**, as **हरिद्रम्** and **महापञ्चनम्** ॥

**नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः ॥ ३ ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** तृतीयासमर्थान् नक्षत्रविशेषवाचिनः शब्दात् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वयाविहितं प्रत्यये भवति । योसौ युक्तः, कालमेव भवति ॥

3. The affix **अप्** already ordained 1V. 1. 83 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus **पुष्य, विश्व, मघा &c** are lunar asterisms, when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism in order to denote time of such conjunction. Thus **पुष्य + अप् - पौषः** (VI. 4. 149) e. g. **पौषिरात्रिः** "the night in which moon is in Pushya". So also **माघी रात्रिः**; **पौषमह** 'the month in which the moon is full in Pushya i. e. December'. so also **माघमह** 'the month Mâgha' &c.

Why do we say **नक्षत्रेण** 'connected with the asterism'? Observe **चन्द्रमसा युक्ता रात्रिः** ॥ Why do we say **काल** 'time'? Observe **पुष्येण युक्तचन्द्रमाः** ॥

**लुपविशेषे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-अविशेषे ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** पूर्वेण विहितस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति अविशेषे ।

4. The affix above ordained is elided by **lup**, when there is no specification.

That is the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of time such as

night &c. Thus अचः पुष्यः 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya ; but by 'to-day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

संज्ञायां स्रवणाश्वत्याभ्याम् ॥ ५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचणश्रवणाश्वत्याश्वत्यापोलन्नस्व प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

5. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Sravana and Asvatha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

Thus अचणश्रवणाश्वत्याश्वत्यापोलन्नस्वः "the night called Śravaṇā ; the Muhūrta called Aśvattha". The affix being elided by 'lup', why should not I. 2. 51 apply here ? We should say अचणश्रवणाश्वत्याश्वत्यापोलन्नस्वः and not अचणश्रवणाश्वत्यापोलन्नस्वः. The reason is that अचणश्रवणाश्वत्याश्वत्यापोलन्नस्वः is an irregularly formed word, as Pāṇini himself uses it in sūtra IV. 2. 23. Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sañjñā? Observe आचणी or आश्वत्याश्वत्यापोलन्नस्वः ।

द्वन्द्वाच्छः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वाच्छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्षरद्वन्द्वाच्छतृतीयासमर्थाद्युक्ते काले छः प्रत्ययो भवति विशेषे चा विशेषे च ॥

6. The affix छ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, when it is in the instrumental case in construction, to signify time connected with the asterism whether there be a specification or not.

Thus राधानुपधीयाश्वत्यापोलन्नस्वः, तिष्यपुनर्वसुवीर्यमहः ॥ So also when there is no specification : as अचणश्रवणाश्वत्यापोलन्नस्वः, अचणश्रवणाश्वत्यापोलन्नस्वः ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sūtra, being a subsequent sūtra, will debar IV. 2. 4 which ordains lup (I. 4. 2).

वृष्टं साम ॥ ७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्येतास्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यद् वृष्टं साम चेत्तद्वति ॥

7. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of seen—the thing seen by the one whose name is in the Instrumental case, being the Sāma Veda.

Thus कुरुञ्चन वृष्टं = कुरुञ्चं साम "the portion of the Sāma seen by (or revealed to) Kuruñcha." So also वार्ष्णिम, वैश्वामित्रम् ॥

कलेर्दक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलेः-दक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलिघञ्जास्तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्येत्स्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
 वार्षिकम् ॥ सर्वत्राग्निकलिघञ्जाङ्गवन्त्स्यः ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ वृष्टे सामनि भण् वा डिङ्गवतीति वन्त्स्यम् ॥  
 वार्षिकम् ॥ जति चार्ये येन्येन बाधितः पुनरपिधीयते स वा डिङ्गवतीति वन्त्स्यम् ॥  
 वार्षिकम् ॥ तीयादीकक् स्वार्थे वा वन्त्स्यः ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ न विद्यायाः ॥  
 वार्षिकम् ॥ गोषारद्वयपरिष्यते ॥

**Kārikā** वृष्टे सामनि जति च डिङ्गिङ्गा विधीयते ।  
 तीयादीकक् न विद्याया गोषारद्वयपरिष्यते ॥

8. The affix ङक् comes, in the sense of *Sāma-Veda* seen, after the word 'Kali', being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars भण् ॥ Thus कलिना वृष्टं साम = कालेभं ॥ "The *Sāma Veda* revealed to Kali". This sūtra is really a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini.

*Vart.*—The affix 'ḍhak' comes always after अग्नि and कलि; not merely in the sense of *Sāma-Veda* seen. Thus अग्निना वृष्टं साम = आग्नेयम् 'the *Sāma-Veda* revealed to Agni'. अग्नी भवं = आग्नेयम् 'who stays in Agni' (IV. 3. 53) अग्ने-एगत् "what has come from Agni" = आग्नेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कालेभम् means 'the *Sāma-Veda* seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

*Vart.*—The affix भण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicative ह् when the sense is that of *Sāma-Veda* seen. Thus उचनसा वृष्टं साम = औचनसम् or औचनम् (the force of डिङ् being to elide the ङि portion; VI. 4. 143).

*Vart.*—The affix भण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as डिङ्, provided that it be that भण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, is re-ordained by IV. 3. 16. The affix भण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2 by force of IV. 1. 83.; but it is debarred by ङङ् of IV. 3. 11, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus घतभिषजि जातः = घतभिषः or घतभिषजः ॥

*Vart.*—The affix ईकक् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वितीयकम् or द्वितीयकम्. तर्तीयकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

*Vart.*—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

*Vart.*—The affix वुम् IV. 3. 126 has the force of "*Sāma-Veda* seen" when it comes after a Gotra-word. This औपगवकम् or कापटवकम् 'the *Sāma-Veda* seen by Aupagava, or Kāpaṭava'. The affix वुम् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charaṇa.

वामदेवाङ्, ड्यङ्, ड्यौ ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वामदेवात्-ड्यत्-ड्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वामदेवघञ्जान् तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्येत्स्मिन्नर्थे ड्यत् ड्य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

**Kārikā** सिद्धे यत्यंतलोपेन किमर्थं ययतां द्वितौ ।  
 महर्णं माऽतदर्थे भूदानेव्यस्य नमूस्वरे ॥

9. The affixes ड्यत् and ड्य come in the sense of the Sâma-Veda seen, after the word Vâmadeva, being in the Instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन वृष्टं वाम = वामदेव्यं or वामदेव्यं ॥ The indicatory त् in 'dyat' shows that ड्य has svarita accent (VI. 1. 125).

Q. What is the use of the indicatory त् ?

Ans. The final syllable is elided when a डित् affix is added, by VI.

4- 143.

Q. The final अ of वामदेव would have been elided without making this affix डित्, by the rule VI. 4. 148, then what is the use of making this affix डित् ?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jñapaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhashas निरनुबन्धकमहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it". तदनुबन्धकमहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it".

For had व and यत् been only taught instead of 'dya' and 'dyat', then by rule VI. 2. 156 the final of such word, with the negative particle अ, would take udâtta on the final, but that is not the case. Therefore अवामदेव्यं is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI. 2. 2). As अवेवामदेव्यं ॥

परिवृतो, रथः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिवृतः रथः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति वृत्तीयासमर्थात्परिवृत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ परिवृतो रथश्चेत्स भवति ॥

10. The affix अण् comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded' the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वस्त्रेण परिवृतो रथः = वाद्यः "a chariot surrounded with cloth". So also क्काम्बलः, चार्मणः ॥ Why do we say "the thing so surrounded being a chariot?" Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth' the word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलादिनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाण्डु-कम्बलात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाण्डुकम्बलशब्दात् वृत्तीयासमर्थात् परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इनि प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix इनि comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.



This debars अञ् ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रयः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बल means the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix इनि of V. 2. 115, the present sūtra is made in order to debar the affix अञ् ॥

द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वैप-वैयाघ्रात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वैपिन्याप्रयोर्विकारभूते चर्मणी द्वैपवैयाघ्रे, ताभ्यां वृत्तीयासमर्थाभ्यां परितृप्तो रय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The अञ् comes after the words 'dvaipa' and 'vaiyâghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परितृप्तो रयः = रैपः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also वैयाघ्रः ॥ This affix अञ् debars अण्, the difference between these two being in accent only.

कौमारापूर्ववचने ॥ १३ ॥ कौमार-अपूर्व-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौमार इत्येतरण्यस्यान्तं निपास्यते ऽपूर्ववचने ॥

Kārikā

कौमारापूर्ववचने कुमार्या अण्विधीयते ।

अपूर्वत्वं यदा तस्याः कुमार्या भवतीति वा ॥

13. The word 'kaumāra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'.

Thus कौमारो भर्ता = अपूर्वपति कुमारीमुपपन्नः 'the husband of a virgin'. i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = कुमारी अपूर्वपतिः पतिमुपपन्ना "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman.

The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्याच् नञ् = कौमारः ; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-उद्धृतम्, अमत्रेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात्तत्रवाचिनः शब्दाद्धृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon' after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अमत्रे means 'vessels' ; उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the ' refuse

of dinner'. Thus घरावेभूतः = घाराव भोदनः "boiled rice placed on a dish." So also मालिकः, कार्परः ॥

Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe पाजाभूत भोदनः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तच्च, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sūtras upto IV. 2. 20 inclusive.

स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थण्डिलात्-शयितरि-व्रते ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ स्थण्डिलशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थान् शयितर्यभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, समुदायेन चैव्रतं गम्यते ॥

15. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमस्य = स्थण्डिलः 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i. e. an ascetic or a Brahmachârî.

Why do we say 'vow'? Observe स्थण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मदत्तः 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रत means a 'vow or an observance ordained by religious codes'.

संस्कृतं भक्षाः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम्-भक्षाः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ तच्चेति सप्तमीसमर्थान्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाश्चेत्ते भवन्ति ॥

The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus भ्राष्ट्रे संस्कृता भक्षा = भ्राष्टः 'a cake fried in the pan'. Similarly कालशाः कौम्भाः ॥ Why do we say "if it means food"? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालागुणः ॥

शूलोखाद्यत् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शूल-उखात्-यत् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ शूलशब्दादुखाशब्दाच्च सप्तमीसमर्थान्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). As शूले संस्कृतं = शूल्यं 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also ईक्ष्यम् 'flesh boiled in a pot'.

दध्मष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दध्मः-ठक् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ इधिसाशान् सप्तमीसमर्थान्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus इधनि संस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'. This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3, but the ढक् formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd ; while the दाधिकं of this sūtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

उदम्भितोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदम्भितः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ उदम्भिच्छब्दान् सप्तमी समर्थान् संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थेऽन्यतरस्यां ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word उदम्भित् ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus भौसम्भित् (VII. 3. 51), or भौसम्भित् by अण् ॥

क्षीराड्ढञ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षीरात् ढञ् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षीरादृक्षासप्तमीसमर्थान्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', after the word 'Kshîra' ending in the locative case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्षीरे संस्कृताः = क्षीरेयी यवान् : 'milky gruel'.

सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्मिन्-पौर्णमासी-इति संज्ञायाम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सोति प्रथमासमर्थान् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे पौर्णमासी चेन्न भवति ॥

21. The affix अण् comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word स means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV. 1. 82 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction". अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of clearness. The word संज्ञायाम् does not occur in the original sūtras of Pāṇini; but is added by a Vartika; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name

of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year".

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् = पौषो मासः 'the month Paus i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya'. Similarly पौषर्द्धमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् इत्यत्र, because daśarātra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way:—पुणो माः = पूर्णमाः, पूर्णमास इत्यम् = पौर्णमासी ॥ The word माः means "moon".

आग्रहायण्यश्वत्याद्ठक् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्रहायणी, अश्वत्यात्-ठक् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति सर्वमनुवर्तते । आग्रहायणीशब्दाश्च अश्वत्याश्च प्रथमासमर्थात्पौर्णमास्युपाधि-  
कार् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of the locative case after the words 'agrahāyaṇī' and 'asvattha' ending in the first case-affix in construction and being the name of a full-moon night.

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sūtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्रहायणिको मासः 'the month called Agrahāyaṇika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of Agrahāyaṇa. Similarly माश्वत्यिकः ॥

विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, फाल्गु-  
नी, श्रवणा-कार्तिकी-चैत्रीभ्यः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ फाल्गुन्याश्च पौर्णमासीशब्दास्तेभ्यो विभाषा ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, सास्मिन् पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम्  
मित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

23. The affix ठक् optionally comes after the words 'Phālgunī', 'Sravanā', 'Kārtikī' and 'Chaitrī' being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रवणः or श्रवणिकः, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains ठक् instead of अण् ॥

सास्य देवता ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्य, देवता ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सेति प्रथमासमर्थात्स्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थे देवता चेत् सा  
भवति ॥

24. The affix अङ् (IV. 1. 83) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of as his.

सा = 'after a word in the 1st case in construction' अस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रो देवतास्य = ऐन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly मादित्यम् 'oblation belonging to Aditya'. So also बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम् ॥ Why do we say "after the name of a deity"? Observe, कन्यादेवतास्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥ In the sentences ऐन्द्रोमन्त्राः and आग्नेयो वै ब्रह्मणो देवतास्येति the affix is added by analogy.

The whole phrase सास्य देवता governs up to sūtra IV. 2. 35. Though the word स was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtra IV. 2. 21, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of संज्ञा does not extend to it. The affix ordained by this sūtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puroḍāśa &c offered in a sacrifice'.

कस्येत् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्य, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्य इकारदेशो भवति प्रत्ययसन्नियोगेन ॥

25. The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added.,

Thus क + अङ् = कि + अङ् = कै + अ = कायं "oblation sacred to Ka". As कायं हविः, कायंमकरपालं निर्धेत् ॥

शुक्राद् घन् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुक्रात्-घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुक्राद्घन्तास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे घन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix घन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'Sukra'.

This debars अङ् (IV. 1. 83). Thus शुक्र + घन् = शुक्रियम् हविः (VII. 1. 2) 'an oblation belonging to Sukra'. Thus शुक्रियोऽन्धानः ॥

अपोनप्त्रपात्रपुत्र्यां घः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः नप्त्, अपाम् नप्त्पुत्र्याम् घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्त् अपान्नप्त् इत्येताभ्यां घः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषधे ॥

27. The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptri' and 'apanaptri', in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debars अङ् ॥ Thus अपोनपुत्रियं हविः or अपानपुत्रियम् ॥ The words अपोनपात् and अपानपात् are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in नप्त् when the affix is to be added.

छ च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्त् अपान्नप्त् इत्येताभ्यां छकारः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषधे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छप्रकरणे पैत्राक्षीपुत्रादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घातरुद्राच्छभयम् ॥

28. Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptri' and 'Apānnaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity'.

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptri and Apānnaptri. This debars भष् ॥ Thus अपोनपत्रीयम् or अपान्नपत्रीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapāt or Apānnapāt'. This is made a separate sūtra, in order to prevent the application of rule I. 3. 10. For if it was included in the last, the sūtra would have run thus: "The affixes च् and छ come after Aponaptri and Apānnaptri", the meaning of which according to maxim I. 3. 10 would have been "the affix च् comes after Aponaptri, and छ after Apānnaptri". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sūtras.

*Vārt* :—The affix छ comes after the words वैगाक्षीयम् &c. As, वैगाक्षी-पुत्रीयम्, तार्षिण्यीयम् ॥

*Vārt* :—The word घतस्त्रयम् takes च् and छ both: e. g. घतस्त्रीयम् and घतस्त्रियम् ॥

महेन्द्राद् घणो च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ महेन्द्रात्, घ, अणो च ॥  
श्रुतिः ॥ महेन्द्रघण्टाद् घणो प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारच्छच्, सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

29. The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity".

As महेन्द्रीयम्, महेन्द्रियम् and महेन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

सोमाद् ट्यण् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमात्, ट्यण् ॥  
श्रुतिः ॥ सोमघण्टाद् ट्यण्प्रत्ययो भवति सास्यदेवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

30. The affix ट्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ The ण् of ट्यण् causes Vṛiddhi. The ट् causes the affixing of ङीष् in the feminine. Thus सौम्यं हविः, सौम्यं सूक्तम्, सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य + ङीष् (IV. 1. 15) = सौम्य + ई (VI. 4. 150) = सौमी ॥

वाय्वृतुपित्रुपसो यत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वायु-ऋतु, पितृ-उपसः, यत् ॥  
श्रुतिः ॥ वाय्वादिभ्यः ऋतेभ्यो यत्यत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

31. The affix यत् comes after the names 'Vāyu', 'Ritu' 'Pitri' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम्, पितृव्यम् and उपस्यम् ॥ The form पितृव्यम् is thus evolved पितृ + यत् = पितृ + णिङ् + यत् (VII. 4. 27) = पितृव्यम् (VI. 4. 148). The पितृव्यम् has udatta on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213.

घावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वद्ग्रीपोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥  
घावा, पृथिवी, शुनासीर, मरुत्वद्, अग्नी-पोम, वास्तोष्पति-गृह, मेधात्-छ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ आवापृथिव्यादिभ्यश्चः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

32. The affix ड् comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyāvā Prithivī', 'Sunāsīra', 'Maruttvat', 'Agnīshoma', 'Vāstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अच् &c. Thus आवापृथिवीयम् or आवापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth'. शुनासीरीयम् or शुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Śuna (Wind) and Śira (Sun)'. मरुत्वतीयम् or मरुत्वत्यम् ॥ अग्निषोमीयम् or अग्निषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीयम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम् ॥ गृहमेधीयम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

अग्ने ढक् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निषोम्याद् ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्राग्शीष्यतीयेषु तद्धितार्थेषु सर्वत्राग्निकतिभ्यां ढक्प्रत्ययः ॥

33. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni.

Thus अग्निदेवताऽस्य = अग्नेयोऽष्टकपालः ॥

*Vart.*—The affix 'ḍhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prāgdivyatiya. See IV. 2. 8.

कालेभ्यो भववत् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालेभ्यो-भववत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः कालेभ्यो भववत्यत्यया भवन्ति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये । कालाद्गमिति प्रकरणे भवे प्रत्यया विधास्यन्ते ते सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे तथैवेष्यन्ते, तथैर्यमिदमुच्यते ॥

34. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 to IV. 3. 53), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 (read with IV. 3. 53), the affix ढम् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there'. The same affix will also come in the sense of सास्यदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भव = मासिकम् (मास + ढम् = मास = इक् VII. 3. 50); अर्द्धमासिकम्, सांस्वत्तिकम्, वासन्तम् (IV. 3. 16), प्राकृषेण्यम् (IV. 3. 17): meaning 'monthly', 'half monthly', 'annual', 'vernal', and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as मासो देवताऽस्य मासिकम् ॥ &c.

महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाद्ढम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराज-प्रोष्ठपदात्, ढम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशशरप्रोष्ठपदशब्दाच्च ढम् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ढम्प्रकरणे तदस्मिन्वर्ततइति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पूर्णमासाद्ढम् ॥

35. The affix ढम् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahârâja' and 'Proshthapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवताऽस्य = महाराजिकम्, प्रोष्ठपरिकम् ॥

*Vart.*—After the words नवबह्न &c the affix इस् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नवबह्नोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः &c.

*Vart.*—After the word पूर्णमास, the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = पूर्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृव्य-मातुल-मातामह,  
पितामहाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृव्यादयो निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवेर्गुण्ठे सोढवसमरीसचोवक्तव्याः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तिलान्निष्कलात्पिञ्जपेजौ प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पिञ्ज-छन्दसि ङिच् ॥

36. The words 'pitri-vya, a father's brother', 'mātula, a mother's brother', 'mātāmaha, a mother's father' and 'pitāmaha, a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following rules:—पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातरि व्यङ् जुलचौ "the affixes व्यङ् and जुलच् come respectively after the words pitri and mātṛi in the sense of his brother'. Similarly the second rule will be साभ्यां पितरि ढामहच्, मातरि ङिच् 'and the affix ḍāmahach comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory ङ् ॥ Thus पितृव्यः, मातुलः, पितामहः (f. पितामही), मातामह (f. मातामही) ॥

*Vart.*—The affixes सोढ, इस्, and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk'. As अवेर्गुण्ठम् = अविसोढम् or अविइस्म or अविमरीसच् ॥

*Vart.*—The affixes पिञ्ज and पेज come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless. As निष्कलस्तिलः = तिलपिञ्जः and तिलपेजः ॥

*Vart.*—The affix पिञ्ज is treated like ङित् in the Chhandas. As तिल्पिञ्जः ॥

तस्य समूहः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, समूहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थात्समूह इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचकम् ॥ गुणादिभ्यो भ्रामञ्चक्तव्यः ॥

37. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

The affix अण् (IV. 7. 83) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction, in the sense of collection. What is the example of this? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udātta accent on the first syllable, which



does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sūtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix इक् by IV. 2. 47, a word having anudatta on the first syllable will have the affix अस् IV. 3. 44, a Gotra word will take वुम् IV. 2. 39 and especial words like केदार &c take बस् &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we want is:—काकानां समूहः=काकम् 'a collection of crows' वाकम् ॥ The phrase तस्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sūtra IV. 2. 51 inclusive.

*Vdrt:*—The affix मान् comes after the words गुण् &c. As गुणमानः 'a collection of qualities', करणमानः &c. The following is some of such words:—गुण, करण, तत्त्व, शब्द, इन्द्रिय, &c. It is an ākṛitigaṇa.

भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षेत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

38. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshā' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षाणां समूहः=भिक्षम् 'what is collected in the shape of alms'. So also गर्भिणी + अण् = गर्भिण् + अण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory इ, मत्यादे तद्धिते) = गर्भिणः (VI. 4. 164). In the case of युवति, the word however is not changed to its masculine form. Thus युवतीनां समूहः = यौवतम् 'a collection of young women'.

1 भिक्षा, 2 गर्भिणी, 3 क्षेप, 4 करीष, 5 अङ्गार, 6 चर्मन् (चर्मिन् according to some texts) 7 सहस्र, 8 युवति, 9 पशति, 10 पन्नति, 11 अथर्वन्, (also अर्वन् K.) 12 वृत्तिणा, 13 शत, 14 विषय, 15 श्लोक. also 16 चर्मिन्

गोत्रोक्षोष्ट्रोत्तराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद् वुम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र,

उक्ष, उष्ट्र, उत्तर, राज, राजन्य, राजपुत्र, वत्स, मनुष्य-अजाद्-वुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रादिभ्यो वुम् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. The affix वुम् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'rājan', 'rājanya', 'rājaputtra' 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. Thus औपगवकम्, औत्सकम्, (VI. 4. 144) औष्ट्रकम्, औश्रकम्, राजकम्, (VI. 4. 144) राजन्यकम्, राजपुत्रकम्, वात्सकम्, मनुष्यकम्, आजकम्, ॥ The final व of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक् is added (VI. 4. 150)

*Vart.*—Also after the word वृद्ध; e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a collection of old men'.

केदारघञ्च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ केदारान्, यञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केदारघञ्चाद् यञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् वुञ् च, तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गणिकायाञ्च यञ्प्रत्ययः ॥

40. The affix यञ् as well as the affix वुञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

This debars ठञ् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदारानाम् समूहः=केदारान् or केदारकम् ॥

*Vart.*—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गणिक्यञ् ॥

ठञ् कवचिनञ्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठञ् कवचिनः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवचिनघञ्चाद् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

41. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'Kedâra', and also after the word 'Kavachin'.

Thus कावचिकम् ( VI. 4. 144 ); and केशरिकम्. We read the anuvritti of केशर in this Sûtra, by virtue of the word च

ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाचन् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मण, माणव-वाडवात्-यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणानिभ्यः वाङ्मेभ्यो यन्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यन्प्रकरणे पृष्ठादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ भङ्गः खः क्रतौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पश्चात् णत्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ वातातूलः ॥

42. The affix यन् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'brâhmana', 'mânava', and 'vâdava'.

The indicatovy न् of यन् makes the word take udatta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus ब्राह्मण्यन्, माणव्यन्, वाडव्यन् ॥

*Vart.*—Also after the word पृष्ठ e. g. पृष्ठयः ॥

*Vart.*—The affix ख is added to भङ्ग, in the sense of a 'sacrifice'. e. g. भङ्गिनः 'a collection of days of sacrifice'. Otherwise the form is भङ्गः by भञ् see IV. 2. 45.

*Vart.*—The affix णत् comes after पर्शु, e. g. पार्श्वन् 'a collection of axes'. The final ड् of पर्शु is not changed by guṇa into भो before the affix, because the word पर्शु is treated as a pada-word (I. 4. 16) and not a Bha-word.

*Vart.*—The affix क्त is added to वात e. g. वातातूलः 'a collection of winds or a mad-man'.

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहायेभ्यस्तल् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम, जन-बन्धु-सहायेभ्यः-तल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामादिभ्यस्तल्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गजाद्येति णत्वक्तव्यम् ॥

43, The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'grāma', 'jana', 'bandhu' and 'sahāya'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages'. The words ending in तद् are all feminine. So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives', and सहायता 'a collection of allies'.

*VArt*:—The affix 'tal' comes after गज् also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants'.

अनुदात्तादेरञ् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः षष्ठादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

44. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudatta on the first syllable.

Thus कपोतानां समूहः = कापोतव, मातृव, वैश्वरव् ॥

खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खण्डिकादिभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खण्डिका इत्येवमादिभ्यः षष्ठ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

*Kārikā* अमसिद्धिरनुदात्तादेः कोऽयः शुद्धकमालवात् ।

गोपाद्वुम् न च तत्रोचं तदन्तान् च सर्वतः ॥

ज्ञापकं स्यात्तदन्तस्य तथा चापिचलेर्विधिः ।

सेनायां नियमार्ये च यथा बाध्येत चाम् बुम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शुद्धकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञावात् ॥

45. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'Khandīka &c.

This sūtra applies to words having anudatta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things. e. g. खण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

The word शुद्धकमालव is included in this list. It is a Dvandva compound of two words शुद्धक and मालव, denoting tribes of Kshatriyas. The Tadrāja affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168) is elided after the first, and षष्ठा (IV. 1. 171) after the second word which is a Vṛiddham. When these two words form a compound, the acute falls on the final (VI. 1. 223), the initial of this compound is therefore, anudatta : and therefore by the last sūtra IV. 2. 44, this word would have taken अञ् ; where is the necessity of its being included in this list ? It is to exclude the बुम् of IV. 2. 39 which comes after a Gotra word. But will not the subsequent अञ् (IV. 2. 44) debar the preceding बुम् (IV. 2. 39) by the rule of paratva ? Moreover, a collection or aggregate of two Gotra words will not be called Gotra, as an aggregate of countries is not called a 'country' for the application of janapada rule, as काञ्चिकोसलीयाः does not take बुम् and there will not apply tadanta vidhi to the compound word शुद्धकमालव, which ends in a gotra word ? To this we reply, that the fact of the inclusion

of this word in the list, is an indication of the existence of these two rules : (1) that **डुम्** affix supersedes a *subsequent* affix in cases of conflict. Thus **अपिणव** and **कापटव** are anudāttādi words because formed by **अप्** (III. 1. 2), and require therefore **अम्** by IV. 2. 44, but **डुम्** supersedes it, and we have **अपिणवकम्** and **कापटवकम्** ॥ The second rule is: (2) that in सामूहिक affixes there is tad-antavidhi in spite of the prohibition contained in vārtika under I. 1. 72. As **वानहस्तिकं, गौधेनुकम्** ॥ The complete sentence in the Gaṇapāṭha is **शुद्धकमालवात् सेनासंज्ञायाम्**, the first portion denotes the existence of the above two rules, the second portion **सेना &c** restricts the application of the rule. The affix is added when it is the name of a सेना 'army' and not otherwise. As **शौद्रकमालवी सेना**, otherwise **शौद्रकमालवकम्** ॥ The existence of above corollaries is proved by the sūtra of the Grammarian Āpisāli also **धेनुरनमि ङकमुत्पादयति** 'the affix **ङ्क** comes after धेनु in denoting collection thereof, when not preceded by the negative particle **नस्**', therefore, when preceded by any other word, the affix will apply.

1 खण्डिक (खण्डिका K.), 2 वडवा, 3 शुद्धकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् (a Vārttika to 4, 2, 45), 4 भिक्षुक, 5 शुक्, 6 डलुक, 7 म्वन्, 8 अहन्, 9 युगवरन्, (वरणा-v. 1.; डुग, वरणा K.), 10 हलबन्ध (बन्धा).

चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणेभ्यः धर्मवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणशब्दाः कठकलापादयः, तेष्वः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः समूहे धर्मवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चरणाद्धर्माज्ञायोरिति ॥

46. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

The Vedic Schools or Charaṇas are like कठ, कलाप &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sūtra IV. 3. 126 &c. The word धर्म does not occur in the Sūtra IV. 3. 126, or any where else, but it occurs in the following *ishiti* under that Sūtra:—चरणद्धर्माज्ञायोः ॥ Thus कठानां धर्म = काठकम्, so also कठानां समूहः = काठकम् ॥ Similarly कालापकम्, छान्दोग्यम्, औक्थिव्यम् and भायर्वणम् ॥

अचित्तहस्तिधेनोषुक् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्त-हस्ति-धेनोः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचित्तार्थेभ्यो हस्तिधेनुशब्दाभ्यां च ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धेनोरनम इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. The affix **ङ्क** comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of things without consciousness, and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'.

This debarbs **अप्** and **अम्** ॥ The अपूपानां समूहः = आपूपिकम् ॥ The affix **ङ्क** is replaced by **ङ्क** (VII. 3. 50) or **क** (VII. 3. 50). Thus **हास्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, शाहकुलिकम्** ॥

*Vart.*—Not so, if the word **येन** is preceded by the negative particle **नञ्** ॥ As **भाधेनवञ्** ॥ (See IV. 2. 45).

**केशाभ्याभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ केश-अभ्याभ्याम्-यञ्-छौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** केषा अभ्य इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं यञ् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतोऽन्यतरस्यां तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

48. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words **केश** and **अभ्य** ॥

Thus **केशानां समूहः = कैशवम्** or **कैशिकम्** (IV. 2. 47), **अभ्यानां समूहः = भाभ्यम्** (IV. 1. 63) **भाभीवम्** ॥

**पाशादिभ्यो यः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाशादिभ्यः यः वृत्तिः ॥** पाशादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

49. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words **पाश** &c.

Thus **पादया, तुण्या** &c. These words are feminine.

1 पाश, 2 तुण, 3 धूम, 4 वात, 5 अङ्गार, 6 पादल (पादलका K.), 7 पोत, 8 गल, 9 पिटक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 मट (मड K.), 14 वन. also 15 बालक.

**खलगोरथात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ खल-गो-रथात्-य ॥ वृत्तिः ॥** खलगोरथद्वयेभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

50. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'Khala', 'Go' and 'Ratha'.

Thus **खल्या, गव्या** and **रथ्या** ॥ These three words have not been included in the **पाशादि** class, in order that rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

**इनिप्रकट्यचञ्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इनि-प्र-कट्यचः, च ॥ वृत्तिः ॥** खलगोरथद्वयेभ्यो यथासंख्यं इनि च कट्यञ् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

**वार्त्तिकम् ॥** खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्यः ॥ **वार्त्तिकम् ॥** कमलादिभ्यः खण्डञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

**वार्त्तिकम् ॥** नरकरिमुद्गानां स्कन्धञ् प्रत्ययः ॥

**वार्त्तिकम् ॥** पूर्वादिभ्यः काण्डः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affixes 'ini', 'tra' and 'katyach' come in the senses of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus **खलिनी, गोत्रा, रथकव्या** ।

*Vart.*—The affix **इनि** comes after the words **खल** &c. Thus **राकिनी, कुण्डलिनी, कुटुम्बिनी,** ॥

*Vart.*—The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As कमल-खण्डम्, अम्भोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल, अम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद, सरोज्, नलिनी, कैरवणी belong to this class. These are भाकृतिगणः ॥

*Vart.*—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

*Vart.*—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम्, मृगकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

विषयो देशे ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विषयः, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूह इति निवृत्तम् । षष्ठीसमर्थविभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थार्थे विषय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे कथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ विषयो देशश्चेत्स भवति ॥

52. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

The anuvṛtiti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37) does not extend further: but the anuvṛtiti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37) is to be read into it. The whole sūtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country'. The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometime it means an estate, as विषयो लब्धः 'a village has been acquired'. Some time it means an object of perception, as चक्षु विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sūtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

Thus सिबीनां विषयो देशः = शैवः 'The country within the sphere of the Sibi'. So also भौद्रः &c. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विषयो देशइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

53. The affix वुञ् comes after the words rajanya &c, in the same sense.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो देशः = राजन्यकः, देवायनकः ॥ It is an भाकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत\*, 3 बाध्द्य\*, 4 शालङ्कायन, 5 हेवयात (हेवयातव; हेवयान.), 6 अश्रीड, 7 वरणा\*, 8 जालंधरायण, 9 राजायन\*, 10 तेलु\*, 11 भालकामेव, 12 अम्बरीष-पुत्र, 13 वसाति, 14 वेत्वन. 15 शैल्य, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 सीद्\*, 18 वैत्वज (वैत्वज) 19 आङ्गुनायन, 20 संघिय, 21 शक्ति, 22 ऊर्णनाम. 23 आभीत, 24 वैतिल, 25 वाषक, ॥

भौरिक्याद्यैषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भक्तलौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भौरिक्यादि, पेषु-कार्यादिभ्यः, विधल्, भक्तलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भौरिक्यादिभ्य ऐषुकार्वादिभ्यश्च कथासंख्यं विभत् भक्तत् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो, विषयो देश इत्यतस्मिन्विषये ॥

54. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukari &c.' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधः, वैषेयविधः &c. ऐषुकारिभक्तः, सारस्वत्यायनभक्तः &c.

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौलिकि, 3 चौपयत्\*, 4 चैटयत् (चौटयत्), 5 काणेय, 6 वाणिज्यक, 7 बालिकाज्य (वाणिकाज्य; बालिज, बालिज्यक), 8 सैकयत् (सैकयत्.), 9 वैकयत्. 10 वैषेय.

1 ऐषुकारि, 2 सारस्वत्यायन (सारसायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 ब्राह्मसायण, 5 कथासायण (कथायण), 6 औडायन, 7 औलायन, 8 त्याडायन, 9 हासनिधि, 10 हासनिधायण, 11 शीघ्रवण (शीघ्राण), 12 हासायण, 13 छायाण्डायन\*, 14 ताक्ष्यायण, 15 शीभायण, 16 सीवीर, 17 सीवीरयण\*, 18 छायाण्ड, 19 शीण्ड, 20 छायाण्ड, 21 वैश्वानन, 22 वैश्वधेनव, 23 मङ्ग (मङ्ग) 24 कुण्डदेव, 25 विम्बदेव (विद्यदेव and वैम्बदेव), 26 तापिण्डि. 27 शौण्डि, 28 सायण्डि, 29 अलायत्, 30 औलायत्.

सोस्यादिरिति छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अस्य, आदिः, इति-छन्दसः-प्रगाथेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्णरस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययौ भवति, व्यत्ययनासमर्णं छन्दश्चेत्तद्विरिन्वति, अस्वरस्येति निर्दिष्टं प्रगाथाशेषे भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसः प्रत्ययविधानेनपुंसके स्वार्थे उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragātha beginning therewith.

The words of this sūtra require a little explanation. सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्य 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning of the affix. आदिः 'beginning'; this qualifies the base or prakṛiti. The word इति is added for the sake of precision. छन्दसः 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base. प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragātha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragātha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragātha beginning with that metre. Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पङ्क्तः which means "a Pragātha beginning with the metre Paṅkti". Similarly आनुपुंसः, जागतः &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragātha' the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after the

name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragátha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragátha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuváka &c and not of a Pragátha. Pragátha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. यच्च हे ऋचौ प्रगयनेन तिस्रः क्रियन्ते, स प्रगायनात् पकर्षगानात् वा प्रगाय इत्युच्यते ॥

*Vart*:—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it; and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रैष्टुभम् 'the metre Trishṭubha', आगतम् &c.

संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृष्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संग्रामे, प्रयोजन, योद्धृष्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयोजनवाचिभ्यो योद्धृष्यभ्यश्च यद्धेभ्यः प्रथमासमर्थेभ्योऽस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे संग्रामेऽभिधेये यथा- विहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of a battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here; showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case: and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजनः, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This मद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य = मद्रा: "A battle fought for Bhadrá". So also सौभद्रा: "a battle fought to gain Subhadrá". Similarly अहिमाला योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य = अहिमालः 'battle led by Ahimálá warriors' So also स्यान्वनाम्बः, भारतः ॥

Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य वानस्य 'Subhadrá is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior'? Observe, सुभद्रा प्रेक्षिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ।

तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-अस्याम्, प्रहरणम्, इति-क्रीडायाम्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थोऽस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति. यस्तदिति निर्दिष्टं प्रहरणं चेतन्नवति, यस्यामिति निर्दिष्टं क्रीडा चेत्सा भवति ॥

57. The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sūtra literally translated means: 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play; the affix ण is added' l. c. to a word in the first case in construction;



denoting the name of a weapon ; ष is added to denote a play. Thus हस्तः प्रहरणमस्यां मीडायां = हस्तः "a game played with sticks". So गौरा "a game played with fists".

Why do we say 'a weapon' ? Observe माला मूषणमस्यां क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe:—सदृगः प्रहरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV. 1. 4 and 15), the feminine being formed by षा ॥

घञः सास्यां क्रियेति षः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञः सा-अस्याम् क्रिया-इति-षः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चमन्तात्क्रियावाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थात्स्यामिति सप्तम्वर्गे छीलिङ्गे षः प्रत्यये भवति ॥

58. The affix ष, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ्, denotes an action occurring in that.

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is:—पञ्च: "after a word ending in the affix घञ्"; सा 'that', मस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, "After a word ending in घञ्, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix ष is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते - श्येनपाता, so also तैलपाता ॥ The nasal is added by VI. 3. 71. Thus श्येनपाता मृगया 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलपाता स्वधा "an oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown".

