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FANINI. (1)

TO ENGLISH

ASU, B. A.,

I. W. P. (2)





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BOOK VI.

THE ASHTĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀNINI. (1)

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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TO
Hon'ble Sir John Gedge, Bt. Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

OF

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आश्म् ।

अथ षष्ठाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अच्., द्वे, प्रथमस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारो ऽयम् । एकाच इति च द्वे इति च प्रथमस्येति च त्रितयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः प्राक्संप्रसारणविधानान् तत्रैकाचः प्रथमस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् । वक्ष्याति लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्येति । तत्र धातोरवयवस्यानभ्यासस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वे भवतः ॥

1. In the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel, there are two.

Upto Sûtra VI. 1. 12 inclusive it is to be understood that for the first syllable two are to be made, i. e. the first syllable is to be reduplicated. This is an adhikâra sûtra: all the three words viz एकाचः, and द्वे and प्रथमस्य are to be read in the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 1. 12, before the rule of Samprasârâṇa begins. Thus Sûtra VI. 1. 8 says "when लिट् follows, of an unreduplicated verbal root". The sense of this sûtra is incomplete, unless we supply the three words of this sûtra, when it will read thus: "when लिट् follows, there are two in the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel of an unreduplicated verbal root". Thus from जागृः—जजागर (जागृ+जल् IV. 3. 82=जा+जागृ+अ=ज+जागृ+अ VII. 4. 59=जजागर "he awoke"). So also पपाच्, इयाय, आर from the roots पच्, इ and कृ ॥ The reduplication takes place through the force of the affix that follows. Thus the affixes of the Perfect Tense (लिट्), the Desiderative (सन्), the Intensive (यद्), the श्लु vikaraṇa, the Aorist in चङ्; all cause reduplication.

The word एकाच means that which consists of one vowel (अच्) ॥ When a stem or root consists of more than one vowel (is a dissyllabic or polysyllabic root), then the एकाच् प्रथमः will be the *first syllable*: as in जागृ the portion जा is the प्रथम एकाच् 'the first portion consisting of one vowel'. When a root consists of a single vowel, as इ 'to go', then strictly speaking there cannot be any portion which may be called first (प्रथम) or ekâch consisting of a single

vowel). Here, however, will this rule be applied and इ will be reduplicated, according to the maxim “व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्”—“An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach”. So also in पच् there is no *first* syllable strictly speaking, but still the rule will apply under the above maxim. In making Reduplications the Rule I. 1. 59 should always be borne in mind. Thus पच्+अ (णल् of लिट्) = पाच् पाच्+अ = प पाच्+अ (VII. 4. 59 and 60) = पपाच् ॥

The word द्वि in the sūtra indicates that the very word-form is to be doubled or pronounced-twice, and not that another word of similar meaning is substituted. In fact this is not a rule ordaining *substitution* of two, in the room of one; but of the *repetition* of the one. Compare VIII. 1. 1.

अजादेर्द्वितीयस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, आदेः, द्वितीयस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमद्विर्वचनपदानो ऽयम् । अजादेर्द्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्विर्वचनमधिक्रियते । अच् आदिर्यस्य धातोस्तद्वयवस्य द्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवतः ॥

2. Of that whose first syllable begins with a vowel, there are two in the room of the second portion containing a single vowel.

This debars the reduplication of the *first* syllable. In a verbal root beginning with a vowel, and consisting of more than one syllable, the *second* syllable is to be reduplicated and not the first. Thus the सनन्त root अटिष्, (भट्+सन्=अट्+इट्+सन् VII. 2. 35 =अटिष्), reduplicates the second syllable टिष् and the 3rd per. sing is अटि टिषति, the ष् being elided by VII. 4. 60: and स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. So also अशिशिषति, अरिषति ॥ The last form is thus evolved, ऋ+सन्=ऋ+इट्+सन् (VII. 2. 74)=अर+इ+स (VII. 3. 84, and VI. 1. 51). Here now we have to make reduplication, and if I. 1. 59 be applied, then since a vowel affix इ follows, the reduplication of अर should take place i. e. the ऋ the sthāni should be reduplicated. But we have explained the sūtra द्विर्वचनेऽचि I. 1. 59, by the phrase द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि, i. e. the vowel-affix causing reduplication. Here the vowel-affix इट् does not cause reduplication, but the consonant-affix सन् that does so. Therefore rule I. 1. 59 does not apply, for इट् itself is a कार्यी, and the maxim applies कार्यमनुभवन्नि कार्यी निमित्ततया नाश्रीयते “surely that which undergoes an operation can, so far as it undergoes that operation, not be made the cause of the application of a grammatical rule”. Thus from the root शीङ् is formed शयिता; here the root शी is guṇated before the augment इट्. Rule I. 1. 5 declaring the prohibition of guṇation with regard to किर or डित् words does not apply here. For though शीङ् has an indicative ड, yet as it undergoes an operation itself, it cannot be the cause of the application of another rule.

Some persons explain the word अजादिः as the Ablative singular (and not Genitive Singular) of अजादिः and they consider the word as a Karma-dhâraya compound and not a Bahuvrîhi compound. According to them the word means:—"The syllable following the initial vowel is reduplicated". (अच्चासावादिश्चैवजादिः, अजादिश्चरस्यएकाचो द्वे भवतः) ॥ According to this interpretation, the word द्वितीयस्य is merely explanatory.

न न्द्राः संयोगादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, न्द्राः, संयोगादयः ॥

युक्तिः ॥ द्वितीयस्येति वर्णते । द्वितीयस्यैकाचो ऽवयवभूतानां न्द्राणां तदन्तर्भावात् प्राप्तं द्विर्वचनं प्रतिषिध्य-
ते । नकारइकाररेफा द्वितीयैकाचो ऽवयवभूताः संयोगादयो न द्विरुच्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बकारस्याप्ययं प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ इकारोपधोपदेशे तु न वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ यकारपरस्य रेकस्य प्रतिषेधो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ ईर्यतेस्तृतीय द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ कञ्जादीनां तृतीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ नामधातूनां तृतीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यथेष्टं नामधातुष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The letters न्, द् and र् being the first letter of a compound consonant and being part of the second syllable, are not reduplicated.

The word dvitīyasya "of the second syllable", is understood here. This sūtra debars the doubling of the consonants n, d, and r when forming parts of the second syllable, provided these letters occur in the beginning of a conjunct (saṅyoga) letter. Thus the Desiderative root of उन् is उन्दिष, formed by adding सन् and इद् ॥ The second syllable here is न्दिष् which is to be reduplicated by the last rule. But in doing so, न् will not be doubled. Thus we get the form उन्दिषति; so also from अङ्ङ् and अर्च् we have अङ्ङिषति, and अर्चिषति ॥

Why do we say "when न्, द् and र् are the letters"? Observe ईचिषिषन्त from ईक्ष् in which क् is the initial letter and has been reduplicated in to च् ॥ Why do we say "being the first letter in a conjunct consonant"? Observe प्राणिषिषति from the root अन् 'to breathe', the न् being changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 19 and 21. The phrase अजादिः of the last sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. Thus हरिद्रासति ॥ Some explain the word अजादिः understood in this sūtra in the same way as in the last, namely as a karmadhâraya compound in the Ablative singular. They do so, in order to explain the form इन्द्रिीषिषति, which is thus evolved इन्द्रमि च्छति = इन्द्र + क्यच् III. 1. 8 = इन्द्रीय ॥ Then इन्द्रीयितुमिच्छति = इन्द्रीय + सन् ॥ Here though the second syllable consists of n, d and r, yet न् alone is rejected in reduplication and not द् and र् also, as द् and र् are not immediately after the initial vowel (अजादिः) इ in this case.

Vart:—This prohibition should be stated with regard to the letter ञ् also. As उञ्ज्—उञ्जिषति ॥ This prohibition applies when the word is taught primarily as having a penultimate ञ् ॥ But when it is taught as primarily

having a penultimate **र**, then the rule does not apply: the **र** should then be ordained as a substitute of **ह** ॥ See Tudāḍi root 20.

Vārt:—There is no prohibition of the **र** when it is followed by **य** ॥ Thus भरार्थे ॥ This is the Intensive form of the verb **भृ**, and is thus evolved: **भृ**+**यङ्** (III. 1. 22. *Vārt*)=**भरू**+**य** (VII. 4. 30)=**भर्य**, then follows reduplication by the rules of this sūtra. The second syllable **र्य** has an initial **र** which is not however rejected in reduplication.

Vārt:—In the case of the verb ईर्ष्यति the third should be reduplicated. "Third of what"? Some say the third of the consonants, and according to them the form is ईर्ष्ययिषति ॥ Some say the third syllable, therefore of the root ईर्ष्य (ईर्ष्य+इट्+सन्), the third syllable **ष** is reduplicated: Thus ईर्ष्यिषष, ईर्ष्यिषिष (VII. 4. 79) the **अ** of **ष** is changed into short **इ** by VII. 4. 79 = ईर्ष्यिषिषति ॥

Vārt:—The third syllable of the verbs कण्डूय &c. is to be reduplicated. Thus कण्डूय+इट्+सन्=कण्डूयिष=कण्डूयिषति; so also असूयिषति &c.

Vārt:—The third syllable of verbs derived from nouns is optionally reduplicated. Thus अश्वीयिषति or अश्वीयिषति ॥

Vārt:—Others say, any syllable of a नामधातु (verbs derived from nouns) may be reduplicated. Thus from the noun पुत्र is derived the root पुत्रीय, the desiderative root of which is पुत्रीयिष, which requires reduplication. Here any syllable may be reduplicated: as. 1. पुपुत्रीयिषति, 2. पुतित्रीयिषति, 3. पुत्रीयिषति, 4. पुत्रीयिषति ॥ Or there may be double and treble reduplication simultaneously as. पुपुतित्रीयिषति ॥

पूर्वोऽभ्यासः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वः, अभ्यासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वे इति प्रथमान्तं बद्वदन्ते तदर्थादिह षष्ठ्यन्तं जायते । तत्र प्रत्यासत्तेरस्मिन्प्रकरणे ये द्वे विहिते तयोर्बः पूर्वो ऽवयवः सो ऽभ्याससंज्ञो भवति ॥

4. The first of the two is called the *Abhyāsa* or the *Reduplicate*.

The word **द्वे** in the nominative case is understood here, but for the purposes of this sūtra it is taken in the Genitive case i. e. द्वयोर्बः पूर्वः "the first of the two" ordained above. The word *Abhyāsa* occurs in sūtras III. 1. 6, VI. 1. 7 &c.

उभे अभ्यस्तम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, अभ्यस्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वे इति वर्त्तमाने उभेग्रहणं सपुत्रायसंज्ञाप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे अपि समुहित अभ्यस्त-संज्ञे भवतः ॥

5. The both are collectively called *Abhyasta*.

Though the word **द्वे** was understood in the sūtra, the use of the word उभे 'both' indicates that the word *Abhyasta* applies to the two taken together and not to any one of them separately. The word *abhyasta* occurs in sūtras III. 4. 109, VI. 1. 32 &c. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 189 declares "the first vowel of

an Abhyasta gets the udâtta accent". The Abhyasta being the collective name of the both, the accent will fall on the first and not on the second, as in ददति dádati, the accent is on the first अ ॥ So also by VII. 1. 4 अत् takes the place of झ after an Abhyasta, therefore, दद् + झि = दद् + अति = ददति ॥ So also ददत् (VI. 4. 112).

जक्षित्यादयः षट् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जक्ष, इत्यादयः, षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तामिति वर्त्तते । जक्ष इत्ययं धातुरित्यादयश्चान्ये षट् धातवो ऽभ्यस्तसंज्ञा भवन्ति । सेयं सप्तानां धातूनामभ्यस्तसंज्ञाविधीयते ॥ जक्षभक्षहसनयोरित्यतः प्रभृति वेवीङ् वेतिना तुल्यइति यादत् ॥

6. So also the six roots beginning with jakshi are called abhyasta.

The word abhyasta is understood here. The verb jakshi and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhâtu-pâṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जागृ, इरिद्रा, चकास्, शास्, देधी, and वेवी ॥ Pānini has overlooked वेवी and mentions only the first six. By getting the designation of Abhyasta these verbs get acute accent on the first syllable when followed by a sârva-dhâtuka Tense-affix not having the intermediate इट् and beginning with a vowel. Thus जाग्रति já-grati, जक्षति jákshati, ईरिद्रति dâridrati, चकासति chákâsati, शासति sâsati, दीध्यते didhyate, and वेव्यते vevyate. The present participle दीध्यन् is irregularly formed by adding the affix शत् (अत्) and when so formed it does not take the augment नुम् by VII. 1, 78.

तुजादीनां दीर्घो ऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुज, आदीनाम्, दीर्घः, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुजादीनामितिप्रकारेआर्द्धशब्दः । कश्च प्रकारः । तुजदीर्घोभ्यासस्य न विहितः, दृश्यते च, ये तथाभूतास्ते तुजादयस्तेषामभ्यासस्य दीर्घः साधुभवति ॥

7. In the room of a short vowel of the Reduplicate of the roots तुज् &c, a long is substituted.

There is no list of तुजादि verbs given any where. The word आदि in तुजादि therefore should be construed as "verbs like tuj". So that wherever we may find a word having a long vowel in the Reduplicate, we should consider it a valid form. Thus नूतुजानः (तुज् + कानच् III. 2, 106 = नूतुजानः Rig. I. 3. 6). मामहानः, अनङ्गान् दाधार, स्वर्धो मीमाय, स नूताव ॥ This lengthening only takes place in the Vedas before some special affixes, and not every where or in secular literature. As नूताज शबलान् हरीन् ॥

लिटि धातोरभ्यासस्य ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, धातोः, अनभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचोः द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विर्वचनप्रकरणे छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ लिटिद्विर्वचने जागतैवेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. When the tense-affixes of the Perfect follow, there is reduplication of the root, which is not already reduplicated.

The reduplication is either of the first syllable or of the second syllable according as the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus पच् + णल् = पच् पच् + णल् = पपाच ॥ So also पपाठ, प्रोणुनाव ॥ In the case of ऊर्णु, Rule III. 1. 36 does not apply, so the Perfect of this word is not formed by adding आम् and the auxiliary verbs कृ, भू and अस्; but regularly. In fact ऊर्णु is regarded as if it was नु ॥ See sūtra III. 1. 36 Vārt. वाच्य ऊर्णोर्णुवद् भावो यद् प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनं, आमश्च प्रांतषेधार्थमेकाचश्चेदुपमहात् ॥

Why do we say when णल् follows? Observe कर्त्ता, इर्त्ता ॥ Why do we say "of a Dhātu"? Observe ससृवांसो विशृण्विरे, सोमनिन्द्रायसुन्विरे ॥ The question arises from the fact that the root (dhātu) always directly precedes the affixes of the Perfect, no vikaraṇa intervenes as in the case of other tenses. So there was no necessity of using the word dhātu in the sūtra. To this it is replied that by III. 4. 117, sometimes लिट् is treated as sāvadhātuka, and then it takes vikaraṇa. As श्रु taking the vikaraṇa इनु becomes श्रुयुः (III. 1. 74) this whole base is not a dhātu, therefore when the affixes of Perfect are added there is no reduplication, and we have श्रुन्विरे ॥ See III. 4. 117.

Why do we say 'of a non-reduplicate'? Observe कृष्णो नोनाव वृषभो यदीदम् । नोनृयतेनोनाव, i. e. it is the Perfect Tense of the Intensive verb नोनृय, and is not reduplicated again, यद् having already caused reduplication. So also संमान्या मरुतः समिमिक्षुः ending in the उस् of the Perfect.

Vārt :—In the Chhandas there is optionally reduplication of the root in the Perfect and other tenses. As आदित्यान् याचिषामहे or यियाचिषामहे; देवतानो ज्ञाति प्रियाणि or द्वाति प्रियाणि ॥ मघवा दातु or द्दातु, नस्तुतो वीरवद् धातु or द्धातु ॥

Vārt :—The root जाग् is optionally reduplicated in the Perfect, As, यो जागार (or जजागार) तष्टचः कामयन्ते ॥

सन्यङोः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन् यङोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरनभ्यासस्येति वृत्ते । सन्यङोरिति च षड्व्यन्तमेतन् । सन्नन्तस्य यङन्तस्य चानभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचौ द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

9. Of a non-reduplicate root ending in सन् (Desiderative) or यङ् (Intensive) affixes, there is reduplication.

The word सन् यङोः should be construed as genitive dual and not as Locative dual. In the latter case, the meaning would be "when the affixes सन् and यङ् follow, a non-reduplicate root is reduplicated". The difficulty would be that while the root alone would be reduplicated, the augment इद् would not, as in अदितिपति, अग्निशिषति ॥

The phrase धातोरनभ्यासस्य is understood here also. The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or vowel. Thus पच् + सन् (III. 1. 7) पक्ष, reduplicate पिपक्षति (VII. 4. 79). So पन्

विपतिषति. ऋ—अरिषति, उव्—उरिषति ॥ So also of यङन्तः—as, पापच्यते (VII. 4. 83), अटाच्यते, याच्यते, अराच्यते, प्राण्णान्च्यते ॥ If a root is already a reduplicated one, there is no reduplication : as जुगुप्सवने, लोलुपिवने being the Desiderative forms of जुगुप्स (already formed by svârthika सन् III. 1. 5), and of लोलुपि (the Intensive form of लु) ॥ See III. 1. 22.

इलौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ इलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इलौ परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरेवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं हु भवतः ॥

10. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the vikaraṇa ślu (इलु) follows.

The इलु is the characteristic sign of the roots of the third class, and causes the elision of the vikaraṇa शप् ॥ The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or a vowel. Thus जुहोति (from हु), विभेति, जिह्ति ॥

चङि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङि परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरेवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं हु भवतः ॥

11. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the affix चङ् of the Aorist follows.

The reduplication is of the first or second syllable according as the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus अपीपचन्, अपीपचन्, (VII. 4. 93 and 94). So also आदिचन्, आशिचन्, आर्दिचन् ॥ These are aorists of the causative roots पाचि &c.

When the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative (ण्यन्त) verbs पच् &c is to be formed, as here, we should first elide the causative sign णि, then shorten the penultimate vowel, and then reduplicate. Then by VII. 4. 93 the effect would be like as if सन् had followed, and this would not be prohibited by the short vowel being considered sthânavat. For rule VII.4.93 says "Let the effect be as if सन् had followed, on the reduplicate, if followed by a light vowel, of an inflective base to which णि followed by चङ् is affixed; provided there is not the elision of any letter in the pratyâhâra अक् occasioned by the affixing of णि ॥" One of the conditions for the application of this rule is that the reduplicate must be followed by a light vowel. We have said above that the long penultimate is to be shortened before चङ् ॥ Now arises the difficulty. Should this light vowel coming in the room of a heavy vowel be considered like the heavy vowel by the rule of sthânavat âdeśa (I. 1. 56), or not? It should not be considered so, for the reasons given in I. 1. 57. For it was established there that the sthânivadbhâva will arise then only when some operation is to be done to a thing anterior to the non-substituted i. e. original vowel. Here no operation is to be applied to something anterior to such original (अनादि) vowel, but to

a form consisting of such substituted (आदिष्ट) vowel. Therefore, the light vowel is not considered non-existent for the purposes of सन्वज्ञाव ॥ If this order of operation is not followed, there would arise incongruities. The order must be this: 1st the elision of णि (VI. 4. 51) 2nd the shortening of the penultimate (VII 4. 4) 3rd the reduplication. If the reduplication take place first and the vowel be shortened, then the reduplication having taken place before the substitution of the vowel had taken place, such substitute will now be considered as sthânivad: the *light* vowel being considered as still *heavy*, will prevent the application of सन्वज्ञाव ॥ The difficulty will be in the form of आशीशमन्, where the short is ordained after the णि ॥ If this be the order of operations, there will not be the reduplication of the second syllable टि in the word अटिट् ? This is, howver, done by I. 1. 59. which see.

दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वान्श्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश्वान्, साह्वान्, मीढ्वान्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वानित्येते शब्दाशुल्कसि भाषायां चाविशेषेण निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृन्नादीनां के द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चरिचालपतिवहीनां द्वित्वमच्यक्चाभ्यासस्य ॥

वा० ॥ वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ हन्तेर्धत्वं च ॥ वा० ॥ पाठेर्णिलुक् चोक् च दीर्घाभ्यासस्य ॥

12. The participles dâśvân, sâhvân and mîḍhvân are irregularly formed without reduplication.

The word दाश्वान् is from the root दाश् 'to give' with the affix क्कु (III. 2. 107), here the reduplication and the augment इद् are prohibited irregularly. As दाश्वान्तो दाशुषः सुतम् (Rig I. 3, 7). The word साह्वान् is derived from the root सह 'to endure', by adding the affix क्कु (III. 2. 107), the irregularity being in lengthening the penultimate, not allowing the augment इद् and the reduplication. Thus साह्वान् बलाहकः ॥ So also मीढ्वान् comes from मिह् 'to sprinkle' with the affix क्कु (III. 2. 107) the irregularity consisting in non-reduplication, non-application of इद्, the lengthening of the penultimate vowel, and the change of ह् into ढ ॥ As मीढ्वस्तोकाय तनयाय मृडय ॥ It is not necessary that these words should be in the singular always, in their plural forms also they do not reduplicate.