The repetition of सास्यां in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been obtained from the last sūtra, indicates that this is a general rule, and not one confined to "games" only. Thus हस्तपातोऽस्यां तियोवर्तते = हस्तपाता तिथिः; मौसलपाता तिथिः ॥

तदधीते तद्वेद ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अधीते-तद्-वेद ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थादधीते वेद इत्येतयोरर्थं योर्यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In others words, the sūtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As छन्दोऽधीते = छान्दसः 'who studies Prosody'. वैयाकरणः (VII. 3. 3) 'who knows grammar'. So also नैरुक्तः, नैरिक्तः 'who knows the causes'. भोदूर्ध्वः, भोत्पादः ॥

The word उक् is repeated in this sūtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

ऋतूक्यादिसूत्रान्तादुक् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतु-उक्यादि-सूत्रान्ताद-उक् ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ ऋतुविशेषवाचिभ्य उक्धादिभ्य सूत्रान्ताच्च उक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्देवेत्यस्मिन्विषये ।  
अजोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रान्तादकल्पादेरिष्यते ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्तादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विद्या च नाङ्गधर्मसंसर्गविपूर्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाष्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्चवक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुसूर्लक्ष्यलक्षणे च ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ इकन्प्रसोत्तरपशात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घातपठेः पिकन् पयो बहुलम् ॥

60. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word 'sūtra'.

This debars अच् ॥ Thus आग्निष्टोमिकः 'who understands or studies Agnishtoma Sacrifice'. वाचपेयिकः, भौक्यिकः, लौकायतिकः, वार्तिकहाधिकः, सामहसूचिकः ॥

*Ishiti* :—If a word ending in 'sūtra', begins with the word 'Kalpa', the affix अच् is added and not उक्. Thus : कल्पसूत्रः 'who studies Kalpa-sūtra'.

*Vart* :—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविकः, सार्वविकः, गौलक्षणिकः, आम्बलक्षणिकः, नातृकल्पिकः, पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

*Vart* :—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, क्षत्र, धर्म, संसर्ग and चि ॥ As अंगविद्यामधीते = आङ्ग विद्या, क्षत्रविद्या, धर्मविद्या, सांसर्गविद्या, चैविद्या ॥ All these are formed by अच् and not उक् ॥

*Vart* :—The affix उक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (भाष्यान), narratives (भाष्यायिका), and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावक्रीतिकः, प्रेयङ्गविकः, वासवराचिकः, सौमनोत्तरिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः ॥

*Vart* :—The affix ल comes in the same sense, after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेदः, सर्वतन्त्रः, सवार्तिकः, संसमहः, द्विवेदः पंचन्याकरणः ॥

*Vart* :—The affix उक् comes in the same sense after the words अनुसू, लक्ष्य, and लक्षण; As अनुसूर्नामपन्थ स्तमधीते = अनुसूकः, लासिकः, लाक्षणिकः ॥

*Vart* :—The affix इकन् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद्; as, पूर्वपठिकः ॥

*Vart* :—The affix पिकन् comes diversely in the same sense, after the compound words घातपथ, and घाटपथ. As घातपथिकः f. घातपथिकी IV. 1. 41), घटिपथिकः (f. घटिपथिकी). By the force of the word 'diversely' we get the affix अच्, as घातपथः and घाटिपथः ॥

1 उक्थ, 2 लौकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त, 8 द्वि-परा, 9 ज्योतिष (द्विपरी, ज्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 घत्त, 13 धर्म, 14 च-

पां, 15 क्रमेत्तर, 16 भ्रमन्, 17 संहिता, 18 परक्रम (पर।क्रम) 19 संपद संपात also संपद) 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिपद, 22 संमह, 23 मज, 24 गुण (गुणानुच st. मज, गुण), 25 भावर्षे. 26 अनुगुण.

**क्रमादिभ्यो वुन् ॥ ६१ ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम इत्येवमादिभ्यः चाद्येभ्यो वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्देरेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

61. The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

This debars अच् ॥ Thus क्रमकः (VII. 1. 1) परकः &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पर, 3 चिन्ता, 4 मीमांसा, 5 सामञ्ज belong to this class.

**अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु, ब्राह्मणात् इनिः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुब्राह्मणचव्यादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्देरेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

62. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrâhmana'.

This debars अच् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brâhmana book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मिनी, अनुब्राह्मिनिः &c. The affix इनि also has the force of मत्प्, and by Sûtra V. 2. 115 अत इनि द्वौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and इन् in the sense of मत्प् ; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense.

**वसन्तादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसन्तादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्त इत्येवमादिभ्यष्टकप्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्देरेत्यस्मिन्निषये । अपोपवाकः ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'vasanta &c.'

This debars अच् ॥ As, वासन्तिकः 'who studies the book relating to Spring'. वार्षिकः &c ॥ 1 वसन्त, 2 वर्षा, 3 शरत्. 4 हेमन्त, 5 चिन्तिर, 6 प्रयत्न, 7 गुण, 8 चरम, 9 अनुगुण, 10 अपर्वन्, 11 अघर्वन् 12 धीष्ण,

**प्रोक्ताल्लुक् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रोक्तात्-लुक् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तादभ्येतदेविचोदस्यन्नस्य लुग्भवति ॥

64. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting "who studies or who knows that" are elided by 'luk'.

This sûtra may be rendered in the following way also :—“ There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer”. The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV. 3. 101 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by Pāpini'.

पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also आपिचलः ॥ The difference between the word पाणिनीयं meaning the system of Grammar, and पाणिनीयै formed with अच्, meaning who studies that Grammar, would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी ॥ For had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sūtra, in forming the feminine, ङीच् would be required by IV.1.15, as the word would end in अच्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अच् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 3). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by ङच्, the accent is on the middle, owing to the छ affix. (Phit̐ Su II. 19)

सूत्राच्च कोपधात् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रात्-च-कोपधात्-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूत्रवाचिनः ककारोपधात्स्वन्त्व प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ संख्यामकृतोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

65. The affix denoting "who studies that or who knows that" is elided by luk, after the title of a sūtra work, having क् as penultimate.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pāṇini sūtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Ashtaka'. So also दशका वेद्याघपरीयाः, चिकाः काचकुत्सनाः ॥

*Vārt:*—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a numeral: as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्तिकं सूत्रमधीते = महावार्तिकः, so also कालापकः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate'? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चातुष्टयः ॥ This sūtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting श्लोक or the Announcer.

छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दो-ब्राह्मणानि-च-तत्-विषयाणि-(श्लोकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लोकग्रहणमनुवर्तते । छन्दांसि ब्राह्मणानि च श्लोकप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाण्येव भवन्ति ॥

66. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brāhmanas, express this relation only.

The word श्लोक is to be read into this sūtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brāhmaṇa, is that of expressing "one who studies" or "one who knows". तद्विषयाणि means "this relation", i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of अध्येतृ or वेदितृ ॥ In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer', have the force of "one who studies or one who knows" when added to Veda-Text or Brāhmanas. That is, a श्लोक affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, except when an अध्येतृ or

वेदित् affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a प्रोक्त affix when added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, means "he who studies or knows the Veda announced by". In fact there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठ्वा meaning 'those who study or know Kāṭha Veda'. The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix णिनि denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104 : then we elide it by IV. 3. 107, leaving the bare word कठ, then we add मन्, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64. कठ+णिनि = कठ+० (IV. 3. 107) ; कठ+मन् = कठ (IV. 2. 64) Plural कठाः "those who study the Veda announced by Kāṭha".

Other examples to illustrate this sūtra are : मूढाः (IV. 3. 101) 'who study the Veda announced by Muda'. पैपलादः, भार्चाग्निनः (IV. 3. 104) वाजसनेयिनः (IV. 3. 106) "who study the Veda announced by Pippalāda, Richāva, or Vājasaneyā". Similarly with words denoting a Brāhmaṇa-Text. Thus : ताण्डिनः (IV. 3. 104), भाल्लविनः (IV. 3. 105), शाव्यायनिनः (IV. 3. 105) ऐतरेयिनः (IV. 3. 105) "who study the Brāhmaṇas announced by Tāṇḍya, Bhallava, Śātyāyana, or Aitareya".

Why is the word Brāhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sūtra? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brāhmaṇa-Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brāhmaṇa announced by Yājnyavalkya. Thus याज्ञवल्क्येन प्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि = याज्ञवल्क्यानि ॥ Similarly सौलभानि ॥ These Brāhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them, See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning "and" is employed in the sūtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sūtra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sūtra Texts also. Thus काश्यपिनः, कौशिकिनः "who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kāśyapa or Kuśika" so also sūtra : as, पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः "the Bhikshus who study the Sūtras promulgated by Parasara". शैलालिनो नदाः, कर्मन्दिनः, कृषदिवनः &c.

Why do we say "Chhandas and Brāhmaṇas"? Because the प्रोक्त affix after any other word will have its own significance, pure and simple ; as, पाणिनीयं व्याकरणम् ॥ पैत्रीकल्पः ॥

*The Quadruply-significant affixes.*

तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नास्ति ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मिन्-अस्ति-इति-देशे-तत्-नास्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थ्यास्मिन्निति सप्रत्यये यथानिहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थमस्ति चेत्तद्वति, यदस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टं देशधेस्त तन्नामा भवति ॥

67. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of—"that thing is in this"—the place taking a name therefrom.

The words of this aphorism require a detailed examination. तद् 'that', i. e. the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. अस्मिन् "in this"—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति "is" this qualifies the sense of the base. इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशेत्तन्नाम्नि "a country having that name"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is:—"the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists".

This sūtra and the three subsequent sūtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sūtras, are called चतुर्थिक "quadruple significant".

Thus उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = औदुम्बरः Audumbara--the country in which there are glomerous fig trees. Similarly बालुबज्रः, पार्वतः &c. all these words are formed by the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83).

This sūtra debars the मत्वर्थीय affixes.

तेन निर्वृत्तम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-निर्वृत्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति वृत्तीयासर्थांनिर्वृत्तमित्यस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him', when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तन्नाम्नि of the last sūtra governs this and the two subsequent sūtras. By these four sūtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाम्बी नगरी "the city of Kauśāmbī, completed by Kauśāmbī". Similarly साहस्री परिष्ठा "a mote completed by a thousand (gold coins) or persons". A place is named after the means or the person, by which or through whom it is established.

तस्य निवासः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थांनिवास इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति देशनामधेये गम्यमाने ॥

69. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place'; the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sūtra literally means "his dwelling place". A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus वैनः "the country of

the Sibis", औदिहः ॥ कुरुनाबान्निवासी देशः = भारुनाबः ॥ The word कुरुनाबां = कुरुभी-  
नौर्येषां ॥

अदूरभवश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदूरभवः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वा समर्थ विभक्तिमुपवर्तत । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाददूरभव इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे कयाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. The word तस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sūtra. It means, therefore, "an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off" the whole word being the name of a place. Thus विदिशाया अदूर भव = वेदिशम् is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśā flows. So also हैमवतम् ॥

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this; so that the four sūtras 67, 68, 69 and 70 form but one complete sūtra, and the meaning denoted by these will be understood in the subsequent aphorisms.

ओरस् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदणान्ताव्यातिपरिकाषयाविहितं समर्थविभक्तियुक्ताम् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्मिन्स्तीत्येवमादि-  
त्यर्थेण । मणोपवाहः ॥

71. The affix अम् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix अम् (IV. 1. 83). Thus भारुदश्च from भारु 'a tribe of Kshatriyas'; काक्षतवम् from कक्षत, and कार्कटेलवम् from कार्क-  
टेल ॥ But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumati, named after the sugar-  
canes near it'. Here we add the affix मतुप् taught in the subsequent sūtra IV. 2. 85, which debars अम् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2). The affix अम् governs the six sūtras upto IV. 2. 77. The difference between अम् and अम् consists in the accent.

मतोश्च बहुजङ्गात् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः-च-बहुच्-अङ्गात्-(अम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुश्च अङ्गं यस्यासौ बहुजङ्गो मतुप् तदन्ताव्यातिपरिकाषम्प्रत्ययो भवति चानुपर्यकः । मणो-  
पवाहः ॥

72. The affix अम् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मतुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic.

The word बहुजङ्ग is a compound of बहुच् meaning literally 'many vowels' i. e. polysyllabic, and of अङ्गः meaning stem. A word which, exclusive

of the affix मनुष्, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अञ् ॥ This debars अष् ॥ Thus ऐपुकावतश्, सैष्कावतश् ॥

Why do we say "after a polysyllabic stem"? Observe आहिमत् यवमर्तश् ॥ Here though the word आहिमत् ends in the affix मनुष्, yet the अङ् or the stem viz. अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अष् in forming names of countries. In fact, the word बह्वच् qualifies the word अङ्, as it stands without the affix मनुष्, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore मालावतां निवासः = मालावर्तश् by अष् ॥

बहुचः कूपेषु ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुचः-कूपेषु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुचः प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्थकः कूपेष्वभिधेयश्च ॥

73. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars अष्. Thus दीर्घवरणेण निर्वृत्तः कूपः = दीर्घवरणः "a well completed by Dirghavaratra". So also कापिलवरणः ॥

उदक् च विपाशः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदक्-च-विपाशः-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपाश उचरे कूले ये कूपाक्ष्वभिधेयश्च प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्थकः ॥

74. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipâsâ.

This debars अष्; and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus सत्तः "a well completed by Datta", गौतः &c.

Why do we say on the "northern bank"? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipâsâ, then the affix अष् will apply as सत्तः and गौतः, the difference being in the accent. This sūtra illustrates the refined distinctions drawn by the author, and the importance attached to accents in former times.

संकलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संकलादिभ्यः-च-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संकल इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्थकः । अणोपवाहः ॥

75. The affix अञ् comes after the words sankala. &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars अष् ॥ The word संकलः is equivalent to संगतः कलः ॥ Thus सौकलः, पौष्कलः &c.

1 संकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 उत्तम, 4 उदुप, 5 उदेष (उदेष), 6 उत्पुट, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुवक्ष, 10 सुवच, 11 सुभूत, 12 सुपूत, 13 सुनेच, 14 सुमङ्गल, 15 सुपिङ्गल, 16 सूत, 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 पूतिक (पूतिका; पूतीकी), 19 पूलास, 20 कूलास, 51 पलास, 22 निवेश, 23 गवेश,



24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आन्, 27 अहन्, 28 लोनन्, 29 वेनन्, 30 वरुज (वरज), 31 बहुल, 32 स-  
घोत्र, 33 अभिषिक्त, 34 गोहृन्, 35 राजभृन्, 36 मल्ल, 37 मल्ल, 38 मात. also 39 घर्नन्,  
40 गृह, 41 ब्रुव.

स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राधु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रीषु-सौवीर-शाल्व-प्राधु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋष्याप्तातिपरिकारश्च प्रत्यये भवति चानुपर्यकः सौवीरे स्त्रीलिङ्गे हेत्वे वाच्ये साल्वे प्राधि ॥

76. So also when the place is situate in the lands of the Sauvira, or Sálva or of the Eastern people; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of देशेत्तन्नाम्नि (IV. 2. 67): so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus दासाभिषी "the city founded by Dattāmitra" (in Sauvira). So also वैधूमाम्नी (in Sálva) काकन्दी, माकन्दी, माणिचरी, आरुषी (in Eastern countries).

सुवास्तवादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवास्तवादिभ्यः (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवास्तु इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चानुपर्यकः ॥

77. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense.

This debar the affix अञ् which would have otherwise come by IV.2.71 and 73. Thus सुवास्तोरदूरमर्षे नगरं=सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्जवञ् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvṛitti came from IV. 1. 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sūtra debar sūtra IV. 2. 85. Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु, 2 वर्णु, 3 भण्डु, 4 खण्डु (कण्डु), 5 सेवालिन (सेचान्नि), 6 कर्णु, 7 शिखण्डिन, 8 गर्त, 9 कर्कष, 10 शकटीकर्ण (शटीकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क, 13 कर्कण्डुमती (कर्कण्डु), 14 गोह (गोह्य and गाहि), 15 महिसक्य 16 वृत् ॥

रोणी ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोणी-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोणीशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चानुपर्यकः ॥

78. The affix अण् comes after राणे in the fourfold sense.

This debar अञ् of IV. 2. 74. This sūtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case. As a general rule all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in these sūtras. The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under all circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound. In fact, the nominative case in this sūtra is a very ingenious explanatory artificiality. Thus रोणः, आजकरोणः or वैहिकरोणः

कोपधाञ् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोपधात्-ञ्-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपरिकारणप्रत्ययो भवति चानुपर्यकः ॥

79. The affix अण् comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having क् for its penultimate.

This debars अम् which would have come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. Thus कार्णच्छ्रिकः कूपः ॥ कार्णवेटकः ॥ कार्कवाकवम्, वैशाङ्कवम् ॥

बुञ्छण्कठजिलसेनिरदञ्णययफक्फिअञ्ज्यकक्ठको ऽरीहणकृशाभ्वइयकुमुद-  
काशतृणप्रेक्षाश्मसखिसङ्काशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ॥ ८० ॥  
पदानि ॥ बुञ्-छण्-क-ठच्-इल्-श-इनि-र-ठञ्-ण्य-य-फक्-फिच्-इञ्-ज्य-कक्-ठकोः; अ-  
रीहण-कृशाभ्व-इइय-कुमुद-काश-तृण-प्रेक्ष-अश्म-सखि-सङ्काश-बल-पक्ष- कर्ण- सुत-  
ङ्गम-प्रागादिन्-वराह-कुमुदादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुम्प्रत्ययः सप्तदश प्रत्यया, अरीहणादयोऽपि सप्तदशैव प्रातिपदिकगणाः । आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकनाभि-  
संबन्धते । तत्र यथासख्यं सप्तदशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकगणभ्यः सप्तदश प्रत्यया भवन्ति चानुर्यिकाः ॥ यथाः—  
(1) अरीहणादिभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (2) कृशाभ्वादिभ्यश्छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (3) ऋत्यादिभ्यः कः-  
प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (4) कुमुदादिभ्यश्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (5) काशादिभ्य इल्ः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (6) तृणा-  
दिभ्यः शः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (7) प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (8) अश्मादिभ्यो र प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
(9) सख्यादिभ्यो षम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (10) संकाशादिभ्यो ष्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (11) बलादिभ्यो यः प्र-  
त्ययो भवति ॥ (12) पक्षादिभ्यः फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (13) कर्णादिभ्यः फिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (14)  
सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (15) प्रगदिन्नादिभ्यो ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (16) वराह-  
दिभ्यः कक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (17) कुमुदादिभ्यश्चक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. In the above four senses are added the follow-  
ing 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respec-  
tively :—

1. बुम् (= अक्) after अरीहण &c. 2. छण् (= ईच्) after कृशाभ् &c. 3. क after  
ऋत्या &c. 4. ठच् (= इक्) after कुमुद &c. 5. इल् after काश &c. 6. श (or ष) after तृण  
&c. 7. इनि (= इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8. र after अश्मन् &c. 9. षम् (= एच्) after सखि &c.  
10. ष्य (= य्) after संकाश &c. 11. य after बल &c. 12. फक् (= भायर्त्) after पक्ष &c.  
13. फिच् (= भायर्नि), after कर्ण &c. 14. इम् (इ) after सुतङ्गम &c. 15. ज्य (य) after प्रगदिन्  
&c. 16. कक् (कै) after वराह &c. 17. चक् (इक्) after कुमुद &c.

The above affixes बुम् &c. are applied to the above classes of words.  
आदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part  
of the sūtra upto चक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the  
seventeen word-class. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by  
I. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

(1) अरीहणकम्, द्वीपणकम् (2) काशाभ्वीकः, भार्तीयः, (3) ऋत्यकैः, न्यमोधकैः, (4)  
कुमुदिकैः, शक्करिकैः, (5) वाशिर्लम्, काशिर्लम्, (6) तृणतैः, नडतैः, (7) प्रेक्षितैः, हलकितैः, (8)  
अश्मरैः, (9) सांख्यैः, सांखिरत्तेयैः, 10 सांकाशैः, काम्पित्यैः, (11) बल्यैः, कर्ण्यैः, (12) पा-  
क्षायणैः, सौषायणैः, (13) कार्णायणैः, सांसिष्टायणैः, (14) सौतङ्गिनैः, भौनिषिष्टिनैः, (15) प्रागण्य  
(16) वाराहकैः, पालाशकैः, and (17) lastly कौमुदिकैः ॥

The word चिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes viz अरीहणादि, (36), कुमुदादि (14), and वराहादि (3). Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the वरणादि class (IV. 2. 82), therefore this universal अण् (IV. 1. 83) will be elided after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when चिरीषवन was formed from चिरीषा ॥

1 अरीहण, 2 बुधण, 3 ब्रह्मण, 4 भगल, 5 उलन्द, 6 किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 क्रोष्टायण, 9 औष्टायण, 10 भेगतायन, 11 भेवायण, 12 भास्त्रायण, 13 वैमतायन (also वैमस्तायन), 14 गौमतायन (गो), 15 सौमतायन, 16 सौसायन, 17 धौमतायन, 18 सौमायन, 19 ऐन्द्रायण, 20 कौन्त्रायण, 21 साडायायन, 22 साण्डित्यायन, 23 रायस्वोष, 24 विपय, 25 विपाद्य, 26 इण्ड, 27 इण्ड्यन, 28 साण्डवीरण (साण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काद्यकृत्स्न (कद्य), 31 आग्बवस (वन्त), 32 घिद्यपा, 33 रैवत (रैवत), 34 विल्ध (वैल्ध K.) 35 सुयज्ञ, 36 चिरीष, 37 बधिर, 38 अण्डु, 39 खरिद, 40 सुघर्मन् (सुघर्म K.), 41 इलतु, 42 भलन्धन्, 43 खण्डु, 44 कनल (कलन), 45 यज्ञरत्न. 46 सार, 47 वैगर्तायण (sic) and 48 साण्डायन.

1 कृषाम्भ, 2 भरिद, 3 भरिध्न (अरीम्भ), 4 वेद्यमन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमद्य, 7 रोमद्य, 8 रोमक, 9 लोमक, 10 घबल, 11 कूट, 12 वर्धल, 13 सुर्वचल, 14 सुकर, 15 सूकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रतर), 17 सद्य, 18 पुरग, 19 पुरग, 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 भञ्जिन, 23 विनत (विनता, यनिता), 24 भवनत, 25 विकुव्यास (v. l. कुविद्यास; विकुपास), 26 पराद्य, 27 अरुत्, 28 अद्यत्, 29 नौद्व्य, 30 शूकर (नौद्व्याकर). 31 रोमन्, 32 बर्बर, 33 भवयास and अद्यावत्

1 कृद्य, 2 न्यमोध, 3 धार (धिरा), 4 निलीन, 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध (v. l. निबन्धन; निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिपूड, 11 उपपूड, 12 असनि, 13 सित, 14 मत, 15 वेद्यन्, 16 उत्तराद्यन्, 17 अद्यन्, 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खरिद, 21 चर्करा, 22 अनडुद्, 23 अरुत्, 24 परिवंश, 25 वेणु, 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 इण्ड, 29 परिवृत्त, 30 कर्मन्, 31 अंशु.

1 कुमुद, 2 चर्करा, 3 न्यमोध, 4 इकट (इल्कट, उल्कट), 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7 गर्त, 8 बीज, 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्यास, 11 चकट, 12 कच, 13 मधु, 14 चिरीष, 15 अथ, 16 अथर्य, 17 बन्धज, 18 यवाप, 19 कूप, 20 विकङ्कत, 21 इद्यमान. 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश, 24 चिक, 25 कत.

1 काद्य, 2 पाद्य (वाद्य), 3 अथर्य, 4 पलाश, 5 पीयूषा (पीयूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड, 9 वन, 10 कर्मन्, 11 कण्डूल, 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 विस (विद्य and विस), 15 तुण, 16 कर्पूर, 17 बर्बर, 18 मधुर, 19 मह (गुह) 20 कपिर्य, 21 अतु, 22 शीपालः 23 नर, 24 कंटक.

1 तुण, 2 नड, 3 मूल, 4 वन, 5 पर्ण, 6 वर्ण, 7 वराण, 8 विल, 9 पुल, 10 फल, 11 अर्जुन, 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण, 14 बल, 15 चरण, 16 वृत्त. 17 जन, 18 लघ.

1 प्रेशका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 बन्धुका. 4 ध्रुवका, 5 शिपका 6 न्यमोध, 7 इकट (इर्कट) 8 कङ्कट (कर्करा), 9 संकट, 10 कट, 11 कूप, 12 शुक, 13 पुक, 14 पुट, 15 मह (महा), 16 परिवाप, 17 यवाप (d. i. यवास), 18 ध्रुवका, 19 गर्त, 20 कूपक (कूपका) 21 हिरण्य. 22 बुधका, 23 सुकटा, 24 मङ्कट, 25 पुक.

1 अद्यन्, 2 द्यु (also द्युष), 3 रुष (रुष and रुष), 4 मीन, 5 नड, 6 वर्ण, 7 वृन्, 8 गुह, 9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिखा, 12 कौट (काट), 13 पान (पान!), 14 कन्, 15 कान्, 17 गह, 18 गुह, 19 कण्डल, 20 पीन. 21 मह.

1 सखि, 2 अग्निरत्न, 3 वायुरत्न, 4 सखिरत्न, 5 गोपिल (गोहिल and गोहिल), 6 भल्ल  
7 प. ल (भल्लपाल st. भल्ल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक\*, 10 छगल, 11 भद्योक, 12 करवीर,  
13 वासव\*, 14 वीर\*, 15 पूर\*, 16 वज्र\*, 17 कुशीरक\*, 18 सोहर (शोहर; शोकर), 19 सरक (सकर),  
20 सरस, 21 समर\*, 22 समल, 23 सुरस, 24 रोह, 25 तमाल, 26 कसल, 27 सप्तल, 28 चक्रपाल,  
29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशीर ॥

1 संकाश, 2 कम्पिल, 3 कम्भीर (कम्भर), 4 सनीर, 5 सुरसेन (शुर), 6 सरक\*, 7 सूर\*, 8  
सुपान्यिन् (rightly सुपयिन्), पन्थ (सक्य!) च, 9 शूप (शूथ), 10 भंग, 11 भङ्ग\*, 12 नासा\*, 13  
पलित\*, 14 अनुनाश\*, 15 भम्भन्, 16 कूट, 17 मलिन, 18 दृष\*, 19 कुम्भ\*, 20 शीर्षे\*, 21 विरत  
(चिरन्त; विरत!), 22 समल\*, 23 सीर\*, 24 पञ्जर\*, 25 मन्थ\*, 26 नल\*, 27 रोमन\*, 28 लोमन्\*,  
29 पुलिन\*, 30 सुपरि\*, 31 कटिप\*, 32 सकर्णक\*, 33 वृष्टि\*, 34 तीर्थ, 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर\*,  
37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40 विरह,

1 बल, 2 चुल (बुल), 3 मल\*, 4 हल\*, 5 वट\*, 6 लकुल\*, 7 डरल\*, 8 पुल\*, 9 मूल\*,  
10 डल, 11 डुल, 12 वन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल, 15 कवल,

1 पथ, 2 तुष\*, 3 शुष, 4 कुण्ड\*, 5 भण्ड, 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बार्क), 7 बलिक\*, 8 चिच  
9 अस्ति\*, 10 पयिन् पन्थ च (also पान्थायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक (सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल  
(सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिद्वन् (स्वन्). 18 रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्तिन्\*, 21 मकर\*,  
22 लोमक, 23 शीर्षे\*, 24 निवात\*, 25 पाक\*, 26 सिंहक, 27 अकुष\*, 28 सुवर्णक, 29 हंसक  
(हंसका), 30 हंसक\*, 31 कुस्त\*, 32 बिल\*, 33 खिल\*, 34 यमल, 35 हस्त, 36 कला\*, 37 सकर्णक  
(सकण्डक), 38 भम्भन्, 39 अस्तिबल ॥

1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ, 3 अर्क, 4 अर्कलूष (लूष), 5 भूपर (भूपर), 6 आनडुहा (अन), 7 पाञ्चजन्व,  
8 स्फिञ्ज, 9 कुम्भी\*, 10 कुन्ती\*, 11 जित्वन् (जित्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13 कुलिघ, 14 आण्डी-  
वत (आण्डीवन्), 15 जव\*, 16 जैव\*, 17 आनक\*, 18 अलुघ, 19 घाल, 20 स्थिर ॥

1 सुप्तगम, 2 मुनिचित (चित्त), 3 विमचित (चित्त), 4 महाचित\*, 5 महापुच, 6 स्वन्\*,  
7 भवेत, 8 खडिक (गडिक) 9 शुक्र, 10 विम, 11 वीजवापिन्, 12 अर्धुन, 13 ह्वन्, 14 अजिर,  
15 जीव, 16 खण्डिन\*, 17 कर्ण\*, 18 विमह\*,

1 मगादिन्, 2 मगादिन्, 3 मवदिन् (घारदिन्), 4 कविल (कलिव), 5 खण्डित (खडिव),  
6 गदित (गदिव), 7 चूडार, 8 मडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्दार\*, 10 कोविहार ॥

1 वराह, 2 पलाश, 3 शिरीष, 4 पिनड, 5 निबड, 6 बलाह\*, 7 स्थूल (स्थूल), 8 विदग्ध,  
9 विजग्ध, 10 विभग्, 11 निमग्, 12 बाहु, 13 खडिर, 14 शर्करा, 15 विनड, 16 विरड, 17 मूल ॥

1 कुमुद, 2 गोमय, 3 रथकार, 4 दृष्टमाम, 5 अम्बरथ, 6 घालमति (ली), 7 शिरीष, 8 मुनि-  
स्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल, 10 कूट, 11 मधुकर्ण, 12 घासकुन्\*, 13 शुचिकर्ण, 14 मुचुकर्ण, 15 कुन् ॥

जनपदे लुप् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदे लुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देशे तन्नाम्रीति यश्चानुरार्थिकः प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य देशविशेषे जनपदेऽभिधेये लुप्भवति ॥

81. The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup* elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom).

The words within bracket in the above sūtra are added by the reading together of this sūtra with sūtra I. 2. 51. Dr. Otto Böhtlingk the learned

translator of Pāṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sūtra. The aphorism literally means : (The quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* ( देश ) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus वृत्तानां निवासो जनपदः = वृत्तान्तः । So also कुम्भ, मत्स्याः, अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः, मगधाः, सुह्याः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no lup-elision of the affix in the following examples : भोवुम्बरो जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees'. वैदिशो जनपदः &c ? Because here the words भोवुम्बरः and वैदिशः are not *names* of Kingdom, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase वृत्तान्ति is understood here also.

वरणादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णादिभ्यश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वरण इत्येवमादिभ्य उल्बन्त्य चातुरार्थकत्वं प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति ॥

82. Also after the word वरण &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरण the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप् ॥ The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a kingdom (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणानामदूरमधे नगरं = वरणाः "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varanā", So also वृष्टी, शास्मलः ॥

The word च in the sūtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कटुकवरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, (वरण), 2 वृष्टी, 3 शास्मलि, 4 वृष्टी\*, 5 श्याण्टी\*, 6 पर्णी, 7 तासपर्णी, 8 गोद (पूर्वो गोदो, पूर्वेण गोदो, अपरेण गोदो), 9 आलिङ्गवायन, 10 आनपरी (आलपरी; आलपद) 11 अम्बु\*, 12 पुच्छर\*, 13 चम्पा\*, 14 पम्पा\*, 15 बल्यु\*, 16 उज्जयनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गया, 18 मथुरा, 19 सभापिना, 20 उरसा (उरसा) 21 गोमती\*, 22 बलमी\*, 23 कटुकवरी (with कन्वुक), 24 शिरीषा: 25 काञ्ची, 26 सशण्टी, 27 वणिक्ति, 28 वैषिक, Is an आकाशेगण ॥

शर्कराया वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्करायाः-वा (लुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्करायाश्चादुल्बन्त्य चातुरार्थकत्वं प्रत्ययस्य वा लुप् भवति ॥

83. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided.

Why do we say "Optionally"? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुम्भ-शरि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV.2.80 classes 4 and 16), and must *necessarily* take the affixes उच् and क्क् taught therein: for had itnot taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अच्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality

And when the word takes this universal affix (IV 1. 83), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + मत् = शर्कराम्, शर्करा + मत् लृप् = शर्करा ॥

ठक्छौ च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दादठक् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतश्चातुर्यकौ ॥

84. The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely two formed by this sūtra, two by the last, and two by the sūtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शर्कराम्, शर्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), शर्करकम् (formed by कक्), शर्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), and शर्करीयम् (by छ).

नद्यां मतुप् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याम्-मत्तुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यानिधिधारायां मत्तुप्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्यकः ॥

85. The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मत् and वत्). Thus उदुम्बरावती, मद्यकावती, कीरणावती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमती, कुम्भी ॥ See VI. 3. 119 by which the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219 by which the udatta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10 by which मत् becomes वत् ॥

The affix मतुप् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and जैनरथी, which are formed by मत् added under IV. 2. 68.

मध्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्वादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो मत्तुप्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्यकः ॥

86. The affix मतुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above.

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a river. As मधुमान्, विसद्यान् &c.

1 मधु, 2 विस, 3 स्याज्, 4 वेज्, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 शमी, 7 करीर ( कीरीर ) 8 हिम, 9 किशरा, 10 शर्करा ( शर्पणा ) 11 मरुत्, 12 चार्कली, 13 शर, 14 इटका, 15 आसुति, 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्दी, 18 शकन, 19 शालका, 20 आमिषी ( आमिषी ) 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन्, 23 रुटि ( मुटि इटि ) 24 रुच्य 25 सक्षपिल, 26 खड ( खडा ) 27 वट, 28 वेट ( वेटा ) 29 रम्य, 30 कृष्ण, 38 मरुत्, 32 शर्वाघाट.

कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो इमतुप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमुद-नड-वेतसेभ्यः-इमतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमुद नड वेतस इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो इमतुप् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्यकः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ महिषाघोति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The affix इमतुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and वेतस, in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुदीम्, नडुान्, वेतस्वाद् ॥

Vdt. :—So also after the word महिष, as महिष्मान् ॥

नडशादाद् कुलच् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नड-शादात्-कुलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडशादात्-कुलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्यिकः ॥

88. The affix कुलच् comes after नड and शाद् in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नडुलम् and शादुलम् ॥

शिक्षायां बलच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिक्षाया-बलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिक्षाया-बलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्यिकः । ययासंभदमर्थसंबन्धः ॥

89. The affix बलच् comes after the word शिक्षा in the above four-senses.

Thus शिक्षाबलम् 'the city Sikhā-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'. The word शिक्षा takes बलच् by V. 2. 111, the affix having the same force as मनुश्च V. 2. 94, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That बलच् should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

उत्करादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्करादिभ्यः-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्कर इत्येवमादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्यिकः ॥

90. The affix छः comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses:

As उत्करीयम्, अफरीयम् ॥

1 उत्कर, 2 संकल, 3 अफर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलीमूल, 6 अम्भन्, 7 सुवर्ष ( सुवर्ष ) 8 खलाञ्जिन, 9 तिक, 10 कितव, 11 अणक\*, 12 अणक\*, 13 पिपुक, 14 अणक, 15 काण, 16 शुभ्र ( अणकशुभ्र अ. काण, शुभ्र ) 17 खला, 18 खाल, 19 अन्या, 20 अजिर ( अजिन ) 21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्करीय, 23 खान्त ( खान्त ) 24 खारि, 25 सुपर्णाव, 26 ह्यावनाय, 27 नैवाकव ( नैव, वक ) 28 तृण\*, 29 वृक्ष\* 30 शाक\*, 31 पलाश, 32 विजिगीषा\*, 33 अणक, 34 आतप, 35 पल\*, 36 संपर\*, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक\*, 41 इडा, 42 अण्य, 43 निखान्त\*, 44 पर्ष, 45 नीचायक\*, 46 अंकर, 47 अवरोहित, 48 आर\*, 49 विशाल, 50 वेच, 51 अरीहण\*, 52 खण्ड, 53 वातागद 54 मन्त्रणर्ह\*, 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56 नितान्तवृक्ष, ( नितान्तावृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष ) 57 आर्हवृक्ष. 58 तृणव, 59 अण्य, 60 मडच, 61 अर्जुनवृक्ष.

नडादीनां कुक् च ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नडादीनाम्, कुक्-च (छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादीनां कुगागमो भवति, छश्च प्रत्ययश्चातुर्यिकः । ययासंभदमर्थसंबन्धः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कूष्पाया ह्रस्वत्वञ्च । तक्षन्लोपञ्च ॥

91. The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c, when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem. As नड + कुक् + छ = नडकीवन्; दक्षकीवन्, &c.

The words कुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न् is elided : e. g. कुञ्चकीवन्, तक्षकीवन् ॥

1 नड, 2 दक्ष, 3 विल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेच, 6 वेतस, 7 इशु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 तुण, 11 कुञ्चा ( कुञ्चाया ) कृत्वत्वं च, 12 तक्षन् मलोपच.

शेषे ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेष इत्यधिकारोयम् । यानित ऊर्ध्वं प्रत्ययाननुक्रमिष्यामः, शेषेऽयं ते वेदितव्याः ॥

92. The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above.

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms. "Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV. 1 92) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification', the last, be called शेष or the remainder"—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix मन् &c. Thus चाक्षुषं 'visible' viz. colour which is apprehended by vision' from चक्षुष्; श्रावणः 'audible' viz. sound, from श्रावण, शोपनिषद्: 'treated of in Upanishad' i. e. soul, शार्पदः from शृषद्, 'ground on a stone' i. e. flour of a fried corn, चतुरं 'ridden in by four person' viz. a cart; चानुर्यम् 'who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon' viz. a goblin; मालूखलः 'pounded in a mortar' viz. barley; भाषः 'drawn by horses' viz. a chariot. (Adapted from Dr. Ballantyne's Laghukaumudi).

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे "in the remainder" extends from this aphorism forward as far as IV. 3. 134. The affixes छ &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of 'progeny' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जात 'being born' (IV. 3. 25), प्रोक्तः (IV. 3. 101), आगतः (IV. 3. 74) &c. निवासः (IV. 3. 89), &c कृतः &c (IV. 3. 38).

Thus शोषः means "born in Srughna (IV. 3. 25), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srughna, or skillful in Srughna (IV. 3. 38), or abundant in Srughna (IV. 3. 39), or suited to Srughna (IV. 3. 41), or staying in Srughna (IV. 3. 53), or what has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 74) or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90)"

राष्ट्रावारपाराद् घञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राष्ट्र-भवारपाराद्-घ-ञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राष्ट्र भवारपार इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं पदानित्येनां प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥



वार्तिकम् ॥ विगृहीतारपीन्वते ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ विपरीतात् ॥

93. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix ह् is substituted for च, and ईन् for ख् (VII. 1. 2). Thus रीद्वः 'born &c. in a country', अवारपारीषः 'who or what goes or extends to both banks'.

*Vdt.*—The affix ख् comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. अवारपीषः 'belonging to this bank of the river', पारीषः 'belonging to the other bank', पारवारपीषः 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this'. Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes are those of 'being born' &c, to be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 and sūtras that follow it.

"There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first whereof is च, and the last where of are ख् (IV. 3. 24), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced therefrom' IV. 2. 25, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable". (Dr. Ballantyne's *Laghu Kaumudi*).

ग्रामाद्यसञ्ज्ञौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्, य-सञ्ज्ञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामचञ्चाय ख् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

94. The affixes य and सञ् (ईन्) come after the word 'grāma'.

As ग्राम्य and ग्रामीषः, 'a rustic'.

कत्त्रयादिभ्यो ढकञ् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कत्ति-आदिभ्यो-ढकञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कत्ति इत्यवमादिभ्यो ढकञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुल्याया यलोपच ॥

95. The affix ढकञ् (पयक) comes after the words कत्ति &c.

As काथेयकः, शौम्भेयकः &c.

1 कवि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोदन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 माहिप्ती, 10 वर्मती, (चर्मवती) 11 उख्या, 12 ग्राम, 13 कुडपाया (कुल्याया) यलोपच, 14 वर्ज्जी, 15 भक्ति.

कुलकुक्षिधीवाभ्यः भ्वास्थलङ्कारेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुल-कुक्षि-धीवाभ्यः, भ्वा-भासी-अलङ्कारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलकुक्षिपीवाशब्देभ्यो वयासंख्यं भन् भसि भलंकार इत्येतेषु जातादिप्रत्येषु ढकम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The same affix ढकञ् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament'.

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25 &c): but the whole word has specific significance. As कौलेयकः = a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौशेयकः = a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath), मन्वेयकः = a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by भञ् as, कौलः, कौक्षः and भवः ॥

नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् ॥ ९७ ॥ नद्यादिभ्यः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदी इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढकप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ढक् (एयं) comes after the words 'nadi' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3. 25. &c).

Thus नदिव्यं, 'pertaining to a river', नदियम् earthen', &c.

1 नदी, 2 नदी, 3 वाराणसी, 4 भावस्ती, 5 कौशाम्बी, 6 वनकौशाम्बी ( वनको ) 7 काशफरी<sup>०</sup> 8 काशफरी ( फारी ) 9 खादिरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाठा ( पाथा ) 12 नाया ( नाया ) 13 शाल्वा ( सा-ल्वा ) 14 शार्या<sup>०</sup>, 15 सेतकी ( सासेनकी ) 16 वडबाया वृषे. 17 शाल्वा,

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पूर्व-नगरियम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पूर्व-वन-गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As पूर्वियम्, वानियम् and गरियम् ॥

दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्यक् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दक्षिणा, पश्चात्, पुरसः, त्यक् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ दक्षिणा पश्चात् पुरस् इत्येतेभ्यस्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

98. After the words 'dakshinā', 'paschāt' and 'purās' the affix 'tyak' (त्यं) is added in the remaining senses.

As दक्षिणात्यः 'pertaining or produced in the south'; पश्चात्यः 'occidental', पुरस्यः 'oriental'.

कापिद्याः षफक् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कापिद्याः, षफक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कापिशीशब्दात् षफक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

प्राप्तिकम् ॥ पाहल्युर्विर्वाहभेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

99. After the word 'Kāpisi', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses: (the feminine being formed by श्फिप् IV. 1. 41).

Thus कापिषायनं मधु, कापिषायनी प्रासा 'a liquor'.

*Vart.*—So also after बाह्वि, हवि and परि as, बाह्विबनी, हविबनी, परिबनी ॥ This debars वृष् of IV. 2. 125.

रङ्गोरमनुष्येण च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ रङ्गोः-अमनुष्ये-अण्-च-(ष्क) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ रङ्गुग्रामात् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ष्कश्च शेषिको अमनुष्येति च ॥

100. After the word रङ्ग the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As रङ्गो गौः or रङ्गुवाचणो गौः but रङ्गुवको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Q. The word रङ्गु belongs to कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण्, and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sūtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanuysa is that of इव; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add ष्क; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as रङ्गुवः "a woolen blanket". When we want to denote a *living* being other than man, then we add अण् and ष्क of this sūtra. The अण् is repeated in this sūtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix ष्क ॥

The word रङ्गु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by वृष् of IV. 2. 125, and वृष् is debarred by वृष् of IV. 2. 119, and वृष् is debarred by अण् of IV. 2. 132, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sūtra debars that and ordains अण् and ष्क ॥

द्युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यु, प्राग्-अपाग्-उदक्-प्रतीचो-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग् प्राग् अपाग् उदक् प्रत्यय इत्येतेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

101. After the words 'div', 'prāch', 'apāch', 'udach' and 'pratyach', the affix यत् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदीच्यम्, (IV. 4. 130) and प्रतीच्यम् ॥ For accent see VI. 1. 213. When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyu' and 'tyul', e. g. प्राक्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). The word अपाग् means south.

कन्थायाष्टक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्थायाः ष्टक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थायाः ष्टक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

102. After the word 'Kanthâ', comes the affix डक् in the remaining senses.

As कान्यिकः ॥

वर्णो बुक् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णो-बुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्याया इत्येव । वर्णो वा कन्या तस्या बुक् प्रत्ययो भवति षेषिकः ॥

103. To the same stem is added the affix बुक् when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu.

The Varṇu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varṇu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus कान्यिकः ॥

अव्ययात्त्यप् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्-त्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययात् त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति षेषिकः ॥

Kārikā अनिहकप्रतसिचेभ्यस्त्यप्प्रविधियोऽप्ययात्सृशः ॥

निनिभ्यो भ्रवगल्योच प्रवेशो नियमे तथा ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ स्वनेर्धुवे ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ निलो गते ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ भाविसदृशन्वसि ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अण्य्याणोवक्तव्यः ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ दूरित्यः ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ उत्तरादहम् ॥

104. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide. The affix त्यप् is restricted to the following Indeclinables:—अना 'together', इह 'here', कु 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7) and च (V. 3. 10). As अनात्यः 'a minister', इहत्यः, कुत्यः, ततस्यः, तचत्यः &c.

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe: भौपरिः, पौरस्तः, पारस्तः formed from the Indeclinables उपरि, पुर, and पार; moreover, the Indeclinables, that are Vṛiddha (i. e. having आ, ऐ and औ in the first syllable), take the affix छ in the same sense. As, आरातीव ॥

Vārt:—The त्यप् is added to नि, in the sense of "fixed" as, नित्यम् = ध्रुवम् ॥

Vārt:—The त्यप् is added to निष् in the sense of 'going'. As निष्वाः "Chanḍalas &c who have gone out of the caste".

Vārt:—The त्यप् is added to the word भाविष् in the Vedas: As, भावि-द्वे वदन्ते ॥

Vārt:—The affix ञ comes after अण्यः e. g. आण्यः सुमनसः ॥

Vārt:—The affix एत्य comes after दूर, e. g. दूरित्यः पयिकः ॥

Vārt:—The affix आहृत् comes after उत्तर e. g. औत्तराहः ॥

**ऐषमोहः श्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऐषमस्-ह्यस्-श्वसो-अन्यत-  
रस्याम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ ऐषमस् ह्यस् श्वस् इत्येतेभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥**

105. The affix **त्यप्** is added optionally after the words 'aishamas', 'hyas', and 'shvas'; in the remaining senses.

As ऐषमस्त्यम् or ऐषमस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23), ह्यस्त्यम् or ह्यस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23); श्वस्त्यम् or श्वस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23) or शौवस्तिकम् (IV. 3. 15). The word 'shvas' takes the augment **नुद्** also, hence the above three forms.

**तीररूप्योत्तरपदाद्भञ्जौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर-रूप्य-उत्तर-पदात्-भञ्ज-औ ॥**  
**वृत्तिः ॥ तीरोत्तरपदाद् रूप्योत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकाद्यायासंख्यमञ्ज् अ इत्येतां प्रत्ययो भवतः शेषिकः ॥**

106. The affix **भञ्ज्** comes after a word ending with **तीर**, and the **ञ्** comes after a word ending with **रूप्य**; in the remaining senses.

This debars **भञ्** ॥ Thus काकतीरम्, पाल्पतीरम्, शार्करूप्यम्, शेषरूप्यम् ॥ The words formed by **भञ्**, take the affix **ङीप्** in the feminine (IV. 1. 15); those in **ञ्** take the affix **राप्** (IV. 1. 4). The sūtra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्तात्, for had it been so, the affix would apply to बहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called *uttara-pada*, as 'bahu' is not a *pada* but is an affix V. 3. 68. Therefore, we have शारकरूप्यम् formed by **भञ्** ॥

**दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां ञः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, असंज्ञायाम्-ञः ॥**  
**वृत्तिः ॥ असंज्ञायामिति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । दिक्पूर्वपदाव्याप्तिपदिकादसंज्ञा विषयाद् ञः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥ .**

107. The affix **ञ** comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another that signifies 'direction', provided the compound is not a Name.

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix **ञ** is added, forming the feminine in **ञा** ॥ The word असंज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base'. This debars **भञ्** ॥ Thus पूर्वशाला+ञ् = पूर्वशालः (VI. 4. 148, VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall'. Similarly शशिणशालः, भापरशालः ॥

Why do we say "when not a Name"? Observe, from the word पूर्वशु-  
कामशानी (II. 1. 50) we have पूर्वशुकामशानैः (VII. 3. 14), The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpuruṣha kind is formed by the words **शुव+शु-  
कामशानी**; "Ishukāmshami-in-the-East"; the whole being the name of the city.

Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vřiddhied, as is the general rule VII. 2. 117; but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vřiddhied, viz the letter इ of इषुकामशर्मा by rule VII. 3. 14. Similarly अपरैषुकामशर्मा: "who is in Ishukāmarshamī-in-the-West".

The word 'षट्' is used in the sūtra for the sake of percision, for had the sūtra been दिक्पूर्वसंज्ञार्था, there would rise the doubt, whether the the word-form दिक् was meant, or words denoting दिक् were meant. In fact the स्वरूपविधि is debarred by the use of the word ः. For had it meant दिक्; the rule would have applied to words like दिग्गजः &c.

मद्रेभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्रेभ्यो-अञ् ॥

शुक्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदान्मद्रेष्वस्यार्थं प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

108. The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्र, preceded by a word denoting direction; in the remaining senses.

Thus पूर्वमद्रः f. ः; आपरमद्रः f. ः ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sūtra, the initial vowel is vřiddhied by VII. 3. 13 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद्र ॥

उदीच्यग्रामाद्यवहुचोन्तोदात्तात् ॥ १०९ ॥

शुक्तिः ॥ दिग्महर्षं निवृत्तम् । उदीच्यग्रामवाचिनः प्रातिपरिकारं बहुचोन्तोदात्तात् अञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

109. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udāta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here. The अञ् debar अञ् ॥ Thus शैवपुरम्, मण्डपुरम् ॥

Why do we say "village of north-folk"? Observe माधुर्यं formed by अञ्; difference in accent.

Why do we say "consisting of more than two syllables"? Observe धुञ्जी - धुञ्जम् ॥

Why do we say "being oxytone?" Observe शार्करोधानम् ॥ Here धा is udāta by VI. 1. 194, taking लिट् accent.

प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलयादिकोपधादण् ॥ ११० ॥

शुक्तिः ॥ प्रस्थोत्तरपदान् पलयादिभ्यः ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपरिकारं प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

110. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रस्थ, after the words पलदी &c, and

after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अण् of the last aphorism. Thus नाहीमत्स्यः, बाहकीमत्स्यः, पालरः, परिषदः, नैलिनकः, चैयावकः ॥

In the class Paladyādi, those words which denote villages of बाहीकः will not take इण् or ऋण् affix of IV. 2. 117; but will take the affix अण् of this rule. Such as the words गोष्ठी and नैतकी ॥

The word गोमती occurs in Paladi class, and consequently it does not take the affix वुण् (IV. 2. 123) which it would otherwise have taken by reason of its being a Vṛiddha word ending in long ई ॥

The word बाहीक has a penultimate क, but it is recited in Paladi class, showing that it does not take the affix छ of IV. 2. 114 though it is a Vṛiddha word.

The affix अण् is repeated in this sūtra, (though its anuvṛitti comes from IV. 1. 83), in order to exclude the application of any rule which might have debarred the general अण् ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 बाहीक, 5 कालकीट ( मलकीट ) 6 बहुकीट ( बाहुकीट ) 7 आलकीट, 8 कपलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलभिदा, 11 गोष्ठी, 12 नैतकी ( नैतकी ), 13 परिखा, 14 पूरतेन, 15 गामती, 16 पदधर, 17 उदयान ( उदयानि ) 18 बकुलोम, 19 सकुलोमन् ॥

कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रमिह न प्रत्ययार्थो न च प्रकृतिविशेषणं, तर्ह्येव संबध्यते, कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे च प्रत्ययो विहितस्तदन्तेभ्य एवाण् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

111. The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means "that after a word ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kaṇva &c, in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses." This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus कण्वाः "the pupils of Kaṇva". गौकसाः (IV. 1. 105).

Why do we say "when denoting Family-names?" Thus the word कण्व, when it means कण्व देवतास्थ, forms its secondary derivative कण्वीयन् by छ ॥

The Kaṇva-class is a sub-class of Gargādi. The Family-names from कण्व and गौकस are कण्वीय and गौकस्थ by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added. कण्वीय + अण् = कण्वीयः (VI. 4. 148 and VI. 4. 152).

इअश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण्, च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे च इण् विहितस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

112. After a Family-name formed by इञ्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus from दक्ष we have Patronymic दक्षि, from which दक्षा: "the pupils of Dakshi"; दक्षाः, मादकाः ॥ The final इ is elided before अण् by VI. 4. 148.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गनिः, a word formed by इञ् of IV. 2. 80, not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गनीयन् by छ (IV. 2. 114).

न द्वयच्चः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-द्वयच्चः, प्राच्य-भरतेषु (अण्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयः प्रातिपरिकाव्याच्यभरतगोचरिमन्तारण् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इञ्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sūtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sūtra. The result being, that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, form the शैषिक derivatives by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus पौष्कीयाः, काशीयाः from पौष्कि, काशि ॥ Why do we say "consisting of two syllables"? Observe पान्नागाराः formed by अण् from पान्नागारि ॥

Why do we say "when it denotes the family-names of East folks or Bharata"? Observe: दक्षाः from दक्षि ॥

Q. How do you form काशीय when by rule IV. 2. 116, the proper form would be काशिकी or काशिका ?

Ans. The word काशि of sūtra 116 refers to a country because it occurs with चेदि, while the काशि of the example under the present aphorism is a Family-name.

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prāchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by Jñāpaka or inference, that wherever Prāchya is used in these sūtras, it does not include the Bharatas. See. II 4. 66.

वृद्धाच्छः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-छः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्प्रातिपरिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

114. After a word called Vriddha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses.

The word शैषिक does not govern this sūtra. This is a general rule: The Vriddha is defined in I. 1. 73 &c. This debars अण् ॥ Thus from गार्ग्य we



have वार्गीय (VI. 4. 148 & 152). So also वान्सीयः, घासीयः, मासीयः. ॥

This rule being a subsequent one, debars the following preceding rules, in case of conflict of rules (I. 4. 2) 1. The rule relating to Indeclinables (104), 2. The rule relating to words ending in वीर and क्व (106) 3. The rule relating to Villages of North-folk (109), 4. The rule relating to penultimate क् (110). Thus.

इह-इहस्व; but भारान्-भारतीयः कर्त्तवीर-कर्त्तवीर्य; but वायसवीर-वायसवीर्य  
वपारक्व-वपारक्व्य; but माणिक्य-माणिक्यकः (IV. 2, 21) शिवपुर-शिवपुर्य; but वाड-  
वडर्-वाडवर्कीयः, निलीनक-निलीनकः; but भौलुक-भौलुकीयः ॥

भवत्प्रकृच्छसौ ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवत्, ठक्-छसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवच्छसौ इत्थान् ठक्छसौ प्रत्ययो भवत् शैबिकौ ॥

115. The affix ठक् and छस् come after the Vriddha word भवत्, in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a Vriddha word because it belongs to tyadādī class (I. 1. 74). This rule debars छ of the last aphorism. In the affix, छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of Pada पद (I. 4. 16). Thus भवत् + ठक् = भावत्कः; भवत् + छस् = भवत्कीयः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as Vriddha, then it takes the general affix भक्; as भावत् ॥ This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing घञ् to भू ॥

काश्यादिभ्यष्टम्भितौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यादिभ्यः-ठम्-भितौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काशि इत्येवमादिभ्यष्टम् भिद् इत्येती प्रत्ययो भवत् शैबिकौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आपसादिपूर्वपरास्कालान्तात् ॥

116. The affixes ठम् and भिद् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशी &c.

In the affixes ठम् and भिद्, the इ is replaced by इक्, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by ठम् will take ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), the others will take णप् (IV. 1. 4). Thus काशिका or काशिकी, वैरिका or वैरिकी ॥

The word वृत्तान् is to be read in to this sūtra. Those words in the list which are not वृत्त will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

The word देवदत्तः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृत्त by I. 1. 75. Thus देवदत्तिकः ॥ But when it is the name of a Vahika village, it is not a Vriddha word. The secondary derivative then will be देवदत्तः ॥

Q. In the MAhābhāshya it is said that a Proper name is optionally

treated as a Vriddha, and it gives example of देवदत्तीयाः or देवदत्ताः ॥ So then देवदत्ताः is a Vriddha word and will take these affixes,

Ans. No. In that very passage of Mahābhāṣya it is further stated that the option in the case of Proper-Names is allowed only for the purposes of the application of the affix छ (IV. 2. 114) and not the affix डम् and झिद् ॥

Vart.—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपत्, ऊर्ध्व and तद्; as आपत्कालिकी or °का, भौर्धकालिकी or °का, तात्कालिकी or °का ॥

1 काधि, 2 चेदि (वेदी) 3 सांयाति\*, 4 संवाह, 5 अद्भुत, 6 मोदमान ( मोहमान ) 7 शुक्लाद्, 8 हस्तिकर्षू, 9 कुनामन्, ( कुशामन्, 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवाचन ( गंधाचन ) 13 भारद्गी\*, 14 भार्द्वन. 15 भरिच\*, 16 देवदत्त, 17 दद्यामान ( दासमान ) 18 द्यौवादतान ( द्यौधानतान ) 19 दुवराज, 20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोवन\*, 23 सिन्धुमिच, 24 सप्तमिच, 25 सुधामिच\*, 26 सोममिच\*, 27 छागमिच\*, 28 सधमिच\*, 29 आपदादिपूर्वपरात् ( आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद् ) कालान्तात्, 30 संज्ञा, 31 भौरिकि, 32 मौलिङ्गि, 33 सत्रमिच, 34 साधुमिच ॥

वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहीक-ग्रामेभ्यः च, (उञ् झिडौ) ।  
वृत्तिः ॥ वाहीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यः उञ् झिडौ प्रत्ययो भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

117. The affixes उञ् and झिद् come, in the remaining senses, after the Vriddha words denoting the villages of Vāhika.

The word वृद्धान् is to be read into this sūtra. This debar the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus शाकलिकी or शाकलिका, मान्यविकी or मान्यविका ॥

विभाषोशीनरेषु ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-उशीनरेषु (उञ्-झिडौ) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उशीनरेषु ये वाहीकग्रामास्तद्वाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विभाषा उञ् झिडौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

118. The affixes उञ् and झिद् come optionally in the remaining senses, after Vriddha words denoting Vāhika villages situated in Usinara.

Thus आह्नजालिकी, लिका and लीया; so also सौरधनिकी, सौरधनिका and सौरधनीया ॥

ओर्देशे उञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, देशे, ठक् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकान् उञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

119. The affix उञ्, comes in the remaining senses, after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धान्' does not govern this sūtra. For had it been understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating it in the next.

Thus नैषादकर्षकः, शानरज्ज्युकः ॥ Why do we say देशे 'denoting a country'? Observe पादवाः 'the pupils of पद्' formed by अण् ॥

In the previous sutras, the anuvṛitti of इम् and भिम् both were current ; hence the repetition of इम् in this sūtra, because we could not take the anuvṛitti of इम् from the last sūtra without drawing the anuvṛitti of भिम् ॥

वृद्धात्प्राचाम् ॥ १२० पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-प्राचाम्-(ठञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ भोर्देश इत्येव । उवर्णन्ताद् वृद्धात्प्राचाम्वाचिनः प्रातिपदिकार्इम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

120. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛiddha word ending in उ and denoting a locality of the East-folks.

The phrase भोर्देशे is here understood. Thus आरकञ्चुकः, शाकञ्चुकः मापितवास्तुकः ॥

The affix ठञ् would have been valid by the last sūtra also, the present sūtra makes a नियम or restriction, showing that in the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛiddha. Therefore it does not apply to मलवास्तु, from which we have मालवास्तवः ॥

धन्वयोपधाद्बुञ् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन्व-य-उपधात्-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धन्ववाचिनो यकारोपधाच्च देशाभिधायिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकार् बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

121. The affix बुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛiddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛiddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here. The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus परिधन्वकः, देशवतकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly सांक्राश्यकः and काम्पित्यकः are examples of य penultimate.

प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थ-पुर-वहान्तात्-च-(बुञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थपुर वृह इत्येवमन्ताद्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकार् वृद्धाद्बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

122. The affix बुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛiddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह्.

This debarbs छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus मालाप्रस्थकः, नान्दीपुरकः, कान्तिपुरकः, पैलु-वहकः, फाल्गुनीवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix इम् by the next sūtra also, but as that sūtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sūtra is general in its scope,

रोपधेतोः प्राचाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ र-उपधा-ईतोः-प्राचाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रोपधासीकारान्ताच्च प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

123. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate **र** or ending in **ई** ॥

This debars **उ** ॥ Thus पादलिपुत्रकाः, ऐकचक्रकाः ॥ So also with words ending in **ई** ॥ As, काकनी—काकन्काः, माकनी—माकन्काः (VI. 4. 148).

Why do we say प्राचाञ् 'of the East-folk'? Observe सन्नामिणीकः formed by **उ**. The **ञ्** in **ईञ्** in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness.

जनपदतद्वच्योश्च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपद-तद्-अवध्योः च-(बुञ्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ इत्याज्जनपदवाचिनस्तद्वचिवाचिनश्च प्रातिपरिकार्वुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

124. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

The phrases **इत्याञ्** and **देशे** are understood here, being qualified by **जनपद** and **तद्वचि** ॥ This debars the affix **उ** ॥ Thus भागिसारकः and भार्गवकः are examples of **जनपद** ॥ And औपुष्टकः and इयामादनकः from औपुष्ट and इयामादन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of **जनपदवचि** ॥

The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or **जनपद** must be a country and not a village. This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of **उ** by IV. 2. 137 to words like चिगर्ष which is an arid desert: as चिगर्षकः ॥ The word **तद्वचि** means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवृद्धात्-अपि-बहुवचन-  
विषयात्-(बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धात् इत्याञ् जनपदान् तद्वचिवाचिनश्च बहुवचनविषयात्प्रातिपरिकार्वुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

125. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vriddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vriddha words.

The words **जनपद** and **तद्वचि** are to be read into the aphorism. This debars **उ** and **अञ्** ॥ Thus from अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः and कलिङ्गाः which are non-Vriddha Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have आङ्कः, वाङ्कः and कालिङ्कः ॥ Similarly अजमीराः and अजकन्दाः are non-Vriddha always plural words, denoting boundary of kingdom; we have from them आजमीरकः and आजकन्कः ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vriddha **जनपद** word by the last sūtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus शर्वकः and जाम्बकः from शर्वाः and

शब्दाः ॥ So also to Vṛiddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom : कालंशरः—  
कालंशरकः, वैकुण्ठिणः—वैकुण्ठिणकः ॥

The word विपद् is used in the sūtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form. Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तन्कः plural of वर्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वर्तनः ॥

The word अग्नि is used in the sūtra to indicate that Vṛiddha-words which would have taken बुम् by the last sūtra are not debarred by this sūtra, when they are plural in form. This debarring would have taken place, by the rule of interpretation known as तक्रुण्णित्त्वन्यायः ; but for the use of the word अग्नि ॥ This maxim or nyāya is thus explained in Padamanjari :—पूर्वसूत्रे हि जनपदसामान्ये वृद्धात् बुम् विहितः, यथा ब्राह्मणसामान्ये इधिरानः इह तु बहुवचनविषये विधेयेऽवृद्धात् बुम्, यथा द्यौषिडन्ते तक्रुणन्, ततश्च बहुवचनभावे विधेयेऽवृद्धात् बुम् इति भावे आरभ्यमाणोऽवृद्धात् बुम् वृद्धात् बुम्-साधकः स्यादित्यपि शब्दन समुपेयते इत्यर्थः ॥

कच्छाग्निवपदगतौत्तरपदात् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छ-अग्नि-वक्त्र-गर्त-उत्तरप-  
दात्-(बुम्) ।

श्रुतिः ॥ कच्छाद्युत्तरपदाद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्चाद् वृद्धावृद्धाच्चबुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

126. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vṛiddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachchha', 'agni', 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debarbs छ and अण् ॥ As शरकच्छकः, पैपलीकच्छकः, क्वाण्डाग्रकः, वैशुजाग्रकः ऐन्द्रवल्कः, वैशुवल्कः, बाहुगर्तकः and चाक्रगर्तकः ॥

The word उत्तरपद् in the sūtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

धूमादिभ्यश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धूमादिभ्यः-च-(बुम्) ।

श्रुतिः ॥ धूमादिभ्यो देशवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

127. The affix बुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhūma &c, denoting country.

This debarbs अण् &c. धौमकः, साण्डकः &c. The word पायेय occurs in the list. It would have taken बुम् by IV. 2. 121 as it has य as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and अजित being names of जनपद would have taken बुम् by 124 ante; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां क्षत्रियाणां स्वं = वैदेहकम् "the property of Vidcha Kshatriyās". So also अजितकम् ॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the

derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus सामुद्रिका नौः and सामुद्रकौ मनुष्यः ॥ Otherwise not : सामुद्रम् "Oceanic water".

1 धूम, 2 बर्हण्ड ( खड्ण्ड and खण्ड ) 3 शशादनं, 4 अर्जुनाव ( भार्जुनार ) 5 माहकस्थली, 6 आनकस्थली\*, 7 माहिसस्थली\*, 8 मानस्थली ( मापस्थली ) 9 अट्टस्थली\*, 10 मद्रुकस्थली\*, 11 समुद्र स्थली, 12 शण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 सात्रासाह, 17 शप्प, 18 (धिष्य) 18 मिश्रवर्ध ( मिश्रवर्ध; मिश्र, बल ) 19 भक्षाली\*, 20 मद्रकूल, 21 आजीकूल ( आञ्जीकूल ) 22 ब्राह्मव, 23 वपाहाव, 24 संस्कीय ( संहीय ) 25 बर्बर, 26 बर्ध, 27 गर्त ( बर्धगर्त ) 28 आनर्त, 29 माडर, 30 पायेय, 31 शेष, 32 पल्ली ( वल्ली ) 33 आराप्ती, 34 धार्तराप्ती, 35 भावद्य, 36 तीर्य ( भवयात् तीर्य ) 37 कूलात्सौवीरेषु, 38 समुद्रान्नावि मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय ( अन्तरीप ) 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयनी, ( उज्जयिनी ) 44 पद्मार, 45 इक्षिणापय, 46 साकेत, 47 शौचस्थली, 48 भसास्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मानवल्ली, 51 सुराप्ती ॥

नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगरात्-कुत्सन-प्रावीण्ययोः-(बुद्ध्)

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरशब्दाद्बुद्ध् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

A. केनायं मुषितः पन्था गात्रे पश्मालिधूसरः ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ चौरादि नागरका भवन्ति ॥ A. केनेद् लिखितं चिन्मं मनोनेषविकाशि यत् ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ प्रवीणा हि नागरका भवन्ति ॥

128. The affix बुद्ध् comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word कुत्सनं which is equivalent to निन्दनं or 'blame or censure'; and प्रावीण्यं which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus नागरकः 'a knave, a cunning person, or a skillful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागरः ब्राह्मणाः 'the Nagara Bráhmaṇas'.

अरण्यान्मनुष्ये ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरण्यात्-मनुष्ये-(बुद्ध्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरण्यशब्दाद्बुद्ध् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिको मनुष्येऽभिधेये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पथ्यभ्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्य हस्तिष्यति वक्तव्यम् ॥

129. The affix बुद्ध् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word अरण्य, in the sense of a man.

This debars the affix ष. Thus आरण्यकः मनुष्यः 'a forester'.

Vart :—It should be stated rather that the affix बुद्ध् is added to अरण्यः in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim' 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant'. Thus आरण्यकः पन्थाः, अभ्यासः, न्यायः विहारः, मनुष्यः or हस्ती ॥

*Vart.*—Optionally when the sense is that of a cow-dung as भारण्याः or भारण्यका गौमयाः ॥

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As भारण्याः पशवः 'wild beasts'.

विभाषा कुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-कुरु-युगन्धराभ्याम्-(बुञ्)  
श्रुतिः ॥ कुरु युगन्धर इत्येताभ्यां विभाषा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

130. The affix बुञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'.

Thus कौरवर्षः or कौरवः, यौगन्धरकः or यौगन्धरः ॥ These words denote अनपद or inhabited countries, and therefore by sūtra IV. 2. 125 they would always have taken the affix बुञ्. The present sūtra makes the application of बुञ् optional and not obligatory. The word कुरु occurs in the list of कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133). By virtue of its being so classified, it will take अण् also. And when it means man or something found in men, it will take necessarily, not optionally, the affix बुञ् by virtue of sūtra IV. 2. 134. As कौरवको मनुष्यः, कौरवक-मस्य हतितम् ॥ This aphorism therefore, teaches option regarding कुरु with these restrictions, while it teaches option absolutely with regard to the word युगन्धरः ॥

मद्रवृज्योः कन् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्र-वृज्योः-कन् ।  
श्रुतिः ॥ मद्रवृज्योःभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

131. The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vṛjji'.

This debars वृञ्, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra', वृञ्जिकः ॥

कपोधादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क-उपधात्-अण् ।  
श्रुतिः ॥ कपोपधान् प्रातिपदिकारण्य प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses after a word denoting a place and having the letter क as its penultimate.

This debars वृञ् in the case of words which denote अनपद or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote अनपद, will have taken अण् even without this rule. Thus भार्यिकः "born in कश्चिकाः." So also माहिषिकः ॥

The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in क्, and would have otherwise taken इण् by IV. 2. 119. Thus देशकः "born in देशकः" ॥ The word देशे is understood in this sūtra.

कच्छादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छादिभ्यः-च-(अण्) ।  
श्रुतिः ॥ कच्छ इत्येवमादिभ्यो इत्यप्राचिभ्योऽणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix **अण्** comes, in the remaining senses, after the words **kachchha** &c denoting places.

The word **केचो** is understood here. This debarbs **वृम्** &c. Thus **काच्छः**, **सैन्धवः**, **वार्णवः** &c. The words **कच्छ** &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sūtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The word **विजापक** occurs in this list. It would have taken **अण्** by the last sūtra also, because it has **क** as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra by which it takes **वृम्** also under certain conditions.

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वृष्, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 अ-  
नुषण्ड (अणु, अण्ड, अण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 अनूप, 13 अजवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलतर (कुलन) 16 रङ्कुः

मनुष्यतत्स्योर्वृञ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनुष्य-तत्स्योः वृञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्ये च जातासौ प्रत्ययार्थे कच्छादिभ्यो वृम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix **वृञ्** comes after the words **kachchha** &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debarbs **अण्** ॥ Thus **काच्छकः** 'a man born in Kutch'. **काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम्** ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'. **काच्छिका चूडा** ॥ Similarly **सैन्धवको मनुष्यः**, **सैन्धवकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम्**, **सैन्धविका चूडा** ॥

Why do we say "when meaning man or what exists in man?" Observe **काच्छी गौः** 'The cow of Kutch'. **सैन्धवो वार्णवः** ॥

अपदातौ साल्वन् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपदातौ-साल्वात्-(वृञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदातादेव मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्ये साल्वघ्नार् वृम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135 The affix **वृञ्** comes after the word **साल्व** in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

The word **साल्व** which occurs in the **कच्छादि** class, would have taken **वृम्** by the last sūtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sūtra makes a restriction. Thus **साल्वको मनुष्यः**, **साल्वकमस्य हसितं जल्पितं** &c. But **साल्वः पसाति व्रजाति** 'the Sálva foot soldier goes.'

गोयवाग्वोश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-यवाग्वोः-च-(वृञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गवि यवाग्वं च जातासौ प्रत्ययार्थे साल्वघ्नार् वृम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैविकः ॥

136. The affix **वृञ्** comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words **साल्व**, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.



This debars अण् of IV. 2. 133. Thus सारुको गोः "the cows born in Salva". सारुका अणुः 'the barley gruel of Salya'. In other cases we have सारुम् ॥

गर्तोत्तरपदाच्छः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्त-उत्तरपदाद् छः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्तोत्तरपदादेशपठितः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

137. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term.

This debars अण् ॥ The word वेद्ये is to be read into the sūtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes इण् and शिच् of sūtra 117 ante. Thus वृकगर्तीयं, घृगालगर्तीयम्, हवाविद्वृगर्तीयम् 'born in porcupine's hole &c'. The word उत्तरपदाद् is used in the sūtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बाहुगर्तीयम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V. 3. 68) and not a pada.

गहादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गहादिभ्यः-च-(छः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गह इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यश्च छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

138. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus गहीयः, 'belonging to a cave'. अन्तःस्थीयः &c.

In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमभ्यं चाण् चरणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यमीयाः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमाः" ॥ The word मध्यम here has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमयिः means पृथिवीमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix अण् is applied in the case of चरण, it has the sense of निवास of sūtra IV. 3. 89 and not all the other senses. Thus त्रयः प्राच्याः, त्रयः भौरीच्याः, त्रयो माध्यमाः "three Charaṇas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle". The words मुखतम् and पार्श्वतः occur in the list. They have the affix तच्, but before the affix छ the स् of तच् is elided. Thus मुखतीयम् and पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

The augment कृक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ ॥ As जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥ The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

The affix छण् comes after the words वेणु &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus वेणुकीयम्, वेचकीयम्, औत्तरपदाकीयम्, प्रात्यकीयम्, माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

1 यह, 2 अन्तःस्थ, 3 सन, 4 विपम, 5 मध्यमभ्रमंत्वाच्च चरजे 6 उत्तम, 7 अङ्ग, 8 वङ्ग, 9 मगध, 10 पूर्वपक्ष, 11 अपरपक्ष, 12 मध्यम शास्त्र 13 उत्तमशास्त्र, 14 एकशास्त्र, 15 समानशास्त्र, 16 समानधाम\*, 17 एकधाम, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकपल्लव, 20 इष्टुम, 21 इष्टुनीक ( इष्टुनी ) 22 भवत्यन्वन ( भवत्यन्वी and अवस्कन्द ) 23 कामप्रस्थ, 24 खादावन ( खाडिकादायनि; खादायनि and खाण्डाग्रनी ) 25 काठेरणि ( कावेरणि and कामवेरणि ) 26 लत्रेरणि\*, 27 सौमिणि\*, 28 सौमिणि, 29 आसुन्\*, 30 देवघर्मि ( देवघर्मन् ) 31 भौति, 32 आहिदि, 33 आमिदि, 34 व्यादि, 35 वैजि ( वैरजि ), 36 आप्यधि, 37 आनुद्यधि, 38 द्यौदि, 39 आग्निघर्मि, ( अग्निघर्मन् ) 40 भौजि, 41 वाराटकि ( वाराटकि ), 42 वाल्मीकि, 43 क्षेनवृद्धि ( क्षेनवृद्धिन् ), 44 आश्रयि, 45 औष्माहमनि\*, 46 ऐक, 47 विन्द्वि\*, 48 वन्ताम\*, 49 ईस\*, 50 तन्त्वम\*, 51 उत्तर, 52 अनन्तर ( अन्तर ), 53 मुखपार्श्वसतोर्लोपः ( also मुखतीय and पार्श्वतीय ), 54 अनपरयोः कुक् च ( also अनकीय and परकीय ), 55 देवस्य च, 56 वेणुकादिभ्यश्छप्. 57 आसुरि, 58 सौवि, 59 पारकि. It is an आकृतिगण ॥

प्राचां कटादेः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राञ्जास-कटादेः ।

वृचिः ॥ प्राग्देशवाचिनः कटादेः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

139. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक् of the sūtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debars अच् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटयोषीयम्, कटपल्लीयम् ॥

राज्ञः क च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ राज्ञः-क-च-(छः) ॥

वृचिः ॥ राज्ञः ककारभान्तदेशो भवति छश्च प्रत्ययः ॥

140. The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ is added.

This sūtra only teaches substitution: for राजन् would have taken छ by IV, 2. 114. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देशे does not govern this sūtra, not being appropriate.

वृद्धादकेकान्तसोपधात् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-अक-इक-अन्त-सोपधात्-(छः)

वृचिः ॥ वृद्धादेशवाचिनो ऽक इक इत्येदमन्तात् स्वकारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्च छ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Vriddha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having ख as its penultimate.

The word देशे must be read into the sūtra. This debars the अच् of Sūtra 132 ante: as well as the affixes ordained by Sūtras 117 and 123.

Thus भकः—मारोहणकीयम्, शौचणकीयम् ॥ इक—आश्रयणकीयम्, शास्त्रान्तेकीयम् ॥ खोपधात्—कैटिशिसीयम्, आयुगुलीयम् ॥

*Vart.*—The words लीसुक &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in हक् ॥ Thus लीसुकीवद्, लीसुकीवद्, रेन्त्रेण्कीवद् ॥

कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था-पलद्-नगर-ग्राम-ह्रद्-उत्तरपदात्-(छ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाद्युत्तरपदारेषवाचिनो वृद्धाव्यातिपरिकात् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

142. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vriddha words, having the words kanthâ, palada, nagara, grâma and hrada, as second terms.