Vart:—Reduplication takes place when कृञ् &c, are followed by the affix क् ॥ Thus क्रियते अनेन = कृ + क = चक्रम्, क्लिद् + क = चिक्लिरम् ॥ The affix क् comes after कृञ् and क्लिद् with the force of the affix घञ् ॥

Vart:—The roots चर्, चल्, पन्, and वद् take reduplication when followed by the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) and the reduplicate (abhyâsa) takes the augment आक् ॥ The final consonants of the Abhyâsa (reduplicate) are not elided in these verbs, in order to give scope to the augment, for if the final consonants be elided by VII. 4. 60, then the addition of the augment becomes unnecessary; as there is no difference between the augment and the âdesa (shortening of the vowel) taught in VII. 4. 59. Thus चराचरः, चलाचल, पतापतः, वदावदः ॥

Vårt:—The above *vårtika* is optional, so we have the forms चरः पुरुषः, चलो रयः, वसो मनुष्यः &c.

Vårt:—The root हन् is reduplicated before the affix भञ्, and the augment भाक् comes after the *Abhyāsa*, and च is the substitute of ह of the *Abhyāsa*. Thus हन् + भञ् = घन् + भाक् + हन् + भञ् = घनाघनः (The second ह is changed into घ by VII. 3. 55), as in the phrase घनाघनः क्षोभनश्चर्षणीनाम् ॥

Vårt:—The causative root पाठि is reduplicated before the affix भञ्, there is elision of णि (sign of the causative), and उक् is the augment of the *Abhyāsa*, and it is lengthened. Thus पाठि + भञ् = पाठूपठः ॥

व्यङ्: संप्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यङ्: संप्रसारणम्, पुत्र, पत्योः, तत्पुरुषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रं पति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समासे व्यङ्: संप्रसारणं भवति ॥
वाचिःक्रम ॥ व्यङ्: सम्प्रसारणे गौकाक्षायाः पतिवधः ॥

13. There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78) when followed in a *Tatpurusha* compound, by the words पुत्र and पति ॥

When the words पुत्र and पति are the second members, forming a *Tatpurusha* compound, there is *samprasāraṇa* (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix व्यङ् of the preceding. That is य् is changed into इ ॥ Thus क्रीषस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = क्रीषगन्धिः (a *Bahuvrihi* compound taking the *samāsanta* affix or rather substitute इ by V. 4. 137) क्रीषगन्धेरपत्यम् = क्रीषगन्धि + भण् (IV. 1. 92) = कारीषगन्धिः ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78). Thus we have कारीषगन्ध्या (see IV. 1. 78). Now in forming the *Tatpurusha* compound of this word with पुत्र or पति, the final य् will be changed into इ and we have कारीषगन्धीपुत्रः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ The भा of या becomes merged into इ (VI. 1. 108), and the short इ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139). So also कौमुदगन्धीपुत्रः ० कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say “of the affix व्यङ्”? Observe इभ्यापुत्रः, क्षीत्रयापुत्रः ॥

Why do we say “when followed by पुत्र or पति”? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याकुलम्, कौमुदगन्ध्याकुलम् ॥

Why do we say “when forming a *Tatpurusha* compound”? Observe कारीषगन्ध्यापतिरस्य मामस्य = कारीषगन्ध्यापतिर्यं मामः ॥ It is a *Bahuvrihi* compound.

The affix व्यङ् is here the feminine affix य् followed by चार् (भा) (see IV. 1. 77 and 74).

A general maxim relating to all affixes is “an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself: प्रत्ययमहणे यस्मात् स विहितस्तद्देस्तदन्तम्य महणम्” ॥ This maxim, however, does not apply in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule “a feminine affix denotes whenever

it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word form is subordinate : स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जने न ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्ध्यायाः पुत्रः = परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः and so also परमकारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिक्रान्ता कारीषगन्ध्याम् = अतिकारीषगन्ध्या, तस्यपुत्रः = अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः, अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापतिः ॥

This vocalisation takes place when पुत्र and पति alone, not compounded with any other word, stand at the end : not so when a word beginning or ending with these words follows. Thus कारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रकुलं, कारीषगन्ध्यापरमपुत्रः &c.

Though a word ending in व्यङ् may have may semi-vowels, yet the vocalisation takes place of the affix य (व्यङ्) only, according to the maxim निर्विद्यमानस्यदिशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated".

The word संप्रसारण has regulating influence upto VI. 1. 44 inclusive. The rules of vocalisation (change of semi-vowels into vowels) is contained in these sūtras.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when पति and पुत्र follow the word गौकाक्ष्यं ॥ As गौकाक्ष्यापुत्रः, गौकाक्ष्यायातः instead of गौकाक्ष्यपुत्रः &c.

बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धुनि, बहुव्रीहौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यङः संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्तते । बन्धुशब्दउत्तरपदे बहुव्रीहौ समासे व्यङः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥
शा० ॥ मातृचमातृकमातृषु ॥

14. There is vocalisation of the affix व्यङ् when the word बन्धु follows in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः ॥ So also कौमुदगन्धीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः = कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, which is a Tatpurusha compound. Like the last sūtra, we have here also परमकारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, but अतिकारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुधनः, कारीषगन्ध्यापरमबन्धुः ॥

Though the word बन्धुनि is exhibited in the sūtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of व्यङ् in a Bahuvrīhi compound with मातृ, मातृक and मातृ optionally: as कारीषगन्धीमातृः or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृः, कारीषगन्धीमातृकः or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृकः, कारीषगन्धीमाता, कारीषगन्ध्यामाता ॥ The indicatory च of मातृच makes the word take the udātta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163), thus debarring the especial accent of the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1). All Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in ऋ take the samāsānta affix कप्, so मातृ would have become मातृक by force of V. 4. 153, so the separate enumeration of मातृ and मातृक here shows that कप् is also optional.

वाचिस्वपियजादीनां किति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचि, स्वपि, यजादीनाम्, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणमिति वर्त्तते । व्यङ् इति निवृत्तम् । वाचि । वच परिभाषणे । वृषो वाचिरिति च । स्वपि ॥ त्रिष्वप् शये । यजाद्यो, यज देवपूजासंगतिकरणशानेद्विवृत्यतःप्रभृति आ गणान्तात् । तेषां वाचिस्वपियजादीनां किति प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

15. The semivowels of the roots वच्, स्वप् and यजाद् verbs are vocalised when followed by an affix having an indicative क ॥

The anuvritti of व्यङ् does not run into this sūtra. The root वच् includes the वच् परिभाषणे of the Adâdi class (II. 54) and the वच् substitute of वृ (II. 4. 53) स्वप् is the root त्रिष्वप् शये of the Adâdi class (II 59). The यजाद् verbs are the last nine roots of the Bhvâdi class viz. यज्, वप्, वह्, वस्, वेम्, व्येम्, ह्वेम्, वद् and श्वि ॥ The semivowels of these eleven verbs are changed into the corresponding vowel, when an affix having an indicative क is added to them. Thus with the Past Participle affixes क्त and क्तवतु we have the following forms:—
1. वच्—उक्तः, उक्तवान्, (VIII. 2. 30). 2 स्वप्—सुप्तः, सुप्तवान् 3 यज्—इष्टः, इष्टवान्. (VIII. 2. 36) 4 वप्—उप्तः, उप्तवान्, 5 वह्—ऊढः, ऊढवान् (VIII. 2. 31, 40, VIII. 3. 13 and VI. 3. 111) 6 वस्—ऊषितः ऊषितवान्, (VII. 2. 56 VIII. 3. 60) 7 वेम्—उतः, उतवान्, 8 व्येम्—संवीतः, संवीतवान्, 9 ह्वेम्—हृतः, हृतवान्, 10 वद्—उदितः, उदितवान्, 11 दुःशोश्चि—शूनः, शूनवान् ॥

धातो स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यय कार्यं विज्ञायते:—When in a Grammatical rule, an operation (dependant on an affix) is taught with regard to a root (dhâtu) by mentioning particular verbs (dhâtu) specifically, and not by using the word "dhâtu", generally, then the operation takes place only when the root is followed by such an affix as can be added to roots by enunciating the word धातोः ॥ The existence of this maxim is inferred in the formation of the word भ्रौणहृत्यच् in VI. 4. 174, which see. Therefore, there is no vocalisation of वच् in the following वाच्यति, वाचिकः ॥ Here वाच्यति is formed by adding क्यच् to वाच् (वाचमिच्छति) ॥ वाच् is formed by क्तिप् added to वच्, the vowel being lengthened and samprasâraṇa being expressly prevented by Uṇâdi II. 57. Now, it is a general rule that a root taking the affix विवप्, विद्, or विच् does not lose its character of a dhâtu. Therefore वाच् is a root (धातु), and it ought to take vocalisation before the affix क्यच् ॥ But क्यच् is not enunciated to come after a dhâtu, but after a सुबन्त (सुप्रभात्ननः क्यच् III. 1. 8) in the rule ordaining its affixing. So also वाचिकः formed by adding क्त to वाच् (See Vârt. V. 3. 83).

ग्रह्ज्यावयिव्यधिवष्टिविचतिवृश्चतिपृच्छतिभृज्जतीनां किति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रह्, ज्या, वयि, व्यधि, वष्टि, विचति; वृश्चति, पृच्छति, भृज्जतीनाम्, किति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उपदाने, ज्या वयोहानौ, वेसो वयिः, व्यध ताडने, वश क्रान्तौ, व्यच व्याजीकरणे, भोत्रइष्टु-छेदने, प्रच्छ ज्ञीप्सायां, भ्रज्ज पाके, इत्येतेषां धातूनां किति प्रत्यये परतश्चकारात्किति च संप्रसारणं भवति । परिभाषा ॥ निशददेशः पत्वस्वरप्रत्ययाविधीर्धाधिषु तिद्भोवक्तव्यः ॥

16. There is vocalisation of the semi-vowels of the following verbs, when an affix having an indicatory क् or ऊ् follows:—ग्रह 'to take', ज्या 'to become old', वेञ् 'to weave', व्यध 'to strike', वश 'to shine', व्यच 'to deceive', प्रञ्च 'to cut', प्रच्छ 'to ask', and भ्रञ्ज 'to cook, to fry'.

By force of the word 'च' 'and', the anuvritti of किति is read into this sūtra. Thus 1. ग्रह—गृहीतः, गृहीतवान् (by क् and क्तवतु), गृह्णाति (I. 2. 4), जरीगृह्यते (by यङ् of the Intensive). 2. ज्या—जीनः, जीनवान् (VIII. 2. 44 त् changed to न्), जिनाति (I. 2. 4), the short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 2 and is shortened again by VII. 3. 80. जेजीयते (यङ्), 3. वधि—The root वेञ् is replaced by वध when लिट् follows (II. 4. 41). This वधि can have no डित् affix after it, it takes only लिट् terminations, which as we know are कित् (I. 2. 5). The examples, therefore given will be of कित् affixes only. Thus ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Now arises this question 'why do you enumerate वधि, for is not वेञ् (for which वधि is substituted) already included in यजादि class of verbs given in the last sūtra, and by force of that sūtra, वधि will get samprasāraṇa before कित् affixes', The reply is "वधि is numerated here in order to show that the prohibition of samprasāraṇa with regard to वेञ् as taught in VI. 1. 40, does not apply to its substitute वधि in the Perfect Tense". Thus while the Perfect of वेञ् is वधै, वधतुः, वधुः, the Perfect of its substitute वधि is ऊवाय, ऊयतुः and ऊयुः ॥ More over VI. 1. 38 teaches that the य of वय is not vocalised in लिट् affixes, which therefore, implies (jñāpaka) that the other semivowel i. e. व of वय will be vocalised. 4. व्यध—विद्धः, विद्धवान्, and with डित् affixes विध्यति, वेविध्यते ॥ 5. वश—उशितः, उशितवान्, and with डित् affixes उष्टः, उशति ॥ 6. व्यच—विचितः, विचितवान्, विचति, वेविच्यते ॥ By a Vārtika under I. 2. 1, the word व्यच is considered to belong to कुटादि class, and therefore all affixes after it, other than those having an indicatory ण्, ञ् or the affix भस्, are considered as डित्, and therefore, there will be samprasāraṇa before these affixes : as, उद्विचिता, उद्विचितुम्, उद्विचितव्यम् ॥ 7. वृश्च—वृकणः, वृकणवान् ॥ How is the final च् of वृश्च changed into क्, for by VIII. 2. 36 च् ought to have been changed into ष before the झनादि affix क्त? To this we reply the affix क्त is replaced by न् (VII. 2. 42) and as this न् is not a झनादि affix, Rule VIII. 2. 36 does not apply. This is done on the following maxim : "The substitute of the Nishthā should be considered to be siddha or effective when applying the rules relating to the change of a letter into ष, to accent, to affix, and to the addition of the augment इट्". But when च् is to be changed into क्, the substitute is considered asidhha (not to have taken place). Thus we have the forms वृकणः &c. Before डित् affixes we have वृश्चति, वरीवृश्च्यते ॥ 8. प्रच्छ—पृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), पृष्टवान्, डित्—पृच्छति, परीपृच्छ्यते ॥ The forms प्रपृच्छ and बभ्रञ्ज would have been evolved by the simple rules of Reduplication even, without the

application of this rule. But प्रच्छ+नङ् (III. 3. 90)=प्रदनः ॥ Here there is no vocalisation, because Pānini himself uses the word प्रदनः in sūtra III. 2. 117 showing that this is the proper form though irregular. 9. भ्रस्ज—भृदः (VIII. 2. 36), भृदवान्, डित्—भृज्जाति, वरी भृज्ज्यते ॥ The स of भ्रस्ज is changed first into द् by भलां जश ह्रासि (VIII. 4. 53), and then द् is changed into ज by स्तोः ह्युना इत्तुः (VIII. 4. 40).

लिट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, अभ्यासस्य, उभयेषाम्, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयेषां वाच्यादीनां महादीनां च लिटि परतो ऽभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

17. There takes place vocalisation of the semi-vowel of the reduplicate (abhyâsa) of both vachyâdi (VI. 1. 15) and grahâdi (VI. 1. 16) words, when the affixes of लिट् follow.

Thus वच्—उवाच, उवाचिय, स्वप्—सुवाप, सुवपिय, यज—इयाज, इयजिय, डवप्—उदाप, उवपिय ॥ As regards महादि verbs; ग्रह—जग्राह, जग्रहिय (there is no speciality in case of this verb, as these forms would have been evolved without even this rule). इदा—जिज्यौ, जिज्यिय, वयि—उवाय, and उवयिय; व्यध—विव्याध, विव्यधिय, वश्—उवाश, उवशिय, व्यच्—विव्याच, विव्यचिय, व्रश्—वव्रश् and वव्रश्चिय ॥ Some say that with regard to व्रश्, it is equal whether there existed this present rule or not. For they argue thus, व्रश्+णल्=व्रश+व्रश्+भ=व+व्रश्+भ (ह्लादि शेषः VII. 4. 60)=वव्रश् ॥ To this we reply, this form would be evolved no doubt had this rule not existed. But when this rule is applied, and you make reduplication without first vocalising the र, then you will have to vocalise व by force of this rule. Hence the necessity of this rule with regard to व्रश् also, for having changed र into ऋ, we have वृव्रश् and then change ऋ into व by VII. 4. 66. Then this व substitute becomes sthânavat to ऋ (I. 1. 59), and therefore there is no vocalisation of this व, for rule VI. 1. 37, prevents the vocalisation of a letter standing before one which has already been vocalised. There is no speciality with regards to प्रच्छ and भ्रस्ज verbs.

This vocalisation of the reduplicate is taught with regard to those affixes which are not कित् ॥ With regard to कित् affixes, the Rule VI. 1. 15 will apply. And as the rule of vocalisation is subsequent to that of reduplication in order, therefore by the maxim of परस्व I. 4. 2, vocalisation will take place first and then reduplication, according to the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गं विज्ञानात्सिद्धम् "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded by a subsequent rule". Thus वच्+भतुः (which is कित् I. 2. 5)=उच्+भतुः=उच्+उच्+भतुः=ऊचतुः, ऊचुः ॥

Though the phrase **द्वभवयाम्** could have been supplied into this sūtra by the context and the governing scope of the preceding sūtras, its express mention in this sūtra is for the sake of indicating, that the rule of vocalisation supersedes even the rule of **ह्लादिः शेषः VII. 4. 60**, the vocalisation must take place at all events. Thus **व्यध+णल्=व्य+व्यध+अ** ॥ Here by VII. 4. 60, the second consonant **य** of **व्य** ought to have been elided, and the equation would have stood **व्+व्यध्+अ**, and there would have been vocalisation of **व** by this rule. But that is not intended; there is vocalisation of **य** and we have **विव्याध** ॥ In fact, the universal maxim of vocalisation is:—"The samprasāraṇa and the operations dependent on it possess greater force than other operations which are simultaneously applicable". **संप्रसारणं तदाश्रयं च कार्यम् बलवत् ॥**

स्वापेश्वाङि ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वापिः, चङि, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वापेरिति स्वपेर्णन्तस्य ग्रहणं तस्य चङि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

18. Of the causative verb **स्वापि** "to cause one to sleep", there is vocalisation of the semivowel, when the affix **चङ्** of the Reduplicated Aorist follows.

Thus the Aorist of **स्वापि** is **असूपुपत्, असूपुपताम्, असूपुपन् ॥** The vocalisation takes place before reduplication, then there is *guṇa* of the penultimate short vowel, then this is again shortened by VII. 4. 1, then there is reduplication, and then lengthening of the vowel of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 94. Thus **स्वापि+चङ्=सुपि+चङ्=सुप्** (VI. 4. 51)+**चङ्** (VII. 3. 86)=**सोप्+चङ्=सुप्+चङ्** (VII. 4. 1)=**सु+सुप्+चङ्** (VI. 1. 11)=**सूपुपत्** (VII. 4. 94) which with the augment **अ** becomes **असूपुपत् ॥**

Why do we say 'when **चङ्** follows'? Observe **स्वाप्यते, स्वापितः ॥** The *anuvritti* of **किति** has ceased, that of **ङिति** however is here.

स्वपिस्यमिव्येजां यङि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि, स्यामि, व्येजाम्, याङि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिष्वप् शये स्यसु स्वन ध्वन शब्दे, व्येञ् संवरणे, इत्येतेषां धातूनां यङि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

19. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the verbs **स्वप्** 'to sleep', **स्यम्** 'to shout', and **व्ये** 'to cover', when followed by the affix **यङ्** of the Intensive.

Thus **सोपुप्यते, सोसिम्यते, वेवीयते** (VII. 4. 25 the short **इ** is lengthened). Why do we say 'when **यङ्** follows'? Observe **स्वप्क्** formed by **नङिद्** III. 2. 172.

न वशः ॥ २० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वर्चते । वशोर्द्धातोर्यङि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

20. There is not vocalisation of the semi-vowel of **वश**, when the affix **यङ्** follows.

The word यङि is understood here. As वावइयते, वावइयते, वावइयन्ते ॥ Why do we say "when यङ् follows"? Observe उटः, उटन्ति ॥ See VI. 1. 16 to which this rule is an exception.

चायः की ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वर्त्तते । चयि पूजानिशामनयोर्ल्येतस्य धातोर्वाङि परतः कील्ययमोदेशो भवति ॥

21. The verb की is substituted for the verb चायृ 'to worship, to observe', when the Intensive affix यङ् follows.

The phrase यङि is understood here. Thus चैकीयते, चैकीयते, चैकीयन्ते ॥ The exhibition of की in the sūtra with a long ई indicates that there is long vowel even in tenses where यङ् is elided, as चैकीतः ॥ For if the sūtra had enunciated कि with a short इ as the substitute of चायृ, the forms चैकीयते &c would have been still valid. Thus कि + यङ् = चि + कि + य = चे + कि + य = चे + की + च (VII. 4. 25 causing the lengthening of the short इ). But then the Nishṭhā would have been चैकितः which is wrong.

स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, स्फी, निष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फायी षोप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः स्फील्ययमोदेशो भवति ॥

22. The स्फी is the substitute of स्फाय 'to swell', when the Nishṭhā affixes follow.

Thus स्फीतः, स्फीतवान् ॥ Why do we say "when the Nishṭhā affixes follow"? Observe स्फातिः formed by क्तिन् ॥ In the phrase स्फाती भवति, the word स्फाती is the feminine of the word स्फाति formed by क्तिन् ॥ The phrase निष्ठायाम् "when the Nishṭhā follows" governs all the subsequent sūtras up to VI. 1. 29.