This debars the other affixes such as इम् and शिर् of 117 ante Thus शानिकन्धीवद्, माहिकिकन्धीवद्, शानिपलदीवद्, माहिकिपलदीवद्, शानिनगरीवद्, माहिकिनगरीवद्, शानिग्रामीवद्, माहिकिग्रामीवद्, शानिह्रदीवद्, माहिकिह्रदीवद् ॥

पर्वताद्य ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्वतात्-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दात् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

143. The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses.

This debars अच् ॥ Thus पर्वतीयो राजा "the hill-king". पर्वतीयः पुरुषः "the hill man".

विभाषा अमनुष्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-अमनुष्ये-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दात् छः प्रत्ययो भवति वाअमनुष्ये वाच्ये ॥

144. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पार्वतानि फलानि 'hill fruits', पर्वतीयमुदकम् or पार्वतमुदकम् 'hill water'.

Why do we say अमनुष्ये 'not-human'? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

कृकणपर्णाद्भारद्वाजे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृकण-पर्णात्-भारद्वाजे-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृकणपर्णशब्दाभ्यां भारद्वाजेरेषवाचिभ्यां छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

145. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after कृकण and पर्ण when denoting the country of Bharadvâja.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bharadvâjas?" Observe कर्कणम्, पार्णम् &c.

ओ३म् ।

## अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

### BOOK FOURTH.

#### CHAPTER THIRD.

युष्मद्-अस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ्च ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः-अन्य-तस्याम्-  
खञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति षैषिकः चकाराच्छञ् ॥

1. The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

The regulating power of the word षैषी ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण्, and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vṛiddha, as they belong to Tyadādi class (I. 1. 74), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114; the present sūtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद्-1-अण् = युष्माक + अण् (IV. 3. 2) = यौष्माका युष्मद्-1-छ = युष्मद्-1-इय = युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2). युष्मद्-1-खञ् = युष्माक-1-ईन (IV. 3. 2.) = यौष्माकीनः (VII. 1. 2, and VIII. 4. 2). So also आत्माकः, अस्मदीयः, and आत्माकीनः ॥

तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन् अणि-च-युष्माक-आ-  
स्माकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्नित्वासादिहितः खञ् निर्दिश्यते न चकारानुकृष्टः । तस्मिन्नाभि अणि च युष्मदस्म-  
दोरन्यतरस्यां युष्माक अस्माक इत्येतावदेषो भवतः ॥

2. When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ्, and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sūtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not

done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms : as (1) तस्मिन् स्वामि युष्मदस्मदोयुष्माकास्माकौ भवतः (5) ततोऽपि च ॥ i. e. (1) when स्वम् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding Sūtra, e. g. यौष्माकीनः, आस्माकीनः with स्वम्, and यौष्माकः and आस्माकः with अण् ॥ This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as युष्मदीयः and अस्मदीयः ॥

तवकममकार्थैकवचने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवक-ममकौ-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनपरयोर्दुष्मदस्मदोस्तवक ममक इत्येतावदेषौ भवतो वपासंख्यं तस्मिन्स्वामि अथि च परतः ॥

3. In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when स्वम् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee', मामकीनः "belonging to me." तावकः and मामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will स्वरीकः, गरीकः-

The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix जु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्ये ॥

अर्धाद्यत् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धघञ्सात् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

4. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्ध in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्धम् 'belonging to half.'

Vdt:—When it has a prior term the affix इत् is used. As बालेयार्थिकम्, (बाल्यर्थवस्तु = बाल्यं) ॥ गौतमार्थिकम् ॥

परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-अधम-उत्तम-पूर्वात्-च्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर अवर अधम उत्तम इत्येवंपूर्वाधार्याद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

5. The affix थत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhama', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्धम्, अवरार्धम्, अधमार्धम्, उत्तमार्धम् ॥

Q. Why do we say पूर्वात् 'preceded by' ? Its use seems to be superfluous. If the sūtra stood as परावराधमोत्तमेभ्यः, it would have given the same sense. For the अर्धात् being supplied from the last sūtra, the whole sūtra

would have been परपरामोक्षनेभ्योऽर्धात् यत् which must mean 'preceded by para &c.'

A. The words पर and अवर have meanings other than that of दिक् or direction. As परं सुखं 'highest pleasure.' अवरं सुखं 'lowest pleasure.' Therefore, when these words पर and अवर denote direction, then by the subsequent rule, the affix would have been always इम् and यत् ॥ The employment of the term पूर्व in the sūtra, prevents the application of the affix इम् even when the words denote direction.

According to the Vārtika सपूर्वपदाद् इम् given under the last sūtra, the word अर्धं preceded by any word would have taken इम्, hence the necessity of this sūtra ordainig यत्, when the first terms are पर &c.

दिक्पूर्वपदाद् इम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्व-पदात्-उम्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादर्थान्ताव्यातिपरिकात् इम् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारापच शैबिकः ॥

6. And the affix उम् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By च, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अम् ॥ Thus पूर्वाध्वं पौर्वाधिकम्, शशिणार्धम् or शशिणार्द्रिकम् ॥

The word पर is used in the sūtra in order to prevent ambiguity. Had the sūtra stood merely as दिक्पूर्वाद् इम्, it might have meant (I.1.68), 'Ardha preceded by the word दिक् takes इम् also', for then स्वरूपविधि would have applied, and इणधि जातः would have taken the affix.

ग्रामजनपदैकदेशाद् अम् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम-जनपद-एकदेशात्-अम्-उम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादित्येव । ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च प्रातिपरिकादिक्पूर्वपदादर्थान्ताद् अम् उम् प्रत्ययो भवतः शैबिको यतोपवाहो ॥

7. The affixes अम् and उम् come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदात् is to be read into the sūtra. This debars यत् ॥ Thus इमे खट्वस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वाधाः or पौर्वाधिकाः "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". So also शशिणार्धाः or शशिणार्द्रिकाः ॥ The word पौर्वाध्याः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्धे भवाः and is a Taddhitārtha compound.

मध्यान्मः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्-मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यमन्मः प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भावेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्रोपसोर्लोपच ॥

8. After the word मध्य there is the affix म in the remaining senses.

This debars मञ् ॥ As मध्यमः "middlemost".

Vart:—So also after the word आदि ॥ As आदिमः "Adam, or born in the beginning".

Vart:—So also after the words भवस् and भवत्, the final स् being elided. As भवमन्, भवमन् ॥

अ सांप्रतिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-साम्प्रतिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारः प्रत्ययो भवति मध्यगन्धात्सांप्रतिके आतादा मत्वर्थे ॥

9. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As नातिदीर्घे नाति ह्रस्वे मध्यं काष्ठम् "the proper piece of wood--neither too long nor too short". मध्ये वैशकारणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull". मध्याङ्गी "a proper wife".

द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वीपात्-अनुसमुद्रम-यञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रसमीपे यो द्वीपस्तस्मात् यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

10. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhâdi (IV. 2. 133), and would have taken अञ्; and by sūtra IV. 2. 134, it would have taken जुञ् also. The present sūtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वेष्यम् 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वेष्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् ॥

Why do we say अनुसमुद्रं? Observe द्वेषकम् or द्वेषम् (IV. 2. 133 and 134). The word 'anu-samudra' is an Avyayibhava compound (II. 1. 15).

कालाद्ठञ् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिनः मातिपरिकान् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars अञ् ॥ The affix छ which comes after Viddha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकः 'monthly' मासैर्मासिकः, 'bi-monthly', सांवत्सरिकः 'annual'.

The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As काष्ठम्पुष्पिकं. ग्रहपलान्तिकम् ॥ The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto 25. (तत्र आतः).

श्राद्धे शरद्ः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्राद्धे-शरद्ः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति श्राद्धे ऽभिधेये शैषिकः ॥

12. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing श्राद्ध ॥

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). The word श्राद्धे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not श्रद्धावान् दुष्पः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शारदिकं श्राद्धं 'the autumnal Śrāddha'. When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

विभाषा रोगात्तपयोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-रोग-भातपयोः (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगे भातये चाभिधेये शरच्छब्दाद्ठञ् प्रत्ययो वा भवति शैषिकः ॥

13. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिकी रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शारदिक भातपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine'.

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारदं शधि 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debar the ऋतु अण् (IV. 3. 16).

निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निशा-प्रदोषाभ्याम्-च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशाप्रदोषशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

14. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'nisâ', and 'pradosha':

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV. 3. 11 ante, the ठञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal'. प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

श्वसस्तुद च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वसः-तुद-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वः शब्दाद्विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य च तुडागमो भवति ॥

15. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुद ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix ख्यप् by sūtra IV. 2. 105. This sūtra ordains ठञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes tyu and tyul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. Thus श्वस्-तुद-ठञ् = शौवस्-तुद-ठञ् (VII. 3. 3) = शौवस्तिकः "belonging to to-morrow or ephemeral". Otherwise श्वस्त्यः and श्वस्तनः ॥

सन्धिवेलाद्यतुनक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्धि-वेलाद्, ऋतु-नक्षत्रेभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्धिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

16. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses,



after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars उम् ॥ The repetition of अच् debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vṛiddha in this list (IV. 2. 114). Thus (1) साम्भिवेलम्, साम्भ्यम् (2) वैष्णवम्, शैषिकम् (3) तैषण, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ season and asterisms respectively.

The affix अच् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival, as सावत्सरे फले or पर्वे ॥

1 संधिवेला, 2 संध्या, 3 अमावास्या, 4 ज्योतिषी, 5 चतुर्विधी, 6 पञ्चविधी, 7 वीर्यवासी, 8 प्रातिपद्, 9 संवत्सरात्कलपर्वणोः ॥

प्रावृष षण्यः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-षण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषस्य षण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

17. The affix षण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष ॥

This debars the अच् of the last sūtra, though 'prāvṛṣh' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season."

वर्षोभ्य उक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षोभ्यः-उक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षोभ्यो उक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

18. The affix उक् comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षो ॥

This debars अच् of IV. 3. 16. Thus वर्षिकमनुलेपनम्। The ह्क has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 here.

छन्दासि उक् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दासि-(उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दास्यो उक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

19. In the Chhandas, the word 'varsha' takes the affix उक् in the remaining senses.

This debars उक्. The form will be the same, but there will be difference in accent. As नभश्च नभस्यश्च वार्षिकावृत् ॥ The word वृत् here means "month." i. e. Nabha and Navasya are two rainy months.

वसन्ताच्च ॥ २० ॥ वसन्तात्-च-(उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्ताच्च उक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

20. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word 'vasanta.'

This debars मण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus मधुश्च प्राध्वश्च वैसन्तिकावृत् ॥

हेमन्ताश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्तात्-ञ्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दात् उन्नासि विषये इमू प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

21. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'hemanta.'

This debars मण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus सहदश्च सहस्यदश्च हेमन्तिकावृत् ॥ The making of two separate Sūtras of 20 and 21, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of word हेमन्त only is taken.

सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च ॥ २२ ॥ रद्ग ने ॥ सर्वत्र-अण्-ञ्-तलोपः-ञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दात् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन चास्य तकारलोपः ॥

22. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त् of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हेमन्तश् वासः 'wintery residence.' हेमन्तमुपलेपनम् ॥

The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sūtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the secular literature.

The word हेमन्त will take मण् by sūtra IV. 3. 16 as हेमन्ती पङ्क्तिः but there is no elision of त् there. Thus there are three forms हेमन्तः (IV. 3. 16), हेमन्तिकं (IV. 3. 21) and हेमनम् ॥

सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेऽव्ययेभ्यः-ट्यु-ट्युलौ तुद् च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सायम्-चिरम्-प्राह्णे-प्रगे-अव्ययेभ्यः-ट्यु-ट्युलौ-तुद्-च- ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्थोऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यश्च दुपलौस्तस्तयोस्तुद् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चिरपरस्परिभ्यस्त्रो वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रगस्य उन्नासि गन्तोपश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अमपश्चाद्विमश्च ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्नापोति वक्तव्यम् ॥

23. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल् and their augment is तुद् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also. Thus सायं-न-ट्यु = सायं-न-तुद्-न-ट्यु = सायंतनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'belonging to the evening'. चिरंतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रगेतनम् "what is of the early morn".

The word सायं is a word ending in न् and is an Indeclinable. These

affixes would also come by virtue of its being an Indeclinable, after that सावन् ॥ The present सावन् is derived from the root वृ by adding the affix वम् ॥ It always ends in व् when these affixes are added. The word चिर always ends in व् ॥ प्राह्णे and प्रणे always end in व् ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are सोषान्नम् 'belonging to the night'. दिवात्तन्म् 'belonging to the day'.

*Vdt* :—The affix व् comes after the words चिर, परम् and वरारि ॥ As चिरवम्, परवम्, and वरारिवम् ॥

*Vdt* :—The व् of प्रण in elided in the Chhandas before this affix व्. as, प्रवम् ॥

*Vdt* :—The affix इम्व् comes after अन्न, भादि and पम्; as, अमिवम्, भादिवम् and पमिवम् ॥

*Vdt* :—So also after अन्त्, as, अन्नितम् ॥

The difference between *tyu* and *tyul* is in accent, Thus सावन्तन् and सावन्तन्, चिरन्तन् and चिरन्तन्, प्राह्णेतन् and प्राह्णेतन्, प्रणेतन्, प्रणेतन्, दिवात्तन् and दिवात्तन्, सोषान्तन् and सोषान्तन् ॥

विभाषापूर्वाहापरहाभ्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-पूर्वाह-अपरहाभ्याम्-  
(दुश्-दुश्चलौ-तुद-च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाहणापरहाभ्याम् विभाषा दुपदुपलौ प्रत्ययो भवत, तुद च तयोपगमः ॥

24. Optionally after the words पूर्वाह्ण and अपराह्ण, there are the affixes द्यु and द्युल् and their augment is तुद ॥

In the alternative द्यु of IV. 3. 11 also occurs. As पूर्वाह्णेतन्म्, अपराह्णेतन्म् with *tyu*, or पूर्वाह्णिकम् अपराह्णिकम् with *thañ*. With *tyul* we have पूर्वाह्णेतन् and अपराह्णेतन् ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17. When the word is taken as incapable of having the case-affix, we have, पूर्वाह्णेतन् or अपराह्णेतन् ॥

तत्रजातः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-जातः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणारयो पादयश्च प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतास्तेषामतः प्रभृत्वर्थाः समर्थविभक्तयश्च निरिद्वन्द्वे ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसप्तम्याञ्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes अञ् &c. ष &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV. 2. 92. This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus सुभ्रजातः = सुभ्र + अञ् = सौभ्रः 'born in Srughna'. So also मायुरः 'born in Mathura', भौत्सुः 'born in Utsa', औदपानः 'born in Udapāna',

वाङ्मयः (IV. 2. 93), अवारपातीयः (IV. 2. 93) चाकलिकः (IV. 2. 117), माम्बाः (IV. 2. 94), ब्यामीयः (IV. 2. 94), काषियकः (IV. 2. 95) भौम्भेयकः (IV. 2. 95).

प्रावृषष्टप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-उप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषश्चास्वप्नमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. After the word प्रावृष being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix उप् in the sense of produced therein.

This debars वृष्य of sūtra IV. 3. 17. The ए of उप् is for the sake of accent. प्रावृषि जातः = प्रावृषकः 'produced in the rainy season'.

संज्ञायां शरदो बुञ् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-शरदाः-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दास्वप्नमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix बुञ् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein,' the whole word being a name.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus शारदका इर्माः 'the grass called Śāradaka'. शारदका बुञ्जाः 'the pulse called Śāradaka.'

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe शारदं सत्यम् 'the autumnal crop.'

According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sūtras up to IV. 3. 38.

पूर्वाह्णापरार्द्राद्भूलप्रदोषावस्कराद् बुञ् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्ण-आर्द्रा-भूल-प्रदोष-अवस्कराद्-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णादिभ्यः षड्देश्यो बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

28; The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, भूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः, अपराह्णकः This debars IV. 3. 24. आर्द्रकः, भूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. प्रदोषकः This debars उप् of IV. 3. 14. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

पथः पन्थ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथः-पन्थ-च (बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिषाश्चावुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix बुञ् comes after the word पथ, in the sense of 'produced therein', and thereby in the room of पथ, the substitute is पन्थ ॥

Thus पथि जातः = पन्थकः 'produced in the way.'

This debars the अप् ॥

अमावास्याया वा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावास्यायाः-वा-(बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्यायाश्चाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

30. The affix बुन् comes optionally after the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars अप् of IV. 3. 16. Thus अमावात्यकः or अमावात्यः ॥ This affix बुन् is applied to the word अमावत्य also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्वत्त्वात् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus अमावत्यकः or अमावत्यः ॥

अ च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्यायाश्चादकारः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

31. And the affix अ also is added to the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the बुन् and अप् already given. Thus अमावात्यः, अमावात्यकः, अमावात्यः ॥ So also after the word अमावत्य, as अमावत्यः, अमावत्यकः and अमावत्यः ॥

सिन्धुपकराभ्यां कन् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-अपकराभ्याम्-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुपकाराभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

32. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix कन् in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kachchhādi class and takes अप् and बुन् (IV. 2. 133); and अपकर would have also taken अप् under the general rule. This sūtra debars these affixes. Thus सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः ॥

अणञौ च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण-अञौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुपकराभ्यां ययासंख्यमणमौ प्रत्ययो भवतस्तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

33. And the affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्धवः and आपकरः ॥

अविष्टाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्धसुहस्ताविशाखायादायहुलाल्लुक् ॥ ३४ ॥  
पदानि ॥ अविष्टा-फल्गुनी-अनुराधा-स्वाति-तिष्य-पुनर्धसु-हस्त-विशाखा-अयादा-य-  
हुलात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविष्टादिभ्यः षड्विधो नक्षत्रेभ्य आगतस्य जातार्थे लुक् भवति ॥

वास्तकीय ॥ लुक्प्रकारे षिभारवतीरोहिणीभ्यः स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कल्गुन्यपादाभ्यां दानी वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अविष्टापादाभ्यां छापि वक्तव्यः ॥

34. The affix denoting 'born therein' is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishṭhâ', 'phalgunî', 'anurâdhâ', 'svâti', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hasta', 'visâkhâ', 'ashâḍhâ', and 'bahula' all denoting asterisms.

The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I. 2. 49. Thus अविष्टासु जातः = अविष्टः 'produced under Śravishṭhâ'. So also कल्गुनः, अनुराधा, स्वातिः, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विशाखः, अषाढः, बहुलः ॥ The 'Bahula' is another Name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥

*Vart.*—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitra' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine affix which would have been elided after the two words Revati and Rohini, by I. 2. 49. is reordained by IV. 1. 41, because these words belong to गौरादि class.

*Vart.*—The affixes इ and अन् come respectively after कल्गुनी and अषाढौ in forming the Feminine derivatives. As कल्गुनी (IV. 1. 15) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

*Vart.*—The affix छण् also comes after 'Śravishṭhâ' and 'ashâḍhâ' As आदिष्टीयः and आषाढीयः ॥

स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानान्त-गोशाल-खरशालात्-च-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानान्ताख्यातिपरिकारं गोशालाशब्दात्खरशालाशब्दाज्जातार्ये प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

35. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting born therein after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gosâla' and 'kharasâla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अश्वस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥

वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्छतभिषजो वा ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वत्स-शाला, अभिजि-त्-अश्वयुक्-शतभिषजो-वा (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वत्सशालादिभ्यः परस्य जातार्ये प्रत्ययस्य लुग्वा भवति ॥

36. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasâla', 'abhijit', 'asvayuk', and 'satabhik'.

As वत्सशालायां जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजित् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुजः, शतभिक् or शतभिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशाला are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra.

done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms : as (1) तस्मिन् स्वामि शुष्मस्मरोर्युष्माकास्माकौ भवतः (S) ततोऽपि च ॥ i. e. (1) when स्वम् is added, युष्माक and भस्माक are the substitutes of शुष्मद् and भस्मद् respectively (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding Sūtra, e. g. यौष्माकीणः, भास्माकीनः with स्वम्, and यौष्पाकः and भास्माकः with अण् ॥ This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as शुष्मरीयः and भस्मरीयः ॥

तवकममकार्षिकवचने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवक-ममकौ-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनपरयोर्युष्मस्मरोस्तवक ममक इत्येतावदेष्टौ भवतो वधासंख्यं तस्मिन्स्वामि भवि च परतः ॥

3. In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when स्वम् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee', भामकीनः "belonging to me." तावकः and भामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will स्वरीयः, नरीयः-

The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix इ ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्ये ॥

अर्धाद्यत् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धघञ्वाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

4. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्ध in the remaining senses.

This debarb अण् ॥ Thus अर्धम् 'belonging to half.'

Vart:— When it has a prior term the affix इम् is used. As बालियार्द्धिकम्, (बन्धयेवस्तु = बालियं) ॥ गौतमार्द्धिकम् ॥

परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-अधम-उत्तम-पूर्वात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर अवर अधम उत्तम इत्येवंपूर्वाधार्याद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

5. The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhama', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्द्धम्, अवरार्द्धम्, अधमार्द्धम्, उत्तमार्द्धम् ॥

Q. Why do we say पूर्वात् 'preceded by' ? Its use seems to be superfluous. If the sūtra stood as परावराधमोत्तमेभ्यः, it would have given the same sense. For the अर्धात् being supplied from the last sūtra, the whole sūtra

would have been परवराधनोत्तरेभ्योऽर्धाद् यत् which must mean 'preceded by para &c.'

A. The words पर and अवर have meanings other than that of दिक् or direction. As परं सुखं 'highest pleasure.' अवरं सुखं 'lowest pleasure.' Therefore, when these words पर and अवर denote direction, then by the subsequent rule, the affix would have been always इम् and यत् ॥ The employment of the term पूर्व in the sūtra, prevents the application of the affix इम् even when the words denote direction.

According to the Vārtika सपूर्वपदाद् इम् given under the last sūtra, the word अर्धं preceded by any word would have taken इम्, hence the necessity of this sūtra ordainig यत्, when the first terms are पर &c.

दिक्पूर्वपदादुत्तरेभ्यः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्व-पदात्-उम्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादुत्तरेभ्योऽर्धात् इम् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च शैबिकः ॥

6. And the affix उम् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By च, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अम् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्धम् पौर्वाधिकम्, राक्षिणार्धम् or राक्षिणाधिकम् ॥

The word पर is used in the sūtra in order to prevent ambiguity. Had the sūtra stood merely as दिक्पूर्वाद् इम्, it might have meant (I.1.68), 'Ardha preceded by the word दिक् takes इम् also', for then स्वरूपविधि would have applied, and इत्तरेभ्यः जातः would have taken the affix.

ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादुत्तरेभ्यः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम-जनपद-एकदेशात्-अम्-उम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादित्येव । ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकारिक्पूर्वपदादुत्तरेभ्यः उम् प्रत्ययो भवतः शैबिकौ यतोपवाहौ ॥

7. The affixes अम् and उम् come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदात् is to be read into the sūtra. This debars यत् ॥ Thus इमे खल्वस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वाधाः or पौर्वाधिकाः "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". So also राक्षिणार्धाः or राक्षिणाधिकः ॥ The word पौर्वाध्याः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्द्धे भवाः and is a Taddhitārtha compound.

मध्यान्मः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्-मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यशब्दान्मः प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

वार्धिकात् ॥ आर्धेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्धिकात् ॥ अर्धोपसोर्लोपश्च ॥



8. After the word मध्य there is the affix म in the remaining senses.

This debars मध्य ॥ As मध्यमः "middlemost".

Vart:—So also after the word आदि ॥ As आदिमः "Adam, or born in the beginning".

Vart:—So also after the words भवत् and भवत्, the final स् being elided. As भवत्तमः, भवत्तमः ॥

अ सांप्रतिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-सांप्रतिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारः प्रत्ययो भवति मध्यमत्वात्सांप्रतिके आतासौ प्रत्ययार्थे ।

9. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As नातिहीने नाति ह्यने मध्यं काष्ठम् "the proper piece of wood--neither too long nor too short". मध्ये वैश्याकरणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull". मध्यास्त्री "a proper wife".

द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वीपात्-अनुसमुद्रम-यञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुसमुद्रमीषे यो द्वीपस्तस्मात् यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

10. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhâdi (IV. 2. 133), and would have taken भञ्; and by sūtra IV. 2. 134, it would have taken वुञ् also. The present sūtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वेष्यञ् 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वेष्यं भवन्तोऽनुसरन्ति चक्रञ् ॥

Why do we say अनुसमुद्रं? Observe द्वेषकञ् or द्वेषञ् (IV. 2. 133 and 134). The word 'anu-samudra' is an Avyayibhâva compound (II. 1. 15).

कालाद्ठञ् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars भञ् ॥ The affix छ which comes after Vridha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकः 'monthly' भास्त्रमासिकः, 'bi-monthly', सांवत्सरिकः 'annual'.

The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As कारम्बपुष्पिकं, व्रीहिलालिकं ॥ The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto 25. (तत्र जातः).

आद्धे शरद्ः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्धे-शरद्ः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आद्धे ऽभिधेये शैषिकः ॥

12. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing आद्धे ॥

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). The word आद्धे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not अद्धावान् दुष्पः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शरदिकं आद्धे 'the autumnal Śrāddha'. When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शरदम् ॥

विभाषा रोगात्तपयोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-रोग-आतपयोः (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगे आतपे चाभिधेये शरच्छब्दाद् ठञ् प्रत्ययो वा भवति शैषिकः ॥

13. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शरदिकी रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शरदिक आतपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine'.

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शरदं दधि 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debars the ऋतु अण् (IV. 3. 16).

निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निशा-प्रदोषाभ्याम्-च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशाप्रदोषशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

14. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'nisā', and 'pradosha':

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV. 3. 11 *ante*, the ठञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal'. प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

श्वसस्तुद् च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वसः-तुद्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वः शब्दाद्विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य च तुडागमो भवति ॥

15. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुद् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix ख्यप् by sūtra IV. 2. 105. This sūtra ordains ठञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes (yu and (yul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. Thus श्वस्-तुद्-ठञ् = शौवस्-तु-ठञ् (VII. 3. 3) = शौवस्तिकः "belonging to to-morrow or ephemeral". Otherwise श्वस्यः and श्वस्तनः ॥

सन्धिवेलाद्युत्तुनक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्धि-वेलाद्, ऋतु-नक्षत्रेभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्धिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

16. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses,

after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालान् is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars उम् ॥ The repetition of अम् debars उ also in the case of those words, which are Vṛiddha in this list (IV. 2. 114). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्ध्यम् (2) वैष्णवम्, शैशिरम् (3) तैष्यम्, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ season and asterisms respectively.

The affix अम् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival, as सावत्सरं फलं or पर्व ॥

1 सन्धिवेला, 2 संध्या, 3 अमावास्या, 4 चयोरदशी, 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पञ्चदशी, 7 पौर्णमासी, 8 प्रतिपद्, 9 संवत्सरात्फलपर्वणोः ॥

प्रावृष एण्यः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-एण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषाद्वादिण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

17. The affix एण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष ॥

This debars the अम् of the last sūtra, though 'prāvṛṣh' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season."

वर्षाभ्यष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षाभ्यः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षावाद्वाद्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

18. The affix ठक् comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अम् of IV. 3. 16. Thus वार्धिकमनुलेपनम् । The इक् has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 here.

छन्दासि ठक् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दासि-(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षावाद्वाद् छन्दासि विषये उम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

19. In the Chhandas, the word 'varsha' takes the affix ठक् in the remaining senses.

This debars ठक्. The form will be the same, but there will be difference in accent. As नभश्च नभस्यश्च वार्दिकावृत् ॥ The word वृत् here means "month." i. e. Nabha and Navasya are two rainy months.

वसन्ताच्च ॥ २० ॥ वसन्तात्-च-(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्तवाद्वाद् छन्दासि विषये उम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

20. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word 'vasanta.'

This debars मण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus मधुञ् मधुञ् वासन्तिकावृत् ॥

हेमन्ताच्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च उन्वादि विषये ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

21. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'hemanta.'

This debars मण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus सहदञ् सहस्यदञ् हेमन्तिकावृत् ॥ The making of two separate Sūtras of 20 and 21, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of word हेमन्त only is taken.

सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च ॥ २२ ॥ १६१ ने ॥ सर्वत्र-अण्-च-तलोपः-च ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वान्नियोगेन चास्य तकारलोपः ॥

22. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त् of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हेमन्तं वासः 'wintery residence.' हेमन्तमुपलेपनम् ॥

The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sūtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the secular literature.

The word हेमन्त will take मण् by sūtra IV. 3. 16 as हेमन्ती पङ्क्तिः but there is no elision of त् there. Thus there are three forms हेमन्तः (IV. 3. 16), हेमन्तिकं (IV. 3. 21) and हेमन्तम् ॥

सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेव्ययेऽय्यञ्च्युञ्च्युलौ तुद् च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सायम्-चिरम्-प्राह्णे-प्रगे-अव्ययेऽय्यः-च्यु-च्युलौ-तुद्-च- ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्थोऽव्ययेऽय्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यदुप इपलौस्तस्तथेस्तुद् च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चिरपक्ष्यपरिभ्यस्त्रो वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रगत्य उन्वादि गन्तोपश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अमपश्चाद्विमच् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भन्तापोति वक्तव्यम् ॥

23. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes च्यु and च्युल् and their augment is तुद् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also. Thus सायं-ञ्च्यु = सायं-तुद्-ञ्च्यु = सायंतनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'belonging to the evening'. चिरंतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रागेतनम् "what is of the early morn".

The word सायं is a word ending in म् and is an Indeclinable. These

affixes would also come by virtue of its being an Indeclinable, after that साञ्च ॥ The present साञ्च is derived from the root ङ् by adding the affix ञच् ॥ It always ends in ञ् when these affixes are added. The word चिर always ends in ञ् ॥ प्राहणे and प्रणे always end in ञ् ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are सोषातनम् 'belonging to the night'. दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day'.

*Vart* :—The affix ञ् comes after the words चिर, परन् and वरारि ॥ As चिरञ्चम्, परञ्चम्, and वरारिञ्चम् ॥

*Vart* :—The ञ् of प्रण in elided in the Chhandas before this affix ञ्. as, प्रञ्चम् ॥

*Vart* :—The affix ङिञ्च comes after क्षन्, भादि and पश्चात्; as, क्षन्दिञ्चम्, भादिञ्चम् and पश्चिञ्चम् ॥

*Vart* :—So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिञ्चम् ॥

The difference between *tyu* and *tyul* is in accent, Thus साञ्चन्तं and साञ्चन्तं, चिरन्तं and चिरन्तं, प्राहणन्तं and प्राहणन्तं, प्रणन्तं, प्रणन्तं, दिवातनं and दिवातनं, सोषातनं and सोषातनं ॥

विभाषापूर्वाद्वापराद्वाभ्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-पूर्वाद्वा-अपराद्वाभ्याम्-  
(द्वय-द्वयलौ-तुद-च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाहणापराहणघञ्वाभ्यां विभाषा द्वयद्वयलौ प्रत्ययौ भवत, तुद च तयोराणाम् ॥

24. Optionally after the words पूर्वाङ्ग and अपराङ्ग, there are the affixes द्यु and द्युल् and their augment is तुद ॥

In the alternative ङ् of IV. 3. 11 also occurs. As पूर्वाहणन्तं, अपराहणन्तं with *tyu*, or पूर्वाहणिकम् अपराहणिकम् with *thañ*. With *tyul* we have पूर्वाहणन्तं and अपराहणन्तं ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17. When the word is taken as incapable of having the case-affix, we have, पूर्वाहणन्तं or पूर्वाहणन्तः ॥

तत्रजातः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-जातः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणादयो धादयश्च प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतास्तेषामतः प्रभृत्वर्थाः समर्थविभक्तयश्च निदिश्यन्ते ॥ तथेति सममीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

25. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes अच् &c. ष &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV. 2. 92. This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus तत्रजातः = तत्र + अच् = तत्रः 'born in Srughna'. So also माथुरः 'born in Mathura', उत्साः 'born in Utsa', औदपानः 'born in Udupāna',

राष्ट्रियः (IV. 2. 93), अवारपारीणः (IV. 2. 93) शाकलिकः (IV. 2. 117), मान्वाः (IV. 2. 94), मामीणः (IV. 2. 94), काशेयकः (IV. 2. 95) भौम्भेयकः (IV. 2. 95).

प्रावृषष्टप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-ठप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषश्चासानीसमर्याज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. After the word प्रावृषद् being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix ठप् in the sense of produced therein.

This debars एण्य of sūtra IV. 3. 17. The ष् of ठप् is for the sake of accent. प्रावृषि जातः = प्रावृषकः 'produced in the rainy season'.

संज्ञायां शरदो बुञ् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-शरदाः-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरदश्चासानीसमर्याज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix बुञ् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein,' the whole word being a name.

This debars अष् ॥ Thus शरदका इमाः 'the grass called Śāradaka'. शरदका बुञ्जाः 'the pulse called Śāradaka'.

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe शरदं सस्यम् 'the autumnal crop.'

According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sūtras up to IV. 3. 38.

पूर्वाह्णापराह्णाद्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराद् बुन् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्ण-आर्द्रा-मूल-प्रदोष-अवस्कराद्-बुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णादिभ्यः षष्ठेभ्यो बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाश्च ॥

28; The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः, अपराह्णकः This debars IV. 3. 24. आर्द्रकः, मूलकः ॥ This debars अष् of IV. 3. 16. प्रदोषकः This debars ङम् of IV. 3. 14. अवस्करकः This debars the general अष् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

पथः पन्थ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथः-पन्थ-च (बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिचाश्चाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix बुन् comes after the word पथ, in the sense of 'produced therein', and thereby in the room of पथ, the substitute is पन्थ ॥

Thus पथि जातः = पन्थकः 'produced in the way.'

This debars the अच् ॥

अमावास्याया वा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावास्यायाः-वा-(जुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्यास्यवाद्जुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

30. The affix जुन् comes optionally after the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars अच् of IV. 3. 16. Thus अमावास्याकः or अमावास्याः ॥ This affix जुन् is applied to the word अमावास्या also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्वत्त्वात् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus अमावास्याकः or अमावास्याः ॥

अ च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्यास्यचकारकारः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

31. And the affix अ also is added to the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the जुन् and अच् already given. Thus अमावास्याः, अमावास्याकः, अमावास्याः ॥ So also after the word अमावास्या, as अमावास्याः, अमावास्याकः and अमावास्याः ॥

सिन्धुपकराभ्यां कन् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-अपकराभ्याम्-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुस्यपकराभ्याम्कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

32. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix कन् in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kaçchhādi class and takes अच् and जुन् (IV. 2. 133); and अपकर would have also taken अच् under the general rule. This sūtra debars these affixes. Thus सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः ॥

अणञौ च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण-अञौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुपकराभ्याम्कन् ययासंख्यमणञौ प्रत्ययो भवतस्तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

33. And the affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्धवैः and आपकरः ॥

अविष्टाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्धसुहस्तविशाखापादाबहुलात्सुक् ॥ ३४ ॥

पदानि ॥ अविष्टा-फल्गुनी-अनुराधा-स्वाति-तिष्य-पुनर्धसु-हस्त-विशाखा-अपादा-ब-हुलात्-सुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविष्टादिभ्यः षष्ठ्येभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्य आगतस्य जातार्थे लुक् भवति ॥

वास्तकीभ्यः ॥ लुक्प्रकरणे विभारवतीरोहिणीभ्यः क्रियाशुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कल्पुन्यपादाभ्यां दानी वक्तव्यो ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अविद्यापादाभ्यां छापि वक्तव्यः ॥

34. The affix denoting 'born therein' is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishṭhâ', 'phalgunî', 'anurâdhâ', 'svâti', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hasta', 'visâkhâ', 'ashâḍhâ', and 'bahula' all denoting asterisms.

The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I. 2. 49. Thus अविद्यासु जातः = अविद्यः 'produced under Śravishṭhâ'. So also कल्पुनः, अनुराधा, स्वातिः, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विषाखः, अषाढः, बहलः ॥ The 'Bahula' is another Name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥

*Vart:*—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitra' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine affix which would have been elided after the two words Revatî and Rohiṇî, by I. 2. 49. is reordained by IV. 1. 41, because these words belong to गौरादि class.

*Vart:*—The affixes इ and भन् come respectively after कल्पुनी and अषाढौ in forming the Feminine derivatives. As कल्पुनी (IV. 1. 15) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

*Vart:*—The affix छप् also comes after 'Śravishṭhâ' and 'ashâḍhâ' As आविष्टीयः and आपाठीयः ॥

स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानान्त-गोशाल-खरशालात्-  
च-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् गोशालशब्दात्खरशालशब्दाज्जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

35. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting born therein after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gosâla' and 'kharasâla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अश्वस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥

वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्छतमिषजो वा ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वत्स-शाला, अभिजि-  
त्-अश्वयुक्-शतमिषजो-वा (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वत्सशालादिभ्यः परस्य जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य लुग्वा भवति ॥

36. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasâla', 'abhijit', 'asvayuk', and 'satabhik'.

As वत्सशालायां जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजित् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुक्, शतमिक् or शतमिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशाला are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra.



नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्यः-बहुलम् (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्य उच्यते जातार्ये प्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुग्भवति ॥

37. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रोहिणः (IV. 3. 16) मृगशिरा or मार्गशीर्षः (IV. 3. 16).

कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-लब्ध-क्रीत-कुशलाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थोऽकृतादिष्वर्पेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there' 'bought there' 'dexterous therein'.

Thus सौमः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Srughna". So also the words मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

प्रायभवः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राय-भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् व्याप्प्रातिपदिकाव्यायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्रायः means something less than all i. e. abundant. Thus सौमः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Srughna', = कुत्रे प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति. So also मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

This sūtra may appear to be superfluous as being covered by the more comprehensive sūtra लक्षभवः (IV. 3. 53). If प्रायभवः be explained as अनि-स्यभवः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्टक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपजानु-उपकर्ण-उपनीवे-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपजान्वादिभ्यः षष्ठेभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये षष्ठी प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'mostly to be found there,' after the words 'upajānu,' 'upakarna,' and upanīvi,' being in the 7th case in construction.

This debars अण् &c. Thus औपजानुकः, औपकर्णिकः औपनीविकः ।

संभूते ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् व्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् संभूतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix डी and आप्, being in the 7th case in construc-

tion, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein.'

Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूत, all the other words of the sūtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूत does not mean in this sūtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the word जात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy' i. e. भवकल्पितः and प्रमाणातिरेकः ॥

Thus लुप्ते संभवादि = सौम्रः 'what is suited to the country of Srughna.' So also मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The word तत्र is understood here also.

कोशाद्दम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोशात्-दम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोशशब्दाद् दम् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र संभूतइत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

42. The affix दम् comes after the words कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that.'

This debars म् ॥ Thus कोशे संभूतं = कोशयं वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes.'

The word कोश means 'cocoon.' कोशेयः may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon,' and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कोशेय is however कूटि and means 'silken.' Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath,' as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sūtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134, under the heading of विकार rather than of संभूतः ॥

In fact after the sūtra एण्या-दम् (IV. 3. 159), the addition of कोशाच्च would have been more appropriate.

कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-साधु-पुष्प्यत्-पच्यमा-  
नेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः साध्वादिष्वर्थेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good,' 'flowering' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हेमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हेमन्तः प्राकारः शैशिरामनुलेपम् ॥ So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्त्यः कुन्वलताः 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring', शैष्यः पादलाः ॥ So also शरदि पच्यन्ते = शारदाः शालयः "the grains that ripen in autumn". शैष्मा यवाः 'the barley that ripens in summer'.

This sūtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix म् &c.

उत्ते च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्ते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिति च । सप्तमीसमर्थाल्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादुत्ते यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'.

Thus ऐमन्ते उप्यन्ते = ऐमन्ता यवाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' ऐष्णा ग्रीहकः ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in which the anuvṛitti of वृत् only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sūtra.

आश्वयुज्या वृञ् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्वयुज्याः, वृञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आश्वयुजीशब्दाद् वृञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उत्तरे ॥

45. The affix वृञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars वृञ् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या मुक्ताः = आश्वयुज्याका माषाः 'the pulse sown in Āśvayuj.' It is the name of the full-moon in the Asterism of Aśvini. Āśvayuj and Aśvini are the same. Some texts read अश्वनी instead of अश्विनी ॥

ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-वसन्तात्-अन्यतरस्याम्-  
(वृञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मवसन्तशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्यां वृञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उत्तरे ॥ ऋत्वणोपवाहः ॥

46. The affix वृञ् comes optionally after the words 'grishma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown'.

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 16). Thus ऐष्णम् or ऐष्णकम् सत्यम् 'the crop sown in summer'. वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

देयमृणे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देयम्-ऋणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसप्तम्यांस्कालवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकादेयमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति अद् देयमृणं ऋणं सद् भवति ॥

47. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयमृणं = मासिकं "a debt due in a month". आर्द्धमासिकम्, सांख्य-  
तिकम् ॥ Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मांसदेया निष्ठा where no affix is added.

कलाप्यश्वत्थयववुसाद्बुन् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि, अश्वत्थ, यव, वुसात्, बुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि अश्वत्थ यववुस इत्येतेभ्यः कालवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसप्तम्यो देयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बुन् प्र-  
त्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यववुस denoting time

and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलापी &c are words which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the aśvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवबुस 'barley-chaff'. Thus कलापिनिकाले देयमृणं = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season) tails.' अश्वत्थकम् and यवबुसकम् ॥

ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्बुञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-अवर-समात्, बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मावरसमस्यार्थां बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति देयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

49. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt-due' after the words 'grīshma' and 'avarasama'.

This debarbs the अण् and ङञ् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मदेयमृणं = ग्रीष्मकम् ॥ So also अवरसमकम् ॥ This affix causes Vṛiddhi, while बुञ् would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'. The word अवरसमकम् means either आगामिनां संवत्सराणामाद्यवस्तरे देयम् or अतीते वस्तरे देयं यद्यपि न इदम् ॥

संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ङञ् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ संवत्सर-आग्रहायणीभ्यां-ङ-ञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ङञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, षकाराद् ङञ् देयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संवत्सरात्फलपर्वणोरिति पठ्यते ॥

50. The affix ङञ् also (as well as बुञ्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'agrāhāyaṇī' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे देयमृणं = सांवत्सरिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ॥

The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhivcladi Class (IV. 3. 16) and takes अण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sūtra enjoins ङञ् when 'debt' is indicated.

व्याहरति मृगः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्याहरति मृगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालत्रापिनः सप्तमीसमर्थात्प्रातिपदिकार् व्याहरति मृगः इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then wanders', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निशायां व्याहरति मृगः = नैशः "an animal that wanders at night." So also प्राशोषः or प्राशोषिकः (I V. 3. 14) 'a brute that yells in the morning.'

Why do we say वृत्तः 'a beast'? Observe निशावां व्याहरति उच्यते ॥ Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to make noise.' The Sûtra may, therefore, also be translated as : "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83) comes in expressing a wild beast who makes noise at that time".

तदस्य सोढम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्य-सोढम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थोक्तालयाचिनः प्रातिपदिकारस्येति षष्ठपर्ये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थे सोढञ्चेत्तद्वति ॥

52. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कालात् is understood here also. तद् = that : सोढम् = जितम् or अभ्यस्तं "endured or habituated". Thus निशा सहचरितमभ्यसनं = निशा "reading by night". तद् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य = भैद्यः or भैद्यिकः 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night'. So प्रादोषिकः or प्रादोषः ॥

तत्र भवः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थान् व्याप्प्रातिपदिकारश्च इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛitti of कालात् ceases. The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in sūtra तच्च जातः (IV. 3. 25). Thus, सुप्ते भवः = स्त्रीप्तः "who stays in Srughna". मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

The repetition of तच्च in the sūtra though its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the previous sūtras, is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of तदस्य ॥

दिगादिभ्यो यत् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिगादिभ्यः-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग् इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ उरकास्संज्ञायाम् ॥

54. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars अत् and छ ॥ As दिशि भव = दिश्यम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वन्यम् ॥

The words मुख and अपन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुखं 'who stays in the van of the army'. सेनाअपन्यन् 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In

fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उद्क् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उद्क्या = राजस्वल्ग, otherwise we have भौदको मत्स्यः ॥

1 दिग्, 2 वर्ग, 3 पूग, 4 गण, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाप्य ( धाप्या ) 7 मित्र, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पथि-  
न्, 11 रहस्, 12 भलीक, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देष्ट, 16 भादि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 अपन, 20  
मेघ, 21 वृथ, 22 उद्कास्तंज्ञायाम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वंश, 25 वेष्ट ( विष्ट ) 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28  
अनुवंशः ॥

शरीरावयवाद्यः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरीर-अवयवात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरीरावयववाचिनः प्रातिपदिकार्थं प्रत्यययो भवति सप्त भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

55. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अद् ॥ As इन्तेषु भवं = इन्त्यम् 'dental i. e. what stays there, कर्ण्यम्, भोष्यम् ॥ So also पादे भवं = पद्यं (VI. 3. 53), नासिकायां भवं = नस्यम् ॥

दृतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्त्यस्त्यहेर्दञ् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृति-कुक्षि-कलशि-वस्ति-अ-  
स्ति-अहेः दञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो दञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सप्त भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

56. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'dṛiti', 'kukshi', 'kalasi', vasti' 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus शतैयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षेयम्, कालशेयम्, वास्तेयम्, भास्तेयम् and भाहेयम् ॥ भाहेयम् is the name of a poison. The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिशीर गौः, अस्तिमान् = धनवान् ॥

ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीवाभ्यः-अण्- च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीवाभ्याम्प्रात्यययो भवति अकाराद्दञ्च, सप्त भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

57. The affix अण् also (as well as दञ्) comes after the word 'grivā' in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55) ग्रीवासु भवं = प्रवेयम् or प्रैवम् ॥ The word ग्रीवा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sūtra.

गम्भीराञ्ज्यः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम्भीरात्-ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम्भीराद्याद् अञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति सप्त भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवादः ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ बहिर्द्वेषञ्च जनेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ अनुमासाद् यज्ञे ऽपी वक्तव्यः ॥

58. The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhīra'.

This debars अच् ॥ गम्भीरे भव-गम्भीरवच् 'gravity'.

*Vart.*—So also after बहिः, देव and पंचजन. As बाह्यच्, देवच् and पंचजनच् ॥ The final of बहिस् is elided by the vārtika under IV. 1. 85. The word 'daivya' could be also formed under another Vārtika of the same.

*Vart.*—The affix *nya* comes after *chaturmāsa* in the sense of a sacrifice; as, चतुर्मास्यानि व्रतानि, चतुर्मास्यो व्रतः, otherwise चतुर्मासः ॥

अव्ययीभावाच्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावात्-च ( इयः ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकाच्च उच्चः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

59. After an *Avyayībhāva* Compound, the affix *उच्च* is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अच् ॥ The affix *उच्च* however, does not come after every *Avyayībhāva* Compound, but only after the words included in the list of परिमुखादि as given in the *Gaṇapāṭha*.

Thus परिमुखं भव-परिमुख्यच्, So also परिहृन्मध्यच् ॥ Not so औपकुलम्, the word उपकुल not belonging to the class परिमुख ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहृनु, 3 पयोष्ठ, 4 पशुल, 5 औपमूल, 6 खल, 7 परिसीर, 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपस्यल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपय, 13 अनुखड्ग, 14 अनुतिल, 15 अनुशीत, 16 अनुमाच, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुद्रुप, 19 अनुबंध, 20 अनुगद्ग, 21 प्रतिशाल, 22 अनुसाच ॥

अन्तःपूर्वपदाट्ठञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः-पूर्व-पदात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावादित्येव । अन्तःशब्दो विभक्त्यर्थे समस्यते, । तत्पूर्वपदादव्ययीभावाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

|                                                              |                                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| वार्शिकम् ॥ समानशब्दाट्ठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥                        | वार्शिकम् ॥ तस्यैव ॥               |
| वा० ॥ अध्यात्मार्थश्च ॥                                      | वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वरेमाच ठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥   |
| वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वरेहाच ॥                                          | वा० ॥ लोकोत्तरपदाच ॥               |
| वा० ॥ मुखपार्श्वतसारीयं तसन्त्याभ्यामीवः प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः ॥ |                                    |
| वा० ॥ जनपरयोः कुक्च ॥                                        | वा० ॥ मध्यशब्दारीवः ॥              |
| वा० ॥ मण्मीयो च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यो ॥                          | वा० ॥ मध्यो मध्यं दिनञ् चास्मात् ॥ |
| वा० ॥ स्यान्नो लुग्वक्तव्यः ॥                                | वा० ॥ भजिनान्ताच ॥                 |

*Kārikā* समानस्य तस्यैव अध्यात्मार्थेषु चेष्यते ।  
ऊर्ध्वरेमाच रेहाच लोकोत्तरपदाच च ॥  
मुखपार्श्वतसारीयः कुग्जनस्य परस्य च ॥  
इयः कार्योय मध्यस्य मण्मीयो प्रत्ययो तथा ॥  
मध्यो मध्यं दिनञ् चास्मात्स्यान्नो लुगजिनात्तथा ॥

60. After an *Avyayībhāva* compound, having the word *अन्तर्* as prior term, the affix *ठञ्* is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आन्तर्वेदिकम्, आन्तर्गेहिकम् ॥

*Vart.*—The affix उच् comes after समान, as समाने भवं—सामानिकम् ॥

*Vart.*—So also after a word beginning with समान, as, सामानभानिकम्, सामान शेषिकम्.

*Vart.*—So also after the words अभ्यात्, &c as, अभ्यात्मिकम्, आधिदैविकम्, आधिभौतिकम् ॥ The class अभ्यात्मादि is Ākṛitigaṇa.

*Vart.*—So also after ऊर्ध्वन्मः as, और्ध्वदैविकः ॥ The word 'ūrdhva' is a synonym of ऊर्ध्वम् ॥

*Vart.*—So also ऊर्ध्वदेह, as और्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥

*Vart.*—So also after a compound having the word लोक as second term; as, ऐहलौकिकम्, पारलौकिकम् ॥

*Vart.*—The words मुख and पाद्वर्ष ending in त्सु, take the affix ईय; as, मुखतीयम्, पाद्वर्षतीयम् ॥

*Vart.*—The affix ईय comes after जन and पर with the augment कुक्, as जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥

*Vart.*—The affix ईय comes after मध्य, as, मधीयः ॥

*Vart.*—So also the affix मण् and मीय come after मध्य; As. माध्यमम्, माध्यमीयम् ॥

*Vart.*—So also the affix दिनम् ( दिनम् in Padamanjari ) comes after मध्य, whereby it becomes मध्यम् as माध्यन्दिनम् in माध्यन्दिन उपगायति ॥

*Vart.*—There is luk-elision of the affix after the word स्यात्, as, अभ्यस्यात् ॥

*Vart.*—So also there is elision after the words ending in मजिन, as वृक्काजिनः, सिंहाजिनः

ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्-परि-अनु- पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामाद्ग्रामान्तादव्ययीभावात्परि अनु इत्येवंपूर्वाद्उच् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

61. After the word 'grâma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayībhāva), there is the affix उच् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पारिमामिकः, आनुमामिकः ॥

जिह्वामूलाङ्गुलेच्छः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिह्वामूल-अङ्गुलेः- छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिह्वामूलशब्दादङ्गुलिशब्दाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

62. After the words 'jihvâmûla', and 'anguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.



This debars वत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus सिद्धान्तलीवन्, मंगुलीवन् ॥  
वर्गान्ताच्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्गान्तात्-ञ ( छ )

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गान्तान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्च छः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निपद्ये अपोपवाहः ॥

63. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

This debars अण् ॥ As कवर्गावद्, चवर्गावद् ॥

अशब्दे यत्स्वावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशब्दे-यत्-खौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गान्तादिस्थेषु । अशब्दाद्यस्मिन्प्रत्ययार्थे वर्गान्ताप्रातिपदिकान्यतरस्यां वत्खौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यद् and ख are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As वासुदेववर्गः (by यद्), वासुदेववर्गीणः, (by ख), and वासुदेववर्गीकः (by छ) ॥  
पुंसिदिवर्गः 'वर्गीणः' or 'वर्गीकः' ॥

Of course, when the word means 'वर्ग' it takes one affix only i. e. छ ; as कवर्गीय वर्णः 'a letter belonging to क class'.

कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ण-ललाटात्-कन् अलङ्कारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णललाटाद्यङ्गान्तां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निपद्येऽलङ्कारेऽभिधेये ॥

65. The affix कन् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karna' and 'lalât', the word denoting an ornament.

This debars वत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Why do we say 'denoting an ornament, ? Observe कर्ण्यत् 'what is in the ear', ललाट्यत् ॥

तस्य व्याख्यानइति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-व्याख्याने-  
इति-च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति पृथीत्यर्थार्थं व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकाद्वाख्याने अभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भवे च ॥

66. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as, in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानं as well as तत्रभव, the latter being read into the sūtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपां व्याख्यानः = सौपो ग्रन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case-affixes'. So also तैङ्गः 'Taīnga--a Commentary on Verbal affixes' कर्तः 'Kārta--a Commentary on kṛit affixes'. सौप &c. may also mean सुप्सु भव &c.

Why do we say व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः 'after the name of the thing explainable'? The thing to be explained must be a Book, therefore, the affix will not apply to the name of a city &c. For example, if a model be made to describe the city of Pāṭaliputra, such a model will not be named after Pāṭaliputra by the addition of affix. Thus सुक्रोशला is a modal giving a description of Pāṭaliputra. This will not be called Pāṭaliputram.

The anuvṛitti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavāda sūtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛitti of भव into this sūtra also.

बहुचोन्तोदात्तादृश् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुचः-अन्तोदात्तात् ङश् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुचो व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपरिकारन्तोदात्ताद्भवव्याख्यानयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix ङश् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udātta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars भण् ॥ Thus पास्वणाखिकम् 'a commentary of the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ण' ॥ मातानतिकम् 'a commentary on (अनन्त) udātta and anudātta (नन्त)' ॥ The radicals षस्वणस्व and नतानन्त are acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169)

Why do we say बहुचः 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपन्, तेहन् &c. A word of two syllables will take ङक् (IV. 3. 72). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe संहितम् from संहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49)

क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतु-यज्ञेभ्यः, च ( ङश् ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ क्रतुभ्यो यज्ञेभ्यश्च व्याख्यातव्यनामभ्यः प्रातिपरिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix ङश् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajña.

This debars भण् ॥ Kratu :—अग्निहोमिकः 'a commentary on a work on Aginshṭoma sacrifices? वाजपेयिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ yajña:—पाकयज्ञिकः, नावयज्ञिकः ॥

This sūtra refers to words which are not antodātta. The words 'vājapeya' and 'rājasūya' are acute in the middle.

The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifices only, Thus पाञ्चौरानिकः, राघोरानिकः ॥

The sūtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68).

अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायेषु-एव-ऋचे, (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषिचन्द्राः प्रवरनामेष्वानि तेभ्य ऋषिचन्द्रेभ्यो भवप्याख्यानयोर्यथोऽयम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix ठञ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Rishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyāya only.

The word ऋषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list. The word so formed means always an Adhyāya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः is understood in this sūtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a Rishi".

Thus वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा - वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः "Vāsishṭhika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha". वैश्वामित्रिकः 'a chapter of commentary on Viśvāmitra'.

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात् छन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पौरोडाश-पुरोडाशात्-छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौरोडाशचन्द्रात्पुरोडाशचन्द्राच्च भवप्याख्यानयोर्यथोऽयम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix छन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'purodāsa' and 'purodāsa'.

The verses on the purification &c of Purodāsa 'a sacred cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such purodāsa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः. Its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). A book on Purodāsa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). The commentary here refers to the 'mantras' or verses relating to Purodāsa, and not to the sacrifice.

छन्दसो यदणौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-यत्-अणौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दः चन्द्रात्प्रव्याख्यानयोर्यथोऽयम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the word Chhandas.

This debarbs ङक् of the following sūtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्सः ॥

द्वयजुद्ब्राह्मणकेप्रथमाध्वरपुरध्वरणनामाख्याताद् टक् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वयच्-  
 ऋत्-ब्राह्मण-ऋक्-प्रथम-अध्वर-पुरध्वरण-नाम-आख्यातात्-टक् ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो व्याख्यातव्यनामभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix टक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short ऋ, and the words 'brāhmana', 'rik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharana', 'nama', 'akhyata' and 'namakhyata', being the names of explainable works.

This debars अण् and इम् ॥ 1. Dissyllabic:—द्वैटिकः, पाशुकः ॥ 2. Ending in ऋ:—चातुर्होतृकः, पांचहोतृकः ॥ So also ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्थिकः, प्रायमिकः, आभारिकः, पौरध्वरनिकः, नामिकः, आख्यातिकः, नामाख्यातिकः ॥

अणुगयनादिभ्यः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणु-ऋगयनादिभ्यः ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ ऋगयनादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the words 'rigayana' &c.

This debars टम्, टक् and छ ॥ आर्गयनः, पारव्याख्यानः ॥

The repetition of अण् in the sūtra, though the annuvṛitti of this affix was coming from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavāda rule to the words in this list. Thus वास्तुविद्यः ॥

1 ऋगयन, 2 पारव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोमान, 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविधिति, 6 न्याय, 7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण, 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 अङ्गविद्या, 14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात, 16 उत्पाद, 17 उच्चाव, 18 संवत्सर, 19 मुहूर्त, 20 उपनिषद्, 21 निमिष, 22 शिक्षा, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दोविजिनी 25 व्याज. ॥

तत आगतः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ततः, आगतः ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ तत इति पञ्चमीसमर्थात् आगत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word being in 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus सुप्रासागतः = सौत्नः 'what has come from Srughna'. मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ।

ठगायस्थानेभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ टक्-आयस्थानेभ्यः ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ आय इति स्वाभिप्राह्यो भाग उच्यते स यस्मिन्नुत्पद्यते तदायस्थानम् । आयस्थानवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

75. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix टक् in the sense of 'come thence'.

The word आग means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of आग is called आगत्याग ॥

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus शौल्कशास्त्रिकः 'what is derived from custom house'. आकरिकम् 'revenue derived from mines'.

The plural in the sūtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68).

शुण्डिकादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७६ ॥ शुण्डिकादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस आगत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

76. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c.

This debars डक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः ॥

The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV. 3. 73, वापक-वाधनार्थम् ॥ As ओरपानः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्यण्डिल, 4 उरपान, 5 उपल. 6 तीर्य, 7 मृनि, 8 वृण, 9 पर्व. ॥

विद्यायोनि-संबन्धेभ्यो बुञ् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विद्या-योनि-संबन्धेभ्यः-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिकृतः संबन्धो येषां ते विद्यायोनि-संबन्धाः ॥ तद्वाचिभ्यः एतेभ्यो बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस आगत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

77. The affix बुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनि-संबन्धाः ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix बुञ्. This debars अण् and छ. Thus उपाध्यायारागतम् = औपाध्यायकम् 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' शिष्यकम्, आचार्यकम् ॥ So also योनिसंबन्धः as मातामहकः 'wealth derived from a maternal grand-father.' पितामहकः, मातुलकः ॥

प्रदुतष्टञ् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनि-संबन्धेभ्य इत्येव । ऋकारान्तेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विद्यायोनि-संबन्धवाचिभ्यश्च ऋत्-यो भवति तस आगत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

78. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short ऋ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars डम् ॥ Thus होतरागतम् = होतृकम् 'derived from Hotri' पौतृकम् ॥ So also of 'blood,' as :—भातृकम्, स्वातृकम्, मातृकम् ॥

The ह् in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long ऋ ॥

When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सावित्रम् ॥

पितुर्यच्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितुः-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति अकारादुच्च तत भागत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

79. The affix यत् as well as उच्च comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितुरागतं = पैतृकं or पित्र्यम् (VII. 4. 27. and VI. 4. 148) 'paternal—i.e. wealth inherited from father.'

गोत्राद्भूवत् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्-अद्भूवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रप्रत्ययान्ताव्यातिपरिकारद्भूवत्प्रत्ययविधिर्भवति तत भागत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

80. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

The word गोत्र in the sūtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting अद्भू are taught in IV. 3. 126 and 127. The affix वुष् of IV. 3. 126 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sūtra, not merely the affix अष् of IV. 3. 127, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus औपगवानामद्भूः = औपगवकः 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu.' So also कापटवकः, नाडायनकः, चारायणकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपगवेभ्य भागतम् = औपगवकम्, कापटवकम्, नाडायनकम्, चारायणकम् (formed by वुष् IV. 3. 126).

Similarly वैदः, गार्गः, दाक्षः formed by अष् of IV. 3. 127 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gārgyas, the Dākshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. The word इत् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in कालेभ्यो भवत् (IV. 2. 34), चरणेभ्यो धमवत् (IV. 2. 46).

हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-मनुष्येभ्यः, अन्यतरस्या-  
म्-रूप्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्चान्यतरस्यां रूप्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत भागत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

81. The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause,' or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समासागतं = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause.' So also विषयरूप्यम् or विषयीयम् ॥ So of men

also हेवस्तकम्बन् or हेवस्तन् (IV. 1. 83) 'what originates with हेवस्तन्', ब्रह्मस्तकम्बन् or ब्रह्मस्तन् ॥

The word हेतुमनुष्येषुः is in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68). does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in II. 3. 23: and according to the jñāpaka in the present sūtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु, ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II. 3. 25.

मयद् च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-ञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येषुश्च मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

82. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayat' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus सप्तमयम्, विषममयम्, हेवस्तमयम्, ब्रह्मस्तमयम् ॥

The इ of मयद् indicates that the feminine of these words are formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), as, सप्तमयी ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondencce (I. 3. 10) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येषुःशोऽन्यतरत्वां कम्बनयदौ ॥

प्रभवति ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इत्येव । पञ्चमीसमर्थान् रूपाप्रगतिपदिकात्मभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

83. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of 'what appears for the first time'.

The word ततः is understood in the sūtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हेमवती "The Haimavati", a name of the Ganges, meaning 'which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown'. So also दारदी "The Dārādī" i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तत आतः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

विदूराङ्ग्यः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदूराङ्-ङ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदूराङ्गाम् ङ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ततः प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Karika

वालवायो विदूर् च प्रकृत्यन्तरेष वा ।

न वै तत्रेति चेद्भ्रूयाज्जिस्वरीवहुपाचरेत् ॥

84. The affix च comes, in the sense of 'what manifests itself there', after the words 'vidûra'.

This debars वल् ॥ Thus विदूरात् प्रभवति = वैदूर्यः 'a kind of gem found at Vidûra'. The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidûra, but in a mountain called वालवाय ॥ Vidûra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to वालवाय, when the latter word is replaced by विदूर; such substitute being only shown in the sûtra, the appropriate sthâni (vâlavâya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidûra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidûra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vâlavâya by the name of Vidûra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvarl.

तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-गच्छति-पथि-दूतयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्गच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति योऽसौ गच्छति पन्थाच्च चेत् स भवति दूतो वा ॥

85. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'what goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus सुप्रगच्छति = सौघ्नः "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna." So also मायुरः ॥ The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Why do we say पथिदूतयोः "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe सुप्रं गच्छति सार्यः 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निष्क्रामति-द्वारम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयासमर्थादभिनिष्क्रामतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत् स अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारं चेद् भवति ॥

86. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus सौघ्नः 'a gate which looks towards Srughna',—as a gate of Kânyakubja. So also मायुरम्, राट्टियम् ॥

Objection. The sûtra would have stood better as अभिनिष्क्रमणं द्वारं, for by using अभिनिष्क्रामति, you make the word द्वारं as if it was a being endowed with sense.

Ans. This objection may be answered by saying that the gate is the well-known instrument (करण) to the action of अभिनिष्क्रमणं; and an instrument may be used as an agent to a verb: as साश्वसिच्छिनत्ति 'the sword cuts nicely.'



Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate"? Observe सुभद्रामधिकृत्यमति प्रसङ्गः 'a person faces towards Srughna'.

अधिकृत्य कृते मन्थे ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकृत्य-कृते-मन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थादधिकृत्य कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वयापिहितं प्रत्ययो भवति अतस्तुल्यं मन्थये-  
त्स भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुभाष्यायिकार्यत्वं प्रत्ययत्वं बहुलम् ॥

87. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject,' when the thing made is a 'book.'

The word अधिकृत्य means 'aiming at' 'alluding to, referring to.' Thus सुभद्रामधिकृत्य कृतोमन्थः = लोभद्रः 'Saubhadra or a book relating to the history of Subhadra.' So also गौरिनिबन्धः, वासवतः, किरातार्जुनीयम् ॥

Why do we say मन्थे 'when meaning a book'? Observe, सुभद्रामधिकृत्यकृतः प्रासादः 'a palace built in memory of Subhadra'; where there is no affix.

Vart:—The affix is elided diversely when the book is a story. Thus वासववस्तामधि कृत्य कृता ऽऽ वयायिका = वासववसा "Vasavadattā, a story relating to Vāsavadattā." सुमनोहरा, उर्वशी ॥ Sometimes the elision does not take place, as भैरवी ॥

शिशुकन्दयमसमद्वन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिशु-कन्द-यमस-  
म-द्वन्द्व-इन्द्र-जननादिभ्यः-श्छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिशुकन्दादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति अधिकृत्य कृते मन्थे ॥ अणोपवाहः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इन्द्रे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः ॥

88. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz 'sisukranda,' 'yamasabha,' the Dvandva-compounds, and the words 'indra-janana' &c.

The word छर् (IV. 3. 85) and अधिकृत्य कृते मन्थे should be read into the sūtra. This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुकन्दीयः 'a book treating of the crying of infants.' यमसभः 'a book relating to the court of Yama'. A Dvandva-Compound: as, भूमिकाश्यपीयः, इयेनकपोतीयः, चाब्धार्थसंबन्धीयम् प्रकारणं, वाक्यपरीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are ākritigaṇa, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, प्रद्युम्नागमनीयम् &c.

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the Dvanda-Compounds देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् 'the book of the wars of the Gods and Demons.' पक्षीसुरम् गोणमुख्यम् ॥

The words विपुक्रन् and वनसन् might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sūtra, is merely for the sake of amplification.

सोस्य निवासः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः-अस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थात्स्येति षष्ठपर्यं वयापिहितं प्रत्ययो भवति वय्यथमासमर्थे निवासशेत्स भवति ॥

89. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place'

The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. अस्य 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. निवासः, shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. निवास means "a country i. e. where a person lives (nivasanti asmin)".

सुप्तो निवासोऽस्य-सौप्तः 'a present dweller of Srughna', मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

अभिजनश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिजनः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्येत्येव । स इति प्रथमासमर्थात्स्येति षष्ठपर्यं वयापिहितं प्रत्ययो भवति वय्यथमासमर्थमभिजनशेत्स भवति ॥

90. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between निवासः and अभिजनः is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (अभिजनाः) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus सौप्तः 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'. मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of 'abhijana' only runs.

आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधजीविभ्यः-छः-पर्वते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्याभिजन इति वर्तते । आयुधजीविभ्य इति तारर्थ्ये चतुर्थी, पर्वतइति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थात्स्येति षष्ठपर्यं छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word आयुधजीवी means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase सोऽस्याभिजनः is to be read into the sūtra. Thus हृद्गोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविनां-हृद्गोलीयाः 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hridgola mountain'. So also अन्धकवर्चीयाः, रोहितगिरीयाः ॥

Why do we say आयुधजीविभ्यः? Observe भार्षोदा ब्राह्मणाः "the Brahmanas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains". Why do we say 'mountains'? Observe. सांकाश्यका आयुधजीविनः ॥

शाण्डिकादिभ्यो ङ्यः ॥ ९२ ॥ शाण्डिकादिभ्यः, ङ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपरिकेभ्यो ङ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति सौप्त्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोरपवाहः ॥

92. The affix ङ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शाण्डिक &c.

This debars अच् &c. Thus शाण्डिक्यः, सार्वसेन्यः &c.

1 शाण्डिक, 2 सार्वसेन 3 सार्वकेष, 4 षक, 5 षट्, (षट्), 6 एक, 7 सङ्ख्य, 8 बोध.

सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्यो ऽणञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-तक्षशिलादिभ्यः, अण्-अञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिषट्कः प्रत्येकमभिसंबन्धते । सिन्धादिभ्यः प्रातिपरिकेभ्यस्तक्षशिलादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यमणमौ प्रत्ययो भवतः सौप्त्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

93. The affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshasila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'.

Thus सिन्धवः, सार्वकः ॥

Many of the words occurring in Sindhu-class, are found in Kachchh-ādi class (IV. 2. 133) also. Those words would have taken अच् by sūtra IV. 2. 133. The present sūtra prevents the affixing of ङ्य (IV. 2. 134) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sūtra IV. 2. 134, when the further significance of अभिजनः is added to them.

So also ताक्षशिलः, वास्तोदरणः &c.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्ण, 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 साल्व, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस), 10 सरस् (सरस्), 11 गान्धका (गन्धिका), 12 कुलून, 13 विरसा. ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वास्तोदरण, 3 कैमेरुर (कौमेरुर), 4 घामणी, 5 छगल\*, 6 क्रोष्टुकर्य (कर्मकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 किनर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डवारण), 11 पर्यत\*, 12 भवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सरालक.

तूदीशालातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराद्दक्छण्डयकः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूदी-शालातुर-वर्मती-कूचवारात्, दक्-छण्-दञ्-यकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूद्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्थ्यः छन्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं चत्वार एव दक् छण् दञ् यक् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति सौप्त्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोरपवाहः ॥

94. After the words तूदी, शालातुर, वर्मती, and कूचवार, come respectively the affixes दक्, छण्, दञ्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars अच् ॥ Thus तूदीयः, शालातुरीयः, वर्मतेयः and कौचवार्यः ॥

भक्तिः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समर्थविभक्तिः प्रत्ययार्थानुवर्तते । अभिजन इति निवृत्तम् । स इति प्रथमासमर्थारथ्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं भक्तिश्चेत्तद्वति ॥

95. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sūtra means 'serving'; 'worshipping' or 'loving'.

Thus वृषो भक्तिरस्य = व्रौषः 'a person who is loyal to Srughna'. So also मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word अभिजनः ceases. The word सः and अस्य should be read into the sūtra.

अचित्ताद्देशकालादठक् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्तात्, अदेश-कालात्, ठक् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ देशकालव्यतिरिक्तादृषित्तवाचिनः प्रातिपरिकादठक्प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये; अपोपवादः ॥

96. After a word denoting a thing not having consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix ठक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debars अन्; and छ also. Thus अपूपामक्तिरस्य = भाषूपिकः 'a person who loves cakes'. शाकुलिकः, पायसिकः ॥

Why do we say 'not having consciousness'? Observe देवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe व्रौषः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe शैर्षः 'who loves Summer'.

महाराजादठक् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराजात्, ठक् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दाद् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन् विषये । अपोपवादः ॥

97. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars अन् ॥ As महाराजिकः 'who loves or serves the Mahārāja'. The difference between this ठक् and the ठक् of the last aphorism, is in accent only.

वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां बुन् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वासुदेव-अर्जुनाभ्याम्, बुन् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वासुदेवार्जुनशब्दाभ्यां बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छानोरपवादः ॥

98. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after the words 'Vāsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and अन् ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Q. The word वासुदेव being the name of a Kshatriya would have taken बुन् by the next sūtra, and there is no difference here between बुन् and बुष्, why then include the word वासुदेव in this sūtra?

A. The word वासुदेव here is the name of God (in which all dwell वसति भस्मिन्) and not the designation of a Kshatriya.

By the general rule of compounds (II. 2. 34) a word of fewer vowels is placed first, and so Arjuna ought to have been placed first. The not doing so in this sūtra indicates (jñāpaka) the existence of this rule 'that a word denoting an object of reverence is placed first.'

गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं बुम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यः-बहुलम्-बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्राख्येभ्यः क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बहुलं बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्व भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । भगोपवाहः ॥

99 The affix बुम् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debarbs अण् and छ. Thus: ग्लौघुकायनक 'who loves or serves &c Gluchukāyani.' So also भौपगवकः, कापटवकः ॥ Kshatriyas:—नाकुलकः, साहदेवकः, साम्बकः ॥

The word भाख्यां in the sūtra indicates that the words should be the names of *well-known* or *famous* Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुलं shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनो भक्तिरस्य = पाणिनीयः, पौरवीयः ॥

The word गोत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वे जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदिनाम्, जनपदवत्, सर्वम्, जनपदेन, समान, शब्दानाम्, बहुवचने ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदिनो ये बहुवचने जनपदेन समानशब्दास्तेषां जनपदवत्सर्वे भवति प्रत्ययः प्रकृतिश्च सोऽस्व भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

100. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis. जनपदिनाम् gen. plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Kshatriya-Princes, बहुवचने 'in the plural', जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the janapada denoting word', जनपदवत् सर्वम् 'every thing is like jana-pada'. In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya Princes which in the plural have

the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word.' Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sūtras IV. 2. 124 &c. and those affixes will apply here. Thus भङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्त्व = भाङ्गकः formed by बुम् of Sūtra IV. 2. 125, meaning 'who loves the country of Aṅgās' Similarly वाङ्गकः, सौम्यकः, पोन्नकः ॥

Similarly भङ्गाः क्षत्रियाः भक्तिरस्त्व = भाङ्गकः formed by the same affix बुम्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas called Aṅgās'. So वाङ्गकः, सौम्यकः &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriyā Princes'; (janapadinām). Observe, पंचाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्त्व = पांचालाः ॥ Here the general affix भञ् is employed.

The word सर्व is used in the sūtra to show that not only the affixes are the same, but the bases to which the affixes are added will be the same. In the plural, the Kshatriya and the Janapada bases have the same form, but in the singular and dual, the forms of Kshatriya-bases are different. Thus मद्रस्यापत्यं = sing. माद्रः (IV. 1. 170) dual, माद्रौ pl. मद्राः. The form मद्राः denotes both 'the Kings or Kshatriyas of Madrās' as well as 'the country called Madrās'. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्त्व = मद्रकः ॥ So also in the singular and dual, मद्राः will be the base to which the affix will be added. Thus माद्रो भक्तिरस्त्व माद्रौ वा भक्तिरस्त्व = मद्रकः ॥ Similarly वाज्यं (from वाञ्चि IV. 1. 171), as, वाज्यौ वा भक्तिरस्त्व वाज्यौ वा भक्तिरस्त्व = वाञ्चिकः ॥

Why do we say जनपदेन समानं शब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janapada word'? Thus अनुषण्डो जनपदः, पौरवो राजा स भक्तिरस्त्व = पौरवीयः ॥ Here Paurava and Anushaṅḍa have not the same sound.

The word बहुवचने is used in the sūtra, to indicate, that, though the समानं शब्दानां or 'the similarity of word-form', occurs in the plural number only, yet this atideśa rule applies to the same words in the singular and dual also. For in the plural, the form will be same, because there the Tadrāja affix is elided; but in the singular and dual, the Tadrāja affix is not elided, and therefore, the word denoting a principality and the word denoting a prince will not have the same form; but this rule applies there also. As वाङ्गः or वाङ्गो भक्तिरस्त्व वाङ्गकः ॥

तेन प्रोक्तम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, प्रोक्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति वृत्तीयासमर्थोक्तमित्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्तं means प्रकथेणोक्तं 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृतं

has been already taught in the sūtra कृते ग्रन्थे (IV. 3. 16). Thus ग्रन्थेन कृता मायुरेव प्रोक्ता - मायुरी वृत्तिः ॥ राजिनीयर् 'the system of grammar enounced by Papini' भाषिद्यत्तर्, काण्डकृत्तर् ॥

Works like Chhandas which were made (कृतं) by nobody, but which were promulgated (प्रोक्तं) from time of time by inspired commentators, may be quoted as examples of the application of this sūtra. Or it may apply to the case of a book whose author is another, but whose promulgator or expounder is another. In short, speaking roughly, प्रोक्त is a 'revelation', and कृतः is a 'composition', one a revealer or prophet, the other an author.

According to some, this sūtra is almost a superfluity. They argue thus: The word प्रोक्त is formed by adding प्र to वच् and means 'to lecture' 'to teach', and also the 'means of such teaching &c'. In the first sense of 'lecturing or teaching', the affix is not found. For in every village there are persons who teach or lecture upon Kāṭha, Kalāpa &c. For example सुचर्यन् may be such a lecturer, but we do not say सुचर्यन् प्रोक्तं काण्डकं - सौचर्यन् ॥ Moreover, where we find this affix employed, it is with regard to Books, for which the rule कृते ग्रन्थे is sufficient. If it be said that it should be taught for the Chhandas: that is also unnecessary, as the Vedas are not कृत but eternal, the agent only remembers them. If it be said, it refers to the sense of the Vedas, the same objection applies as to the first. But the letter of the Veda is not eternal, it is the sense that is eternal. Therefore the Rishis who revealed, for the first time, at the beginning of a Kalpa, the sense of the Veda, in appropriate language will be called its promulgators, and the works so revealed will be named after such Rishis, as काण्डकर्, कालापकर् and भारुकर् ॥ This sūtra, however, is confined to those cases where the author of the book is one person and its promulgator is another: as मायुरी वृत्तिः ॥

तित्तिरि-वरतन्तु-खण्डिको-स्त्रा-च्छण् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्तिरि-वरतन्तु-खण्डिक-उक्त्वात्-उच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तित्तिर्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्वप्ये । अथोपवादः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ घौनकारिभ्यश्च उन्वसीत्यभास्यानुवृत्तेऽन्वोपिकारविहितानां च तद्विषयवेष्यते ॥

102. The affix छण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khandika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तित्तिरीयाः 'those who learn (IV. 2. 64) the Veda enounced by Tittiri'. वारतन्तवीयाः, खण्डिकीयाः, भौलीयाः ॥

According to Kāśikā this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to secular ślokas, as तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तं श्लोकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sūtra IV. 3. 106. and तद्विषयता from IV 2 66.

काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यप-कौशिकाभ्याम्,  
ऋषिभ्याम्, णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपकौशिकघञ्साभ्यामृषिवाचिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छ-  
त्यापवादः ॥

103. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kāśyapa' and 'Kausika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ. The ष of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛiddhi (useful in the subsequent sūtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the Kalpa enounced by Kāśyapa', कौशिकिनः ॥ Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe इदानीन्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यपेन प्रोक्त-काश्यपीयम् "a work enounced by a modern Kāśyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kāśyapa : not a Rishi'.

कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तं वासिभ्यश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि-वैशम्पायन-अ-  
न्तिवासिभ्यः, च (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलाप्यन्तं वासिनां वैशम्पायनान्ते वासिनां च वै वाचकाः घञ्सास्तेभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ते-  
न प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

*Kārika*

हरिद्वरेषां प्रथमस्तत्तच्छगलितुम्बुक ।  
उलपेन चतुर्थेन कालापकनिर्दोष्यते ॥  
आलम्बिभरकः प्राचां पलङ्गकमलावली ।  
कृषाभारुणिताण्डशाम मङ्गलीयास्त्रयोऽपरे ॥  
इयामायन उदीच्येषु उक्तः कठकलापिनोः ।

104. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalāpī, and 'Vaisampāyana,' the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him.'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalāpā : as, हरिद्रु, छगली, तुम्बुक, उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaisampāyana : as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, कृषाम, भारुणि; ताण्ड्य, इयामायन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हरिद्रुविणः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the works enounced by Haridru.' तम्बुविणः, शोलविणः and छगली takes ḍhinuk IV. 3. 109 ॥ आलम्बिनः, पालङ्गिनः, भारुणिनः, आर्षाभिनः, कामलिनः, ताण्डिनः, इयामायनिनः ॥ The affix is elided after कठ (IV. 3. 107), and is replaced by अण् (IV. 3. 108) after कलापी ॥

The pupils must be direct ones, and not pupil of pupils. For had that been the meaning, Kalāpī being a pupil of Vaisampāyana, the words 'pupils of Vaisampāyana' would have included the 'pupils of Kalāpī.' But that is not so, the word Kalāpī being separately mentioned in the sūtra. So



also Kāṭha is a pupil of Vaiśampāyana, and Khāḍāyana is a pupil of Kāṭha and had the sūtra applied to pupil's pupil also, then the affix णिनि would have applied to त्याडावन also. But that is not the case, Khāḍāyana being mentioned in Śaunakādi class. (IV. 3. 106).

The word चरकः means वैद्यम्पादनः, hence चरकाः means pupils of वैद्यम्पादनः ॥

पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुराण-प्रोक्तेषु-ब्राह्मण-कल्पेषु (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणनेतत् । वृत्तीयसमर्थाद्योक्ते णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति यद्योक्तं पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति ॥

105. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sūtra further gives the sense of the affix. पुराण means 'Ancient Sages,' equivalent to पुरातन. Of Brāhmaṇa literature, the examples are, शाब्बाच्यनिः-एतदयणः ॥ Kalpa work : as पेद्गीकल्पः, भारुणपराजी ॥

Why do we say पुराणप्रोक्तेषु 'announced by ancient sages'? Observe वाजसनेयानि ब्राह्मणानि, भाद्रपदः कल्पः ॥ (VI. 4. 151) Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The तद् विषय affix (IV. 2. 66) will not also apply to these, because the word ब्राह्मण in IV. 2. 66 is restricted to पुराणप्रोक्त of the present sūtra.

शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौनकादिभ्यः-छन्दसि-(णिनिः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ शौनक इत्येवमादिभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दस्यभिधेये । छाये-रपवादः ॥

106. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after the words शौनक &c, in denoting Chhandas.

This debarbs छ and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शौनकनिः 'who study (IV. 2. 64) the Chhandas enounced by Śaunaka.' वाजसनेयिनः &c.

Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas'? Observe शौनकीया शिक्षा 'the orthography of Śaunaka.'

The word कठशाठ occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix. After the single word कठ the affix is elided (IV. 3. 107). Thus कठशाठार्थां प्रोक्तमधीयते = काठशाठिनः ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 शार्ङ्गरव, 4 शापेय (सापेय), 5 शाप्येय (शाखेय), 6 त्याडावन, 7 स्तम्भ (स्कम्भ), 8 स्कन्ध, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुभार, 11 रज्जुकण्ठ, 12 कठशाठ, 13 कषाठ (कषाठ), 14 तल\*, 15 षण्ड\*, 16 पुरुषांसक (पुरुषासक), 17 अद्वेषज (अध्वपेय), 18 साङ्गरव, 19 स्कन्ध, 20 देवदत्तशाठ, 21 तलवकार.

कठचरकाल्लुक् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कठ-चरकात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कठचरकेश्चशाभ्यां परस्य प्रोक्तप्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । कठचश्चाद्वैद्यम्पायनान्तेवाशिष्य इति णिने-  
चरकेश्चादप्यपः ॥

107. The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is elided, by luk-substitution, after the words *Kaṭha* and *Charaka*.

The word कठ would have taken णिनि as it is a वैद्यम्पायनान्तेवासी word : and चरक would have taken the affix अण् ॥ Both are elided. Thus कठः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Kaṭha'. चरकाः &c.

The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this sūtra. Observe काठः चारकोः श्लोकाः ॥

कलापिनो ऽण् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापिनः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि चश्चादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वैद्यम्पायनान्तेवासिस्वाण्णनेरपवाहः  
वार्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य हिलोपे सन्नद्यचारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकुपुमितैतलिआअलिआङ्गलिलाङ्गलिचिलालिचिख-  
ण्डिसूकरसधसुपर्वणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

108. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word *Kalāpi*.

This debars णिनि of IV. 3. 104. Thus कलापाः 'who study the work enounced by Kalāpi'.

The word कलापाः is thus formed :—कलापिन् + अण् ॥ Here comes in force Sūtra VI. 4. 144 which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix. This elision is, however, debarred by sūtra VI. 4. 164 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण् not denoting a progeny follows. Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for this Vārtika.

*Vārti* :—The हि portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows :—सन्नद्यचारिन्, पीठसर्पिन्, कलापिन्, कुपुमिन्, तैतिलिन्, आअलिन्, आङ्गलिन्, लाङ्गलिन्, चिलालिन्, चिखण्डिन्, सूकरसधन्, सुपर्वण् ॥ Thus इन् being elided, we have कलापाः ॥

छगलिनो दिनुक् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छगलिनः-दिनुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छगलिन्श्चाद् दिनुक् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । कलाप्यन्तेवासिस्वाण्णिनेर  
पवाहः ॥

109. The affix दिनुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalin'.

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken णिनि (IV. 3. 104). This debars that. Thus छगलोद्यनः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagali'.

पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ पाराशर्य-शिलालि-  
भ्याम्-भिक्षु-नट-सूत्रयोः (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनिरिहानुवर्तते, न दिनुक् । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मि-  
न्निःपद्ये ॥

110. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pârâsarya and Silalin, the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra respectively.

The affix णिनि is to be read into the sûtra and not दिनुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र-  
and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक 'religious mendicants' and नटः 'jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पाराशर + णिनि (VI. 4. 152) = पाराशरिन्, 'the treatise of Pârâsarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly शैलालिन् ॥ These words, of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced by Pârâsarya and Sailâlin'. See IV. 2. 66. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, शैलालिनो नटाः ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV. 2. 66) and never a प्रोक्त alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Naṭa Sûtras'? Observe पाराशरन्, शैलालम् ॥

कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मन्द-कृशाश्वात्-रनिः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वाश्वाभ्यामिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति । भणोपवादः ॥

111. The affix रनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Kriśâsva'.

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sûtra of Karmandin'. कृशादिनो नटाः 'the actors who study the Naṭa Sûtra of Kriśâsvin.' Otherwise कर्मन्दकम् and काशाद्वम् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

तेनैकदिक् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-एकदिक् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थैकदिगित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

The word एक दिक् means सुख दिक् i. e. a common direction. Thus सुदाम्ना एकदिक् = सौदामनी विद्युत् "a lightening, literally that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudâman." So हेमवती, त्रैककुटी, पैलुगुली ॥

The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛitti from IV. 3. 101, is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the उन्व

which regulated all the preceding ten sūtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 which was applied in those sūtras does not apply here.

तसिञ्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तसिञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति तेनैकविगित्येतस्मिन्विषये । पूर्वेण पादिषु अणादिषु च प्राप्तेऽप्यनपरः प्रत्ययो विधीयते ॥

113. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अच् & च & c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables (I. 1. 37). Thus हिमवतः 'in the same direction as Himavat' पीलुमूलतः, सुशामतः ॥

उरसो यच्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसो-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात्तसिञ्च, तेनैकविगित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

114. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ।

Thus उरसा एकदिग् = उरस्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sūtra by force of the word च ॥

उपज्ञाते ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थादुपज्ञातइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. After a word in 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं, i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनिनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् अकालकं व्याकरणं 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pāṇini'. So also काशकृत्स्नम् गुरुलाघवम्, आपिचालम् दुष्करणम् ॥ Compare II. 4. 21. The Pāṇini's Grammar is called अकालकं as it does not define काल or tenses; गुरुलाघव is the name of the sciences of wealth (यज्ञोपायाणां गौरवं लाघवं चिन्त्यते) ॥ The word Duskarāṇa is the name of a Grammar, so-called because of the technical term दुष् occurring in it. Some say it means कामशास्त्रः ॥

कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव तृतीयासमर्थात्कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यन्मकृतं ग्रन्थेऽस्त भवति ॥

116. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिणा कृताः—वाररुचाः श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'. So also हेकृपाशो मन्थः, मैकुराशो मन्थः, आकृकः ॥

Why do we say 'a book'? Observe तक्षकृतः प्रासादः 'the palace made by Taksha'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमर्थात्कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेतसंज्ञाज्ञावदे ॥

117. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name.

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम्—माक्षिकम्, कार्मुकम्, सारपम्, पौन्ड्रिकम् ॥ All these are names of 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', मक्षिका, सरपा and पुषिका meaning 'a bee'. मक्षिका + अम् = मक्षिक (VI. 4. 148). The anuvṛitti of "मन्थ" does not, of course, apply here.

कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुला-लादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति चेतस्सर्वमनुवर्तते । कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

118. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulâla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit. 'made by a potter'. So also वारकमम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 वरुड, 3 खण्डाल, 4 मिषार, 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिरिध्र ( सिरिन्ध्र ), 8 सेरिन्ध्र ( सेन्ध्र ), 9 देवरात्र, 10 परिषद् ( पर्यद् ), 11 वधू, 12 मधु, 13 रुह, 14 रुद्र, 15 अननुद्, 16 ब्रह्मन्, 17 कुम्भकार, 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव. ॥

क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्रा-भ्रमर-वटर-पादपात्,अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति सर्वमनुवर्तते । क्षुद्रादिभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतइत्येतस्मिन्निषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् । भ्रमोपचारः ॥

119. The affix अञ् comes after the words 'kshudrâ', 'bhramara', 'vatara', and 'pâdapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अञ्, there being difference in accent between अञ् and अम् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम्—क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee'. So also भ्रामरम्, वटरम् and पादपम् ॥

तस्येवम् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-इवम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थादिभित्तमित्यतस्मिन् चित्ते यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवत्याणावः पञ्च महोत्सर्गाः ।  
यादवच प्रत्यया यथाविहितं विधीयन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहेस्तुरभिद् च ॥ वा० अग्नीधः घरणे एव न च ॥ वा० ॥ समिधानाधानेष्वयम् ॥

120. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV, 1. 83) and the affixes च &c. (IV. 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोरितम् = औपगवम्, 'of Upagu'. कापटवम्, राष्ट्रियम्, अवारपारणम् ॥ The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c. Thus इवदत्तस्यानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men.

Vart :—The verb वह takes वृ (तृष् and वृश्) and अण् preceded by an इव As, संवोदुः स्वं = सांवरिचम् ॥

Vart :—The affix एम् comes after अग्नीधः, in the sense of 'house', and the base gets the designation of न ॥ As अग्नीधम् ॥ The word अग्नीध being treated as a Bha and not as a Pada, the ध is not changed to इ (VIII. 2. 39).

Vart :—The affix 'sheṇyaṅ' comes after सामिधा, in the sense of placing. Thus सामिधेन्यो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सामिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) कृद् ॥

रथाद्यत् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येवमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवाहः ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ रथसीताहलेभ्यो बाह्वेधाधीते तदन्तविधिरुपसंययाद्यते ॥

121. The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येइ = रथ्यम् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle.' The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot. This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परमरथ्यम्, उत्तमरथ्यम् because of the Vārtika रथसीताहलेभ्यो बाह्वेधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix वत् there is tadanta-vidhi.

पत्रपूर्वादञ् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्रपूर्वात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रपूर्वाद्वाद्यशब्दावम् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येवमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

122. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आह्वरथं चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart.' औह्वरथम् ॥  
गार्धन रथं ॥

The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix वृत् (III. 2. 182).

पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्र-अध्वर्यु-परिषदः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रं वाहनं तद्वाचिनः प्रातिपदिकारध्वर्युपरिषच्छब्दाभ्यां चाम्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पत्राहाये ॥

123. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अश् is added.

This debars अश् ॥ The पत्रं means वाहन ॥ When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अश् added to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus अद्वयस्येवम् वहनीयम् = आद्वयम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by horse.' So also औष्ट्रम्, गार्भम् ॥ So also आभर्षवम् and पारिषवम् ॥

हलसीरादठक् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलसीराद्यशब्दां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये ऽणोपवादः ॥

124. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sira.'

Thus हलस्येवम् = हारिकम्, वैरिकम् ॥

द्वन्द्वाद्वुन् वैरमैथुनिकयोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-वुन्-वैर-मैथुनिकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वसंज्ञकाद्-वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, वैरमैथुनिकयोः प्रत्ययार्थविज्ञेयणयोः ऽणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वैरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship'

This debars अश् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' बाध्म्यशालद्वायनिका, काकोलूकिका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, मन्निभरहाजिका, कुस्तकुषिकिका ॥

The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

VArt :—Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ राक्षोऽसुरम् वैरम् ॥

गोत्रेचरणाद्बुञ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-चरणात्-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिभ्यश्चरणावाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

126. The affix बुञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debars अश् as well छ ॥ Thus gotra:—ग्लोबुकायनकम्, औपगवकम् ॥ According to Patanjali, the word चरण which ordinarily means Vedic School,

means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (āmnaya). Thus कठनां धर्म आम्नायो वा-काठकश्च 'the dharma-Sutras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kāthas'. So also कालापकश्च, नीरकश्च, वैष्णवकश्च ॥

संघाङ्कलक्षणेष्वाञ्ज्यभिन्नामण् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-अङ्क-लक्षणेषु-अञ्-यञ्-इजां, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेष्वमन्ताद् यमन्ताद् इमन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकार्ण-प्रत्ययो भवति तस्यैरमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । पूर्वस्य वृत्तोऽपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घोषग्रहणमत्र कर्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अञ्, यञ् or इञ्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

The word संघ means 'congregation'. The word लक्षण and अङ्क should be distinguished. लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bidās, the Bidās being famous for learning. The word अङ्क is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another: as a mark on a cow showing to what person or clan that cow belongs. The अङ्क though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the लक्षण is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sūtra debarbs वृत् of the last aphorism.

*Vārt* :—The word घोष 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with संघ &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark (3) sign (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

Thus अमन्तान् (IV. 1. 104)—वैदः 'a congregation, or mark or sign or a hamlet of the Bidās'. यमन्तान् (IV. 1. 105)—गार्ग्ये + अण् = गार्ग्यः (VI. 4. 148, 151) 'a congregation, or a mark, or a sign or a hamlet belonging to the Gārgyās? इमन्तान् (IV. 1. 95),—शक्ति + अण् = शक्तिः (VI. 4. 148) 'a congregation &c of the Dākshis'.

The ण् of अण् could not serve the purpose of Vriddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vriddhi by virtue of the affixes अञ्, यञ् or इञ् in which they end. The अ would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vriddhi is concerned, but अण् is used to show that the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), Thus वैदी ॥ It further prevents पुंवद्भाव in compounds (VI. 3. 39), as, वैदी विद्यास्य = वैदीविद्यः i. e. विद्यानामसाधारणी या विद्या सा यस्यास्ति च ॥



शाकलाम्ना ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शाकलात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकलशब्दात्संपादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेषु वाच्यप्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैवमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । इमो-  
पवाहः ॥

128. The affix अण optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word शाकल ॥

This debars इम् ॥ Thus शाकलेन प्रोक्तमपीवते = शाकलः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 64), शाकलानाम् संघः = शाकलः or शाकलकः (IV. 3. 126) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śākala.'

छन्दोगौक्तिकयादिकवह्वृचनटाभ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोग-औक्तिक-  
यादिक-वह्वृच-नटात्, भ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपादयो निवृत्ताः, सामान्येन विधानम् । छन्दोगादिभ्यः स्येभ्योभ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैवमित्ये-  
तस्मिन्विषये । इमोपवाहः ॥

129. The affix भ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhândoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yājñika,' 'bahvricha' and 'nata.'

The anuvṛtiti of संघ &c ceases. The इव debars अम् and इम् ॥ The phrase चरणाद्धमाम्नाययोः from sūtra IV. 3. 126 is understood here and applies even to the word नटा ॥

Thus छन्दोगानां धर्मो वा ऽऽ म्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga.' So also औक्तिक्यम्, यादिक्यम्, बह्वृच्यम् and नाट्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have : छान्दोगं कुलम् 'the family of Chhandoga.'

न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दण्ड-माणव, अन्तेवासिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डमाणवाः, अन्तेवासिनः शिष्या, स्तेष्वभिधेयेषु इम् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

130. The affix इम् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes a 'beginner pupil,' and 'a boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमाणवाः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'daṇḍa' and nothing intrinsic. i. e. a mere beginner. The न is changed to ञ in माणव by IV. 1. 161 kârikâ. अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's house. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus शास्ताः "the junior or the senior pupils of Dākshi." माहकाः ॥ So also गोकर्षो दण्डमाणवा अन्तेवासिनोवा ॥

रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैवमित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

131. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवतिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require वृम् (IV. 3. 126), this ordains छ instead. Thus रैवतिकीवः, स्वापिणीवः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिणि, 3 क्षेमवृद्धि, 4 गौरमीवि (गौरमीव), 5 औदमेधि (औदमेधि), 6 औदवापि (औदवाधि), 7 वैजवापि.

कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौपिञ्जल-हास्तिपदात्-अण् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण्-प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येवमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । गोत्रवृम्प्रोपवाहः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hastipada'.

This debars वृम् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika.

आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ आथर्वणिकस्य, एकलोपः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणित्येव । आथर्वणिकशब्दादण्-प्रत्ययो भवति तस्मिन्नियोगेन चैकलोपः, तस्येवमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । चरणवृम्प्रोपवाहः ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'ātharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars वृम् (IV. 3: 126). Thus आथर्वणिकस्यायम् = आथर्वणो धर्म आम्ना-योवा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणार् धर्मान्नाययोः is understood here. This sūtra is also a vārtika.

तस्य विकारः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, विकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्यादिकार इत्येतस्मिन्निषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof'.

The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its auniṣṭi could have been supplied from the previous sūtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of शेचे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend further. The affixes taught, therefore, under शेचे (IV. 2. 92 &c), such as च, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sūtra: the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter. To give an example under this sūtra, we must take such a word which is not governed or provided for, by the subsequent sūtras. That is the

word must not denote a living animal for to it अच् (IV. 3. 154) applies; it must have udatta on the first syllable, for an anudattādi will have अच् (IV. 3. 140); it must not have a Vridhhi vowel आ, ऐ, or औ in the first syllable, to which मयद् (IV. 3. 144) applies; and it must not be a word specifically mentioned in any one of the following aphorisms. Thus it applies to the words अङ्गम् and भस्मन् formed by मनिच् (Uṇ IV. 146, 145) and to मृत्तिका formed by तिकच् (V. 4. 39) which are ādyudatta owing to निच् accent. Thus अङ्गमनो विकारः = भाङ्गमनः ॥ The ङि is sometimes elided. (VI. 4. 144 Vārt) As भाङ्गनः ॥ So also भाङ्गमनः and मृत्तिकाः ॥

अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवे, च, प्राणी-ओषधि-  
वृक्षेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्योषधिवृक्षवादिभ्यः ञ्भ्येभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यो ऽवयवे यथाविहितं प्रत्यये भवति चकारादि-  
कारे च ॥

135. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sūtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sūtra.

Thus कपोतस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = कापोतः (IV.3.154) ॥ So also मायूरः, तैत्तिः 'a modification, product or part of a peacock &c—viz a fan &c.' So also ओषधिः as, मूर्वेन् 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also वृक्षः as, कारीरं meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Kārlra tree".

In the subsequent sūtras, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.

बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिल्वा इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । यथायोगमभूमयदोरपवादः ।

136. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part,' after the words बिल्व &c.

This debarb अच् and मयद् ॥ Thus बिल्वः 'the modification or part of Bilwa.' The word गन्धुकाः occurs in this list. It would have taken 'अण्' by the next sūtra also; its inclusion in the class of Bilwādi is for the sake of preventing the application of मयद् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 व्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 मुद्ग, 5 मसूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वेणु, 9 गन्धुका, 10 कर्पासी  
11 पारली, 12 कर्कण्डू, 13 कुटीर.

कोपधाच्च ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, उपधात्-च (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधात्प्रातिपदिकावप् प्रत्ययो भवति वधायोगं विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अणोपवाहः ॥

137. After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अम्. Thus तर्कुं तार्कवम्, तित्तिरीक, तैत्तिरीकं; माण्डूकम्, शार्फुकम्, माधूकम् ॥ The word तित्तिरीक &c have acute on the middle (Phit̄ Su. II. 16).

अपुञ्जतुनोः षुक् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपु-जतुनोः-षुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपुञ्जतुनोः षुक् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे. तत्त्वन्नियोगेन तयोः पुगागमो भवति । अणोपवाहः ॥

138. The affix अण् with the augment षुक् comes in the sense of 'its modification,' after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अम् (IV. 3. 139). As, अपुणो विकारः-वापुषम्; जातुषम् "modification of tin and lac." In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix.

ओरञ् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तात्प्रातिपदिकावप् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, एणोपवाहः ॥

139. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part,' (provided that the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus देवदारवम्, भारद्दारवम् ॥ The words देवदारु and भारद्दारु are ādy-udatta owing to Phit̄ Su. II. 14 (पीतद्रव्यानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

अनुदात्तादेश्च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, च (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः प्रातिपदिकावप् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, एणोपवाहः ॥

140. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'modification or part,' after a word having anudatta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus शधिस्यम्, काधिस्यम्, माधिस्यम् ॥ The word शधिस्यम् is an upapada-samāsa of शधि + स्य, the स being changed to श; and it is finally acute by कृत्तुत्तरपद प्रकृतिल्लर ॥

पलाशादिभ्यो वा ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः-वा (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वा ऽम् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

141. The affix **अञ्** comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words **पलाश &c.**

Thus **पौलाशञ्** or **पामाशञ्** so also **खरिञ्** or **खारिञ्**, **श्रीवाशञ्** or **श्रीवार्शञ्** ॥

This sūtra is an example of *prāpta* and *aprāpta vibhāshā*. The words **पलाश**, **खरि**, **श्रीवा** and **स्वम्न** being gravely accented on the first syllable, the affix **अञ्** was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional, and is *prāpta-vibhāshā*. In the case of others it is *aprāpta-vibhāshā*.

1 पलाश, 2 खरि, 3 श्रीवा, 4 स्वम्न (स्वन्न), 5 पूलाश, 6 करि, 7 शिरीष, 8 अश्वत्थ, 9 विकटवृक्ष.

**शम्यादृलञ् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्याः-दृलञ् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शमीशम्याद् दृलञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अत्रोपवाहः ॥

142. The affix **दृलञ्** comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word **शमी**.

This debars **अञ्** ॥ Thus **शमीलं** भस्, **शमीली** बुक् (IV. 1. 60).

**मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभस्याच्छादनयोः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-चा-पतयोः, भाषायाम्, अभस्य-आच्छादनयोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृतिभाषायां मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति भस्याच्छादनवर्धितयोर्विकारावयवयोरर्थयोर्भाषायां विषये वयावयव प्रत्ययेषु प्रातिष्ठ ॥

143. The affix **मयद्** comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of product and part, in secular language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus **अह्नमयद्** or **आह्नमयद्** (IV. 3. 134) **मूर्धामयद्** or **मूर्धयद्** (IV. 3. 135).

Why do we say **भाषायाम्** 'in secular language'? Witness **देल्वः खारितो वा सूपः स्वाद्** ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of'? Observe **मौत्रः सूपः** 'a soup made of kidney beans'. **कार्पासव भाच्छादनम्** ॥

Why the word **एतयोः** 'in those two meanings' is used in the sūtra, when by context, the words **विकार** and **अवयव** were to be read into the sūtra? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 135, 136 &c are replaced also by **मयद्** ॥ Thus **कपोतमयद्** or **कपोतम्** (IV. 3. 135), **लोहमयम्** or **लोहम्** ॥

**नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्यः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, वृद्ध-शरादिभ्यः (मयद्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायामभस्याच्छादनयोरित्येव । वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपरिकेभ्यः शरादिभ्यश्चामभस्याच्छादनयोर्यविकारावयवयोर्भाषायां विषये नित्यं मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of its product or part, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vṛiddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vṛiddha—भास्रमयम्, शालमयम्, शाकमयम् ॥ After शरादि words:—शरमयम्, हर्ममयम्, मुन्मयम् ॥

Why do we use the word नित्यः 'invariably' in the sūtra, when by the mere fact of making a separate sūtra, the affix would be obligatory? The affix मयद्, according to Patanjali comes invariably after words of one syllable. That is done by using the word नित्य in the sūtra. Thus, स्वद् मयम्, सक् मयम्, वाद् मयम् ॥

1 शर, 2 हर्म, 3 मृद्, 4 कुटी. 5 मृज, 6 सोम, 7 बल्वज (बल्वज).

गोश्च पुरीषे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, च-पुरीषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दात्पुरीषे ऽभिधेये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. affix मयद् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung.'

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'. Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sūtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung'? Observe गव्यं = milk. The affix यद् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 160), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikāra' of गो ॥

पिष्टाच्च ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पिष्टात्-च्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दान्नित्यं मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवाहः ॥

146. The affix मयद् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पेटी सुप in the sense of तस्यैवम् ॥

संज्ञायां कन् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दात्कन् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे संज्ञायां विषये । मयदोपवाहः ॥

147. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product, after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयद् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥

घ्रीहेः पुरोडाशे ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ्रीहेः-पुरोडाशे (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्राहशब्दान्मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति पुरोडाशे विकारे । विस्वाद्यणोपवाहः ॥

148. The affix मयद् comes after the word घ्रीहि in the sense of a 'Purodāsa.'

This debars अच् (IV. 3. 136). Thus श्रीहिमवः पुरोडासः 'a sacred cake made of barley.' Otherwise त्रैहृत् ॥

असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंज्ञायाम्, तिल-यवाभ्याम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ तिलयवसम्बन्धाभ्यामसंज्ञाविषये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

149. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम्, यवमयम्, ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name?" Observe तैलम् 'oil,' वापकः formed with कन्. (वापादिभ्यः कन् V. 4. 29)

द्व्यचच्छन्दसि ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यचच्-छन्दसि (मयद्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः प्रातिपरिकाच् छन्दसि विषये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

150. In the Chhandas, after a dissyllabic word, the affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part.'

This ordains मयद् in the sacred literature also, secular literature being dealt with in IV. 3. 143. Thus पर्जन्यः, इर्ममयः, शरमयः in the following वस्य पर्जन्यी ऊर्ध्वमवति, इर्ममयम् बालो भवति, शरमयम् बर्हिर्मवति ॥

नोत्त्वद्भ्रूँविल्वात् ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उत्त्वत्-वद्भ्रूँ-विल्वात् (मयद्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्त्वतः प्रातिपरिकाच् भ्रूँविल्वात्सम्बन्धाभ्यां च मयद् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

151. The affix मयद् does not come in the Chhandas after the dissyllabic words, having a short vowel उ in them, nor after the words 'vardhra' and 'bilwa.'

Thus नौञ्जं शिक्यम् from मुञ्ज by अच् ॥ गार्मुतं चक्रम्, वार्धी बालप्रथयिता भवति; वेल्वो ब्रह्मवर्षसकामेन कार्यः ॥

The word उत्त्वत् means 'having उत् or short u (I. 1. 70)' The rule does not apply to words containing long ऊ, as भूमयान्यभ्राणि ॥ The वत् in उत्त्वत् shows that the rule applies not only to words ending in उ, but also to words having उ. Had वत् not been used, the tadanta-vidhi would require the application of the rule to words ending in उ, but not to those which had उ in any other part of their form. So that the prohibition applies to वेणु also, as वेणवी वटिः (IV. 3. 136).

The word मुञ्ज is Ady-udatta by वृणधान्यानां (Phiṭ II. 4): and therefore it takes the universal अच् (IV. 3. 134). The word गर्मुत् is formed by the affix उत् plus the augment मुद् (मुमाहूतः, घोमुद्घ Uṇ I. 94 and 95), and is finally acute, and therefore it takes अच् by IV. 3. 140, and forms गर्मुत् ॥ This word has

acute on the final also, as तस्मा एतं गर्भं च हं निर्धयेत् ॥ The word गर्भ is Ady-udatta by Phit II. 19. and therefore takes अञ्, the feminine being formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 15).

तालादिभ्योञ् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तालादिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तालादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोर्ययोः । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

152. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tāla &c'.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, बार्हिणम्, ऐन्द्रालिद्यम् ॥

1 तालाद्यनुषि, 2 बार्हिण, 3 इन्द्रालिद्य, 4 इन्द्राद्य, 5 इन्द्राद्युध, 6 चय (चाप, चर्ग), 7 दद्या-माक, 8 पीयूषा.

जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातरूपेभ्यः-परिमाणे (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातरूपं सुवर्णम् । बहुवचननिर्देशात्तद्वाचिनः सर्वे गृह्यन्ते । जातरूपवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे विकारे । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

153. The affix अञ् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is a weight or measure.

The word जातरूप means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus हाटकौ निष्कः, हाटकं कार्पापणम्, जातरूपम्, ताव-नीयम् ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe यद्विरिञ्चं हाटकमथी ॥

प्राणिरजतादिभ्यो ऽञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ प्राणि-रजतादिभ्यः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणिवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो रजतादिभ्यश्चाम् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोर्ययोः । अणादी-नामपवादः ॥

154. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after रजत &c.

This debars अञ् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudatta in the beginning. This sūtra applies to words other than those having anudatta in the beginning.

Thus:—कापोत्तम्, मायूरम्, तैषिरम्; राजतम्, सैसम्; लौहम्, &c. In the class रजतादि those words like रजत, कण्टकार &c, which have anudatta on the beginning and would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140, have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयद् to them.

1 रजत, 2 सीस, 3 लोह, 4 उवुम्बर, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 शर, 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक), 8 वि-भीतक, 9 पीतशर (कपीत, शर), 10 तीव्रशर, 11 विकण्टक, 12 कण्टकार.



भित्तम् तत्प्रत्ययात् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भित्तः-स्य-सत्-प्रत्ययात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभित्त्येव । तदिति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः प्रत्यवयवः । भिद्योविकारावयवप्रत्यवयवस्तदन्ताव्यासिक्-  
विकारम् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरेव । नवदोषवारः ॥

155. The affix अम् comes in the sense of 'its pro-  
duct or part', after a word which ends with an affix having  
an indicatory अ् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory अ् denoting product or part, are अम् (IV. 3. 139), इलम् (IV. 3. 142), अम् (IV. 3. 154) वुम् (IV. 3. 157), इम् (IV. 3. 159), अम्, अम् (IV. 5. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अम् is used. Thus देवसारवत् विकारोऽवयवो वा-देवसारवत्; so also राधित्यन्, पालघन्, घामीलन्, कापोतन्, भीष्मकन्, ऐजेवन्, कांत्वन्, पारघवन् ॥

Why do we say भित्तः? Witness देव्यमयं. Here मय् is used after देव्य and the derivative is formed by अम् of IV. 3. 136. So also देवमयन् ॥

क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतवत्-परिमाणात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्बलेष्ठमित्यत आरभ्य क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्ययाः परिमाणाद्विहितास्ते विकारेऽतिद्वियन्ते । परिमाणात् क्रीत इव प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणारीनामपवारः ॥

156. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part' is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars अम् &c. Thus निष्क्रेण क्रीतम्-भैष्किकम् (V. 1. 20); It will denote vikāra also, निष्कृत्य विकारः-भैष्किकः formed by इक् (V. 1. 20). As घृतेनक्रीतं-घृत्वं or घृतिकम् (V. 1. 21), so घृतस्य विकारः-घृत्वं or घृतिकः by इन् and यन् (V. 1. 21), सहस्रेणक्रीतं-साहस्रम् (V. 1. 27) so सहस्रस्य विकारः-साहस्रः (V. 1. 27 by अम्) ॥

The word वन् in क्रीतवन् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sūtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्रः or द्विसाहस्रः (V. 1. 29), द्विनिष्कः or द्विभैष्किकः ॥ The word परिमाण in this sūtra includes संख्या 'the, numerals' also; while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyā. See IV. 1. 22 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of affix (V. 1. 28) as, द्विसहस्रः, द्विसाहस्रः &c.

उष्ट्राद्वुम् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रात्, वुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्राद्वुम् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यभोपवारः ॥

157. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ushtra.

This debars **अञ्** (IV. 3. 154). उष्टस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = औष्टकः ॥

उमोर्णयोर्वा ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उमा-ऊर्णयोः-वा (बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उमाशब्दापूर्णाशब्दाच्च वा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ।

158. The affix **बुञ्** comes optionally in the sense of 'its product or part, after the words उमा and ऊर्णा.

Thus औमन् or औमकन्, और्णन् or और्णकन् ॥

एण्या ढञ् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एण्याः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एणीशब्दाद् ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यभ्रोपवादः ॥

159. The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the feminine word एणी ॥

Thus ऐजेयं मांसन् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एणस्य मांसन् = ऐजन् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by **अञ्** ॥

गोपयस्योर्यत् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-पयसोः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपयः शब्दाभ्यां यत् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

160. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गव्यन् (VI. 1. 79), पयस्यन् ॥

द्रोश्च ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दाद्यस्यत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । भ्रोरभ्रोपवादः ॥

161. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part' after the word 'dru.'

This debars **अञ्** (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रुय्यन् (VI. 1. 79).

माने वयः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ माने-वयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दान्माने विकारविशेषे वयः प्रत्ययो भवति । यतोपवादः ॥

162. The affix **वयः** comes in the sense of 'its product,' after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.'

This debars **यत्** ॥ As द्रुवयन् 'a measure.'

फले लुक् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ फले, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकारावयवयोरुत्पन्नस्य फले तद्विशेषे विशक्षिते लुक् भवति ॥

163. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by *luk*, when such product or part is 'a fruit.'

Thus आमलक्याः फलं = आमलकी + मदद् लुक् = आमलकं 'the fruit of Myrobalans.' So also वररम् ॥ The fruit is a "product" as well as a "part" of a fruit-bearing tree.

प्लुक्षादिभ्योः ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुक्षादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । प्लुक्षादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः फले विकारावयवत्वेन विवक्षिते ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अत्रोपवाहः ॥

164. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part, it being a fruit,' after the word 'plaksha &c.'

This debars अम् ॥ Thus प्लाक्षम्, मेघधोषम् ॥

1 प्लक्ष, 2 न्यधोष, 3 अन्धत्प, 4 इङ्गुही, 5 घाम्, 6 रुक्, 7 कक्षतु ( कर्कन्धु, कर्कन्धु कक्षतु ) 8 वृहती ॥

जम्बू वा ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जम्बूः-घा (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । जम्बूशब्दात्फले ऽभिधेये वाऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अत्रोपवाहः ॥

165. The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word 'jambû'.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus जम्बु + अण् = जाम्बवं as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix अम् is added, it is elided by IV. 3. 163. As जम्बु + अम् (IV. 3. 139) = जम्बु, as जम्बूनि फलानि (VI. 4. 8) ॥

लुप् च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्येव । जम्बूः फलेभिधेये प्रत्ययत्वे वा लुप् भवति । कुन्धवशात्वे विशेषः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुप्करणे फलपाकशुषामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् ॥

166. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by *lup* after the word 'jambû'.