स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्यः, प्र, पूर्वस्य, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायामिति वर्त्तते सम्प्रसारणमिति च । स्फा इत्येतत् स्वर्यते । स्त्ये ष्ट्यै शब्दसंघातयोर्द्वयोरप्येतयोर्द्धात्वोः स्त्यारूपमापन्नयोः सामान्येन ग्रहणम् । स्त्या इत्येतस्य प्रपूर्वस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः सम्प्रसारणं भवति ॥

23. The verb स्त्या (स्त्ये and ष्ट्यै) when preceded by प्र changes its semivowel to a vowel, when a Nishṭhā affix follows.

The phrases "when the nishṭhā follows", and "there is vocalisation" are understood here. The anuvritti of स्फी does not run here. The roots स्त्ये and ष्ट्यै both assume the स्त्या form and are included here. Thus प्र + स्त्या + क्त = प्र + स्ति + त (VI. 1. 108) = प्रस्तीतः (VI. 4. 2), and प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ The त of nishṭhā affix would have been changed into न् by VIII. 2. 43 in as much as the root स्त्या has a semivowel and ends in long आ ॥ But by the vocalisation of य, the condition of यण्वन् for the application of VIII. 2. 43, no longer existing, the affix त is not changed to न् ॥ But त is optionally changed to म् by VIII. 2. 54 as प्रस्तीमः and प्रस्तीमवान् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by प्र?" Observe संस्त्यानः (VIII. 2. 43), संस्त्यानवान् ॥ If it was intended that vocalisation should take place when प्र

singly stood before, then the sūtra could well have run thus प्रस्यः ॥ The use of the word पूर्वस्य implies that the rule applies when प्र stands first, though other upasargas may intervene between it and the root. Thus प्रसंस्तीतः, प्रसंस्तीतवान् ॥ The compound प्रपूर्वस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrīhi=प्रः पूर्वो यस्य धातूपसर्ग-समुदायस्य स प्रपूर्व (that which consisting of root and upasarga is preceded by प्र is called प्रपूर्व). Therefore the rule is made applicable to प्रसंस्तीतः &c.

द्रवमूर्त्तिस्पर्शयोः श्यः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रवमूर्त्ति, स्पर्शयोः, श्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रवमूर्त्तौ द्रवकाठिन्ये स्पर्शे वर्त्तमानस्य श्येङ् गतावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

24. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the root श्या (श्यै) 'to go' when the nishṭhâ affixes follow, when the sense is "coagulation" or "cold to touch".

The word द्रवमूर्त्ति means hardening of a fluid, by coagulation &c. Thus शीनं घृतं, शीना वसा, शीनं मेदः "a coagulated butter, grease &c". The ण of nishṭhâ is changed to न by VIII. 2. 47. But when the sense is that of 'cold', the ण is not changed; as शीतं वर्त्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतघुदकम् ॥ The word शीत is here used both as a noun meaning 'cold weather &c', and an adjective denoting 'cold'. There is no vocalisation when the sense is not that of 'coagulation' or 'cold', as संदयानो वृश्चिकः 'the rolled up scorpion'. The short इ is lengthened in शीन &c, by VI. 4. 2.

प्रतेश्च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्य इति वर्त्तते । प्रतेरुत्तरस्य श्यायतेर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

25. There is vocalisation of श्या preceded by the upasarga प्रति, when the nishṭhâ affixes follow.

Thus प्रतिशीनः प्रतिशीनवान् ॥ This sūtra applies to cases where the words need not have the meaning of "coagulation" or "cold".

विभाषा ऽभ्यवपूर्वस्य ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अभि, अव, पूर्वस्य, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ श्य इति वर्त्तते । अभि अव इत्येवंपूर्वस्य श्यायतेर्निष्ठायां विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

26. There is optionally the vocalisation of श्या followed by the Nishṭhâ affixes, when the upasargas अभि and अव precede it.

Thus अभिशीनम् or अभिश्यानम् घृतं, अवशीनम् or अवश्यानम् वृश्चिकः ॥ This option applies even when the word means "coagulation" and "cold". As अवशीनं or अवश्यानं घृतं, मेदः ॥ अवशीतो or अवश्यानो वायुः, &c. अवशीतं or अवश्यानघुदकं ॥

The पूर्व in this sūtra serves the same purpose as in VI. 1. 23. Thus अभिसंशीनं or अभिसंश्यानं, अवसंशीनं, अवसंश्यानं ॥ According to the author of Sid-dhānta Kaumudī, the word पूर्व shows that it is a vyavasthita vibhāshā, hence there is no option allowed when अभि and अव are in the middle, as, समभिश्यानं, समवश्यानं ॥ Here we cannot have the alternative forms समभिशीनं &c.

शृतं पाके ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृतम्, पाके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेत्यनुवर्त्तते । आ पाके इत्येतस्य धातोर्प्यन्तस्याप्यन्तस्य च पाके ऽभिधेये क्तप्रत्यये परतः शृभावा निपात्यन्ते विभाषा ॥

27. Optionally शृत is formed in the sense of 'cooked', by the vocalisation of the semivowel of आ before the nishṭhâ affix क्त ॥

The word विभाषा is understood here. The roots श्रे 'to cook' of the Bhvâdi class, and आ 'to cook' of the Adâdi class, and आ 'to cook' of the Bhvâdi sub-class Ghaṭâdi, are meant here. In all these, शृ replaces आ, whether causative or not. Thus शृतं क्षीरं, शृतं हविः ॥ This is a vyavasthita vivhâshâ; so that आ is invariably changed to शृ when referring to क्षीरं and हविः, but not anywhere else. Thus आणा यवामुः, अपिता यवामुः (VII. 3. 36 and VI. 4. 92). This word does not take double causative though the sense may require it. As अपितं क्षीरं देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तेन "Devadatta through Yajñadatta has caused the milk to be cooked". The आ is intransitive. When the sense is that of Reflexive, or Causative, there the form शृत is to be used. As शृतं क्षीरं स्वयमव, शृतं क्षीरं देवदत्तेन ॥

प्यायः पी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्यायः, पी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेत्येव । ओप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां विभाषा पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. पी is optionally the substitute of the root प्याय 'to increase' before the Nishṭhâ affixes.

The root ओप्यायी वृद्धौ belongs to Bhvâdi class. The Indicatory औ shows that the affixes त् and तवन् are changed into न् and नवन् (VIII. 2. 45). Thus पीनं सुखम्, पीनो बाहू, पीनसुरः ॥ The option here is also a regulated option (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ). The substitution takes place *invariably* when the root is without upasarga, and *never* when it is preceded by an upasarga. Thus प्रप्यानः. आप्यानश्चन्द्रमाः ॥ The substitution, however, must take place when the preposition आङ् precedes the root, and the words अन्तुः and ऊङ्स् are in composition : as आपीनोन्तुः, आपीनमृधः ॥

लिङ्ग्यङोश्च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यङोः, च, (पी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेति निवृत्तम् । प्यायः पीत्येतच्चशब्देनानुक्लृष्यते । लिङि यदि च परंतः प्यायः पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

29. There is substitution of पी for प्याय when the affixes of the Perfect (लिङ्) and the Intensive (यङ्) follow.

The anuvritti of the word विभाषा ceases. The phrase प्यायः पी of the last sūtra is drawn into this by force of the word च 'and'; thus आपिप्ये, आपिप्याते, आपिप्यिरे ॥ The substitution of पी a subsequent rule, would have debarred reduplication which precedes it in order. The reduplication, however, takes place after the substitution, by force of the maxim of पुनः प्रसङ्ग &c men-

tioned in VI. I. 17. Thus वी+लिङ्=पि+वी+त=पि+व्य+ए (VI. 4. 82 the य being substituted)=भापिच्ये with the affix भा. So also in the Intensive, as भापेपीयेते, भापेपीयेते, भापेपीयन्ते ॥

विभाषा श्वेः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, श्वेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्चङोऽपि वृत्ते संप्रसारणमिति च । लिङि यङि च श्वयतेर्धातोर्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ।

30. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel of श्वि before the affixes of the Perfect and the Intensive.

The phrases 'लिङ् यङोः' and 'संप्रसारणं' are to be read into this sūtra. Thus शुश्रावे or शिश्राय, शुश्रुवतुः or शिश्रुवतुः ॥ So also in the Intensive as शीश्रुयते or शश्रीयते ॥ The root श्वि would not have taken vocalisation before यङ् by any previous rule, this sūtra teaches optional vocalisation. The root would have taken vocalisation before लिङ्, which is a क्तिन् affix, invariably by VI. I. 15, this sūtra modifies that by making the substitution optional. In the alternative, when the root does become vocalised, the reduplicate is also not vocalised in spite of VI. I. 17. This explains the form शिश्राय, which by VI. I. 17 would have been शुश्राय ॥ दिव्+णल्=(श् उइ+णल् VI. I. 30)=शु+णल् (VI. I. 108)=शु+शु+ञ् (VI. I. 8)=शुश्राव ॥

णौ च संश्रद्धोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, च, सन्, चङोः, (संप्रसारणम्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा श्वेरिति वृत्ते । सन्परे चङ् परे च णौ परतः श्वयतेर्द्धातोर्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

31. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel, in the causative of श्वि, when followed by the Desiderative सन् and the Aorist चङ् affix.

The phrase विभाषा श्वेः is understood here. In forming the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist forms of the Causative of श्वि, there is optional vocalisation. Thus शुश्रावयिषति or शिश्रावयिषति ॥ So also in the Reduplicated Aorist चङ्, as अशुश्रावन् or अशिश्रावयन् ॥ By the maxim संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाभ्यं च बलीयो भवति (see sūtra VI. I. 17), the antaranga substitution of Viddhi &c is superseded by the samprasāraṇa and the subsidiary operations relating to it here. The vṛiddhi and the substitution of आव take place *after* the samprasāraṇa has taken place. The sūtra VII. 4. 80 teaching the substitution of ई for the उ of the reduplicate, when सन् follows, shows by implication that the substitution caused by णि is sthānivat though it itself does not cause reduplication (I. I. 59). Thus श्वि+णि=श्वै+इ=श्राय्+इ=श्रायि ॥ In reduplicating श्रायि we cannot form श्राश्राय, but must consider the substitute equal to the original इ of श्वि and must reduplicate it. We thus get शिश्रावयिषति ॥ In the case of vocalisation, the rules of Vṛiddhi &c are postponed. Thus श्वि+णि+सन् (VI. I. 108)=शु+णि+सन्=शौ+इ+सन्=श्राव्+इ+इद्+सन्=श्रावे+इद्+सन्=श्रावयि+सन् ॥ Here we requ-

ire reduplication. Here the substitute आइ in झाइ though not *caused* by सन्, is treated sthânavat under I. 1. 59 to उ, which is carried in reduplication. Similarly the Aorist: शिव् + णि + चङ् = शु + इ + भ = शु + शु + इ + भ = शु + शौ + इ + भ = शु + श्वा + इ + भ = शु + शव् + इ + भ (VII. 4. 1) = शु + शव् + इ + भ (VI. 4. 51) = भशुशवत् (VII. 4. 94)

हः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ च संश्रद्धोरिति वर्त्तते । सन्परे चङ् परे च णौ परतो हः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

32. There is the vocalisation of the semivowel of the causative of *hve* (ह्वे) before the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist affixes.

The whole of the last sūtra is to be read into this sūtra. Thus जुहाव-यिषति and जुहावयिषतः, जुहावयिषन्ति; भजूहवत्, भजूहवताम् and भजूहवन् ॥ The root ह्वा does not take the augment य required by VII. 3. 37 before the affix णि, because the Samprasârana rule is stronger. The repetition of the word संप्रसारण in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the force of the word विभाषा has ceased. Though this and the next sūtra could well have been made one, their separation shows that the samprasârana does not take place when another affix, not causing reduplication, intervenes. As ह्वायकमिच्छति = ह्वायकीयति; the Desiderative of this verb is जिह्वायकीयिषति ॥

अभ्यस्तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तस्य, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह् इति वर्त्तते, तदभ्यस्तस्य चेत्यनेन व्यधिकरणम्, अभ्यस्तस्य यो ह्ययतिः, कश्चाभ्यस्तस्य ह्ययतिः, कारणं, तेनाभ्यस्तकारणस्य ह्ययतेः प्रागिव द्विवचनात्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

33. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of ह्वा in the reduplicated form, in both the syllables.

The abhyasta means the reduplicate and the reduplicated, both the syllables. The vocalisation takes place before reduplication. Thus जुहाव, जोह्वयते, and जुह्वयति ॥ This and the last sūtra are one, in the original of Pânini, they have been divided into two by the authority of a Vârtika.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह् इति वर्त्तते । छन्दसि विशेष्ये ह्ययतेर्द्धातो बहुलं संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

34. In the Chhandas, the semivowel of this root is diversely vocalised.

Thus हुवे or ह्यामि, as इन्द्राग्नी हुवे 'Invoke Indra and Agni'. देवी सरस्वती हुवे ॥ The form हुवे is Atmanepada, Present tense, 1st Pers. sing. the vikarana शप् is elided, then there is vocalisation and substitution of उवई ॥ So also ह्यामि मरुतः शिवान्, ह्यामि विद्वान् देवान् ॥ So also ह्वः as श्रुधीह्वम् (Rig I. 2. 1.) 'hear the invocation'.

चायः की ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वक्तंते । चायतेर्दातोऽछन्दसि विषये बहुलं कीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

35. For चाय् is diversely substituted की in the Chhandas.

Thus विद्युत्ता निचिक्युः, नान्य चिक्युर्न निचिक्युरन्यम् ॥ These are forms ending in the affix उत्स् of the Perfect. Sometimes there is no substitution. As भग्नि-
र्द्योतिर्निचाय्यः ॥

अपस्पृधेथामानृचुरानृहुश्चिच्युषेतित्याजभ्राताः श्रितमाशीराशीर्त्ताः ॥ ३६ ॥
पदानि ॥ अपस्पृधेथाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, भ्राताः, श्रितम्,
भाशीः, आशीर्त्ताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्पृधेथाम् आनृचुः आनृहुः चिच्युषे तित्याज, भ्राताः, श्रितम्, भाशीः, भाशीर्त्तः, एतेनिपात्यन्ते
छन्दसि विषये ॥

36. In the Chhandas, the following irregular forms are met with :—अपस्पृधेथाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, भ्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः and आशीर्त्तः ॥

The word छन्दसि is understood here. From the root स्पर्द्ध 'to challenge', is formed अपस्पृधेथाम् being the Imperfect (लङ्), 2nd Pers. Dual, Atmanepada : there is reduplication of the root, vocalisation of र्, and the elision of अ irregularly. As, इन्द्रश्च विष्णो यदपस्पृधेथाम् ॥ In secular language the form is अपस्पृधेथाम् ॥ Some say, it is derived from स्पर्द्ध with the preposition अप, the vocalisation of र्, the elision of अ, and the non-prefixing of the augment अद् in the Imperfect (VI. 4. 75). The counter-example of this will be अपास्पर्द्धेथाम् ॥ From अर्च and अर्ह 'to respect, to worship', are derived आनृचुः and आनृहुः in the Perfect before the 3rd per. pl. उत्स्, there being vocalisation of र् and the elision of अ irregularly. Then there is reduplication, then ऋ changed to अ, then the lengthening of this अ, then the addition of the augment न, as :
अर्च + उत्स् = ऋच् + उत्स् = ऋ + ऋच् + उत्स् = अ + ऋच् + उत्स् (VII. 4. 66) = आ + ऋच् + उत्स् (VII. 4. 70) = आ + नृ + ऋच् + उत्स् (VII. 4. 71) = आनृचुः ॥ The irregularity consists in the samprasârṇa with the elision of अ ॥ Thus यवया अर्कमानृचुः, न वसुण्यानृहुः ॥ The secular forms will be आनर्चुः, आनर्हः ॥ The form चिच्युषे is the Perfect 2nd per. sing. of the root च्युङ् 'to go': there is vocalisation of the reduplicate, and the non-addition of the augment इद् before the affix से ॥ This is the irregularity. The regular form is चुच्युषे ॥ The form तित्याज is the Perfect of त्यज्, the vocalisation of the reduplicate is the irregularity. The regular form is तत्याज ॥ From the root श्रीञ् 'to cook', is derived भ्राता before the Nishṭhâ affix, श्री changed to भ्रा irregularly. As भ्रातास्त इन्द्रसोमाः ॥ The form श्रितं is also derived from the same root by shortening the vowel with the same affix. As सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः, श्रिता नो गृहाः ॥ Some say the भ्रा substitution of श्री takes place when the word refers to सोम, in the plural, and श्रि when it refers to other

than सोम ॥ Sometimes the word आतः is seen in the singular, referring to objects other than सोम । Thus यदि आतो जुहोतन ॥ In fact, the exhibition of the word आताः in the plural in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary. The words आशीर् and आशीर्त्तः are from the same root श्री, with the prefix आङ् and taking the affixes क्तिप् and क्त respectively. Before these श्री is replaced by शीर्, and the non-addition of न in the Nishṭhā is irregular. As, तामाशीरा दुहन्ति आशीर्त्त ऊर्जम्, शीरैर्मध्यत आशीर्त्तः ॥

न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संप्रसारणे, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥
वृत्ति ॥ संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋचि त्रेरुत्तरपदादिलोपश्छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ र्यैर्मतौ बहुलम् ॥

37. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

Thus व्यध्; has two semi-vowels व् and य्; when य् is once vocalised into इ, the preceding व् will not be vocalised into उ ॥ Thus we have विद्धः ॥ From व्यच्—विचितः, व्यञ्—संवीतः ॥ Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sūtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found *preceding* a vocalised letter. This sūtra is a jāpaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI. 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व् being changed to उ, the य् is not changed as यूना ॥ It might be objected that when the उ of यु, and उ the samprasāraṇa of व् coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two उ's and this is sthānivat to the original, the य् and व् of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthānivat (See I. 1. 58). Even though it be considered as sthānivat, it is still a separating letter.

Vart.—There is vocalisation of the semivowel of चि when followed by ऋच्, and there is elision of the ऋ of ऋच्, when it refers to Metres. As तिष्ठ ऋचो यस्मिन् = तृचं सुक्तं ॥ तृचं साम ॥ The word तृच् takes the samāsānta affix अ by V. 4. 74. Why do we say when referring to a metre? Observe स्यृचं कर्म ॥

Vårt:—In the Chhandas there is diversely vocalisation of the semi-vowel of रयि followed by the affix मतुप् as रयि + मत् = रइ + मत् = र + इ + मत् = र + इ-1-वद् (VIII. 2. 15) = रेवत्; as, आ रेवानेतु नो विशः ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as रयिमान् पुष्टिवर्द्धनः ॥ The म here is not changed to व as required by VIII. 2. 15.

Vårt:—There is vocalisation of कक्ष्या before मत् when a Name is meant: as कक्षीवन्तं य औशिजः ॥ This Vårtika is unnecessary. See VIII. 2. 12 where the form कक्षीवत् is given.

लिटि वयो यः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, वयः, यः (संप्रसारणम् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्त्तते । लिटि परतो वयो यकारस्य संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

38. In the substituted root वय (II. 4. 41), the य in the Perfect is not vocalised.

The phrase न संप्रसारणं is understood here. Thus उवाय, ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ The word लिट् is employed in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras, this one could have done well without it even.

वश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां किति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, किति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्य वयो यकारस्य किति लिटि परतो वकारदेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

39. Before the tense-affixes of the Perfect that have an indicatory क (I. 2. 5), for the य् of वय् may optionally be substituted a व् ॥

Thus ऊयतुः or ऊवतुः, ऊवुः or ऊयुः ॥ According to Pātanjali, the phrase वश्चास्य of this sūtra could have been dispensed with; this much would have been enough:—अन्यतरस्याः किति वेजः ॥ Thus वे + अतुस् = वा + वा + अतुस् = ववतुः and ववुः (the vocalisation being prohibited). In the alternative:—वा + अतुस् = उ + अतुस् = उ + उवद् + अतुस् (VI. 1. 77) = ऊवतुः, ऊवुः ॥ Here there is vocalisation. In the case of वय् substitute, the य is never vocalised, so we have ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Thus all the three forms have been evolved without using वश्चास्य ॥

वेजः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वेजः, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिट्यनुवर्त्तते । वेज् तन्तुसंतानइत्यस्य धातोर्लिटि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

40. The semivowel of वे 'to weave' is not vocalised in the Perfect.

Thus ववौ, ववतुः, ववुः ॥ This root belongs to यजादि class and would have been vocalised before कित् affixes by VI. 1. 15; and before non-कित् affixes the Reduplicate syllable of the Perfect would have been vocalised by VI. 1. 17. Both vocalisations are prohibited here.

ल्यपि च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्यपि, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेज् इत्यनुवर्त्तते । ल्यपि च परतो व्येजः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

41. The semivowel of वे is not vocalised when the Participial affix ल्यप् follows.

Thus प्रवाय, उपवाय ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of ल्यप् only runs.