The word वा is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sūtra I. 2. 51. Thus जम्बु + अमूलुप् = जम्बूः, as, जम्बूः फलं ॥ Optionally जम्बूः फलं = जम्बु फलं, or जाम्बवं ॥

*Vart* :—There is lup-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens : Thus व्रीहिः—व्रीहयः, यवाः, माषाः, मुद्गाः, तिलाः ॥

*Vart* :—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots : as, मांसकायां पुष्पं = मल्लिका, नवमल्लिका जातिः ; so also विशार्या मूलं = विशारी ॥ अशुभती वृहती ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As पादलानि पुष्पाणि, शाब्दानि मूलानि ॥ So कर्मन्वं पुष्पं, अघोकर्म, करवीरम्, बैलानि फलाणि &c.

हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरीतक्यादिभ्यः-ञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरीतकी इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः फले प्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । लुकिमान्ते लुपो विधाने शुक्लवस्त्रादेः स्त्रीप्रत्ययभवने च विद्यते ॥

167. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by लुप, after the words 'Haritaki' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I. 2. 51), As हरीतक्याः फलं=हरीतकी instead of हरीतकं ॥ So also कौशातकी, नखरजनी ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as हरीतकी फलं, हरीतक्यः फलाणि ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कौशातकी, 3 नखरजनी ( नखररजनी ) 4 शष्कण्डी ( शाकण्डी ) 5 राडी, 6 होडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 भर्जुनपाकी, 9 द्राक्षा, 10 काल्म, 11 भ्राक्षा ( भ्राह्क्षा ) 12 गभीका ( गर्गरिका ) 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली\*, 15 चिञ्चा\* ( चिम्या ), 16 शेफालिका, 17 इडी. ॥

कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञ्चौ लुक् च ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंसीय-परशव्ययोः, यञ्-अञौ, लुक्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक्कीताच्छेन कंसीयः । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । परशव्यः । कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां ययासंख्यं अञौ प्रत्ययो भवतस्तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषय, तस्त्वनियोगेन च कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्युक् भवति ॥

168. The affixes यञ्, and अञ् come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansiya' and 'parasavya', and there is luk-elision (of the छ and यत् affixes of those words).

The word कंसीयः is formed by छ (V. 1. 1), and परशव्य is formed by adding यत् (V. 1. 2). These affixes छ and यत् are elided when the affixes यञ् and अञ् are added. Thus कंसीय + यञ् = कंस + यञ् = कंस्यः so also परशव्य from परशव्य thus परशव्य + अञ् = परशु + अञ् = परशवः ॥

The words लुक् च mean 'there shall be elision'. Of what? Certainly not of the primitive, for लुक् is never applied to the elision of a base, but of an affix only (I. 1. 61). It follows therefore that the elision is of the affixes of कंसीय and परशव्य ॥ Now these words have two affixes, thus. To the root कन् is added first the Uṇādi affix स (Uṇ III. 62) and we get कंस; next to कंस is added छ. So also to पर + च् is added the affix उ (Uṇ I. 33) and we have परशु, to which is then added यत् and we have परशव्य ॥ The question arises, should these affixes स and उ be also elided. The answer is 'no'. The word प्रातिपदिकान् of IV. 1. 1 is understood is this sūtra; so the elision will take place of those affixes only

which follow a *prâtipadika*. But ल् and व् are added to a *Dhātu* and not a *prâtipadika*, hence those affixes are saved from the operation of लुक् ॥

The word पराण्य् being gravely accented on the first (VI. 1. 185) would have taken अम् by IV. 3. 140. The present *sūtra* teaches the elision only of its affix वल्, अम् being already obtained.

Q. The final अ of कसीय and पराण्य् will be elided by VI. 4. 148 before these *taddhita* affixes, and after such elision, the final व् will be elided by VI. 4. 150, where is then the necessity of this *sūtra*?

A. The final व् will not be elided, because VI. 4. 150 will apply only then, when an affix beginning with long ई follows, which is not the case here.



ओ३म् ।

## अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

प्राग्वहतेष्टुक् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्-वहतेः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रांगतस्माद्वहति संघब्दनायानर्यानुक्रमिष्यामः, ठक् प्रत्य-  
यस्तेषुधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ॥

वारिकम् ॥ ठक्प्रकरणे तदाहोते मासब्दादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ भाहोप्रभूतादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पृच्छतौ सुस्नातादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ मच्छतौ परसारादिभ्यः ॥

1. The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sūtra IV. 4. 76.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sūtra तद्वहति &c. Thus in the next sūtra it is said; "After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered." Now this sūtra is incomplete. We must read the word ठक् into it. Thus अक्षे ईष्यति = भाक्षिकः "who plays with aksha—a dicer." अक्ष + ठक् = भाक्षिकः (VII. 3. 50).

*Vart*:—After the words मासब्द &c, the affix 'ṭhak' comes in the sense 'he said that.' Thus मासब्द इत्याह = मासब्दिकः who says 'don't make noise,' कार्य-  
वादिभ्यः ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

*Vart*:—So also after प्रभूत &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रभूतमाह = माहृत्तिकः, पार्थान्तिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an adverb.

*Vart*:—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति = सौस्नातिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well". साखराजिकः, सौख्यायनिकः ॥

*Vart*:—So also after परसारा &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits adultery with': as परसारात् मच्छति = पारसारिकः, गौरुत्त्विक ॥ The word मत्त्व here refers to "wife".

तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-दीव्यति-खनति-जयति  
जितम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति सुतीयासमथार्द् दीव्यति खनति जयति जितमित्येतेष्वर्थेषु ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix डक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षेरीष्यति = भाषिकः 'who plays with dice—a dicer'. घालाकिकः ॥ अग्न्य खनति = भाषिकः, कौशालिकः, अक्षेर्जयति = भाषिकः, अक्षेर्जितं = भाषिकम् ॥ घालाकिकम् ॥

Though the rule is couched in universal terms, yet the affix does not come after every instrumental case. Thus देवदत्तेन जितम् will not give rise to any affix, for the word देवदत्तिकः is not found in usage having this sense. So also भृगुष्या खनति gives rise to no affix. Though the verbs 'divyati' &c, are in the 3rd Person Present Tense, Singular number, the derivative is not limited by these conditions. Thus भाषिकौ and भाषिकाः are also valid, and so also अक्षेरीष्यन् will give also भाषिकः; so also भाषिकस्त्वम् भाषिकोऽहम् ॥ Though in a sentence the verb is generally the principal word (क्रियाप्रधान), here owing to the Taddhita affix, the instrument is taken as the principal.

संस्कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम् (डक्) ॥

शुक्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix डक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'. Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = शधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. So also घान्त्रिकम्, मारीचिकम् ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for sake of the next sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of संस्कृतं only runs,

कुलत्थकोपधादण् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलत्थ-कोपधात्-अण् ॥

शुक्तिः ॥ कुलत्थस्यशककारोपधाच्छब्दाच्च प्रातिपदिकावप् प्रत्ययो भवति संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । डकोपधादः ॥

4. After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debarbs डक् ॥ Thus कौलत्थम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, शार्दभकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क् ॥

तरति ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरति (डक्) ॥

शुक्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात् तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix डक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses there by over the waters'.





क्रितयोः वित्तः पठेते इगधिकारे ॥ In the six Sūtras 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, the affixes have indicatory 'sh.' Here च being इत्, the feminine is formed by डीच् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आकर्षेण चरति—आकर्षिक ङ. आकर्षिकी ॥ आकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested.

पर्पादिभ्यः छन् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्पादिभ्यः, छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्प इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । इकोपवाहः ॥

10. The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars इक्; the ङ् of छन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and च् for डीच् (IV. 1. 41). Thus पर्पिकः ङ. पर्पिकी, अर्थिकः ङ. अर्थिकी ॥ पर्पिकः ङ. पर्पिकी ॥ The पाह is changed to पच् before this affix (VI. 3. 52).

1 पर्प, 2 अर्थ, 3 अर्थव्य, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 न्यास, 7 व्यास, 8 पाहः पच ॥

भ्यगणाद्ठञ्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्यगणात्, ठञ्च, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्यगणघञ्साद्ठञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारान् इत्, चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इकोपवाहः ॥

11. The affix ठञ्च as well as the affix छन्, comes after the word इघगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'

This debars इक् ॥ Thus भ्यगणेन चरति—भ्यगणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. ङ. भ्यगणिकी ॥ इत्, भ्यगणिकः ङ. भ्यगणिका ॥

The form भ्यगणिकः is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 4. Thus भ्यगण+इम् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, इम् requires Vṛiddhi of ङ् of च् ॥ But rule VII. 3. 4 says that instead of Vṛiddhi, the letter झो comes before च् in the case of च् &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been झौवगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when च् is followed by इम्, applies also to च् followed by इम् ॥ In fact, the rule VII. 3. 4 does not apply, whenever the word च् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ ॥

वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेतनादिभ्यः, जीवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वेतनादिभ्यः ङङ्गेभ्यो जीवतित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix इक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति—वेतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्गण्ड the affix applies to the compounds, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus धानुर्गण्डिकः, धानुष्कः, राण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन ( वाह ), 3 अर्धवाहन ( अर्धवाह ), 4 धनुर्विष्णुः 5 जाल, 6 वेद्य ( वेत् ), 7 उपवेद्य ( उपवेद्य, उपवेत् ), 8 वेद्य, 9 उपवस्ति ( उपवस्ति ), 10 सुत्, 11 घट्या, 12 घट्टि, 13 उपनि-  
वत्, 14 उपवेद्य, 15 स्क्रिञ् ( स्क्रिञ् ), 16 वाद्, 17 उपत्य\*, 18 उपत्यान, 19 उपहस्त\*, 20 कञ्. ॥

घस्नक्रयविक्रयाद्ठन् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घस्न, क्रय, विक्रयात्, ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वस्नक्रयविक्रयघट्ट्याभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । उकोपवाहः ॥

13. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya', and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars डक् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्निकः 'who lives by hire--hire-ling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

आयुधाच्छ च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधात्, छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुधघट्ट्याच्छप्रत्ययो भवति, चकापदं च जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

14. The affix छ as well as ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'āyudha'.

Thus आयुधेन जीवति = आयुधीयः (formed by छ), or आयुधिकः (by ठन्) 'a mercenary soldier'.

हरत्युत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरति, उत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । उत्सङ्गादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

15. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हरति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्साङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip'. औडुपिकः 'borne or transported on a raft'.

1 उत्सङ्ग, 2 रुडुप्, 3 उत्सुत् ( उत्सत् ), 4 उत्सन्\*, 5 उत्सुट\*, 6 पिटक, 7 पिटाक, 8 उडप.

भस्त्रादिभ्यः छन् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रादिभ्यः, छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्त्रेत्येवमादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhastra &c' being in the third case in construction,

Thus भस्त्रया हरति = भस्त्रिकः "who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV, 1. 41). So भरटिकः f. भरटिकी ॥ The

word मञ्ज means a leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c., is carried.

1 मञ्जा, 2 मरद, 3 मरण ( मारण ), 4 क्षीर्षभार, 5 क्षीर्षेभार, 6 मंसभार, 7 मंसेभार. ॥

विभाषा विवधवीवधात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विवध, वीवधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । विवधवीवधशब्दाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थ्यां विभाषा इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix इन् comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha', and 'vīvadha', being in the third case in construction.

In the alternative, the general affix इक् will apply. Thus विवधेन हरति - विवधिकः f. विवधिकी ; So also वीवधेन हरति - वीवधिकः f. वीवधिकी ॥ When the affix is इक्, we have देवधिकः in both cases, the feminine being देवधिकी ॥

The word विवध and वीवध are synonyms both meaning 'a piece of wood carried on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road.' विवधिकः meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler'. The real sūtra is विभाषा विवधात्, the Kāsikā has added वीवध from a Vārtika.

अण्कुटिलिकायाः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कुटिलिकायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । कुटिलिकाशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थ्यां प्रत्ययो भवति हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

18. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction.

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति मृगो व्याध-कौटिलिको मृगः 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey'. कुटिलिकया हरति भङ्गारान्-कौटिलिकः कर्मारः 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge'.

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths'.

निर्वृत्ते ऽक्षयूतादिभ्यः ॥ १९ ॥ निर्वृत्ते, अक्ष, यूतादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । अक्षयूतादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो निर्वृत्तशब्देतस्मिन्नर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix इक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyūta &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तम्-आक्षयूतिकं वेत् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling'. So आनुप्रहतिकम् ॥

1 अक्षयूत, 2 आनुप्रहत ('प्रहत'), 3 अहूपाप्रहत ('प्रहत'), 4 अहूपाप्रहत\*, 5 पादस्वेदन, 6 कण्टकमर्दन, 7 गतानुगत\*, 8 गतागत, 9 वातोपवात, 10 अनुगत. ॥

त्रैर्मन्त्रित्यम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, मप्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तइत्येव, वृत्तः किन्नरित्ययं विद्यमानो गृह्यते । अन्तान्त्रित्वं मप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix मप् comes always after the words ending in the affix त्रि, the in sense of 'completed thereby',

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 88). Thus the root कुपद् takes त्रि and forms पक्त्रि, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus पक्+त्रि+मप्=पक्त्रिमम् 'what is completed by being cooked'. So from कुवप् we have वप्+त्रि+मप्=उक्त्रिमम् (VI. 1. 15): from इकुप् we have इकुत्रिमम् ॥

The word त्रित्व in the sūtra indicates that the affix त्रि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Vart:—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus पाकेन निर्वृत्तं=पाकिमम् (पक्+मप् III. 3. 18+इमप्), so ख्यागिमम्, सेकिमम्, कुडिमम् ॥

अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपमित्य-याचिताभ्याम्, कक्-कनौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तइत्येव । अपमित्ययाचितघञाभ्यां ययासंख्यं कक् कन् इत्येतौ मत्प्रयो भवतो, निर्वृत्तइत्ये-तस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

21. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yāchita', when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'. The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा (III. 4. 19). The क्त्वा is changed to क्वप्, and इ substituted for आ (VI. 4. 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

संसृष्टे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संसृष्टे, उक्त् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थ्यात्संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उक्त् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix उक्त् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus इध्ना संसृष्ट=साधिकम् 'smeared with curds.' मारिषिकम्, शार्ङ्गवेदिकम्, वैष्णविकम् ॥ The word 'sanskṛtam' (IV. 4. 3) and 'sanskṛṣtam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

चूर्णादिनिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णात्, इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चूर्णस्य्यादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टे । इकोपचारः ॥

23. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chūrṇa' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars इक् ॥ Thus चूर्णे : संसृष्टा-चूर्णिनो ऽ पूषाः 'cakes sprinkled with powder.' चूर्णिनो धानाः ॥

लवणात्लुक् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संसृष्टइत्यनेनोत्पन्नस्य इको लवणस्य्यात्लुग् भवति ॥

24. The affix लुक् meaning 'mixed therewith', is elided by luk, after the word lavana.'

Thus लवणेन संसृष्टः-लवणः 'mixed with salt' as लवणः सूपः 'soup mixed with salt.' So लवणे चाकं, लवणा यवगूः (I. 1. 51). The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

मुद्गादण् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुद्गात्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुद्गस्य्यादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्निपद्ये । इकोपचारः ॥

25. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga,' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars इक् ॥ Thus भोजे भोरनः 'rice mixed with mudga-pulse.' भोजे ववाणुः ॥

व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्ते ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यञ्जनैः, उपसिक्ते (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेनेत्येव । व्यञ्जनवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्य उपसिक्तेइत्येतस्मिन्मर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix उक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus इच्छा उपसिक्ते-साधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd,' दौषिकम्, आरिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe इक्केनोपसिक्ते भोरनः ॥

भोजः सहोम्मसा वर्तते ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भोजः, सहः, अम्मसा-वर्तते (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भोजस्य सहस्य अम्मस्य इत्येतेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वर्ततइत्यर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the words 'ojas,' 'sahas,' and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus भोजसा वर्तते-भोजसिकः शूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also :-साहसिकः 'a thief.' आम्भसिकः 'a fish.'

तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रति-अनु-पूर्वम्, ईप-लोम-  
कूलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीया सनर्थाभिभक्तिः । प्रति अनु इत्येवंपूर्वम् ईपलोमकूलशब्देभ्यो द्वितीयासनर्थेभ्यो व-  
र्त्तते इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङ्क् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix ङ्क् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'īpa,' 'loma,' and 'kūla,' preceded by 'anu' and 'prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तद् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्त्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्त्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रातीपे वर्त्तते = प्रातीपिकः (प्रतिगता भापो ऽ स्मिन्, the भा changed to ई V. 4 74 and VI. 3. 97) retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So भ्रान्तीपिकः 'favourable.' प्रतिलोमिकः 'inverse' भ्रान्तलोमिकः 'direct.' पतिकूलिकः, भ्रान्तकूलिकः The two words प्रातीपिक and भ्रान्तीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

परिमुखं च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमुखम्, च (ङ्क्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमुखशब्दाद् द्वितीयासनर्थावर्त्तते इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङ्क् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ङ्क् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं वर्त्तते = परिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present'.

The word च in the sūtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As परिपार्श्विकः ॥ The word परिमुख is an Aavyayībhāva compound (II. 1. 12). If परि has the force of exclusion (I. 4 88), then परिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा यः सेवको वर्त्तते,' and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं ततस्ततो वर्त्तते" ॥

प्रयच्छति गर्हम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयच्छति, गर्हम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासनर्थाव्ययच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङ्क् प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तद्द्वितीयासनर्थे गर्हं चे-  
त्तद्वदति ॥

वा० ॥ वृद्धेर्दुभिवभावो ङ्क्प्रत्ययः ॥

30. The affix ङ्क् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives,' the motive being mean.

Thus द्विगुणं प्रवच्छति = द्विगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double' i. e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विगुण means द्विगुणार्थ 'for the sake of double'. Similarly वैगुणिकः ॥

*Vart.*—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृष्णि before this affix. As, वृष्णि प्रवच्छति = वार्धुणिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase' Or the word वृष्णि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Why do we say गार्हन् 'with a mean motive'? Observe द्विगुणं प्रवच्छति अर्धननः 'the debtor gives double'.

कुसीददशैकादशात् छन्दश्चौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसीद, दश, एकादशात्, छन्द-  
श्चौ ॥

वृष्णिः ॥ प्रवच्छति गार्हन्त्येव । कुसीदं वृद्धि, स्तर्यं इत्थं कुसीदन् । एकादश्यां दश, दशैकादशच्येनो-  
च्यन्ते । कुसीददशैकादशात् अर्धननं इत् इत् इत्येते प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

31. The affixes छन् and छच् come respectively after the words 'kusīda' and 'dasaikādaśa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीद means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condi-  
tion that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकादशम् ॥ This sūtra debars इक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes छन् and छच् is in the accent (VI. 1. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीद + छन् = कुसीदिकः fem. कुसीदिकी (VI. 1. 41). So दशैकादशिकः fem दशैकी ॥

उच्छति ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्छति ॥

वृष्णिः ॥ तसिदि द्वितीयासमर्थाद् उच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix उक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleans that'.

Thus उच्छति = वादिकः 'who picks up jujubes'. इयानादिकः, काणिकः ॥ To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उच्छ ॥

रक्षति ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षति ॥

वृष्णिः ॥ तसिदि द्वितीयासमर्थाद् रक्षतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix उक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'.

Thus सभाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by his presence'. So also सामिवेशिकः ॥

शब्दद्वुरं करोति ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-द्वुरम्, करोति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थांश्च शब्दद्वुरं करोतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix डक् comes after the words 'Sabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking".

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes a sound' i. e. a Grammarian. So शर्शुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

पक्षिमत्स्यभृगुगान्हन्ति ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पक्षि, मत्स्य, भृगुगान्, हन्ति (डक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । पक्ष्यादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो हन्तीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix डक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणो हन्ति = पक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. 1. 68). Therefore, we have forms शाकनिकः, नायूरिकः, तैक्षिरिकः ॥ So also with मत्स्य, as, मात्स्यिकः, मेनिकः, शाफरिकः, शाकुलिकः ॥ So also with भृगु, as, मार्गिकः, हारिषिकः, लौक-रिकः, सारङ्गिकः ॥

परिपन्थञ्च तिष्ठति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिपन्थम्, च, तिष्ठति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपन्थश्चासदिति द्वितीयासमर्थान्तिष्ठतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix डक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction,

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिकः यः पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं प्यान्व तिष्ठति 'a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man". The च in the sūtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sūtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = पारिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sūtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sūtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the secular form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

मायोत्तरपदपद्व्यनुपदं धावति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ माथ-उत्तरपद, पदवी, अनुप-दम्, धावति ॥



वृत्तिः ॥ मायघञोत्तरपदाव्यातिपरिकात्परवी अनुपद इत्येताभ्यां च धावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उक् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

37. The affix उक् comes, in the sense of "who runs", after a word having माय as its second term, and after the words 'padavi' and 'anupada'.

Thus एण्डमायं धावति—एण्डमायिकः 'who runs on a high way'. So also औत्कमायिकः ॥ Similarly पारविकः, आनुपविकः ॥ The word माय means 'a way'.

आक्रन्दार्ठञ्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रन्दात्, उक्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रन्दन्त्येतस्मिन्नित्याक्रन्दो देशः । अथवा ऽऽक्रन्दतइत्याक्रन्द, आर्तावनमुच्यते, विशेषाभावाद् इत्येवमपि महणम् । आक्रन्दघञासांसि द्वितीयासनर्याद्भावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाप-इउक् ॥

38. The affix उक् as well as उक् comes after the word 'âkranda', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who runs'.

The word आक्रन्द means 'a place where persons weep' e.g. a battle-field. It also means 'weeping' 'invoking' &c. The difference between उक् and उक् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्दं धावति—आक्रन्दिकः or आँक्रन्दिकः, f. आक्रन्दिकी 'a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard'.

पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद, उत्तरपदम्, गृह्णाति (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परघञ उत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मात्परासत्परघञात् तसिद्धि द्वितीयासनर्याद्गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'who takes', after a word having 'pada' as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति—पूर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥ The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule when पर is preceded by the affix बहु ॥

प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिकण्ठ, अर्थ, ललामम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामघञेभ्यस्तसिद्धि द्वितीयासनर्थेभ्यो गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'who takes' after the words 'pratikantha', 'artha', and 'lalâma' being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति—प्रतिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, लालामिकः ॥ The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayi-bhâva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and not प्रतिगदः कण्ठं—प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

धर्मं चरति ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्मम्-चरति (ठक्) ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ धर्मशब्दात्तरिति द्वितीयासमर्थाच्चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
 धार्मिकम् ॥ अधर्माच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practices that'.

Thus धर्मम् चरति = धार्मिकः "religious". So also अधर्माच्चेति "irreligious, undutiful", by a Vārtika.

प्रतिपथमेति ठञ्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिपथं, एति, ठन्-च ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिपथशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद् एतीत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराट्ठक् च ॥

42. The affix ठन् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes'.

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रतिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकः "who goes along the road" the ठक् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst ठन् does not.

समवायान् समवैति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवायान्, समवैति (ठक्) ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ समवायशब्दाच्चिन्धः शब्देभ्यस्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यः समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ठक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

The word समवाय means 'combination, collection &c'. The word समवायान् is in the plural number in the sūtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also. समवैति means coming together. Thus समवायान् समवैति = सामवायिकः 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also सामाजिकः सामूहिकः सान्निवेशिकः ॥

परिषदो ण्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषद्ः, ण्यः ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ परिषदो ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्निषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

44. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'parishad' in the sense of 'who assembles there',

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus परिषद् समवैति = परिषद्यः 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

सेनाया घा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनायाः, घा (ण्यः) ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ सेनाशब्दाद् घा ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

45. The affix ष्य comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word *senā*.

This debars इक् which comes in the alternative. Thus *सेनां समवेति = सेन्यः* or *सेनिकः* 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

संज्ञायां ललाटकुकुट्टयो पश्यति ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, ललाट, कुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ललाटकुकुट्टीयान्तर्यां तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां पश्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

46. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words '*lalāta*' and '*kukkuṭī*', in second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus *ललाटं पश्यति = ललाटिकः* 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also *कौक्कुटिकः* 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word *कुक्कुटी* ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the ground, and hence he is called *कौक्कुटिकः* ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

तस्य धर्म्यम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, धर्म्यं (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word धर्म्यं means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word तस्य shows the case of the word. Thus *शुक्कशालाया धर्म्यं = शौक्कशालिकः* 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also *भाकरिकम्, भाषणिकम्, गौत्मिकम्* ॥

अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महिषीत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । इकोपचारः ॥

48. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after the word '*mahishī*' &c.

This debars थक्. Thus *महिष्या धर्म्यं = माहिषम्* 'the usages of queens.' So *प्राजापतम्* ॥

1 महिषी, 3 प्रजापति°, 3 प्रजापती, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुरोहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होत, 11 बज्रमान.

ऋतो ङ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, अङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकाणन्ताप्यासिपरिकारम् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्मनित्येत्स्मिपत्वे । ठकोपवाहः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नराधेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ विश्वसितुर्दिलोपम् ॥ वा० ॥ विभाजयितुर्दिलोपम् ॥

49. The affix अङ् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus दोतु धर्म्यम्-पौत्रम् 'the office of a Potri.' औद्गात्रम् 'the office or duties of an Udgâtri.' Padamanjari gives the example of होत्रम्-होतु धर्म्यम् under this sūtra, though the word होतु occurs in the list given in the preceding sūtra. The Hotri of the preceding sūtra means a Ritvik, here it means an invoker.

Vart :—So also after the word नरः As नरस्य धर्म्या-नारी ॥

Vart :—So also after the word विश्वसितु, the इद् affix being elided. Thus विश्वसितु + अङ्-वैश्वस्यम् ॥

Vart :—So also after the word विभाजयितु, its णि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितु + अङ्-वैभाज्यम् ॥

अवक्रयः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अव क्रयः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । षष्ठीसमर्थ्यावक्रय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । अवक्रीणीत जनेनेत्यवक्रयः ॥

50. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'its tax,' after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means 'Government-tax,' 'price,' 'wages,' 'rent' &c, coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase.' Thus द्वाल्कपालाया अवक्रयः = दौल्कपालिकः. So also मापणिकः, गौल्मिकः, भाकरिकः ॥

Are not धर्म्यं (IV. 4-47) and अवक्रय the same? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

तदस्य पण्यम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्, अस्य, पण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थित्योति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यद्यद्यप्यनासमर्थे पण्यं चेत्तद्वति ॥

51. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपूपः पण्यं अस्व-आपूपिकः 'a cake-vendor.' So also चापुकुलिकः, गौरिकः &c.

लवणाद्ठक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लवणशब्दाद्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । ठकोपवाहः ॥

52. The affix डक् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavana.'

This debars डक्, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यमस्य = लावणिकः 'a salt-vendor.'

किशारादिभ्यश्च घञ् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किशारादिभ्यः, घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किशार इत्येवमादिभ्यः डक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । डकोपचारः ॥

53. The affix घञ् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c.

This debars डक् ॥ The word किशार &c all denote perfumes. Thus किशराः पण्यमस्य = किशारिकः । किशारिकी (IV. 1 41), नैररिकः । नैररिकी ॥

1 किसर (किशार), 2 मरद, 3 मलद, 4 स्यागल\*, 5 तगर, 6 गुग्गुलु, 7 उच्चरि, 8 हरिद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु\*, 10 पर्णी\*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रावण्ठी.

शालालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शालालुनः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालालुण्डादन्यतरस्यां डक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतद्विषये । डकोपचारः । पक्षेऽपि भवति ॥

54. The affix घञ् comes optionally, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity' 'after the word 'salâlan'.

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative. शालालु is a kind of sweet scent. Thus शालालु पण्यमस्य = शालालुकः । शालालुकी ॥ In the alternative with डक्, शालालुकः; । शालालुकी ॥

शिल्पम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पम् (डक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थस्त्विति षष्ठ्यर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे शिल्पं षष्ठ्यन्तति ॥

55. The affix डक् comes in the sense of this is whose Art,' after a word denoting Art, in the first case in construction.

Thus मृदङ्गवादनं चिन्पमस्य = मारङ्गिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mridanga drum". So also पाणविकः, वैपिकः ॥

मद्दुकझर्षरादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्दुक, झर्षरात्, अण्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मद्दुकझर्षरादन्त्यामन्यतरस्याम् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य चिन्पमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । डकोपचारः ॥

56. The affix अण् comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose Art', after the words 'madduka', and 'jharjhara'.

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative. Thus मद्दुकवादनं चिन्पमस्य = माद्दुकः or माद्दुकिकः, so झर्षरः and झर्षरिकः ॥

प्रहरणम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहरणम् (ठक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थस्येति षष्ठपर्यं ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तद्व्ययमासमर्थे प्रहरणं च-  
त्तद्वति ॥

57. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the 1st case in construction.

Thus मतिः प्रहरणमस्य = भासिकः 'a swordsman'. So प्रासिकः, चाक्रिकः,  
धानुष्कः ॥

परश्वधात् ठक् च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परश्वधात्, ठक्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्वधशब्दात् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ठक् ॥

58. The affix ठक् as well as ठक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the word परश्वध ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च, the difference being in accent. Thus  
पारश्वधिकः or परश्वधिकः ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'.

शक्तियष्टयोरीकक् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति-यष्टयोः, ईकक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तियष्टिशब्दाभ्यामीकक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य प्रहरणमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपचारः ॥

59. The affix ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'sakti' and 'yashā'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शक्तिः प्रहरणमस्य = शक्तीकः, So also यादीकः ॥

अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तिनास्ति-दिष्टम्-मतिः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थेभ्यो ऽस्ति नास्ति दिष्ट इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽस्येति षष्ठपर्यं ठक्  
प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तद्व्ययमासमर्थे मतिश्चेत्तद्वति ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', 'nasti' and 'dishta'.

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = भास्तिकः 'who believes that It is' i. e. a here after.  
नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no Here after', an athiest. दैष्टिकः 'whose  
belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट = दैव 'fate'.

The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स भास्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is. Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

शीलम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीलम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थत्वेति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति वचन्यमासनर्थे शीले चै-  
भवति ॥

61. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपमक्षजं शीलमस्व-भाषणिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'. Similarly चाण्डुलिका, नौराजिकः ॥ The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

छत्रादिभ्यो ञः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छत्रादिभ्यः, ञः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छत्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ञः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य शीलमित्येतस्मिन्विषयोऽकोपवाहः ॥

62. The affix ञ comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus छत्रं शीलमस्व-छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the defects of his master'. The word स्या occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga; thus भास्या, संस्या, भवस्या &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुच्छत्रवत् गुरुणा सिष्य-  
च्छत्रवत् छात्रः "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or सिष्येण च गुरुच्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his Preceptor, as an Umbrella'.

1 छत्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 प्रतोह (पुरोह), 4 स्या (भास्या, संस्या, भवस्या), 5 बुभुक्षा, 6 सुवा, 7 तितिक्षा, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (कृषि), 10 कर्मन्, 11 विवधा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अनृत, 15 विदित्वा, 16 विधिक (विधिक), 17 भक्षा, 18 उरस्थान, 19 पुरोडा (!), 20 शिक्षा, 21 बु-  
क्षा, 22 नन्त्र.

कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म, अध्ययने, वृत्तम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थत्वेति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति वचन्यमासनर्थे कर्म चे-  
द्वचनमध्ययनविषयं भवति ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occurring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vrittam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus एकमन्यदध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्व-ऐकान्यिकः 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यन्) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist". Similarly द्वैयन्यिकः द्वैयन्यिकः &c. He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading,

is called ऐकान्तिकः ॥ So who commits two mistakes is called द्वैकान्तिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्तिका &c, the whole phrase अभ्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

बहुचपूर्वपदाद्धच् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुच, पूर्व पदात्, ठच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुच पूर्वपदं यस्य तस्माद् बहुचपूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकाद् ठच् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य कर्माभ्ययने वृत्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवाहः ॥

64. The affix ठच् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars ङक् ॥ Thus:—द्वाद्यान्यानि कर्माप्यभ्ययने वृत्तानि अस्य-द्वाद्यान्यिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So चतुर्द्यान्यिकः, अतुर्द्यान्यिकः ॥ The word अन्यत् in these sūtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udatta, or vice versa.

हितं भक्षाः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हितम्-भक्षाः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थारस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तद्व्ययमासमर्थे हितं, चेतन्नवति तच्च भक्षाः ॥

65. The affix ठक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom".

The words तद् and अस्य (IV. 4. 51) are understood. The word हितं governs dative (II. 3. 13, Vart). But the sūtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षाः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz. तस्मै हितं भक्षाः 'this for whom is wholesome diet'. The best way however, to remove this objection is to read sūtras 65, and 66 in this wise: 65 हितं भक्षाः तस्मै and दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ Thus अपूपंभक्षणं हितमस्मै-भाषुपिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also शाक्लिकः, मौदिकिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as भाषुपिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मै-दीयते-नियुक्तम्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थार्द् अस्मादाति चतुर्थ्यर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तद्व्ययमासमर्थे, तद्येदीयते नियुक्तम् ॥

66. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given right fully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).



The word शीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगेन i. e. अव्यभिचारेण शीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अमे भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं शीयते = भाषभोजनिकः 'a Brāhmaṇa always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'. So also आपूपिकः 'entitled to get cakes', साधुलिकः ॥ Some say that the word नियुक्तं means निवृत्तं 'always'. According to them आपूपिका would mean अपुषा नित्यमस्मै शीयन्ते 'to whom always cakes are given'.

भाणामांसोदनाद्विठन् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदादि ॥ भाणा-मांस-ओदनात्, विठन् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ भाणामांसोदनघट्ट-र्यां विठन् प्रत्ययी भवति तस्मै शीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । इकोपवादः ।

67. The affix विठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words भाणा and मांसोदन ॥

This विठन् debars इक् ॥ The इ of वि is for the sake of pronunciation, the इ indicates that the feminine is formed by डीर् (IV. 1. 15). Thus भाणा नियुक्तमस्मै शीयते = भाषिकः f. भाषिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसोदनिकः f. मांसोदनिकी ॥

The difference between इक् and विठन् is in accent, the former having udātta on the final (VI. 1. 165), the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of इक् and विठन् will both be formed by डीर् (IV. 1. 15). Now the affix इक् resembles विठन् both in accent (VI. 1. 197) and in feminine (IV. 1. 15). Why was not इक् used instead of विठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same forms? True, as regards the words भाणा and मांसोदन the affix इक् might have been employed instead of विठन् ॥ According to some, however, the affix विठन् applies to मांस and ओदन separately also. But इक् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) which विठन् does not. Thus ओदन + विठन् = ओदनिकः, f. ओदनिकी ॥ With इक् the form would have been ओदनिकः which is not wanted.

The word भाणा is a Past Participle (क्त) of भा 'to cook.' The भा is not changed to मृ as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The nisthā ष is changed to ञ (VIII. 2. 43). The form भाता is also found, as in VI. 1. 36, and the regular form is पृते = शीरम् (VI. 1. 27).

भक्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदादि ॥ भक्ताद्-अण्-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तघट्टादण् प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां तस्मै शीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये इकोपवादः ॥

68. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars इक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्मै शीयते नियुक्तं = भक्तः ॥ In the alternative भाक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' i. e. a retainer.

तत्र नियुक्तः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-नियुक्तः(ङक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थान्नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति । नियुक्तो अधिकृतो व्यापारित इत्यर्थः ॥

69. The affix ङक् comes, in the sense of 'appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction..

Thus शुल्कशालायां नियुक्तः = शौल्कशालिकः 'a superintendent of custom-house.' So also आकारिकः, भाषाणकः, गौलमिकः, शैवारिकः ॥ The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tatpurusha compound formed by II. 1. 46. The word niyukta here has a different meaning from that in IV. 1. 60, hence its repetition here.

अगारान्ताद्ङन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगारान्तात्, ङन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अगारघञ्छान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्ङन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ङकोपवादः ॥

70. The affix ङन् comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agâra.'

This debars ङक् । The difference is in accent and want of Viddhi. Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः, कोष्ठागारिकः, भाण्डागारिकः ॥

अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्ययिनि-अदेशकालात् (ङक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थाददेशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादकालवाचिनश्चाध्यायिन्यभिधेये ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix ङक् comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time.

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. अध्यायिन् means one who studies. Thus अगारान्तेऽधीते = अगारान्तिकः 'who reads in a funeral ground.' चतुष्पाथिकः 'who studies where four roads meet.' So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चतुर्दश्यामिकः, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day.' So also आभाषास्तिकः ॥

Why do we say 'improper time and place?' Observe कुत्रेऽधीते, पूर्वाह्नेऽधीते ॥

कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति ॥ ७२ ॥ घदानि ॥ कठिन-अन्त, प्रस्तार-संस्थानेषु, व्यवहरति (ङक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । कठिनघञ्छान्तात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् प्रस्तारसंस्थानघञ्छान्तां च ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति व्यवहरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

72. The affix. ङक् comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kathina

and after 'prastāra' and 'sansthāna,' being in seventh case in construction.

Thus वसकठिने व्यसहरति - वांसकठिनिकः 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i. e. वसिनेषु वा क्रिया वधानुष्ठेया तां वषेवानुतिष्ठति ॥ So also व्रात्रिकठिनिकः ॥ So also प्रास्ताविकः, सांस्थानिकः ॥

निकटे वसति ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ निकटे-वसति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निकटघन्यास्तपनीसनर्यावसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

73. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who dwells', after the locative word 'nikata.'

This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus भारण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations. Thus निकटे वसत - नैकटिकः 'an ascetic.'

आवसथात् छल् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवसथात्-छल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वषेत्येव । आवसथघन्यास्तपनीसनर्यावसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छल् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

74. The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The छ् of छल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193), the ष् is for झीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आवसथे वसति - आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i. e. a domestic person as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV. 4. 1. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

प्राग्घिताद्यत् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्-हितात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मै हितामिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागेतस्माद्धितसंघञ्जनाद्यानि च ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामीत्यत्यत्यस्तेष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ।

75. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V, 1. 5), the affix यत् bears rule.