ज्यश्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यः, च, (संप्रसारणम् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । ज्या वयोहानावित्यस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

42. The semivowel of ज्या 'to grow old' is not vocalised when the affix ल्यप् follows.

Thus प्रज्याय, उपज्याय ॥

व्यश्च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यः, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । व्यञ् संवरणइत्येतस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

43. The semivowel of व्या (व्ये) 'to cover' is not vocalised when the affix ल्यप् follows.

As प्रव्याय, उपव्याय ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvritti of व्ये runs.

विभाषा परेः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, परेः, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि च व्यश्चेत्यनुवर्त्तते । परेरुत्तरस्य व्यञ्चित्येतस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतो विभाषा संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

44. The vocalisation may optionally take place when व्ये preceded by परि takes the affix ल्यप् ॥

Thus परिवीय शृणुम् or परिव्याय ॥ The augment लुक् presented by VI. 1. 71 is debarred by VI. 4. 2. which causes the lengthening of the vowel: since VI. 4. 2 is subsequent to VI. 1. 71.

आदेच उपदेशे ऽशिति ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, एचः, उपदेशे, अशिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातो रिति वर्त्तते । एजन्तो यो धातुरुपदेशे तस्याकारदेशो भवति शिति तु प्रत्यये न भवति ॥

45. In a root, which in the system of grammatical instruction (i. e. in the Dhâtupâṭha), ends with a diphthong (ए, ऐ, ओ and औ), there is the substitution of आ for the diphthong, provided that no affix with an indicatory श् follows it.

The word धातोः is to be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 8. Thus ग्लौ-ग्लाता, ग्लातुम्, ग्लातव्यम्, शौ—निशाता, निशातुम्, निशातव्यम् ॥ Why do we say ending with an एच् (diphthong)? Observe कर्त्ता from कृ, and हर्त्ता from हृ ॥ Why do we say in upadeśa or Dhâtupâṭha? Observe चेता, स्तोता where चे and स्तो are not the forms taught in the first enunciation of the root in the Dhâtupâṭha, but are secondary forms. Why do we say, before non-शित् affixes? Observe ग्लै-ल-शप् + तिप् = ग्लायति, म्लायति ॥ Exception is, however, made in the case of the affix एश् of the Perfect: as जग्ले, मग्ले ॥ This is explained by interpreting the word शित् as शिदादि, that is the affixes having an indicatory श in the beginning: एश् has श् at the end. This is done on the maxim यस्मिन् विधिस्तदादावल् ग्रहणे "when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule in the form of the Locative

case, and qualifies some thing else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question and not as ending with it".

The word अशिति is an example of प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः, a simple prohibition of a contingent case. Therefore, the substitution of आ for एच् vowels, is not caused by the affixes that follow, but must take place prior to the occasion for the application of the affixes arises. Thus III. 1. 136 ordains क् after roots ending in आ; so that ऋँ and ॠँ are presupposed to end in आ when applying this affix: thus सुग्लः, सुम्लः ॥ Similarly by III. 3. 128 we apply इच् to ॠँ and ॡँ by presupposing it as आदन्त roots: as सुग्लानः, सुम्लानः ॥

The word आ is understood in all the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 1. 57 न व्यो लिटि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, व्यः, लिटि, (आत्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ् इत्येतस्य धातोर्लिटि परत आकारदेशो न भवति ॥

46. There is not the substitution of आ for the Diphthong of the root व्ये when the affixes of the Perfect follow.

Thus संविच्याय, संविच्ययिथ ॥ The reduplicate of the Perfect is vocalised here by VI. 1. 17. The Vriddhi in संविच्याय takes place by VII. 2. 115 before the णिन् affix णल् ॥

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्घञि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, घञि, (आत्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ आदेच इति वर्त्तते । रफुर स्फुल चलनइत्येतयोर्द्धात्वारेचः स्थाने घञि परत आकारदेशो भवति ॥

47. In the roots स्फुर् and स्फुल् 'to move', there is the substitution of the आ for the diphthong when the affix घञ् follows.

Thus विस्फारः instead of विस्फोरः, and विस्फालः instead of विस्फोलः ॥ By VIII. 3. 76, the स is optionally changed to ष after वि, as विष्फारः, and विष्फालः ॥

क्रीड्जीनां णौ ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री, इड्, जीनाम, णौ, (आत्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ डुक्रीड् ऋव्यविनिमये, इड् अध्ययने, जि जयं, इत्येतेषां धातूनामेचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारदेशो भवति ॥

48. The substitution of आ for the diphthong takes place in the causatives of the roots क्री 'to by', इ 'to study' and जि 'to conquer.'

Thus क्रापयति, अध्यापयति and जापयति ॥ The augment प् is added by VII. 3. 36, since these roots end in long आ ॥

सिध्यतेरपारलौकिके ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिध्यतेः, अपारलौकिके ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ णावृत्तिवर्त्तते । षिधु हिंसासंराद्धो रित्यस्य धातोर्पारलौकिकेर्थे वर्त्तमानस्यैचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारदेशो भवति ॥

49. The substitution of आ takes place for the diphthong in the causative of सिध्, when it does not refer to the next life.

The word पारलौकिक is derived from परलोक 'the next world' by adding the affix इञ् with the force of 'for the sake of' (V. I. 109). The double Vṛid-dhi takes place by VII. 3. 20. The sense of the word सिध् must refer to अज्ञान or non-intelligent things for the purposes of this substitution. Thus अन्नं साधयति, ग्रामं साधयति ॥ Why do we say when not referring to the next world? See तपस्तापसं सेधयति, स्वान्वयनं कर्माणि सेधयन्ति ॥ The force of सिध् is here that of knowledge, तापसः सिद्धयति = ज्ञानावशेषमासादयति ॥ The ascetic acquires certain knowledge through austerities, the knowledge so acquired produces its result in the next world (परलोकं) i. e. the next life, therefore, the साधनं of the ascetic is for the sake of the next life, and so there is no substitution of आ for ए ॥ Why the substitution does not take place here: अन्नं साधयति, ब्राह्मणेभ्योदास्यामि 'he causes food to be prepared for the purpose of giving to the Brahmanas'. Here though the gift of the food produces effect in the next world, yet as that is the effect of ज्ञान and not of the verb सिध्, the substitution does take place. When the verb सिध् directly and not through the mediation of another action, produces pāraloukika effect, then the substitution does not take place. The verb सिध् here belongs to the Diṛādi class and not to the Bhvādi, as the form सिन्धति in the sūtra shows it.

मीनातिमिनोतिदीङ्ङं ल्यपि च ॥ ५० ॥ प्रदानि ॥ मीनाति, मिनोति, दीङ्ङाम्, ल्यपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेच उपदेशइति वर्त्तते । मीञ् हिंसायाम्, डुमिञ् प्रक्षेपणे, दीङ् क्षय, इत्येतेषां धातूनां ल्यपि विषये चकारादेचश्च विषये उपदेशएव प्राक् प्रत्ययोत्पन्नेरलोस्यस्य स्थाने आकारादेशो भवति ॥

50. And there is substitution of आ for the finals of मी 'to hurt', मि 'to scatter', and दी 'to decay' when the affix ल्यप् follows, as well as before those affixes which demand this substitution for the diphthong.

By force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra, the substitution takes place of the diphthongs also of these verbs before all affixes other than ज्ञान्, and this substitution takes place, before the occasion for the applying of the affixes arises (उपदेशावस्थायाम् आवृत्तं भवति) ॥ So that these verbs should be understood as if they were enunciated with an आ, so that all rules of affixes relating to आ will apply to them. Thus प्रमाता, प्रमातव्यम्, प्रमातुम्, प्रमाय, निमाता, निमातुम्, निमातव्यम्, निमाय, उपज्ञाता, उपज्ञातव्यम्, उपज्ञातुम्, उपज्ञाय ॥ The substitution of आ being understood to have taken place in the very उपदेश (in the dhātupāṭha) of

these roots, the affixes relating to roots ending in इ or ई do not apply to these at all. Thus उपशयो वर्त्तते, ईषदुपशानं, formed by घञ् and युच् by taking दी=दा and adding these affixes (III. 3. 128 and III. 3. 18) and not the affixes भच् (III. 3. 56) and खल् (III. 3. 126).

विभाषा लीयते: ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लीयते: ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीनि वर्त्तते, आदेश उपदेशादिति च । लीड् श्लेषणइति दिवादिः ली श्लेषणइति कषादिस्तथोरुभयोरपि यका निर्देशः स्मर्यते । लीयतर्द्धातोर्याप च एचश्च विषये उपदेशएवालोच्यस्य स्थाने विभाषा आकारदेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निर्भूमिलियां खलचोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

51. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the final of ली 'to adhere', in the very dhâtu-pâṭha, when the affix ल्यप् follows or such an affix as would demand this substitution of the diphthong.

The final of ली will take guṇa substitution before शित् affixes, and will become ले, this incipient diphthong ए is changed to आ by this rule. The same is the case with all the roots subsequently taught, thus खिद् will be खेद्, and then ए changed to आ, युर्=गोर् and ओ changed to आ &c. Therefore we have employed the anuvritti of एच् 'diphthong' in all sūtras. The words ल्याप and आदेश उपदेश are understood here. The roots ली belonging to Divâdi and Kriyâdi are both included here. Thus विलाता, विलातुम्, विलातव्यम्, विलाय, विलेता विलेतुम्, विलेतव्यम् and विलीय ॥

Vârt:—The आ substitution does not take place when the affix भच् (III. 3. 56, III. 1. 134) and खल् (III. 3. 126) come after नि, मि, मी and ली: as, ईषन्नियः, निमयो वर्त्तते । ईषत्प्रमयः, प्रमयो वर्त्तते । ईषद् विलयः, विलयो वर्त्तते ॥

The ली invariably takes आ substitution when the sense is that of 'showing respect,' 'deceiving' or 'insulting'. As कस्त्वामुल्लापयते, ज्येनो वत्तिकामुल्लापयते ॥ The option allowed by this aphorism is a restricted option (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ) The substitution of आ for the final of ई is optional when the sense of the root is not that of 'showing respect', 'subduing' or 'deceiving'. But when it has any one of these three senses, the substitution is compulsory. See I. 1. 70.

खिदेऽछन्दसि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिदेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेति वर्त्तते । खिद्वेन्यइत्यस्य धातोरचः स्थानेऽछन्दसि विषये विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

52. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the verb खिद् 'to suffer pain', in the Chhandas.

The word विभाषा is understood here. Thus चित्तं चिखाद् or चिखेद् ॥ In secular literature we have चित्तं खेदयति ॥

अपगुरो णमुलि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप, गुरः, णमुलि, (धात्व) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुरी उद्यमनइत्यस्य धातोः अपपूर्वस्य णमुलि परत एचः स्थाने विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ।

53. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root गुर 'to exert' when preceded by the preposition अप and taking the affix णमुल् ॥

The affix णमुल् forming the Absolutive Participle is added by III. 4. 22, and the word formed by it is repeated. Thus अपगारमपगारम् or अपगोरमपगोरम् ॥ So also this affix is added by III. 4. 53 : as, अस्यपगारं युध्यन्ते or अस्यपगोरं युध्यन्ते "they are fighting with raised swords'.

चिस्फुरोर्णौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चि, स्फुरोः, णौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिच् स्फुर इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोर्णौ परत एचः स्थाने विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ॥

54. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the roots चि and स्फुर when in the Causative.

Thus चापयति, चाययति (VII. 3. 36 for the addition of ष्) so also स्फोरयति or स्फारयति ॥

प्रजने वीयतेः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, वीयतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णाञिने वर्त्तते । वी गतिप्रजनकान्त्यसतत्त्वाद्नेनु इत्यस्य धातोः प्रजने वर्त्तमानस्य णौ परतो विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ।

55. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root वी in the causative, when meaning 'to conceive an embryo'.

The root वी Adâdi 39 means 'to go, to conceive, to shine, to eat, and to desire'. The substitution takes place when it means 'to impregnate or conceive'. Thus पुत्रे वातो गाः प्रवापयति or प्रवाययति = गर्भं ग्राहयति ॥ The word प्रजन means the receiving of the embryo which in course of time will lead to the birth of a child.

विभेतेर्हेतुभये ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभेतेः, हेतु भये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णाञिने वर्त्तते विभाषा च । हेतुर्हि पारिभाषिकः स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजकस्ततो यद्भवत्, स यस्य भयस्य साक्षाद्हेतुः, तद्भव्यं हेतुभयम् । तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य त्रिभू भयइत्यस्य धातोर्णौ परतो विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ॥

56. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the diphthong of the root भी 'to fear', in the Causative, when the fear is produced directly through the agent of the causative.

The words णौ and विभाषा are understood here. The word हेतु in the sūtra is the technical हेतु meaning स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजक (I. 4. 54 and 55). When the

Hetu Agent himself is directly the cause of the fear, that fear is called the हेतुभय "the fear caused by the Hetu". Thus सुण्डो भापयते (VII. 3. 36) or भीषयते (VII. 3. 40). So also जदिलो भापयते or भीषयते ॥ This root takes the affixes of the Atmanepada, by I. 3. 68; and the augment ष is added by VII. 3. 40, which does not come when there is आ substitution, for the भी in VII. 3. 40 is equal to भी + ई i. e. भी ending in ई; and means भी ending in ई takes the augment ष ॥

Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is the producer of the fear'? Observe कुञ्चिक्रयैर्न भाययति देवदत्तः ॥ Here the fear is produced from the कुञ्चिक्रा and not from Devadatta the Agent.

नित्यं स्मयतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, स्मयतेः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ णावृत्तिं वर्त्तते. हेतुभयशति च । नित्यग्रहणाद्भाषति निवृत्तम् । स्मिङ् ईषद्भसनइत्यस्य धातोर्हेतु-भयर्थे णौ परतो नित्यमाक्रांशो भवति ॥

57. There is invariably the substitution of आ for the diphthong of the root स्मि 'to smile' in the Causative, when the astonishment is produced directly through the Agent of the Causative.

The words णौ and हेतुभय are both understood here. The word नित्य shows that the anuvritti of विभाषा ceases. Thus सुण्डोजदिलो वा विस्मापयते ॥ Otherwise we have कुञ्चिक्रयैर्न विस्माययति ॥ The word भय here is taken to mean स्मयति i. e. 'wondering, feeling astonished'. See I. 3. 68 where also this meaning has been extended to भय by its connection with भीस्म together; the proper word ought to have been हेतुस्मये in connection with स्मि, and हेतुभये in connection with भी ॥

सृजिदृशोर्ज्ञलयमकिति ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृजि, दृशोः, झलि, अम्, अकिति ॥

वृत्ति ॥ सृज् विसर्गे, दृशिर् प्रेक्षणे, इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वाद्दालादावाकिति प्रत्यये परतो ऽमागमो भवति ॥

58. The augment अम् (अ) comes after the ऋ of सृज् 'to create', and दृश 'to see', when an affix beginning with a झल् letter (the Mute and the Sibilant) follows: provided that it has no indicatry क् ॥

Thus सृज् + तुन् = सृ + अ + ज् + तु = सृद् नोम. sing. सृष्टा, so also सृष्टुम्, सृष्टव्यम्, दृष्टा, दृष्टुम्, दृष्टव्यम् ॥ This अम् augment prevents the गुण substitute ordained by VII. 3. 86. But in अस्त्राक्षीत् and अद्राक्षीत् the Viddhi takes place in the Aorist, after the augment अम् had taken effect.

Why do we say when beginning with a Mute or a Sibilant? Observe सर्जनम्, दर्शनम् with यु ॥ Why do we say not having an indicatory क्? Observe सृष्टः, दृष्टः before the affix क् ॥ The forms of roots being exhibited in the sūtra, the rule applies when affixes relating to verbs come after these, and not when other affixes relating to noun follow. Thus रज्जुसृङ्ग्याम्, देवदग्भ्याम् ॥ Here the words are used as nouns rather than verbs. For the maxim धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणं लक्ष्यत्ये कार्ये applies here,

अनुदात्तस्य चर्दुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, ऋत्, उ
पधस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशेति वर्त्तते. ह्रस्वमकृतीति च । उपदेशे ऽनुदात्तस्य धातोर्ऋकारोपधस्य झलादावकृति प्रत्यये परतो ऽन्यतरस्याममागमो भवति ॥

59. The augment अम् comes optionally after the ऋ of those roots which are exhibited in the Dhâtupâtha as anudâtta, when such roots end in a consonant having a ऋ as penultimate, and are followed by an affix beginning with a mute or sibilant and not having an indicatory क ॥

The word उपदेश is understood here, so also ह्रस्वमकृति ॥ Thus व्रप्ता or तर्पिता or तर्मा, द्रप्ता, र्शर्पिता or र्शर्मा ॥ The roots हृप 'to satisfy', and हृप 'to be happy to release', belong to Divâdi class, sub-class Radhâdi, and they take the augment इद् optionally (VII, 2. 45), so we have the three forms given above : for these roots are also anudâtta in their first enunciation.

Why do we say "which are anudâtta in the Upadesâ or the system of grammatical instruction"? Observe वर्त्ता, वर्त्तम्, वर्त्तव्यम्, from बहू उद्यमंन which is exhibited as उदात्त, and because it has an indicatory ऊ it takes इद् optionally. Why do we say 'having a penultimate ऋ letter'? Observe भेत्ता, छेत्ता ॥ Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a mute or a sibilant'? Observe तर्पणम्, र्शर्पणम् ॥ Why do we say 'not having an indicatory क'? Observe तृप्तः, दृप्तः ॥ Before affixes not beginning with a झल् consonant this augment will not be inserted, as तर्पणम्, र्शर्पणम् ॥

शीर्षदञ्छन्दसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शीर्षन्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्निति शब्दान्तरं शिरःशब्देन समानार्थं छन्दसि विषये निपात्यते ॥

60. The word शीर्षन् is found in the Chhandas.

This word is another form of शिरः and means 'head'. This is not a substitute of शिर in the Vedas, for both forms are found therein. Thus शीर्ष्णां हि तत्र सोमं व्रीतं हरन्ति, यत्ते, शीर्ष्णो वैर्भाग्यम् ॥ In the secular literature there is only one form शिरः ॥

ये च तद्धिते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, तद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्निति वर्त्तते । आदेशोयमिष्यते स कथं तद्धितइति हि परं निमित्तमुपाक्षीयते स तद्विरूपं प्रकृतिं शिरःशब्दमाक्षिपति । यकारादेशे तद्धिते परतः शिरःशब्दस्य शीर्षन्नादेशो भवति ॥

वाचकम् ॥ वा केशेषु ॥

61. There is the substitution of this stem शीर्षन् for शिरस् when a Taddhita-affix beginning with य follows.

The word शीर्षन् is understood here. This rule teaches substitution. The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sūtra, we must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरस् ॥ Thus शीर्षण्यो हि मुखो भवति,

शीर्षण्यः स्वरः ॥ The affix यन् is here added by IV. 3. 55. The word शीर्षण् retains its original form before this affix यन्, the final अन् not being replaced by anything else (VI. 4. 168) Why do we say when 'a Taddhita-affix follows'? Observe शर इच्छति = शिरस्यति, here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

Vārt :—The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair'. As शीर्षण्यः केशः or शिरस्याः केशः ॥

अचि शीर्षः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, शीर्षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ तादृते शिरसः शीर्षशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

62. There is the substitution of शीर्ष for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Thus हस्तिशिरसोऽपत्यं = हास्तिशीर्षिः formed by adding the Patronymic affix इञ् (IV. 1. 96). So also स्थूलशिरस इदम् = स्थूलशीर्षम् ॥ Had the word been शीर्षन् (instead of शीर्ष as taught herein) then it would have retained its final न् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI. 4. 168). Again in forming the feminine of हास्तिशीर्षिः by adding व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78), arises this difficulty :—व्यङ् (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हास्तिशापः, we must apply the last rule and change the शीर्ष into शीर्षन् (for शीर्षन् being the substitute of शिरस is *prima facie* a substitute of शीर्ष also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61). The form which we get will be this, हास्तिशीर्षिः + व्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्षिण्य + य (VI. 1. 61) = हास्तिशीर्षिण्या (VI. 4. 168). But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हास्तिशीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this? Thus हास्तिशीर्षिः + व्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्षि + य (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a zero or लोपादेश) ॥ Now this âdeśa becomes sthânavat to इ, thus the affix य not being *directly* applied to शीर्ष, because this zero intervenes, शीर्ष is not replaced by शीर्षन् as required by VI. 1. 61, for it is not *followed* by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthânavat to इञ् affix.

This sūtra is not of Pāṇini, but is really a Vārtika raised to the rank of a sūtra by later authors.

पद्ब्रह्मोमासद्ब्रह्मिशसन्यूषन्द्रोषन्यकञ्चकन्नुदन्नासञ्चस्पृष्टिषु ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, दत्, नस्, मास्, हत्, निश, असन्, यूषन्, द्रोषन्, यकन्, शकन्, उदन्, आसन्, शस्, प्रभृतिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाद् इन्त नासिका मास इत्य निशा असृज् यूष द्रोष यकन् शकन् उदक आसन इत्येतेषां शब्दानां स्थानं शस्पृष्टिप्रत्ययेषु परतः पद् दत् नस् मास् हत् निश असन् यूषन् द्रोषन् यकन् शकन् उदन् आसन् इत्येते आदेशा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

वा० ॥ पद्दृष्टिषु मांस्पृष्टानुषुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ नस् नासिकाया यतूतसंख्येषु ॥

वा० ॥ यति वर्णनगरयोर्नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

63. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are substituted :—**पद्** for **पाद्**, **दन्** for **दन्त**, **नस्** for **नासिका**, **मास्** for **मांस**, **हृद्** for **हृदय**, **निश** for **निशा**, **असन्** for **अस्तुञ्ज**, **यूपन्** for **यूप**, **दोषन्** for **दास्**, **यकन्** for **यकृत**, **शकन्** for **शकृत**, **उदन्** for **उदक** and **आसन्** for **आस्य** ॥

The Kāśikā gives **आसन्** as the substitute for **आसन**, the Sidhānta Kāumudī gives the original as **आस्य** which has been adopted in the above. Some say that these substitutions take place in the Vedic Literature only, others say, they are general. Others read the word 'optionally' into this sūtra from VI. I. 59 and hold that these substitutes are optional and not compulsory.

Examples :—1. **पद्**—**निपञ्चतुरो ऋहि, पद्मवर्तय गोदुहम् ॥ 2 दन्**—**या इती धावति तस्यै ऋचावदन् ॥ 3 नस्**—**सूकरस्त्वखनत्रसा ॥ 4 मास्**—**मासित्वा पश्यामि चक्षुषा ॥ 5 हृद्**—**हृदा पृतेन मनसा जातवेदसम् । 6 निश**—**अमात्रास्यायां निशि यजेत ॥ 7 असन्**—**असित्को स्नावरोहति । 8 यूपन्**—**या पात्राणि यूपेण आसिचनानि ॥ 9 दोषन्**—**यत्ते दोषेणो दौर्भाग्यम् ॥ 10 यकन्**—**यक्रो वद्यति ॥ 11 शकन्** **शक्रो वद्याति ॥ 12 उदन्**—**उद्रे दिव्यस्य नावा ते ॥ 13 आसन्**—**आसनि किं लभे मधुनि ।**

Why do we say when the weak terminations **इस** &c follow? Observe **पादौ ते प्रतिपीडयौ नासके ते कृश ॥** As examples of this substitutions in the secular literature also, the following may be given :—

व्यायामक्षुण्ण गात्रस्य पद्मामुद्धर्तितस्य च ।

व्याधयो नोपसर्पन्ति वैतत्यमिवारगाः ॥

These substitutions take place before other affixes also : as, **शला दोषणी, ककुदोषणी याचते महादेवः ॥**

Vārt:—The following substitutions also take place : **मांस** for **मांस**, **पृत्** for **पतना**, and **स्तु** for **सानु**: as **यत्रीक्षणं मांसपचन्याः** for **मांसपचन्याः** (Yaj. XXV. 36), **पृच्छु मर्त्यम्** for **पृतनामुमर्त्यम्**, **न ते दिवो न पृथिव्या अधिस्तुषु** for **अधिसानुषु ॥**

Vārt:—The **नस्** is substituted for **नासिका** only when the affixes **यत्** and **तस्** and the word **क्षुद्र** follow : as, **नस्यम्, नस्तः, नस् क्षुद्रः ॥** The **यत्** is taught in IV. 3. 55 and V. I. 6 ; **तस्** is taught in V. 4. 45.

Vārt:—The substitution of **नस्** for **नासिका** before the affix **यत्** does not take place when it refers to 'letters', or 'cities' as: **नासिक्यो वर्णः 'a nasal letter' नासिक्यं नगरम् ॥**

धात्वादेः पः सः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धात्वादेः, पः, सः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरादेः षकारस्य स्थाने सकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मुग्धातुष्विवुष्कलीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य ॥

64. There is the substitution of **स** in the room of the **प्** being the initial of a verbal root as enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha.

The roots exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial **ष**, change it for **स** ॥ Thus **षह**—**सहते, षिञ्**—**सिञ्चति ॥** Why do we use the word 'root'? Observe

षोडश, षडिकः, षण्डः ॥ Why do we say 'initial'? Observe—कथति, कृषति ॥ Why have then roots been exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with an initial ष, when for all practical purposes this ष is to be replaced by स, would it not have been easier to spell at once these words with a स? This appears cumbersome no doubt, but the spelling of the roots with ष is for the sake of brevity. Certain roots change their स into ष when preceded by certain letters: those roots which thus change their letter स for ष have been at once taught with an initial ष, and thus by VIII. 3. 59 their स is changed to ष ॥ Thus from सिव—instead of सिसव we have सिसव ॥ Thus root is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with a ष, and thus we know that the स must be changed to ष ॥ Otherwise a list of such roots would have to be separately given. One must refer to the Dhâtupâṭha for a list of such roots. As a general rule, however, all roots beginning with a स and followed by a vowel or a dental letter have been taught in the Dhâtupâṭha as beginning with an initial ष, as well as the following roots स्नि, स्वद्, सिवद्, स्वज् and स्वप्, though followed by म् or द् ॥ The following roots though followed by a vowel or a dental are not taught with an initial ष viz. सप्, कृञ्, स्न, स्या, सेक, and सु ॥

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the roots derived from nouns, and of षिव् and स्वक् ॥ Thus षोडीयते, षण्डीयते are roots derived from nouns, and though these roots begin with ष are not changed: so षिव्—षिवात्, स्वक्—स्वक्ते ॥ The word षिव contains in it two roots षिव् and षिव्, one with ष, another with थ, and thus we have two forms in the reduplication:—तेष्ठीव्यते, टेष्ठीव्यते ॥ The substitution of स for ष takes place in the case of the root that has थ ॥

णो नः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ णः, नः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरदिरित्यनुवर्त्तते । धातोरद्विर्णकारस्य नकार अदेशो भवति ॥

65. There is the substitution of न् for the initial ण् of the root in the Dhâtupâṭha.

The phrase धात्वादेः is understood here. Thus णीञ्—नयति, णम—नमति, णह—नहति ॥ But not अण्—अणति ॥ This does not apply to roots derived from nouns. णकारनिञ्जति = णकारीयात् ॥ The roots are exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with ण् for a similar reason as they are exhibited with ष ॥ By VIII. 4. 14, these roots change their न into ण when preceded by certain prepositions. All roots beginning with a ण should be understood to have been so taught, with the exception of the following:—नृ, नन्दि नर्दि, नक्क, नादि, नाध् and नाध् ॥

लोपोऽर्थोऽत्रै लि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, व्योः, चलि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातेरिति प्रकृतं यत् तद्विधात्वेरिति पुनर्द्धातुष्वहणादिवृत्तम् । तेन धातोरधातोश्च वकारयकारयोर्वलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

66. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the च् and य् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

The final व् or य् of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c, beginning with a वल् consonant i. e. any consonant except य् ॥ Thus दिव्+वस् (III. 2. 107)=दिव्+दिव्+वस्=दिविवस् nom. singular दिदिवान्, दिदिवान्सा, दिदिवान्सः ॥ Thus ऊय्+त=ऊतं, 'spun', क्लृय्+त=क्लृतं 'made a noise'. So also the affix डक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129). Of the affix डक्, ड is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2). Thus गोधा+एय्+र=गोधैरः (the य् of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पचेरन्, यजेरन् the य् of लिङ् (III. 4. 102) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105). So also व is elided in the following:—from जीव्-जीरदानुः (by Uṇādi affix जीवे रदानुक) from सिव्—अक्षेमाणम् formed by the Uṇādi affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Uṇādi affixes (III. 3. 1), there is not ऊट् substitution for व् as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except य्?" Observe ऊय्यते, क्लृय्यते when य् is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of व् and ल् should take place prior to the elision of the aprīkta व् taught in the next sūtra. Thus कण्डूय्+क्विप्=कण्डू य् (VI. 4. 48)=कण्डू+व्=कण्डूः ॥ So लोलूय्+क्विप्=लोलूः ॥ Why व् of व्रश्च is not elided before र् which is a वल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the व् is taught for the sake of forms like वृश्चति by samprasāraṇa. and वव्रश्च by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasāraṇa, and the elision of र् by ह्लादिशेषः are Bahiranga.

वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, अपृक्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्त्तते । वेरिति क्विबाद्यो विशेषाननुबन्धानुत्सृज्यसामान्येन गृह्यन्ते । वेरपृक्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

67. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

The affix वि includes क्विप्, क्विन्, ण्वि &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprīkta (I. 2. 41), is elided. Thus ब्रह्महा, भ्रूणहा (III. 2. 87). Here the affix क्विप् is elided. So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III. 2. 58). Here the affix क्विन् is elided. So also अर्धभाक् पादभाक्, तुरीयभाक् (III. 2. 62). Here the affix ण्वि is elided.

Why do we say "of an aprīkta—an affix consisting of a single letter" ? Observe इर्विः formed by the affix विन् (वि being the real affix); so also जावृविः formed क्विन्, see Uṇādi Sūtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhātu to a Prātipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by

I. I. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus च्वि words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

हल्ङ्याब्भ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्थपृक्तं हल् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्, उच्चापभ्यः, दीर्घात्, सु, ति, सि, अपृक्तम्, हल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्त्तते । तदिह लौकिकेनार्थेनार्थवत् कर्मसाधनं द्रष्टव्यम् । लुप्यतइति लोपः । हलन्तान् ह्यन्तादाबन्ताच्च दीर्घात्परं सु ति सि इत्येतदपृक्तं हल् लुप्यते ॥

Kārikā :—संयोगान्तस्य लोपे हि नलोपाविर्न सिद्धयति । राचु तेनैव लोपः स्याद्बलस्तस्माद्विधीयते ॥

68. After a consonant there is the elision of the nominative-affix स् and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of त् and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix डी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix स् ॥

The sūtra translated literally means :—After a word ending in a consonant, or डी, or आप् when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृक्तं हल्) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after a consonant and hence we have translated it as above. As examples of the elision of सु after a consonant :—राजन्+स्=राजान् (VI. 4. 8)+0=राजा, तक्षा, उखासन्, पर्णध्वत् ॥ After a डी :—as, कुमारी, गौरी, शार्ङ्गरी ॥ After आप् :—खड्गा, बहुराजा, कारी पगन्ध्या ॥ The elision of ति and सि takes place only after consonants :—as, अविर्भवान् (श्रु+लङ्+तिप्=अ+श्रु+श्रु+त्=अ+श्रु+श्रु+त् (VI. 1. 10)=अ+भर्+श्रु+त् (VII. 4: 66 and I. 1. 51)=अ+भ+श्रु+त् (VII. 4. 60)=अ+ब+श्रु+त् (VIII. 4. 54)=अ+बि+श्रु+त् (VII. 4. 76)=अ+बि+भर्+त् (VII. 3. 84)=अविभर्+त्=अविभर् ॥ So also अजागर् भवान् ॥ In both these cases त् of the Imperfect has been elided. The स् is elided in the following :—अभिनोऽन्न, अच्छिनोऽन्न ॥ (भिद्+लङ्+सिप् ॥ The इ is changed into र् by VIII. 2. 75 and स् is elided by this rule).

Why do we say “after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ”? Observe ग्रामणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say “after a long-vowelled feminine affix”? Observe निष्कौशम्बिः, अतिखट्वाः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say “when followed by सु, ति and सि”? Observe अभैस्तीत् ॥ The सि being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to सिप् only. Why do we say ‘when reduced to a single letter’? Observe भिनन्ति, छिनन्ति ॥ Why do we say ‘the consonant is elided’? Observe विभेद्, चिच्छेद् ॥ Here the अप्रिक्ता affix अ of the Perfect is not elided: though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sūtra.

Why has the elision of स् (सु), न् (तप्) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23, being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राजा, तक्षा could not be evolved. As राजन्+स्=राजान्+स् (VI. 4. 8)=राजान्स् and by eliding स् by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राजान्, and the final न् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 7; for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Books), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned; therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of न्, does not find scope, since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of स्) is considered as if it had not taken effect. So also in the case of उखात्स् and पर्णधन् ॥ उखा+त्स्+क्विव् III. 2. 76=उखा+त्स् (the nasal being elided by VI. 4. 24); now add सु, we have उखात्स्+स्=उखात्स्स्; elide the final स् not by this rule, but by VIII. 2. 23, we have उखात्स्, here we cannot change the स् into इ by VIII. 2. 72 for स् is not *final* in a *pada*, for Rule VIII. 2. 23 is considered as not to have taken effect. So also in the case of अभिनोऽत्र ॥ The word अभिनः is 2nd. Pers. sing. of the Imperfect of भिद् of Rudhâdi class. Thus भिद्+लङ्+सिप्=अ+भिद्+इन्म्+स्=अ+भिनद्+स्=अभिनर्+स् (इ changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75)=अभिनर्स् ॥ If we elide the final स् of the conjunct by VIII. 2. 23, then in अभिनर्+अत्र, the र् would not be changed into उ to form अभिनोऽत्र by VI. 1. 113 since the elision of स् is considered as to have not taken effect when applying this rule. So also in अविभर् भवान्, by Rule VIII. 2. 24, there would be no lopa even, for संयोगान्तलोप rule is restricted by रात्स्य (VIII. 2. 24), i. e. स् only and no other consonant is elided after र्, therefore there will be no elision of त् in अविभर्त् by VIII. 2. 23.

एङ्हस्वात्संबुद्धेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्, ह्रस्वात्, सम्बुद्धेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्त्तते, हलिति च । अपृक्तमिति नाधिक्रियते । तथा च पूर्वसूत्रे पुनरपृक्तग्रहणं कृतम् । एङन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् ह्रस्वान्ताद्य परो हल्लुप्यतेसचेत्संबुद्धेर्भवति ॥

69. The consonant of the nominative-affix (सु and its substitute अम्) is elided in the Vocative singular after a nominal-stem ending in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The word लोप is understood here also; as well as हल् ॥ The word अपृक्त however is not to be read here, as its repetition in VI. 1. 68 (though its anuvritti was there from the preceding sūtra) indicates. • The affix of Vocative is the same as that of the nominative. By VII. 3. 108, the short vowel of the stem is replaced by a guṇa vowel when the Vocative Singular affix follows. Thus we have अग्ने and वायो for अग्नि and वायु; and by VII. 3. 107, a short vowel is substituted for the long vowel ई and ऊ of the feminine: as नवि and वधु for नदी and वधू ॥ Now applying the present sūtra, the affix स् is elided after

all the above words. As हे अग्ने !, हे वायो !, हे देवदत्त !, हे नदि !, हे वधु ! The Vocative Singular of कुण्ड a Neuter noun is thus formed. By VII. 1. 24, अम् replaces म् of the nominative, the अ of अम् and the final अ of कुण्ड coalesce into one अ by VI. 1. 107, which becomes कुण्डम् ॥ Here by the rule that 'consonant' only is to be elided, we elide म् only (and not अ which becomes a part of the word by VI. 1. 85, for it is considered both as the final of the word and the initial of the affix). Now म् is not an अपृक्तं हल् for it is part of the affix अम्, and its elision would not have taken place had we read the anuvritti of अपृक्ता into this sūtra. Thus we have हे कुण्ड ! ॥ But in हे कतरत् ! there is not the elision of the त् of the affix अत्, the substitute of सु for the affix there is अद्ङ् (VII. 1. 25). This affix being ङिन् causes the elision of the final अ of कतर (VI. 4. 143), and we have कतर + अत्, here we have not a prātipadika which ends in a short vowel, but in a consonant, hence त् is not elided. See also VII. 1. 25. The word एङ् is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution is stronger than lopa. Therefore in हे अग्नि + सु, the affix is not elided first and then guṇa substituted for इ, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided,

शेशछन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ शः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतस्य बहुलं छन्दसि त्रिषये लोपा भवति ॥

70. In the Chhandas, the elision of the case-ending इ (शि) of the nominative and accusative plural neuter, is optional,

Thus या क्षेत्रा or यानि क्षेत्राणि, या वना or यानि वनानि ॥

ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वस्य, पिति, कृति, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिति कृति परतो ह्रस्वस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

71. To a root ending in a short vowel is added the augment त् (तुक्) when a Kṛit-affix having an indicatory ए follows.

Thus अग्नि + च्चि + क्विप् = आग्निच्चित्, so also सोमसुत् ॥ Similarly प्रकृत्य and उपस्तुत्य formed by the affix ल्यप् ॥ Why do we say "ending in a short vowel"? Observe आहूय, मामणीः ॥ Why do we say "having an indicatory ए"? Observe कृतम्, हतम् ॥ Why do we say "a kṛit affix"? Observe पडुतरः, पडुतमः, with the Taddhita-affixes तरप् and तमप् ॥ In the compound ग्रामणिकुलम्, though the root is made short, yet there is no augment तुक्, in as much as the rule by which the root has been shortened is a Bahiranga rule, and the present rule is an Antaranga one. The maxim is असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ॥ "That which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is Antaranga is to take effect",

संहितायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारे ऽयमनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जमिति यावत् । प्रागेतस्मात्सूत्रादित उत्तर यद्वक्ष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्वैदितव्यम् ॥

72. In the following sūtras upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् 'in an unbroken flow of speech', should be supplied.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra, exerting its influence upto VI. 1. 158. What ever we shall say in the sūtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice. Thus इध्वन्न, मध्वन्न the इ and उ are changed to य and व् when the two words are pronounced without any hiatus. Otherwise we shall have इधि अन्न, मधु अन्न ॥

छे च ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वस्य तुगिति वर्त्तते । छकारे परतः संहितायां विषये ह्रस्वस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

73. The augment त् is added to a preceding short vowel also when छ follows in an uninterrupted speech.

Thus इच्छति, गच्छति ॥ The त् is changed to च् by VIII. 4. 40. The short vowel itself is the आगमी (the thing to which the augment is added), and not the word ending in that short vowel. Therefore in चिच्छित्तुः, चिच्छिदुः, the augment is not to be considered as part of the Reduplicate चि, but of the short इ only; and therefore it is not elided by हलादिः शेष (VII. 4. 60) rule applying to reduplicates. This follows on the maxim नावयवावयवः समुदायावयवो भवति "the part of a part cannot be considered as a part of the whole". Here त् is a part of the abhyāsa syllable चि which is itself a part of the verbal base, therefore त् is not considered as an abhyāsa: or because त् being an augment of इ is considered as part of इ and not of चि of which इ is the part.

आङ्माङोश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, माङोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुगित्यनुवर्त्तते. छति च । आङो ङित ईषदादिषु चतुर्वर्थेषु वर्त्तमानस्य माङश्च प्रतिषेधवचनस्य छकारे परतस्तुगागमो भवति ॥

74. The augment त् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

The Particle आ has the four senses of 1. littleness (ईषदर्थः) 2. with verbs, as a prefix (क्रियायोगः) 3. the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) and 4. the limit exclusive (मर्यादा). This sūtra ordains तुक् necessarily, where by VI. 1. 76, it would have been optional. Thus ईषच्छाया = आच्छाया; 2. With verbs:—as आच्छादयति, 3 and 4. आच्छायायाः, आच्छायम् ॥ So also the negative particle मा, as, माच्छत्सीत्, माच्छित् ॥ The इ in आङ्

and माङ् shows that आ when used as a Gati and a Karmapravachaniya and मा when used as a negative particle are meant. Therefore, the त् is not necessary in the following :—आछाया मानयाति, प्रमाछन्दः॥ The तुक् may be optionally added in these as आच्छाया and प्रमाच्छन्दः॥ The आ here has the force of recollection (स्मरण); आछाया “Oh the shade”. The word प्रमा is formed from the verbal root माङ् by the prefix प्र and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106) with the feminine affix टाप्, and the word ending in टाप् has not the indicatory इ ॥

दीर्घात् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, तुक् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ छे तुगिति वर्त्तते । दीर्घात्परो यश्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

75. The augment त् is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

Thus द्वीच्छति, म्लेच्छति, अपचाच्छायते, विचाच्छायते ॥ The augment belongs to the long vowel and not to the whole syllable ending in that long vowel.

पदान्ताद्वा ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तात्, वा, तुक् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ दीर्घाच्छेतुगिति वर्त्तते । पदान्तादीर्घात्परो यश्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य पूर्वेण नित्यं प्राप्तो वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ विश्वजनादीनां छन्दसिवा तुगागमो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

76. The augment त्, is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ ॥

This allows option where by the last it would have been compulsory to add it. The augment is of the long vowel, and not of the word ending in long vowel. Thus कूदीच्छाया or कुदीछाया, कूवलीच्छाया or कुवलीछाया ॥ The तुक् augment here is added to the end of a pada, and this is therefore a padānta rule and not a pada-vidhi. Therefore the two words need not be in construction for the application of this rule; (समर्थ पदविधि) not applying. Thus तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तस्य, “let the girl stay. Take the umbrella of Devadatta”. Here कुमारी and छत्रं are not in construction, but तुक् is still added optionally.