Thus in the next sūtra तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्ग्य we must read the affix यत् ॥ रथः, युगः, प्रासङ्ग्यः ॥

तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्ग्य ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्व-वहति-रथ-युग-प्रासङ्ग्य (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति द्वितीयासनर्थेभ्यो रथयुगप्रासङ्गेभ्यो वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वत्यत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix यद् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prāsanga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथं वहति = रथः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly युग्यः 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासङ्ग्यः 'being trained in a break'. प्रासङ्ग is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking. This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as, परमरथः ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or बोद्ध therefore एयस्य बोद्ध will get the affix यद् by IV. 2. 120. read with IV. 3. 121. Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 1. 88. Thus ह्यो एयो वहति = हिरथः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under . . . 3. 121. The word युग्य has been already formed by the kṛit affix (III. 1. 121), that युग्म differs from the present, in accent when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by न्यप् and this is by यद्, and therefore by VI. 2. 156, अयुग्येप् will be finally acute when formed by यद् ॥ The word युगं must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here युगं वहति रात्रा कलि क्षपरं वा ॥

धुरो यद्दको ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुरः-यद्-दको ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । धुर इत्येतस्माद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यद् दक् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

77. The affix यत् and दक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction,

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by यत्) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 is prevented by VII. 2. 79 because धुर is Bha-stem, or धौरेकः (formed by दक् VII. 1. 2) 'a beast of burden'. This sūtra might have stood as धुरो दक् च, for यत् would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75.

खः सर्वधुरात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ खः-सर्वधुरात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । सर्वधुरात्स्माद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurâ', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वहति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2). The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर, e. g. उच्चरधुरीणः, दक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर (II. 1. 49), the samāsānta ख being added by V. 4. 74. The word धूः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26. The word सर्वधुरात् in the sūtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulat-

ing the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sūtra should be taken as a nominal-stem or pratipadika equal to सबधुर ॥

एकधुराल्लुक् च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-धुरात्-लुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्ग्रहणीत्येव । एकधुरात्पञ्चाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्ग्रहणीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य लुक् भवति ॥

79. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhurā' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरात् वहति = एकधुरीणः or एकधुरः ॥ The compounding is taddhitārtha (एकां धुरं वहति) to which is added the samāsānta ष, and then the affix ख ॥

शकटादण् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ शकटात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्ग्रहणीत्येव । शकटात्पञ्चाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्ग्रहणीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car. This could be evolved by तस्येव अण् as शकटस्य बोह = शकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as हे शकटे वहति = हे शकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88).

हलसीरादठक् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलसीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्ग्रहणीत्येव । हलसीरात्पञ्चाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्ग्रहणीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the words 'hala' and 'sira,' in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हले वहति = हालिकः a ploughman सैरिकः 'a plough ox.' The ठक् would have come by IV. 3. 124, the specification shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as हे हालिकः, हे सैरिकः ॥

संज्ञार्थां जन्याः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्-जन्याः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्ग्रहणीत्येव । जनीषाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्ग्रहणीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

82. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it' after the word 'janī,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus अनी वदति = अन्वः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. अन्वाः 'a bridesmaid.' The word अनी means 'bride.' अन्वा lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c.

विध्यत्यधनुषा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विध्यति-अधनुषा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् विद्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति न चेत्तमुक्तरणं भवति ॥

83. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it,' after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पैद्याः (VI. 3. 53) चर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles. ऊरुभ्याः कण्टकाः 'thorns' i. e. what pierce the thigh.

Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा"? Observe पादौ विध्यति धनुषा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of धनुष् indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौरं विध्यति, शत्रुं विध्यति ॥

धनगणं लब्धा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन-गणम्-लब्धा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । धनगणशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gana,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्धा = धेन्यः, so also गण्यः ॥ लब्ध् is formed from लम् by लृप्, hence it takes the accusative.

अन्नाणः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नात्-णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नशब्दाच्चासिति द्वितीयासमर्थात् लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

85. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्धा = भान्नः 'fed' 'who has obtained food.'

वशं गतः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वशम्-गतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशशब्दाच्चासिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् गत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word vasa, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वशगतः = वैद्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = काम इच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परेच्छानुगामी ॥

पद्मस्मिन् इह्यम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्म-अस्मिन्-इह्यम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव प्रथमा सनर्यविभक्तिः । परपञ्चात्म्यनासनर्याद् इह्यार्योपाधिकारस्मिन्निवि सप्तम्यर्थे ऋष्यव्ययो भवति ॥

87. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'in it is visible,' after the word 'pada,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पर इह्यमास्मिन्-पद्यः कर्म 'mud' lit. soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot. So पद्याः पांसवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of the foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word इह्यम् means इह्यते इह्यम् this being the force of the कृष्या affix 'ya' in इह्य ॥

मूलमस्याबाहि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूलम्-अस्य-आबाहि-(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूलपञ्चात्म्यनासनर्याबाहिल्येवमुपाधिकारस्येति षष्ठपर्ये ऋष्यव्ययो भवति । मूलमेषामाबाहि ॥

88. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mūla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आबाहि from उह् 'to up root,' means 'uprooting,'-उत्पादनं ॥ मूलमेषामाबाहि-मूल्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. गुणा । मन्नाः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant. According to Padamanjari the word should be आबाहि and not आबाहि, with a व and not ब ॥

संज्ञार्यां धेनुष्या ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञार्यां-धेनुष्या-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेनुष्येति निपात्यते संज्ञार्यां विषये । संज्ञामहणमभिधेयनियमार्यम् ॥

89. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding ङुक् and ङ् to धेनु ॥ It has udatta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतवुधा ॥ As धेनुष्यां भवते इति ॥

गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ष्यः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ गृहपतिना-संयुक्ते-ष्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव तृतीया सनर्यविभक्तिः । गृहपतिपञ्चात्तृतीयासनर्यात्संयुक्तस्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ष्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix ष्य comes in the sense of 'joined with', after the word 'gṛahapati' in the third case in construction.

Thus गृहपतिना संवृक्तः = गार्हपत्यः 'the Gārhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder. The word संज्ञायो of the last sūtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यः means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in which husband (grihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gārhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakshināgni. Or that fire in which Grihapati hymns are recited is called Gārhapatya.

नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवद्भानाम्यसमसमित सम्मितेषु ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-वयो-धर्म-विष-मूल-मूल-सीता-तुलाभ्यः-तार्य-तुल्य-प्राप्य-वद्भ्य-अनाम्य-सम-समित-सम्मितेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नावादिभ्यो ऽट्भ्यः एतेभ्यो ऽट्त्वेव तार्यादिभ्येषु वयासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that it should be so. Thus.

1. नावा तार्यम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', lit what can be crossed by a boat.
2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्यः 'a friend', lit. one alike in age.
3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma. Could not this form have been evolved by the next sūtra धर्मादिपेते (IV. 4. 92)? No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्यं refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.
4. विषेण वद्धः = विष्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.
5. मूलेनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit. or to be overpowered or bent by the root". The word आनाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix ष्यत् contrary to rule III. 1. 98 which required यत्), means मन्वि-भवनीयम् 'what ought to be overpowered': hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mūlyam, the capital or mūla is overpowered.
6. मूलेन समः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth पदः i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.



7. सीतया समितं = सीत्वं 'a field'. lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne. The word समितं is equivalent to संगतं 'united with' according to Kāsika. सीत्वं therefore literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g. परमसीत्वं, उन्नमसीत्वं, द्विसीत्वं ॥
8. तुलया समितं = तुल्यम् "equal" lit. 'meted by the balance'. समितम् means समानं, सदृशं ॥

*Notes* :—The fruits of good deeds, like happiness &c, which are attainable or *prāpya* through 'dharma', may be said also *dharmād anapetam* because an effect must have a cause. Hence arises the doubt as to what is the difference between this and the next *sūtra*. The 'anapetam' in the next *sūtra* means the fulfilling or following the Law established by the Śhishthas, and has no reference to its fruits. Because the effect of dharma is to destroy dharma—i. e. the fruits in the shape of happiness &c lessen, and ultimately extinguish the dharma. Therefore, the fruit of dharma, which is to be taken in this *sūtra*, as referred to by the word *prāpya*, is diametrically opposed to the practising of dharma, referred to by the word *anapeta* of the next *sūtra*.

धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्म-पथि-अर्थ-न्यायात्-अनपेते(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देष्टादेव पञ्चमी समर्थविभक्तिः । धर्मादिभ्यः पञ्चमीसमर्थेभ्योऽनपेतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे व्यत्यस्यो भवति ॥

92. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyāya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the *sūtra* itself. Thus धर्मादनपेतं = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्राद्यान् पथो यदनपेतं तन् पथ्यं, न तु तस्मादनपेतइत्थोरः 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'fit,' न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.' The word संज्ञायां (IV 4. 89) governs this *sūtra* also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

छन्दसो निर्मिते ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-निर्मिते (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थसामर्थ्यलभ्या समर्थविभक्तिः । छन्दः शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मितइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे व्यत्यस्यो भवति ॥

93. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः = छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda.'

उरसो ऽण् च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसः, अण्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दात्कृतीयासनर्धान्निर्मित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराण्यच्च ॥

94. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras', in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sūtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = जीरसे 'own son not adopted, lit. produced through the loins.' With यत् the form will be उरस्यः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89) governs this sūtra also.

हृदयस्य प्रियः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य-प्रियः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । हृदयशब्दात्पृथीसनर्धात् प्रिय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बलप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hridaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृद्यः 'pleasant to the heart.' e. g. हृद्यो देवः, हृद्यं वनम् ॥ But we cannot say हृद्यः पुत्रः, the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 99) governs this sūtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

बन्धने चर्षी ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धने-च-ऋषी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्येत्येव । बन्धन इति प्रत्ययार्थः । तद्विशेषणमृषिमहणम् । बध्नते येन तद्बन्धनम् । हृदयशब्दात्पृथीसनर्धात्बन्धने ऋषीविभक्तिः यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hridaya,' being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sūtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धनम् ॥ The word ऋषि means here the Veda or the Vedic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनमृषि = हृद्यः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a वशीकरण मन्त्रः ॥

मतजनहलात् करणजल्पकर्षेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत-जन-हलात्, करण-जल्प-कर्षेषु (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतादिभ्यश्चिन्धः शब्देभ्यश्चिन्धेव कारणादिषुर्षेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the senses respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मतस्य करणं-मैत्र्यः 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. जनस्य जल्पः-ईन्द्रः 'a rumour'. हलस्य कर्षः-ईन्द्रः 'ploughed'. So also विदित्वः, विदित्वः, the tadanta vidhi applies एयसीताहलेभो वदिसी ॥

तत्र साधुः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-साधुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात् साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बलवत्त्वबो भवति ॥

98. The affix यद् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto'.

Thus सामसु साधुः-सामन्त्र्यः (VI. 4. 168) conversant with the Sāma-Veda'. So also वेमन्त्र्यः, कर्मन्त्र्यः, धारन्त्र्यः &c. The word साधु here means प्रवीण, or योग्य 'expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारक 'a benefactor or a good person'. When the sense is that of 'good', the sūtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः-खञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ्-कः खञ् प्रत्यये भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

99. The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto', after the word 'pratijana' &c.

This debars यद् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः-प्रतिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2) 'suitable against an adversary', or 'who is excellent for every person'. So also एवं युगीनः, सांयुगीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 द्वयुग, 3 संयुग, 4 समयुग, 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परत्यकुल, 8 अमुष्यकुल, 9 सर्वजन, 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन. ॥

भक्ताण्यः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तात्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दात् णः प्रत्यये भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

100. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta'.

This debars यद्; thus, भक्ते साधुः-भाक्कः धानिः 'rice' lit. suitable or excellent for food. भाक्का स्तण्डुलः ॥

परिषद्दोष्यः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषद्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषद्शब्दात् ण्यः प्रत्यये भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

101. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'parishada'.

This debars यद् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः-पारिषद्यः ॥ The affix ण्य is also employed here. Thus परिषदि साधुः-पारिषदः 'one versed in the affairs of a council' 'a minister'.

कथादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कथादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथादिभ्यः षष्ठेभ्यष्टक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषये । यतोपवादः ॥

102. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathâ' &c.

Thus कथायां साधुः=काथिकः (कथा+ठक्=कथ्+ठक् VI. 4. 148=काथ्+ठक् VII. 2. 116) 'a narrator of stories'. So वैकथिकः &c.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा\*, 4 संकथा\*, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुप्रविद् (कुट विद्, कुटापित्) 7 अनवार, 8 जनेवार, 9 जानोवार\* (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संमह (सहमह), 12 गुण, 13 गण, 14 आयुर्वेद. ॥

गुडादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुडादिभ्यः, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुडादिभ्यः षष्ठेभ्यष्टक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषये । यतोपवादः ॥

103. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'gudâ &c.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुडे साधुः=गौडिकः 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. So कौलमाषिकः 'a kind of pulse' lit. 'excellent for making gruel'. साक्तुकः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्तु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसौदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 संघान, 9 संघात, 10 संक्रान्त\*, 11 संवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास. ॥ --

पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्दञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि-अतिथि-वसति-स्वपतेः दञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादिभ्यः षष्ठेभ्यो दञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषये । यतोपवादः ॥

104. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधुः=पाथेयम् (VII. 1. 2) 'provision for journey'. आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेयम् 'habitable' as वासतेयी पथिः, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

सभाया यः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाः, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशाब्दायः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषये यतोपवादः ॥

105. The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhâ' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3, and VI. 1. 185) Thus सभायां साधुः=सभ्यः 'refined' lit. fit for society.

दशछन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशाब्दाद् दः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषये छन्दसि । यस्यापवादः ॥

106. The affix ङ comes in the chhandas after the word 'sabhā,' in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars ब ॥ Thus सभेदः in सभेदोस्य शुभा ब्रह्मनामस्य वीरो जायताम् 'let a refined, youthful hero be born to this sacrificer'.

समानतीर्थे वासी ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानतीर्थे, वासी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधुविति निवृत्तम् । वासीति प्रत्ययार्थः, समानतीर्थगच्छाचनेति सप्तमीसमर्थावासीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे य-  
व्यत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'resident, therein', after the word 'samāna-tīrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛtti of साधुः now ceases. The word तीर्थ means here गुरु 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी-सतीर्थः (VI. 3. 87)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-उदरे-शयितः, ओ-  
च-उदात्तः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानोदरगच्छास्तप्तमीसमर्थाच्छयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यव्यत्ययो भवति ओकारचोदात्तः ॥

108. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'samānodara' in the locative construction, and the udāta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयितः is equal to स्थितः 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे शयितः—स-  
मानोदर्यः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88.

सोदराद्य ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोदरात्, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोदरगच्छास्तप्तमीसमर्थात् शयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix य comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sūtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word उदर when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे शयितः—सोदर्यः ॥ Here ओ is not udāta, as it was in the last ; the udāta here falls on ब ॥

भवे छन्दसि ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ भवे-छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्नेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थात् भवे इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छन्दसि विषये यव्यत्ययो भवति । मणासीनां घासीनां चापवादः ॥

110. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a word in the locative case in construction, in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars अण्, व &c (IV. 3, 53). Those affixes also are employed in the alternative, there being much latitude of grammatical rules in the Vedas. Thus the words भवेः and विदुष्ये in the following hymn of the Yajur Veda (16. V. 38): नमो भेष्याय च विदुष्याय च ॥ All the sūtras henceforward up to the end of the chapter, are Vedic sūtras, the word छन्दसि being understood in them all. The word भवे governs all the sūtras up to IV. 4. 118.

पाथोनदीभ्यां ह्यण् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाथः-नदीभ्याम्-ह्यण् ॥  
श्रुतिः ॥ पाथशब्दानदीशब्दाच्च उच्यते प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नप्ये । यतोपवादः ॥

111. The affix ह्यण् comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'pāthas' and 'nadi,' wherby the last vowel, with the consonant following, is elided.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पाथसि भवः=पाथ्यः, so also नाथः ॥ As in the following hymns : तदुत्था पाथ्या इपा, च नो इधीत नाथो गिरो मे ॥ पाथः means firmament.

वेशन्तहिमवद्भ्यामण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशन्त-हिमवत् भ्याम्, अण् ॥  
श्रुतिः ॥ वेशन्तशब्दादिमवच्छब्दाच्चाण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषये । यतोपवादः ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there' after the words 'vesanta' and 'himavat.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus वेशन्तीभ्यः स्वाहा, हिमवतीभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

स्रोतसो विभाषा इयङ्ङ्यौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्रोतसः विभाषा, इयत्-ङ्यौ ॥  
श्रुतिः ॥ स्रोतशब्दादिभाषा उच्यते इय इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषये । यतोपवादः ॥

113. The affixes इयत् and इय come optionally in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word 'srotas', and before these affixes the final syllable अस् of srotas is elided.

This debars यत् which comes in the alternative. As स्रोतसि भवः=स्रोतः or स्रोतः the difference being in the accent (III. 1. 3 and VI. 1. 185). The anubandha इ causes the elision of अस् of स्रोतस् ॥ When यत् is added the form is स्रोतस्वः ॥

सगर्भसयूथसनुतायन् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सगर्भ-सयूथ-सनुतात्, यन् ॥  
श्रुतिः ॥ सगर्भसयूथसनुतशब्देभ्यो यन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषये । यतोपवादः ॥

114. The affix यन् comes in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'sagarbha,' 'sayūtha' and sanuta.'

This debars ञत् the difference being in accent (VI. 1. 197). Thus ञनुभाता सर्गर्भः 'a younger brother'. ञनुसखासर्गुणः 'a younger friend'. So also ञो नः सर्गुणः उत वा ञिपन्तु thief lit. 'who stays in a concealed place', sanuta meaning 'concealed' (see Rig Veda II. 31. 9). The word सान is always changed into स in the Chhandas (VI. 3. 84).

तुग्रात् घञ् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुग्रात्, घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमघञ्त् घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवादः ॥

115. The affix घञ् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word, tugra.'

This debars ञत् ॥ Thus तुग्रिणः as त्वमग्ने वृषभस् तुग्रिणां ॥ Which assumes the form तुमघ् तुग्र्या also. As भावः घमञ् वृषभं तुमघासु (Rig Veda I. 34. 15) Tugrya meaning 'sunk in the waters'. The word तुम means 'food, firmament, sacrifice and varishṭha'.

अग्राद्यत् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्रात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमघञ्त् घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ।

116. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra',

Thus अग्ने नदं-अग्यत् ॥ Why this separate rule, for ञत् would have come after अघ by the general rule IV. 4. 110? The repetition is to show that ञत् is not debarred by च and छ of the next sūtra, which would have been the case, had this sūtra not existed.

घच्छौ च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घच्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमघञ्त् घञ् प्रत्ययो भवत्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ।

117. The affixes 'ghach' and 'chha' come in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra.'

Thus अग्यत् (by ञत्), अमीयत् (by छ) and अमिर्घ्यत् (by घञ्). And अमिर्घ्यत् (by घञ्) from IV. 4. 115. See R. V. I. 13. 10 (Śāyana) इहत्पटोरमिर्घ्यत् ॥

समुद्राभ्राद् घः ॥ ११८ ॥ पदादि ॥ समुद्र-अभ्रात्-घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रसन्नाहभ्रघञ्त् घः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

118. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'samudra' and 'abhra'.

This debars अत् ॥ Thus समुद्रिभः and अभ्रिभः, as in समुद्रिभ्यो मष्पसो मणीषि-  
जम् and मानसो अभ्रियस्येव घोषाः ॥ The word 'abhra' being a word of fewer  
syllables than 'samudra' ought to have come first. Its coming as a second  
member is an irregularity.

बर्हिषि दत्तम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बर्हिषि-दत्तम् (यत्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ भव इति निवृत्तम् । बर्हिः शब्दास्तप्तमीसमर्थादत्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the  
sense of 'given', after the word 'barhis' in the 7th. case in  
construction.

The anuvritti of त्व भवः ceases. Thus बर्हिष्येषु निधिषु मियेषु ॥ R. V. 10. 15 5

दूतस्य भागकर्मणी ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ दूतस्य-भाग-कर्मणी(यत्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । दूतशब्दात् षष्ठीसमर्थाद्भागे कर्मणि आभिधेये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after  
the word 'dūta' in the genitive case in construction, in the  
sense of 'its share' or 'its duty.'

Thus दूत्यम् 'the share of a messenger or the work of a messenger'.  
As यत्ते भग्ने दूत्यम् ॥ According to VI. 1. 213, the accent will be दूत्यम्, but the  
accented Text reads दूत्यम् ॥

रक्षोयात्नां हननी ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षः-यात्नाम-हननी (यत्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । रक्षःशब्दाद्यातुशब्दाच्च षष्ठीसमर्थाद्धननीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the  
sense of 'killer', after the words 'raksha' and 'yātu' in the  
sixth case in construction.

That by which anything is killed is called हननी ॥ Thus रक्षस्ये and  
यातव्ये meaning 'that which kills the demons called Rakshas and Yātus'. As  
याते भग्ने रक्षस्यो तनः i. e. रक्षसां हननी 'O Agni thy bodies are killers of Rakshas'.  
So यातव्याः तनूः ॥ The word is in the plural as a mark of respect.

रेवतीजगतीहविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-जगती-हविष्याभ्यः  
प्रशस्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवत्यादिभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रशस्ये वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the  
sense of 'praising' after the words 'revati', 'jagati' and  
'havishya' in the 6th case in construction.

The word प्रशस्य means प्रशंसन 'praising, extolling', formed by adding the  
Kṛit affix क्यप् to the root, with the force of भाव or 'condition'. Thus रवत्येवं, जगत्येवं



and हविष्यम् 'praising of Revati, Jagati or Havishya'. The word हविष्यम् is thus formed हविषे हिता = हविष्याः 'things fit for offering' i. e. butter &c, (हविष् + यत् V. I. 4) हविष्यानाम् अघंसनं = हविष्यम् (हविष्य + यत् IV. 4. 122 = हविष्य + यत् the final अ being elided by VI. 4. 143 = हविष् + यत् the य being elided by VIII. 4. 64).

असुरस्य स्वम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ असुरस्य, स्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरस्यत्वात्पृथिसमर्थात्स्वमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

123. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'property', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus असुर्यम् 'belonging to the Asuras'. As असुर्ये वा एतन् पात्रं यद्यकधृतं कुलालकृतम् 'this vessel made on a wheel by a potter belongs to the Asuras'. असुर्ये देवेभिर्धात्रि विभ्यम् ॥ See Maitr S. I. 8. 3

मायायामण् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मायायाम्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरस्यत्वात्पृथिसमर्थान्मायायां स्वविद्येभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ॥

124. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'glamour', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars यत् ॥ असुरस्य माया = आसुरः feminine आसुरी ॥ As आसुरी माया स्वधया कृतासि ॥

तद्दानासामुपधानो मन्त्र इतीष्टकासुलुक् च मतोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्दान्-  
आसाम्-उपधानः-मन्त्र-इति-इष्टकासु-लुक्-च-मतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्दानिति निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः मनुचन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रथमासमर्थारासामिति षष्ठ्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । यत्प्रथमासमर्थमुपधानोमन्त्रधेत्स भवति । यत्तदासामिति निर्दिष्टमिष्टकाशेषेणा भवन्ति । लुक्-च मतोःरिति प्रकृतिनिर्हासः । इतिकरणस्तत्रधेद्विवक्षा । तद्दानित्यवयवेन समुदायो व्यपदिश्यते ॥

125. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a nominal stem, in the 1st case in construction, ending with the affix 'inatup', when the sense is "this is their mantra of putting up", provided that, the things put up are bricks: And the affix matup is elided by luk.

This sūtra requires analysis. तद्दान् is formed by adding मनुष् to तद् meaning 'having that', and refers to a noun formed by the affix मनुष् ॥ The word आसाम् is genitive plural fem. of इदं meaning 'of them'; the pronoun refers to the word इष्टका ॥ The word उपधान means 'putting up', and technically means 'used as a Mantra in the putting up of sacrificial bricks, pots &c'. मन्त्र "sacred hymn" इष्टका 'bricks'. The whole sūtra means "the affix 'yat' is used with

the force of a genitive (āsām), after a word which ends with matup (tadvān), and denotes a mantra used in putting up of sacrificial objects; when such mantra refers to bricks: and when this affix yat is added, the affix matup is elided'. Thus वचस्वान् is a Mantra containing the word वचस् ॥ The bricks put up or collected (उपधीयते) with the recitation of वचस्वान् Mantra, will be called वचस्त्या (वचस्वान् + यत् = वचस् + यत् the affix यत् (मनुप्) being elided = वचस्त्व, fem वचस्त्या) ॥ Thus वचस्त्या उपधाति 'he collects Varchasya bricks i. e. on which Varchasvān mantra has been pronounced'. So वेजस्त्या उपधाति ॥ So पयस्त्या, रेतस्त्या ॥

Why do we say वदान्? The affix is not to be added to the whole Mantra. Why do we say, उपधान 'putting up'? The affix is not to be added to other Mantras such as those used in praying etc. e. g. वचस्वानुपस्थान मन्त्र आसापिटकानाम्, here there will be no affix. Why do we say Mantra? Observe अंगुलिमानुपधानो हस्त आसान् 'these bricks are collected with hand having fingers', here there will be no affix. Why do we say वृत्कात्? Observe वचस्वानुपधानो मन्त्र एषां कपालानाम्, here there will be no affix, the thing collected being potsherds and not bricks.

अश्विमान् ॥ १२६ ॥ अश्विमान्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्विमान्ने यस्मिन्मन्त्रेऽस्ति सोश्विमान् । अश्विनच्छब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ।

126. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas, after the words asvimān, to denote bricks put up with the Mantra containing the word Asvin, and the affix matup is elided.

Thus अश्विमानुपधानो मन्त्र आसापिटकानां = आश्विनः fem. आश्विनीः ॥ The word is thus formed अश्विमान् + अण् = अश्वि + अण् the matup being elided IV. 4. 125 = अश्विन् + अण् VI. 4. 164 = आश्विन ॥ Thus आश्विनीरुपधाति 'he collects Aśvin bricks i. e. bricks at the time of collecting which Mantras containing अश्विन् were uttered. See Yajur Veda Tait S. 5. 3. 1. 1.

वयस्यासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वयस्यासु-मूर्ध्नः-मनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयस्वानुपधानो मन्त्रो यासां ता वयस्यास्तास्वभियेयासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

127. The affix 'matup' is added in the Chhandas, to the word 'mūrdhanvat', in expressing bricks collected with, the Mantra containing the word 'vayas'.

The word वयस्त्या means the bricks, the Upadhāna mantras of which contain the word वयस् ॥ The affix मतुप् debaras यत् ॥ A mantra which contains both the word वयस् and मूर्धन्, that Mantra is both वयस्वान् and मूर्धन्वान् ॥ Now in denoting sacrificial bricks put up with such a mantra, the affix यत् would have come by IV, 4. 125 after both these words वयस्वान् and मूर्धन्वान् ॥ The present

sûtra ordains मत्तुप् after मूर्धन्वान् ॥ Thus मूर्धन्वैतीत्यत्रपाठि 'he collects Mûrdhanvatî bricks'. The words वयस्याः and मूर्धन्वस्यः denote the same object. See VI. I. 176.

Why do we say वयस्यासु? The affix 'matup' will not be added to 'mûrdhan', if the Mantra contains only the word 'mûrdhan' and not 'vayas' also. In that case मूर्धन्याः will be the form, meaning 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word मूर्धन्', while मूर्धन्वस्यः means 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the words mûrdhan and vayas'.

The sûtra contains the word मूर्धः ablative singular of मूर्धन् ॥ It ought to have been मूर्धन्वस्यः, for the affix matup is added to मूर्धन्वत्, the वत् being elided then by IV. 4. 125. The author has mentally elided the affix वत्, and shown in the aphorism the last stage of the word to which मत्तुप् is to be added.

मत्वर्थे मासतन्वोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत्वर्थे-मास-तन्वोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्नर्थे मत्तुप्प्रहितस्तस्मिन्तन्वसि विषये व्यत्ययो भवति मासतन्वोः प्रत्ययार्थे विशेषणयोः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ मासतन्वोरन्तर्गम्ये वा ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ हुगकारिकारेणाथ वक्तव्याः ॥

128. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after a word in the first case in construction, the word so formed meaning a month or a body.

This debars the affix मत्तुप् and those having the sense of मत्तुप् ॥ Thus नभांसि विद्यन्ते यस्मिन् मासि = नभस्यः 'the month of clouds' i. e. June-July. So also सहस्यः, तपस्यः मध्व्यः, being the names of the months Pausha (Nov-Dec), Phalgunâ (Feb-March) and Vaisâkha (April-May). The word मध्व्यः is thus formed:--मधु + यत् = मधा + यत् (VI. 4. 146) = मध्व्यः (VI. 1. 79) 'the month of honey'. Similarly शोभस्य तनुः 'the bodies full of vigour'.

Why do we say "in denoting a month or a body"? Observe मधुमत्ता पात्रेण चरति, here मत्तुप् is used.

*Vart*:—The affix क्त् is optionally employed when the sense is 'immediately after'. As नभस्मिन्नस्ति मध्वस्मिन्नन्तरमिति वा = माध्व्यः or माधवो मासः ॥

*Vart*:—Sometimes the affix is elided, and sometimes the letters अ, इ and ए serve the same purpose as this affix. Thus तपः or तपस्यः, नभत् or नभस्यः, सहस् or सहस्यः, all in the neuter gender in the Chhandas. Sometimes अ serves the same purpose, e. g. इषो मासः, ऊर्जोमासः ॥ Sometimes इ, as शुचिर्मासः. Sometimes ए e. g. शुक्रो मासः ॥

मधोर्जं च ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः-अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुशब्दान्मत्वर्थे अः प्रत्ययो भवति अकाराद्यथ ॥

129. The affix अ as well as यत् comes with the force of matup, in the Chhandas, after the word मधु ॥

Thus मर्षवः or मर्षवः ॥ Sometimes the affix is elided, as मधुः, all these mean the month of Vaisākha. So also माषवाः, मषव्या and मधुः meaning तनूः or body.

ओजसो ऽहनि यत्सौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजसः-अहनि-यत्-सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । ओजः शब्दान्मत्वर्थे यत्सौ प्रत्ययो भवतोऽह्न्यभिधेने ॥

130. The affixes यत् and ख come with the force of matup, after the word 'ojas', when a day is meant.

Thus ओजस्यम् or ओजसूनि = मधुः 'the day' lit. full of heat.

वेशोयशभादेर्भगाद्यल् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशः-यशः-भादेः-भगात्-यल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । वेशोयशसी भाशौ यस्य प्रातिपरिकस्य तस्माद्वेशोयशभादेर्भगान्ताप्रातिपरिकान्मत्वर्थे यल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix यल् comes in the Chhandas, with the force of matup, after the word bhaga, having the words 'vesas' or 'yajas' in the beginning.

The ल् of यल् shows that the accent falls on the vowel preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). Thus वेशोभगो विद्यते यस्य ल = वेशोभग्यः 'strong-fortune' so also यशोभग्यः 'famous-fortune'. The word वेश means 'strength': भग means 'fortune, desire, effort, greatness, virility and fame.' The word वेशोभगः may be taken as a Dvandva compound of वेशल् 'force' and भगः 'fortune.' The word वेशोभग्यः would then mean 'possessed of power and fortune',

ख च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशोयशभादेर्भगान्ताप्रातिपरिकान्मत्वर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति । योगविभागे ययासंख्यनिरासार्थं हत्तरार्थम् । अकाराद्यत् ॥

132. The affix ख also comes after the words 'vesobhaga' and 'yashobhaga', in the Chhandas, with the force of matup.

Thus वेशोभगीनः and यशोभगीनः ॥ This sūtra has been separated from last in order to prevent the application of the ययासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). For had the sūtra been वेशोयश भादेर्भगाद् यत्सौ, as it occurs in Siddhanta Kaumudi, then the affix यल् would apply to वेशोभग, and the affix ख to यशोभगः which is not what is intended. Another reason for making it a distinct aphorism is that the anuvṛitti of ख runs in the next sūtra, not so of यल् ॥

पूर्वैः कृतमिनयो च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वैः-कृत-इन-यो-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थ इति मिवृत्तम् । निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । पूर्वशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थाकृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इन य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः । अकारात्ख च ॥

133. The affixes **इन्** and **ञ** as well as **ख** come in the sense of 'made by them', after the word 'purva' (forefathers) in the Instrumental case in construction.

The **ख** is read into the sūtra by force of the word **ञ**; the anuvṛitti of **मत्वर्थ** ceases. Thus पूर्वैः कृतं = पूर्वजैः 'made by the ancestors' i. e. a road. So also पूर्व्यः and पूर्वाजः ॥ The word पूर्वैः in the plural means पूर्वपुरुषाः "past generations, ancestors". These words occur generally in the plural, and mean "roads widened by the forefathers". Thus गन्भीरिभिः पथिभिः पूर्वजैः ॥ So also, ये ते पन्थाः सविताः पूर्वाजः ( Rig I. 35. 11 ) Another reading of this sūtra is पूर्वैः कृतमिनियोञ्च; the affixes then will be इन् (इन्), and ञ; and ख will be drawn in by virtue of ञ ॥ The examples then will be पूर्वन्; 3rd pl. पूर्विभिः (with इन्), as पथिभिः पूर्वाभिः, or पूर्वाजैः (ख), or पूर्व्यैः (ञ) ॥

अङ्गिः संस्कृतम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गिः-संस्कृतम् (यत्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । अप्घञ्शतृतीयासमर्थान् संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix **यत्** comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'sanctified', after the word 'apas' in the 3rd case in construction.

Thus अयम् 'offering purified with water'. As यत्प्रेतमयं इति ॥ The case of construction is indicated in the sūtra itself.

सहस्रेण समितौ घः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्रेण-समितौ-घ ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सहस्रघञ्शतृतीयासमर्थान् समितौ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'like', after the word 'sahasra'; in the 3rd case in construction.

The case of construction is indicated by the sūtra. Thus सहस्रेण समितः = सहस्रियः 'like unto thousand'. As in the following verse:—सहस्रियासोऽपां वोर्म-घः ॥ अयमङ्गिः सहस्रियः The word समित means तुल्य 'equal to'. Some read the word समित instead of समित्त, but the meaning will be the same.

मतौ च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ-च ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थे च सहस्रघञ्शतृ घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after the word 'sahasra'.

As सहस्रयस्य विद्यते = सहस्रियः ॥ This debars the मत्वर्थ affixes विन् and इन् and अण् of V. 2. 102 and 103.

सोममर्हति यः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमम्-अर्हति-यः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सोमघञ्शतृतीयासमर्थान् अर्हतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', in the second case in construction, when the sense is that of 'who-deserves that'.

Thus सोममर्हन्ति = सोम्या ब्राह्मणाः "The Brāhmaṇas who deserve Soma" i. e. honorable and learned, and worthy of performing sacrifices. The difference between यत् and य is in accent.

मध्ये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मये-च (य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोममर्हन्, बभामुवर्तते । मय इति मयदर्थो लभ्यते । सोमघञ्दान्मयड्ये यः प्रत्ययो भवति । आगत्यकारावयवप्रकृता मयदर्था ॥

138. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', with the force of the affix mayat.

The force of the affix मयद् is that of तत्: भागतः (IV. 3. 74 and 82), ळकारावयव (IV. 3. 134 and 143) and प्रकृत (V. 4. 21). The case in construction will vary according to the sense. Thus सोम्यं मधुः पिबन्ति = सोममयः मधुः ॥

मध्ये ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यद्यश्ने निवृत्तः । मधुघञ्दान्मयड्ये यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'madhu', with the force of the affix mayat.

Thus मधव्यात् स्तोकात् = मधुमयात् ॥

वसोः समूहे च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः-समूहे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसुघञ्दान्मयड्ये वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारान्मयड्ये च । यथायोगं समर्पविभक्तिः ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ अक्षरसमूहे छन्दसः स्वार्यडपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वसुघञ्दान्मयड्ये यत्प्रत्ययो ॥

140. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after the word 'vasu', when a collection is meant, as well as with the force of mayat.

Thus वसव्यः = समूहः 'a collection'.

Vart.—The affix 'yat' comes without changing the sense, after the word छन्दस् when reference is made to the collection of letters. Thus the word छन्दस्यः in the following sentence: "सप्तदशक्षरछन्दस्यः प्रजापतिवज्रो मन्त्रे विहितः". The 17 letters here referred to being ओ आवय, four; अस्तु औषट्, four; यज, two; वे वजा-महे five; and वषट् two ॥

Vart.—The affix यत् comes after वसु without changing the sense. As वसो गृहीतस्य बहुभिर्बसव्यैः ॥ Here बसव्यैः is equal to वसुभिः ॥ Similarly अग्निरीशे वसव्यस्य = वसोः ॥

नक्षत्राद् घः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रघञ्दान्मयड्ये प्रत्ययो भवति स्वार्ये ॥

141. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas after the word 'nakshatra', without altering the meaning.

The anuvritti of सङ्घ does not extend to this sūtra. Thus नक्षत्रिभ्यः स्वाहा = नक्षत्रिभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

सर्वदेवास्तातिल् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व, देवात्, तातिल् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वदेवस्यार्थां तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति उन्वसि विषये स्वार्यिकः ॥

142. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas after the words 'sarva' and 'deva', without altering the meaning.

As सर्वतातिः and देवतातिः in the following hymns : "सविता नः सुवतु सर्वतातिश्च and प्रदक्षिण्णित्त्वतातिर्मुपायः ॥

शिवशमभरिष्टस्य करे ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव, शम, भरिष्टस्य, करे (तातिल्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ करोतीति करः प्रत्ययार्थः । तस्मान्मर्थ्यलभ्या षष्ठी समर्पविभक्तिः । शिवादिभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः कर इत्यतस्मिन्नर्थे तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'tâtil' comes, in the Chhandas, after the word 'siva', 'sam', and 'arishṭa' in the sixth case in construction when the sense is 'he 'does'.

The word करः is equivalent to करोति formed by कच् (III. 1. 134)

This shows that the construction must be genitive. With a kṛit-formed word, it has accusative force, as, शिवस्य करः = शिवं करोति ॥

Thus शिवस्य करः = शिवतातिः, So संतातिः and भरिष्टतातिः ॥ As वाम्निः घन्तात्री भवयो वृत्तशुभं (Rig I. 112. 20) संताती being dual of घन्तातिः, and meaning मुखस्य कर्तातै; so also भयो भरिष्टतातये ॥

भावे च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे-च (तातिल्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ भावे चार्थे उन्वसि विषये शिवादिभ्यस्तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas, after the words 'siva', 'sam' and 'arishṭa', being in the 6th case in construction, the sense being that of condition.

Thus शिवस्य भावः = शिवतातिः 'the condition of blissfulness'. घन्तातिः 'the state of happiness or peace', भरिष्टतातिः ॥ Here these words have the force of Verba] nouns.

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