Vārt :—The augment त् is optional in the Chhandas, after the words विद्वजन &c. As, विद्वजनच्छत्रम् or विद्वजनछत्रम्, नच्छायां कुरवोपराम् or नछायां कुरवोपराम् ॥

इको यणचि ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, यण्, अचि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ अचि परत इको यणादेशो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णदीर्घबाधनार्थं यणादेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

77. The semivowels य्, व्, र्, ल् are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and लृ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sūtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. I. 101, namely the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding for

the application of this rule. Thus हृधि + अत्र = हृध्वत्र, मधु + अत्र = मध्वत्र, कर्तृ + अर्थम् = कर्त्रर्थम्, हर्तृ + अर्थम् = हर्त्रर्थम्, लृ आकृति = लृकृतिः ॥

Vart:—This semivowel substitution of vowels takes place, when preceded by a prolated vowel, even to the supersession of VI. 1. 101 requiring lengthening. Thus अग्न्या ३ इ इन्द्रं = अग्न्या ३ विन्द्रम्, पदा ३ उ उक्ताम् = पदा ३ बुक्ताम्, अग्न्या ३ इ भाशा = अग्न्या ३ याशा, पदा ३ उ आशा = पदा ३ वाशा ॥ भो ३ इ इन्द्रम् = भो ३ विन्द्रम् ॥ The phrase 'when a vowel follows' exerts its influence upto VI. 1. 108.

एचो ऽयवायावः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, अच् - अच् - आय्-आवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचः स्थाने ऽचि परतो ऽय् अच् आय् आव् इत्येते आदेशा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

78. For the vowels ए, ऐ, औ and औ are respectively substituted अच्, आय्, अच् and आव् when a vowel follows.

Thus चि + ल्युट् = चे + अन = चयनम्, लो + अन = लवनं; धे + भक् = चायकः, लो + भक् = लावकः ॥ So also कथेते, व्यथेते, याववरुणद्भि, रु + युच् (III. 2. 148) = रो + अन = रवणः ॥

वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वान्तः, यि, प्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयमेचः स्थाने वान्तादेश ओकारस्य अच् औकारस्याव् स यकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो भवति ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ गौर्युतौ छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ अध्वपरिमाणे च ॥

79. The substitution of अच् and आव् for औ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in व् viz. अच् and आव् ॥ Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding śūtra, those which end in व् (viz. अच् and आव्) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be औ and औ ॥ Thus बभ्रु + यञ् = बाभ्रो + य = बाभ्रव्यः (VI. 4. 146 and IV. 1. 105). So also माण्डव्यः, शकव्यंशरु, पिचव्यः कार्पासः, नाव्यो (IV. 4. 91) इवः ॥ Why do we say "अच् and आव्"? Observe रायमिच्छति = रैयति, no change of ऐ before य ॥ Why do we say "before य"? Observe गोभ्याम्, नौभ्याम् ॥ Why do we say "an affix"? Observe गोयानम्, नौयानम् ॥

Vart:—The word गो is changed before वृत्ति in the Vedas. As गो + वृत्ति = गवृत्ति, as आनो मित्रा वरुणा वृतेर्गवृत्तितुक्षतम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोवृत्तिः ॥

Vart:—This substitution takes place when referring to the measur of a road:—as, गवृत्ति मात्रमध्वानं गतः ॥ This is in the secular literature, गवृत्ति मेानि ॥ क्रोशयुगम् ॥

धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, तन्निमित्तस्य, एच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एच् इति वृत्तते । वान्तो यि प्रत्ययइति च । धातोर्य एच् तन्निमित्तो यकारादिप्रत्ययनिमित्तस्तस्य यकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो वान्तादेशो भवति ॥

80. For the final diphthongs औ and औ of a root, are substituted अच् and आव् respectively, before an affix beginning with य्, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एच्चः, वान्तोयि प्रत्यये are understood in this sūtra. The word क्षन्निमित्त means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with य् ॥ Thus लू forms its Future Passive Participle by यत् (III. 1. 97), this affix causes the guṇa of ऊ by VII. 3. 84: Thus लू + य = लो + य, which according to the present sūtra becomes लव्यम् ॥ So also पू—पो + य = पव्यम् ॥ लू + प्यत् (III. 1. 125) = लौ + य = अवश्य लाव्यम् and अवश्य पाव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'of a root'? This rule should not apply to a nominal stem. For then, though it may be all right in the case of बभु + य = बाभ्रो + य = बाभ्रव्यः; it will not apply to cases like गो + य = गव्य, नौ + य = नाव्य, where भ्रा and भौ are not *caused* by the affix, but are integral parts of the stem before the affixes were added. Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of वे with the upasarga आ is आ + वै + यक् + ते = Here by Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15), वे becomes उ, as आ + उ + य + ते; now by sandhi आ + उ = औ VI. 1. 87), we have औ + यत् = औयते ॥ Since औ is not caused by य, there is no अच् substitution. So also औयत्, लौयमानिः, पौयमानिः (IV. 1. 95). The word एव in the aphorism has the force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, भो and भौ before य are changed then only to अच् and आच् when य has caused the production of भो and भौ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the य has caused the production of भो and भौ or not.

क्षय्यज्ययौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षय्य - ज्ययौ , शक्य - अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षि जि इत्येतयोर्द्रात्वोर्यति प्रत्यये परतः शक्यार्थे गम्यमाने एकारस्यायादेशो निपात्यते ॥

81. In क्षय्य and ज्यय there is substitution of अच् for ए only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots क्षि and जि before the affix यत् (III. 1. 97) assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As शक्यः क्षेतुं = क्षय्यः (क्षि + य = क्षे + य); so also ज्ययः ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe क्षेयं पापं, ज्ञेयो वृषलः ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रय्यः, तदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीणान्तेर्द्रातोस्तदर्थे क्रयार्थं यत्तस्मिन्नभिधेये यति प्रत्यये परतो ऽयादेशो निपात्यते ॥

82. In क्रय्य there is substitution of अच् for ए when the sense is that of 'exposed or put out for sale, saleable'.

The word क्रय्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix यत्; the guṇa ए being changed to य ॥ The word तदर्थे means 'for the purpose of that'

i. e., for the purpose of being bought. As कथ्या गोः, कथ्यः कम्बलः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe क्रेयं नो धान्यं न चास्ति कथ्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

भय्यप्रवय्ये च छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भय्य - प्रवय्ये , च, छन्दसि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिभेतेर्धातोः प्रपूर्वस्य च वी इत्येतस्य यति प्रत्यये परत्छन्दसि विषयेऽयांशो निपात्यते ॥
घात्तिकम् ॥ हृदय्या आप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

83. The forms भय्य and प्रवय्या are found in the Chhandas.

The word भय्य is derived from भी + यन्, and प्रवय्या from प्र + वी + यन् ॥ The guṇa ए is changed to अय् ॥ Thus भय्यं किलासीन् ॥ वत्सतरी प्रवय्या ॥ The यन् is added to भी with the force of Ablative by virtue of the diversity allowed by कृत्यलुटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113) ॥ Thus त्रिभेति भस्माद् = भय्यम् "frightening or fearable". The word प्रवय्या is always used in the feminine: in other places प्रवेय्य is the proper form. Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe भेयम्, प्रवेय्यम् in secular literature.

Vārt :—The word हृदय्या should also be enumerated when referring to water. As हृदे भवा = हृदय्या आपः ॥ The affix यन् is added by IV. 4. 110 (हृदे + य = हृदय् + य) ॥

एकः पूर्वपरयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकः, पूर्व - परयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आधिकारोयम् ॥ खयत्यात्परस्येति प्रागेतस्मात्सूत्रादित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वस्य परस्य द्वयोरपि स्थाने एकांशो भवतीत्यन्तर्द्वेदितव्यम् ॥

84. From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted".

This is an adhikāra sūtra. In every sūtra upto VI. 1. 112 (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of ekādesa, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c. Thus VI. 1. 87 teaches 'There is guṇa substitution, when अ or आ is followed by a vowel'. We must supply into that sūtra the phrase एकः पूर्वपरयोः i. e. one guṇa is the substitute for the final अ or आ and the initial vowel. Thus खद्वा + इन्द्रः = खद्वेन्द्रः ॥ Here ए is the single substitute of the both preceding letter आ and the succeeding letter इ ॥ The words पूर्व पर show that the substitute operates simultaneously on both. Otherwise the substitute would have come in the place of one only or of each one separately. Thus in आद् गुणः (अचि) = "after अ or आ, there is guṇa, in a vowel". Here आत् is in the ablative, and by I. 1. 67 the guṇa operation would have taken place on the letter following it: so also अचि is in the Locative and by I. 1. 66, the

guṇa operation would have taken place on the *preceding*; so ⁺ is not clear of what letter there should be guṇa substitution, of the preceding or the succeeding. But the present rule shows it must operate on both simultaneously. The word एक 'single', shows that a separate or a different substitute does not operate: i. e. the substitute must be one, there should not be two separate substitutes one for each sthānī, such as we find in the sūtra VIII. 2. 42 (रवाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः, पूर्वस्य च दः, "न is the substitute of the त of nishṭhā, after र् and द, and of the preceding द"). Here न् is taught as substitute both of त् and द्, and as एक is not used in the sūtra, we get *two* न, as भिद् + त = भिन् + न = भिन्नः ॥ But this is not the case here. According to Mahabhāshya the word एक is redundant.

अन्तादिवच्च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त - आदि - वत् , च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक इति वर्त्तते पूर्वपरयोरेति च । एकः पूर्वपरयोरिति योयमेकादेशो विधीयते स पूर्वस्यान्तवद्भवति, परस्यादिवद्भवति ॥

85. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in the last, is considered in the light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding. An ādeśa is like the sthānī, but in an ekādeśa, the sthānī is indeterminate, or rather the sthānī is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding. Hence the necessity of this sūtra. The sense of this atideśa sūtra is this: as the beginning and the end of a thing are both *included* in the thing itself, and therefore when the thing is mentioned, the beginning and the end are both taken; so is the case with this single substitute. Thus to the stem ब्रह्मबन्धु we add ऊ the feminine affix (IV. 1. 66); and now उ + ऊ = ऊ (VI. 1. 101) i. e. ब्रह्मबन्धु + ऊ = ब्रह्मबन्धू ॥ Here ब्रह्मबन्धु is a Nominal-stem (प्रातिपदिक) and the affix ऊ is a non-prātipadika, and the single-substitute ऊ is considered as the final of the prātipadika. So that we can apply to the form ब्रह्मबन्धू the term prātipadika and by virtue of this designation we can add the case-endings to it by IV. 1. 1. But for this rule, we could not have added the case-endings to it, because by virtue of the feminine affix ऊ the word would have rather ceased to be a prātipadika (I. 1. 46), because this feminine affix ऊ is not included in IV. 1. 1. Similarly for the final non-case-ending अ of वृक्ष and the case-ending औ, there comes a single substitute औ by VI. 1. 88, this ekādeśa औ is considered both as a non-case affix and a case affix, that is, as the initial of the affix औ, and the final of वृक्ष and thus the word वृक्षौ gets the designation of Pada I. 4. 14 as it ends in the सुप् affix औ ॥

This अन्तादिवद्भाव does not apply in rules relating to letters i. e. to rules depending for their application on letters. Thus खद् + भा = खद्भा ॥ Here the

ekâdeśa आ is as the final अ of खद्, but not for the purposes of the application of the rule which says that the भिस् is changed to ऐस् after a nominal-stem ending in भ, so the Instrumental plural of खद्वा will not end in ऐः, but will be खद्वाभिः ॥ So also in जुहाव ॥ It is the Perfect 3rd per. sing. of ह्व or ह्वा (VI. 1. 45). By VI. 1. 53, the व् is changed to उ, and we have जुह्वआ = जुहुउआ which by VI. 1. 108 becomes जुहु, the उ being the single substitute of उ and आ ॥ This single-substitute उ should not be considered as आ for the application of the rule VII. 1. 34 by which the Perfect affix णल् (अ) is changed in औ after roots ending in आ ॥ Similarly in अस्यै + अभ्यः = अस्या अभ्यः (the य् being elided by VIII. 3. 19). अस्यै is the Dative singular of इद्स् in the Feminine with आ ॥ By VII. 3. 114 स्या is added in the Dative with the shortening of the preceding आ ; as अ + स्या + ए = अस्यै ॥ Here ऐ is the single substitute for आ and ए ॥ Here for the application of VI. 1. 109 the single substitute ऐ should not be considered like ए ॥ The sthâni of the single-substitute (ekâdeśa) is the sum of the preceding and the succeeding, both taken collectively is replaced by one, and not any one of them separately. For that which is replaced by another is called sthâni: as when भू replaces अस् the whole form अस् is called sthâni, and not अ or स् separately. The parts, may be called sthâni only inferentially, because the whole is made up of parts. The parts not being considered as sthâni, the rule of sthâni vad bhâva will not apply to an ekâdeśa with regards to the parts, and no operations dependant on such parts will be effected by such ekâdeśa. But it is intended that such operations should take place. Hence this sūtra.

षत्वतुकोरसिद्धः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षत्व - तुकोः, असिद्धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षत्वे तुकि च कर्तव्ये एकादेशो ऽसिद्धो भवति, सिद्धकार्यं न करोतीत्यर्थः ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ संप्रसारणडीद्सु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. The substitution of a single âdeśa is to be considered as to have not taken effect, when otherwise स would have to be changed to ष, or when the augment त् (तुक्) is to be added.

The word असिद्ध means not-accomplished i. e. the operation caused by its having taken effect is not produced. The word asiddha always debar operations dependent upon the âdeśa, and gives scope to the operations dependent upon the general rule (असिद्धवचनमादेशक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थमुत्संगलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥) Thus कोऽसिचत् here स is not changed to ष ॥ The equation is thus exhibited : कस् + असिचत् = कर् + असिचत् (the स changed to र by VIII. 2.66) = कउ + असिचत् (उ being substituted for र by VI. 1. 113) = को + असिचत् (अ-उ = ओ VI. 1. 87) = कोऽसिचत् (ओ-अ = औ VI. 1. 109). Now applies our sūtra. By VIII. 3. 59, स coming after ओ required to be changed into ष, but here the single-substitute ओ is con-

sidered to be non-effective for this purpose. Similarly कोऽस्य, योऽस्य, कोऽस्मै, योऽस्मै ॥ Similarly in अधीत्य there is the addition of त् by VI. 1. 71, though actually preceded by a long vowel. That long vowel had resulted from the ekâdeśa of ई for इ-इ, and this ekâdeśa is considered as if non-effective for the purposes of तुक् augment. Similarly in प्र-इ-इ-तुक्-इ-थ=प्रैत्य. Here also अ-इ=ए is considered asiddha.

Vârt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of samprasâraṇa, the Locative singular case-ending डि (इ), and the 1st per. sing. Atmanepada affix इद् ॥ Of vocalisation we have the following : शकहूयु = शकान् हयति, then we add क्विप्, before which there is vocalisation of व्, this उ combining with in the following आ becomes उ ekâdeśa; as शकह्वा-इ-क्विप् = शकहउआ-इ-क्विप् (VI. 1. 15) + शकहु (VI. 1. 108). The Locative plural is formed by सु : शकहु-इ-सु = शकहूयु (the lengthening taking place by VI. 4. 2). Here स is changed to ष the ekâdeśa उ for उ-इ-अ not being considered asiddha. So also परिवीयु (परि + व्ये + क्विप् = परि + व्इए + क्विप् = परिवि, add सु) ॥ Of the affix डि we have:—वृक्ष-इ-इ = वृक्षे, add छत्रम्, then the single substitute ए being considered not asiddha we have वृक्षेच्छत्रम् or वृक्षेछत्रम् ॥ Of the affix इद् of 1st Pers. Atmanepada we have अपचे-इ-छत्रम् = अपचेच्छत्रम् or अपचेछत्रम् ॥ In both these cases we optionally add तुक् by VI. 1. 75-76, by considering the ekâdeśa (VI. 1. 87) as to have taken effect, and making the finals दीर्घ or long. Here the ekâdeśa is *not* asiddha and therefore तुक् is *optinal* and not compulsory.

आद्गुणः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचीत्यनुवर्तते । भवर्णात्परो यो ऽच् अचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णाचोः स्थाने एको गुण आदेशो भवति ॥

87. The guṇa is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ-*a* vowel = guṇa).

The word अचि is understood here. For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding vowels, there is the single substitute guṇa. Thus तव + इदम् = तवेदम्, खट्वा + इन्द्रः = खट्वेन्द्रः, माला + इन्द्रः = मालिन्द्रः, तव + ईहते = तवेहते, खट्वा + ईहते = खट्वेहते, तव + उदकम् = तवादकम्, खट्वा + उदकम् = खट्वादकम्, तव + ऋभ्यः = तवर्भ्यः, खट्वा + ऋभ्यः = खट्वर्भ्यः, तव + लकारः = तवलकारः, खट्वा + लकारः = खट्वलकारः ॥ By analogy of I. 1. 51, the guṇa substitute of ल being अ is always followed by ल्, as that of ऋ is followed by र् ॥ This universal rule is limited by the following aphorism.

वृद्धिरोचि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, एचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवृत्तिर्न वर्तते । भवर्णात्परो य एच् एचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णैचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

88. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ-*i*-diphthong = vṛiddhi).

The word आत् is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz. the Vṛiddhi.— This debarbs guṇa taught in the last sūtra. Thus ब्रह्म + एडका = ब्रह्मैडका, खद्वा + एडका = खद्वाैडका, ब्रह्म + ऐतिकायनः = ब्रह्मैतिकायनः, खद्वा + ऐतिकायनः = खद्वाैतिकायनः ॥ ब्रह्म + ओदनः = ब्रह्मौदनः, खद्वा + ओदनः = खद्वाौदनः, ब्रह्म + औपगवः = ब्रह्मापगवः, खद्वा + औपगवः = खद्वाौपगवः ॥

एत्येधत्सु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, एधति, ऊठसु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिरेचीति वर्तते, आहिति च । तदेतदेज्जग्रहणमेतरेव विशेषणं न पुनरेधतेरव्यभिचारानुष्ठानासम्भवात् । इण् गतावित्येतस्मिन्धातवेचि एध वृद्धावित्येतस्मिन् ऊठि च पूर्वं यद्वर्णं ततश्च परो योच् तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णाचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अक्षादृहिन्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ स्वादीरोरिण्योर्वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रादूहोढोढेष्वेषु वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ ऋते च तृतीयासमासे ऽवर्णाद् वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रवत्सतरकम्बलवसनानाद्युषे वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ ऋणदशाभ्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

89. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-*i*-*u* of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-*i*-*u* of ऊठ् (the substitute of वा in वाह् by VI. 4. 132).

The whole of the last sūtra and आत् are understood here. The एच् of the last sūtra qualifies the root इ in एति, i. e. when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule. The एच् does not qualify the root एध as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एच् qualify ऊठ् for ऊ is not a diphthong. Thus उप + एति = उपैति, उप + एषि = उपैषि, उपैमि; उप-*i*-एधते = उपैधते, प्रैधते; प्रछ-*i*-ऊहा = प्रछौहा ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87, the present sūtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. 1. 94, this sūtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sūtra is an exception to VI. 1. 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, because the maxim is पुरस्तादपवाहा अनन्तरान् विधीन् वाधन्ते नोत्तरान् "Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Therefore the present rule does not apply here, :—उप + आ-*i*-इत = उप + एत = उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form अवैहि is wrong. So also उप-*i*-इत = उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एचि qualifies the root इ ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by ऊहिनी, as अक्षौहिणी सना ॥

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्व is followed by ईर or ईरिण, or ईरिणी thus स्वैरम्, स्वैरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix घञ् added to ईरगतौ (Ad. 8) स्वेनाभिप्रायेण ईरणं = स्वैरम् the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32. Another form is स्वैरी = स्वेनाभिप्रायेणेन ते गच्छति with the affix णिनि (III. 2. 78).

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊह, ऊढ, ऊढि, एष, एष्य; as प्रौहः, प्रौढः, प्रौढिः, प्रेषः, प्रेष्यः ॥ The word एष is derived from the root इषु 'to wish' (Tud. 59), इष् 'to go' (Div. 18), and इष् 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix घञ्; and the word एष्य is derived from the same roots by adding प्यत् ॥ This Vārtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused पररूपः ॥ While the roots ईष् 'to glean', and ईष् 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh. 115 and 642), form ईषः and ईष्यः with the above affixes; and with प्र, their forms will be प्रेषः and प्रेष्यः ॥

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in अ is followed by क्त and forms an Instrumental Tatpuruṣa compound: as सुखेन क्तः = सुखार्तः, दुःखेन क्तः = दुःखार्तः, but सुखेन इतः = सुखेतः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमर्तः ॥ Why 'Compound'? See सुखेनर्तः ॥

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word ऋण follows the following:—प्र, वस्तर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वस्तरार्णम् 'the debt of a steer', कम्बलार्णम् 'debt of a blanket', वसनार्णम् 'debt of a cloth'.

Vārt:—So also when the words ऋण and दश are followed by ऋणः—as, ऋणार्णम् and दशार्णम् ॥ The word ऋणार्ण means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasārṇa is the name of a river and of a country.

आटश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आटः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचीति निवृत्तम् । अचीत्यनुवर्त्तते । आटः परो यो ऽच् अचि च पूर्वो य भाद् तयोः पूर्वपरयोराडचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरकादेशो भवति ।

90. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the augment आट् is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of एचि ceases: that of अचि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आट्, and the आट् which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the आट् and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute. The augment आट् is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत, औभीत्, औद्भीत्, औब्जीत् from roots ईक्षदर्शने (Bhu. 641), उभ उम्भ पूरणे (Tud. 32) and उ ब्ज आर्जने (Tud. 20). According to Siddhānta Kaumudī the आट् is the augment which ङिन् case-affixes take after *nadi*-words (VII. 3. 112). According to him the following are the examples:—बहुभ्यसी-1-आट्-1-ङे = बहुभ्यस्यै (Dative Singular). The आट् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लट् ॥

The च् 'and' in the sūtra shows that the पररूप rule, taught in VI. 1. 95, 96 when उस्, औ and आइ follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आट् ॥ Thus औस्त्रीयन्, औकारियन् ॥ आ- ऊडा = भोडा, तमिच्छन् = औदीयन् ॥

उपसर्गादिति धातौ ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, ऋति, धातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादकारादौ धातौ परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

91. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upasarga) is followed by the short ऋ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with ऋ, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent ऋ ॥ This debars the guṇa taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus उप + ऋच्छति = उपाच्छति, प्राच्छति, उपाध्नोति ॥ Why do we say 'after a preposition'? Observe खट्च्छति, मालच्छति, प्रच्छकोदेशः = प्रगता ऋच्छका अस्माद् देशात् ॥ Here the word प्र is not treated as an upasarga, hence this sūtra does not apply. It is a Gati here. Why do we say 'when ऋ follows'? Observe उप- इत = उपेतः ॥ Why have we used त् after ऋ indicating that short ऋ is to be taken? Observe उप + ऋकारो यति = उपकारियति ॥ No option is allowed here by the subsequent sūtra. The त् is used, in fact, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in case of Denominative verbs, no ordinary verb can begin with a long ऋ ॥ Why have we employed the word धातु, when the word 'upasarga' would have caused us to infer its correlative धातु? It is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. 1. 129 which causes प्रकृतभावः or non-sandhi of ऋ ॥ The repetition of 'Dhātu' shows that the alternative prakṛiti bhava taught in VI. 1. 129, would not apply in the case of the ऋ of a Dhātu.

वा सुप्यापिशलेः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, सुपि, आपिशलेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । उपसर्गादिति धाताविति च । सुबन्तावयवे धातावृकारादौ परतो स्वर्णान्तादुपसर्गात्पूर्वपरयोरपिशलेराचार्यस्य मतेन वा वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

92. According to the opinion of Āpiśali, the Vṛiddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or आ of a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning with ऋ ॥

Thus उपार्शभीयति or उपर्शभीयति, उपल्कारीयति or उपाल्कारीयति ॥ The ऋ and लृ are considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word ऋ in the last sūtra includes लृ also. The name of the Grammarian Āpiśali is mentioned for the sake of respect; the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

औतो ऽमशसोः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, ओतः, अम् - शसोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओतो ऽमि शसि च परतः पूर्वपरयोरकार आदेशो भवति ॥

93. For ओ of a Nominal stem-**अ** of the Accusative case-ending **अम्** and **अस्**, the single substitute is **आ** ॥

The word **औतः** is a compound of **आ + औतः** ॥ Thus **गौ - अस्**, = **गाम्**, **गौ-अस्** = **गाः** ॥ Thus **गां पश्य**, **गाः पश्यः** ॥ This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also **द्यां** or **द्याः पश्य**; as the word **द्यौ** is also a nominal stem ending in **भो** ॥ The Sārva-nāmsthāna affixes are **णित्** after this word also (see VII. 1. 96) which would have caused Vṛiddhi, therefore, this **आ** debars the Vṛiddhi. The word **अम्** here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix **सम्**, and as the word **सुप्** of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore **अम्** the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have **अचिनवम्**, **असुनवम्** ॥

एङि पररूपम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङि, पररूपम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव. उपसर्गाद्भाताविति च। अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादेडादौ धातौ पूर्वपरयोः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शकन्वादिषु पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एवे चानियोगे पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वा० ॥ भोत्वोष्ठयोः समासे वा पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एमत्रादिषु छन्दांसि पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥

94. For the **अ** or **आ** of the Preposition-**ए** or **ओ** of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The words **आत्**, **उपसर्गाद्भातौ** are understood here. In an upasarga ending in **अ** or **आ** followed by a root beginning with **ए** or **ओ**, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (**पररूप**) ॥ This debars Vṛiddhi taught in VI. 1. 88. Thus **उपलयति**, **प्रेलयति**, **उपोषति**, **प्रांषति** ॥ Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI. 1. 92, according to them the para-rūpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus **उपेडकीयति** or **उपैडकीयति**, **उपोदनीयति** or **उपौदनीयति** ॥

Vart.—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place in the case of शकन्धुः &c. As **शक-अन्धुः** = **शकन्धुः**, **कुल + अदा** = **कुलदा**, **सीम + अन्तः** = **सीमन्तः** 'hair'; when not referring to 'hair', the form is **सीमान्तः** ॥

Vart.—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when **एव** follows a word, and the sense is not that of 'appointment'. Thus **इह-एव** = **इहेव**; **अद्य-एव** = **अद्येव** ॥ When the sense is that of **नियोग**, the Vṛiddhi takes place: as **इहेव भव**, **माऽन्यत्र गाः** ॥

Vart.—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place optionally when **भोतु** and **भोष्ठ** are compounded with another word: as **स्थूल भोतुः** = **स्थूलौतुः** or **स्थूलौतुः**, so also **बिम्बौष्टी** or **बिम्बोष्टी** ॥ When not a compound, the Vṛiddhi is compulsory: as **तिष्ठ देवदत्तौष्ठं पश्य** 'Stay Devadatta, see the lip'.

Vart.—In the Vedas, the para-rūpa substitution takes place when **एमन्** &c. follow. Thus **अपां त्वा एमन्** = **अपां त्वमन्** ॥ So also **अपां त्वा भोऽमन्** = **अपां त्वांसन्** ॥

ओमाङोश्च ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम् - आङोः , च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव। अवर्णान्तासोमि भाङि च परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

95. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम्, or + the vowel of the Preposition आङ्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आन् is understood here. Thus का-1-ओम् = कौम् ; या-1-ओम् = यौम् ; as कामित्यवोचन्, यामित्यवोचन् ; आ-1-ऊढा = आढा, then अद्य-1-आढा = अद्योढा, कदा-1-आढा = कदोढा, तदा + आढा = तदोढा ॥ आ + ऋद्व्यान् = अद्व्यान्, then अद्य-1-अद्व्यान् = अद्यद्व्यान् ॥ Thus this rule supersedes both the Vṛiddhi and the lengthening (VI. I. 38, and 101).

उत्स्यपदान्तात् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्सि, अपदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । अवर्णादपदान्तादसि पूर्वपरयोराहुणापवादः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

96. For the अ or आ (not standing at the end of a Pada or full word) + उ of उत्स the Tense-affix, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आन् is understood here. This debars the guṇa substitution taught in VI. I. 87. Thus भिन्द्या-1-उस् = भिन्द्युः, छिन्द्या-1-उस् = छिन्द्युः ॥ अदा-1-उस् = अदुः, (लुङ् of दा) अया-1-उस् = अयुः ॥ All these are examples of लिङ् (Potential) and लङ् (Imperfect). Thus भिन्द् + यासुद् + झि (the यासुद् is added by III. 4. 103) = भिन्द् + य + उस् (जुस् replaced झि III. 4. 108) = भिन्द्युस् ॥ अदा + सिच् + झि = अदा + ० (II. 4. 77) + जुस् (III. 4. 110) = अदा + उस् = अदुः ॥ अ + या + झि = अ + या + उस् (VI. 4. 111) = अयुः ॥ The उस् is also the substitute of झि in लिङ् (Perfect) see III. 4. 82. When the preceding vowel is not अ or आ, this rule does not apply. Thus the 3rd per. pl. of the Perfect of कृ is :—चक्र-1-उस् = चक्रुः ॥ So also from भी we have अविभे-1-उस् = अविभयुः ॥ The word अपदान्तात् 'not being final in a pada' does strictly speaking, serve no good purpose in this sūtra. For the affix उस् can never be added to a Pada, it must always be added to a stem, that has not yet risen to the rank of a Pada. If उस्, however, be taken as the syllable उत् (whether an affix or part of an affix or not), then the limitation of अपदान्तात् becomes valid. Thus का + उक्ता = कौक्ता, का + उक्ता = कौक्ता ॥ Most likely this word has been read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra or because उस् syllable is taken here and not merely the affix उस् ॥

अतो गुणे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, गुणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तादिति वर्त्तते । अकारादपदान्ताहुणे परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

97. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

Thus पच्-1-राप्-1-अन्ति = पच-1-अन्ति = पचन्ति so also यजन्ति ॥ This debars lengthening of VI. I. 101. पच + ए = पचे, यज + ए = यजे, here the Vṛiddhi is debarred (VI. I. 88). Why do we say "after the short vowel अ?" Observe या-1-अन्ति = यान्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why do we say when followed by 'a Guṇa letter?' Observe

अपच-1-इ = अपचे, अयजे ॥ When final in a Pada, this rule does not apply : as
 षण्ड-1-अग्रं = षण्डाग्रम्, यूपाग्रम्, क्षुद्राग्रम् ॥

अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात् इतौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्य, अतः, इतौ ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तपरिस्फुटवर्णं तदनुकरणं परिस्फुटवर्णमेव केन चित्सादृश्येन तदव्यक्तमनुकरोति तस्य यो-
 च्छब्दस्तस्मादितौ पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकाच्च इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

98. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound)-1-इत् ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound. Thus पदन्-1-इति = पदित्, घटन् + इति = घटित्, झटन् + इति = झटित्, छमन् + इति = छमित् ॥

Why do we say 'imitation of an inarticulate sound'? Observe जगन्-1-इति = जगदिति ॥ Why do we say "of अत्"? Observe मरद् + इति = मराडिति ॥ Why do we say when followed by इति? Observe पदन् + अत् = पददत् ॥

Vārti.—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—सन् + इति = सदिति ॥ How do you explain the form घटदिति in the following:—घटदिति गम्भीरमम्बुद्वैर्नदितम् ॥ Here the word is not घटन्-1-इति but घटद्-1-इति ॥

नाम्नेडितस्यान्यस्य तु वा ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आम्नेडितस्य, अन्यस्य, तु, वा ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्याम्नेडितस्य यो ऽच्छब्द इतौ तस्य पररूपं न भवति तस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य वा भवति ॥

99. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त्-1-इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Thus पदन्पददिति or पदन्पदेति करोति (पदन्पदन् + इति = पदन्पद + इ + ति = पदत्पदेति) ॥ The word is doubled by VIII. 1. 4. The para-rūpa substitution will take place when the whole word so reduplicated denotes a sound imitation, thus पदत्पददिति करोति ॥ Here we apply the precedeing sūtra. The āmreḍita is the name of the second member of the doubled word (VIII. 1. 2).

नित्यमाम्नेडिते डाचि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, आम्नेडिते, डाचि ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यातो ऽन्यस्येति चानुवर्त्तते । डाचपरं याम्नेडितं तस्मिन्पूर्वस्याव्यक्तानुकरणस्या-
 च्छब्दस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य पूर्वस्य परस्य चाद्यस्य वर्णस्य नित्यं पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

100. Of such a doubled sound-imitation word, to which the affix आ is added which causes the elision of the final अत्, for the final त् of the first member and the initial

consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute.

Thus पटपटा करात् (V. 4. 57), इमदा करोति ॥ पट्पट्-1-डाच् (V. 4. 57) = पट्पटा = पटपटा (न् + प् = प्) ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika. When the affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) is added to पट्, there is doubling of the word by the Vārtika under VIII. 1. 12: this doubling takes place before the final अत् is elided.

अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकः, सवर्णे, दीर्घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकः सवर्णे ऽच्चि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने दीर्घे एकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सवर्णदीर्घत्वे ऋति ऋवा वचनम् ॥ वा० ॥ लृति लृवा वचनम् ॥

101. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus ङण्ड + अग्रम् = ङण्डाग्रम्, द्विधि + इन्द्रः = द्विीन्द्रः, मधु + उदके = मधुदके and होतृ + ऋभ्य होतृद्भ्यः ॥ Why do we say 'an अक् or simple vowel?' Observe अग्ने-1-ए = अग्नये ॥ Why do we say 'by a homogenous vowel?' Observe द्विधि-1-अत्र = द्विध्यत्र ॥ The word अच्चि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अच्चि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी शेते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10 : for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुद्विसवर्णस्य चाग्रस्ययः (I. 1. 69) is not brought into operation at the time when नाञ् झलौ (I. 1. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नाञ् झलौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. 1. 9) and then comes the महणकवाक्यं (I. 1. 68). Therefore in नाञ् झलौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the class of homogenous vowels i. e. only the 9 vowels contained directly in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which I. 1. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though short इ and श are not सवर्ण by I. 1. 10 : the long ई and श would be सवर्णा.

Vārt :—When ऋ short is followed by ऋ short, the long substitution is optional : so also with लृ ॥ This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two ऋ or लृ—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is $1\frac{1}{2}$ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (ऊकाल &c). Thus होतृऋकारः = होतृकारः or होतृकारः, so also होतृ-1-लृकारः = होतृलृकारः or होतृलृकारः ॥ The दीर्घे of लृ is ऋ ॥

प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमयोः, पूर्वं - सवर्णः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इति दीर्घे इति वर्तते । प्रथमाशब्दे विभक्तिविशेषे रूढस्तस्याहचर्यात् द्वितीयापि प्रथमेत्युक्ता । तस्यां प्रथमार्थां द्वितीयायां च विभक्तावचि अकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घे एकादेशो भवति ॥

102. For the simple vowel of a nominal-stem and for the vowel of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words अक्रः and दाचः are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i. e. the 1st case or the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sūtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्वरूप or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. Thus अग्नि-1-ओ = अग्नी ; वायु-1-ओ = वायु ; वृक्ष-1-अस् = वृक्षाः, so also वृक्षाः, वृक्षान्, वृक्षान् ॥ In the case of these last four examples (वृक्ष-1-अस् &c) the rule VI. 1. 97 would have caused para-rūpa substitution i. e. would have given the form वृक्ष-1-अस् = वृक्षाः, and that rule would have debarred the lengthening rule VI. 1. 101 on the maxim "apavâdas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede those rules that stand nearest to them : " but not this पूर्वसवर्ण lengthening rule as it does not stand nearest. The word अवि 'when a vowel follows' is understood here also. Thus वृक्ष-1-स् = वृक्षाः, वृक्षाः ॥ The word अक्र 'the simple vowel' is understood here also. Thus नौ-1-ओ = नौवै ॥ Why do we say 'a vowel homogenous to the antecedent?' The substitute will not be one homogenous to the second or the subsequent vowel. The दीर्घ or 'long' is used in order to debar the substitution of pluta vowel having 3 measures for a pluta vowel.

तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, शसः, नः, पुंसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मात्पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घानुत्तरस्य शसो ऽवयवस्य सकारस्य पुंसि नकारदेशो भवात् ॥

103. After such a long vowel homogenous with the first, न् is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix शस् in the masculine.

Thus वृक्ष-1-शस् = वृक्ष-1-अन् = वृक्षान् ॥ So also अग्नीन्, अयून्, कर्तृन्, होतृन्, पण्डकान् स्थूरात्, भरकान्, पश्य &c. All these are masculine nouns. Now the word चञ्चा formed by the elision of कन् meaning a figure like a चञ्चा (V. 3. 98), may refer to both the males and females. It will however retain its feminine form though referring to a male being (See लुपि युक्तवद् व्यक्ति वचने I. 2. 51). In forming the accusative plural of चञ्चा, the स् will not be changed into न् ॥ Thus चञ्चाः पश्य, चञ्चिकाः पश्य ॥ Why do we say 'after such a long vowel homogenous with the first?' The rule will not apply if the long vowel has resulted by being a single substitute for the antecedent and the subsequent. Thus आ is substituted for ओ-1-अ by VI. 1. 93. Here स् will not be replaced by न् as गाः पश्य ॥ Why do we say 'of the Accusative plural?' Observe वृक्षाः, वृक्षाः endings in जस् Nom Pl. Why do we say "in the masculine?" Observe, धेनुः, बह्वीः, कुमारीः ॥

नादिच्चि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आत्, इच्चि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णादिच्चि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

104. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel (other than अ) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Thus वृक्षौ, प्लक्षौ, खट्वे, कुण्डे ॥ Here Rules VI. i. 87 &c. apply. Why do we say "after अ or आ?" Observe अग्नी ॥ Why do we say "followed by an इच् (a vowel other than अ)?" Observe वृक्षाः here VI. i. 102 applies.

दीर्घाञ्जसि च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, जसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाञ्जसि इच्चि च परतः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

105. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom. Pl. affix अस् ॥

Thus कुमार्यो, कुमार्य, ब्रह्मबन्धो, ब्रह्मबन्धः ॥

वा छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाच्छन्दसि विषये जसि च इच्चि च परतो वा पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

106. In the Vedas, the long vowel may optionally be the single substitute of both vowels in these cases last mentioned.

Thus मारुतीः or मारुत्यः, पिण्डीः or -पिण्डबः, वाराही or वाराह्यौ ; उपानही or उपानह्यौ ॥

अमि पूर्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमि, पूर्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इत्येव । अमि परतो ऽकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकादेशो भवति ॥

107. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम् ॥

The word अकः is understood here. Thus वृक्ष-अम् = वृक्षम् (VII. i. 24) प्लक्षम्, अग्नि-अम् = अग्निम्, वायुम् ॥ The word पूर्व 'antecedent, first' in the sūtra shows that the first vowel itself is substituted and not any of its homogenous vowels. Otherwise in कुमारी + अम् = कुमारीम् the ई would have been of three mātrās or measures, as it comes in the room of ई + अ, the aggregate mātrās of which are three.

In the Vedas, there is option, as शर्मो or शर्म्यं, गौरी or गौर्यम् ॥ अम् is the

ending of the Accusative singular of all genders and also of the nominative singular in the Neuter in certain cases. (See VII. 1. 23, 24 and 28).

संप्रसारणाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्प्रसारणात्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व इत्येव । संप्रसारणादचि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकादेशो भवति ॥

108. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semivowel and the subsequent vowel.

The word पूर्वः is understood here. When a vocalised semi-vowel is followed by a vowel, the vocalised vowel is alone substituted, the subsequent vowel merging in it. Thus यञ्-ल-क्त = इअञ्-ल-क्त (VI. 1. 15) = इष्टम् (इ-अ = इ); so उअम् (वप्-ल-क्त = उअ-ल-क्त), अह् + इत = गृ अह्-ल-इत = गृहीतं ॥ Had there not been this merging, the vocalisation would become either useless or the two vowels would have been heard separately without sandhi. Thus in वप् + त = उअप् + त, if the अ did not merge in उ, then it would cause sandhi, and उ would be changed to व् by इक्रोयणाच्च and the word would again assume the form वप् ॥ But this यणादेशः would cause samprasāraṇa rule non-effective, hence it follows that but for the present rule, the two vowels would have been heard separately as उअम् ॥

The rule of option in the Chhandas (VI. 1. 106) applies here also. Thus we have यज्यमानौ मित्रावरुणौ or इज्यमानौ ॥ "When you have just said that the two vowels will remain separate and there will be no यणादेशः when there is no purvavad-bhāva we do you form यज्यमान्; it ought to be इ अज्यमान्" ? We have only said that vocalisation rule becomes useless if there was not this rule of merging of the subsequent vowel; but where there is this rule of purva-vad-bhāva, and only an *option* is allowed, then the rule of vocalisation does not become totally useless because it finds its scope in cases like इष्टः &c, therefore when in the *alternative* it is not applied, there यणादेशः will take place naturally, and the ordinary rules of sandhi will apply. The merging, moreover, refers to the vowel which is in the same aṅga or base with the samprasāraṇa. Thus शकान् ह्यात = शकह्ना + विवप् = शकह् उ आ = शकहू ॥ Here आ which is in the same अङ्ग with हु merges in to उ ॥ But in forming the dual, we have शकहू + औ ॥ Here औ coming after the samprasāraṇa ऊ does not merge therein, and we have शकहौ ॥ Similarly शकहू + अर्थ = शकहूर्थम् ॥ In fact when *once* the para-purvavā has taken effect, then subsequent vowels will produce their effect because in the antaranga operation इ अ ए into इष्ट, the purva-rupa is ordained to save the samprasāraṇa from modification, but there is no such necessity, when a Bahiranga operation is to be applied.

एङः पदान्तादति ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङः, पदान्तात्, अति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यः पदान्तस्तस्मादति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वरूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

109. In the room of ए or ओ final in a Pada, and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus अग्ने-1-अच् = अग्नेऽच्, वायो-1-अच् = वायोऽच् ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अश् and अच् ॥ Why do we say 'of ए or ओ'? Observe द-यच्, मध्वच् ॥ Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe चे-1-अन् = चयन्, लो-1-अन् = लवन् ॥ Here the ए or ओ are in the body of the word, and not at the end of a word. Why do we say "when followed by a short अ"? Observe वायो-1-इति = वायविति, भानो-1-इति = भानविति ॥ Why do we say 'short'? Observe वायो आयाहि = वायवायाहि ॥

इसिङ्सोश्च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ इसिङ्सोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ इति वर्त्तते, अतीतिच । एङ उत्तरयोर्इसिङ्सोरिति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वं एकादेशो भवति ॥

110. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word),-1-अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Thus अग्ने-1-अस् = अग्नेः, वायोः ॥ The इ and उ of अग्नि and वायु are guṇated by VII. 3. 111. This sūtra applies when the ए or ओ are in the middle of a word and not padānta, as in the last. Thus अग्नेरागच्छति, वायोरागच्छति, अग्नेः स्वम्, वायोः स्वम् ॥

ऋत उत् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, उत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इसिङ्सोरित्येव ऋकारान्तादुत्तरयोर्इसिङ्सोरिति पूर्वपरयोरुकार एकादेशो भवति ॥

111. In the room of ऋ-1-अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

Thus होत्-1-अस् = होतुस् (The उ must always be followed by र् I. 1. 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋ only, but of ऋ + अ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces *two*, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋतः and अकारस्य in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and 'mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतुर् = होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छति, होतुः स्वम् ॥

ख्यत्यात्परस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख्य - त्यात्-, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इसिङ्सोरिति वर्त्तते उइति च । ख्यत्याइति खिशब्दख्यिशब्दयोस्तिशब्दतीशब्दयोश्चकृतयणादेशयोरिदंभ्रहणं, ताभ्यां परस्य इसि ङ्सोरत उकारोदेशो भवति ॥

112. There is the substitution of, उ for the अ of

अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems य् is substituted.

The phrase ङसिङतोः and उन् are understood here also. The ह्य means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to य, and ख् denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य ॥ Thus सखि-1-अस् = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छति, सख्युः स्वम् ॥ So also पत्युरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वम् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus : सहयेन वर्तते = सखः, सखमिच्छति = सख-1-भ्यच् (III. 1. 8) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding क्तिप् to the denominative root सखीय we get सखीः 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी-1-अस् = सख्युः also. Of ती we have the following example. लूनमिच्छति = लूनीय, add क्तिप् = लूनीः, the Ablative and Genitive singular of which is also लून्युः, the न् of लूनी being the substitute of त् of Nishṭhâ, is considered like त् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of ह्य and य्य in the sūtra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c : where we have अतिसखेः, सेनापतेः ॥ The word अतिसखि is घि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prâtipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". According to Dr. Ballantyne this rule applies to all खी and ती, such as सुखीः one who loves pleasure' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखीय-1-क्तिप्). and सुतीः 'one who wishes a son' (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय-1-क्तिप्) : Thus सुख्युः, सुत्युः &c.

अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, रोः, अप्लुतात्, अप्लुते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति, उशिति वर्त्तते । अकाराप्लुतादुत्तरस्य रोरेकस्य उकाराप्लुतबन्धविशिष्टस्य अकारे ऽप्लुते परत उकारदेशो भवति ॥

113. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र् substitute of a final स् VIII. 2. 66) when an अ, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

The phrase उन् is understood here, as well as the word आत् of VI. 1. 109, III. Thus वृक्ष-1-सु (1st singular) = वृक्षस् = वृक्षर् (VIII. 2. 66). वृक्षर्-1-अत्र = वृक्षउ-1-अत्र = वृक्षो-1-अत्र (VI. 1. 87) = वृक्षोऽत्र (VI. 1. 109); so also प्लक्षोऽत्र ॥ This ordains उ for र्, whereby VIII. 3. 17, there would have been otherwise य; and this उ does not become asiddha (as it depends upon रु VIII. 2. 66) for the purposes of VIII. 3. 17, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 1.

Why do we say 'after an अ'? Observe अग्निर्-1-अत्र = अग्निरत्र ॥ Why do we say 'a short अ'? Observe वृक्षाः-1-अत्र = वृक्षा अत्र ॥ Why do we use रु with its indicative उ, and not use the र् generally? Observe स्वरू-1-अत्र = स्वरत्, प्रातरू-1-अत्र प्रातरत् ॥ Here the final र् is part of the words, and is not produced from स् ॥

The word **भति** is understood here also from VI. I. 109. The **र** must be *followed* by a short **अ**, therefore, not here: वृक्षर्-इह = वृक्ष इह ॥ The subsequent **अ** must be short, the rule does not apply here वृक्षर्-आश्रितः = वृक्ष आश्रितः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ'? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As, सुलोता इ अत्र त्वमसि (VIII. 2. 84). Why do we say "when followed by an apluta अ"? Observe तिष्ठतु पथ आग्निदत्त (VIII. 2. 86). Here **प्लुत** being held asidddha, there would have been **उ** substitution, had not the phrase **अप्लुत** been used in the aphorism.

हशि च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हशि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हशि च परतो ऽन उत्तरस्य रोस्कारदेशो भवति ॥

114. The **उ** is the substitute of **ह** (the **र** substitute of **स्** VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short **अ** ॥

The **हश्** pratyáhára includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus **पुरुषो वाति** or **हसति** or **ददाति** &c.

प्रकृत्या ऽन्तःपादमध्यपरे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, अन्तः-पादम्, अव्यपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङो ऽतीत्येव । एङ इति यत्पञ्चम्यन्तमतुवर्त्तते तदर्थादिह प्रथमान्तं भवति । प्रकृतिरिति स्वभावः कारणं वा ऽभिधीयते । अन्तरित्यव्ययनधिकरणभूतं मध्यमाचष्टे । पादशब्देन च ऋकृपादस्यैव ग्रहणमिष्यते न तु श्लोकपादस्य । अवकारयकारपरे ऽति परत एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

115. The final **ए** or **ओ** and the following **अ** when occurring in the middle half of a foot of a Vedic verse, retain their original forms, except when the **अ** is followed by **घ** or **ञ** ॥

The word **एङः** is understood here, but it should be construed here in the nominative case and not in the Ablative. The word **प्रकृति** means 'original nature, cause'. The word **अन्तर्** is an Indeclinable, used in the Locative case here and means 'in the middle'. The word **पादः** 'the foot of a verse' refers to the verses of the Vedas, and not to the verses of secular poetry. The word **भति** is also understood here. Thus **ते अत्र अश्वमायुञ्जन्**; **ते अस्मिन् जवमाशुः**; **उपप्रयन्तो अध्वरम्**; **शिरो अपश्यम्**; **सुजाते अश्वसृन्ते** (R. Veda. V. 79. 1); **अध्वर्यो अद्रिभिः सुतम्** (Rig IX. 51. 1); **सुद्धं ते अन्यत्** (Rig. VI. 58. 1).

Why do we say 'in the inner half of a foot of a verse?' Observe **कया मती कुत एतास एतेऽर्चन्ति ॥** Why do we say "when **वृ** or **ञ** does not follow **अ**?" Observe **तेऽवदन्** (Rig X. 109. 1), **तेऽयस्मयम् ॥** Why do we say **ए** or **ओ**? Observe **अन्वग्निहवसामग्रमख्यत् ॥** Some read this sūtra as **नान्तः पादमध्यपरे ॥** According to them, this sūtra supersedes the whole rule of juxtaposition or **संहिता** (VI. I. 72).

अव्याद्वद्याद्वक्रमुत्रतायमचन्ववस्युषु च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यात्, अव
द्यात्, अवक्रमुः, अद्यत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्युषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यात् अवद्यात् अवक्रमुः अद्यत अयम् अवन्तु अवस्यु इत्येतेषु यकारवकारपरेष्यति परतोऽन्तः
पादमङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

116. The ए or ओ retain their original form in the middle of a Vedic verse, when the following words come after them (though the अ in these has a व् and य् following it) :—
अव्यात्, अवद्यात्, अवक्रमुः, अद्यत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्यु ॥

Thus अग्निः प्रथमोवसुभिर्नो अव्यात् ॥ मित्रमहो अवद्यात् (Rig IV. 4. 15), मा शि-
वासो अवक्रमुः (Rig VII. 32. 27); ते नो अद्यताः (Not in the Rig Veda). Prof.
Bohtlingk gives the following examples from the Rig Veda :—सीक्षन्तो अद्यतम्
(VI. 14. 3), संरहन्तो अद्यतान् (IX. 73. 5), कर्ते अद्यतान् (IX. 73. 8). शतधारो अयं मणिः, ते
नो अवन्तु पितरः (Not in the Rig Veda: according to Prof. Bohtlingk the अ of अवन्तु
is generally elided in the Veda after ए or आ) कुशिकासो अवस्यवः (Rig III. 42. 9).

यजुष्युरः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, उरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्द एवन्तो यजुषि विषये ऽति प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

117. In the Yajur-Veda, the word उरस् when changed to उरो, retains its original form when followed by a short अ which is also retained.

Thus उरो अन्तरिक्षम् (Yaj. Veda Vajasan. IV. 7). Some read the sūtra
as यजुष्युरो ॥ They take the word as उर ending in उ, which in the Vocative
case assumes the form उरो ॥ They give the following example उरो अन्तरिक्षं सज्जू ॥
But in the Yajur Veda VI. 11, the text reads उरोरन्तरिक्षम् सजू ॥ In the Yajur
Veda, there being no stanzas, the condition of अन्तः पादं does not apply here.

आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्ठे अम्बे अम्बाले अम्बिके पूर्वे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, जुषाणः,
वृष्णोः, वर्षिष्ठे, अम्बे, अम्बाले, अम्बिके, पूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्ठे इत्येते शब्दा अम्बे अम्बाले इत्येता च यावम्बिके शब्दात्पूर्वो
यजुषि पठितो त आति परतः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

118. In the Yajur Veda, the short अ is retained after आपो, जुषाणो, वृष्णो, वर्षिष्ठे, and also in and after अम्बे or अम्बाले when they stand before अम्बिके ॥

Thus आपो अस्मान् प्रातरः शुन्धयन्तु (Yaj. IV. 2). जुषाणो अप्तुराज्यस्य (Yaj.
V. 35), वृष्णो अंशुभ्यां गभस्ति पूतः (Yaj. VII. 1). वर्षिष्ठे अधिनाके ॥ The Vajasaneyi
Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठे अधि (V. S I. 22): The Taittiriya Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठे अधि ॥
(I. I. 8. 1. 4, 43, 2. 5. 5. 4) अम्बे अम्बाले अम्बिके (V. S. 23. 18 where the reading is
अम्बे अम्बिके ऽम्बालिके) but Tait S. VII. 4. 19. 1, and Tait Br. III. 9. 6. 3 has अम्बे
अम्बाल्यम्बिके ॥ The words अम्बे &c, though in the Vocative, do not shorten
their vowel by VII. 3. 107, because they have been so read here.

अङ्गइत्यादौ च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गे, इति-आदौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गशब्दे य एङ् तदासौ चाकारे यः पूर्वः स यजुषि विषये ऽति प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

119. In the Yajur Veda, when the word अङ्गे is followed by अङ्गे, the subsequent short अ is retained, as well as the preceding ए or ओ ॥

Thus ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अदाभ्यन्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निर्दिभ्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निरीतः, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अशाचिषम् (Yaj. 6. 20).

अनुदात्ते च कुधपरे ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्ते, च, कु-धपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । अनुदात्ते चाति कवर्गधकारपरे परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

120. In the Yajur Veda, when an anudâtta अ is followed by a Guttural or a ध, the antecedent ए or ओ retains its form, as well as this subsequent अ ॥

Thus अयं सो अग्निः (Yaj. 12. 47), अयं सो अश्वरैः ॥ Why do we say when अ is gravely accented? Observe अधोऽधे, here अधे has acute accent on the first syllable. Why do we say "when followed by a Guttural (कु) or a ध"? Observe सोऽयमग्निः सहस्रियः ॥

अवपथासि च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवपथासि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । अनुदात्तइति चशब्देनानुक्रुष्यते । अवपथाःशब्दे ऽनुदात्ते ऽकारादौ परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

121. In the Yajur Veda, when the gravely accented अ of अवपथास् follows ए or ओ, the vowels retain their original form.

Thus श्री रुद्रेभ्यो अवपथाः ॥ The word अवपथाः is 2nd per. Singular Imperfect of वप् in the Atmanepada. Thus अन-वप्-1-दाप्-1-थास् ॥ The अ is grave by VIII. 1. 28. When it is not gravely accented, the अ drops. As यदुद्रेभ्यो ऽवपथाः ॥ Here अ is not grave by virtue of VIII. 1. 30.

सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, विभाषा, गोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र, छन्दसि भाषायां चाति परतो गोरिङ् प्रकृत्या भवति विभाषा ॥

122. 'After गो the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गोऽग्रं or गो अग्रं ॥ In the Vedas also अपशवो वा अन्ये गो अश्वेभ्यः, पशवो गोऽश्वः ॥

अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवङ्, स्फोटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीति निवृत्तम् । अर्चात्येतत्त्वनुवर्त्ततएव । अचि परतो गोः स्फोटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेनावङ्कार-
वशां भवति ॥

123. According to the opinion of Sphoṭâyana, there is the substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of अति ceases, that of आर्च manifests itself. Thus गो + अग्र = गवाग्रम्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवोदनम्, गवाष्ट्रम्, or in the alternative we have गो-ऽग्रम्, गोऽजिनम्, गवोदनम्, गवुष्ट्रम् ॥ The substitute अवङ् is accutely accented on the first syllable. This accent will be the original accent in the Bahuvrihi compound (VI. 2. 1). Thus गावा अग्रमस्य = गवाग्रः ॥ In other places, however, this accent will be superseded by the samāsānta Udātta accent (VI. 1. 223) The mention of Sphoṭâyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. This is a vyavasthita vibhāshā, hence in गवाक्षः the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

इन्द्रे च नित्यम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्रे, च, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्थे ऽचि परतो गोर्नित्यमवङ्कोदशो भवति ॥

124. The substitution of अव for the ओ of गो is compulsory when a vowel to be found in the word इन्द्र follows it.

Thus गोवन्द्रः ॥ So also गवन्द्र यज्ञः ॥ The word नित्य is not found in some texts or in Mahābhāshya.

प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्लुताश्च प्रगृह्याश्चाचि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

125. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc.) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc.) vowels remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus देवदत्ता ३ अत्र न्वसि, यज्ञदत्ता ३ इदम् आनय ॥ These are examples of prolated vowels. The prolation of vowels is taught in the tripādi or the last three chapters of Ashtadhyāyī ; and the tripādi are considered asiddha for the purposes of previous sūtras (VIII, 2, 1,). This is not the case here, otherwise the mention of pluta would be redundant. Of the Excepted or Pragrihya vowels the following are the examples: अग्नी इति, वायू इति, खट्वे इति, माले इति ॥ Though the anuvritti of अचि was current in this sūtra from VI. 1. 77 : its repetition here is for the sake of ordaining प्रकृतिभाव ॥ That is, the pluta and the pragrihya retain their original forms when such a vowel follows which would have caused a substitution. Thus जानु उ अस्य, रुजति here in combining जानु + उ into जानू, the अ is no cause of lengthening, therefore, the lengthening will take place, Now since उ is a pragrihya, it follows that जानू, which ends in उ is also a pra-

grihya, and therefore it should not be changed before अ of अस्य ॥ Hence we have the form जानू+अस्य=जानू अस्य ॥ There may also be the form जान्वस्य, not by इकोयणचि, but by मय उञ्जो वो वा (VIII. 3. 33). In fact, the repetition of आचि in this sūtra is necessary, in order to enable us to give this peculiar meaning to the sūtra. Otherwise, had the sūtra been simply प्लुतप्रगह्याः, it would have been translated ordinæily thus: "The Pluta and Pragrihya retain their form, when ever a vowel follows". Therefore in जानु उ अस्य, since उ is followed by a vowel, it will retain its form, and will not coalesce with the उ of जानु ॥ But this is not intended. Hence the repetition of the word अचि, and the peculiar explanation given above, namely, Pluta and Pragrihya vowels retain their form before a vowel which would otherwise have caused a substitution, but it would not prevent the operation of any other rule. Therefore in जानु उ अस्य रुजति. the उ+उ will become lengthened, because अ is not the cause of lengthening; it causes the change of उ to व्, which of course is prevented. The word नित्य of the last sūtra is understood here also. These pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given in VI. I. 127.

आङो ऽनुनासिकञ्छन्दसि ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, अनुनासिकः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङो ऽचि परतःसंहितायां छन्दसि विषये ऽनुनासिकादेशो भवति स च प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

126. For the adverb आ, is substituted in the Chhandas the nasalised आँ, when a vowel follows it, and it retains its original form.

Thus अत्र आँ अपः (Rig V. 48. 1); गभीर आँ उग्रपुत्रे जिघांसतः (Rig VIII. 67. 11). Some read the word बहुन्ते into this sūtra. Hence there is coalescence here: इन्द्रो बाहुभ्यामातरत्=आ अतरत् ॥

इको ऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, असवर्णे, शाकल्यस्य, ह्रस्वः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इको ऽसवर्णे ऽचि परतः शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वश्च तस्यकः स्थाने भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सित्रित्यसमासयोः शाकलप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ईषाअक्षादिषु छन्दसि प्रकृतिभावमात्र वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. . According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, when followed by a nonhomogenous vowel, retain their original forms; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus इधि अत्र, मधु अत्र, कुमारि अत्र, किशोरि अत्र ॥ In the alternative we have इध्वत्र, मध्वत्र, कुमार्यत्र, किशोर्यत्र ॥ Why do we say 'the इक् vowels i. e. simple vowels with the exception of अ'? Observe खद्वेन्द्रः ॥ 'Why do we say , followed by a non-homogenous vowel'? Observe कुमारीन्द्रः ॥ The name of

Śākalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sūtra is clear from its very formation.

Vart:—This rule of Śākalya is prohibited in the case of words formed by an affix having an indicatory स् and of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa):—Thus अयं ते योनिर्ऋत्विजः, प्रजां त्रिदशं ऋत्विष्याम्. The word ऋत्विज is formed by a सिन् affix, namely by घस् (V. 1. 106), added to ऋतु; and therefore the उ is changed to व ॥ Before a सिन् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16) Of nitya-compounds are वैयाकरणः, सौवश्वः, व्याकरणं, कुमार्यर्थम् which are so by II. 2. 18 &c.

Vart:—In the Vedas ईषा अक्षः &c are found uncombined. As, ईषा भक्षा, का ईमिरे पिशांगिला, यथा अङ्गदः, पथा अगमन् &c.

ऋत्यकः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋति, अकः, (प्रकृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्वेतदनुवर्त्तते । ऋकोर परतः शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाकः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वश्च तस्याकः स्थाने भवति ॥

128. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus खद्वा ऋभ्यः, कुमारे ऋभ्यः, होतृ ऋभ्यः ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ? Observe, खद्वेन्द्रः ॥ Why do we say “the simple vowels (अकः)” ? Observe वृक्षावृद्भ्यः (वृक्षां+ऋभ्यः) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्लुत - वत्, उपस्थिते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपस्थितं नामानार्थ इतिकरणः समुदायादवच्छिद्य परं येन स्वरूपे ऽवस्थाप्यते तस्मिन्परतो ऽप्लुत-वद्भवति ॥ प्लुतकार्यं प्रकृति भावं न करोति ॥

129. Before the word इति in the Padapāṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts; i. e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapāṭha, the Pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुश्लोकाश् इति = सुश्लोकेति, सुमङ्गला इति = सुमङ्गलेति ॥ Why have we used the word वत् “like as”; instead of saying “the Pluta becomes Apluta” why do we say “Pluta is treated like apluta”? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakṛti bhāva in the case of pluta and praḡrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be praḡrihya, nor a praḡrihya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a praḡrihya at one and

the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्नी or वायु, the इ and ऊ are pragrihya. They may be made pluta also a अग्ना इ or वायु इ ॥ Now if before इति, the pluta became apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्नी इति वायु इति formed by अग्नी इ + इति &c. For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihya by VI. 1. 125, and in addition to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्नी इ इति, वायु इ इति ॥

ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई३ कारः प्लुतो ऽचि परतश्चाक्रवर्मणस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाप्लुतवद्भवति ॥

130. According to the the opinion of Châkravarmaṇa, the pluta ई३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus अस्तु हीत्यब्रवीत् or अस्तु ही३ इत्यब्रवीत् ॥ चिनु हीदम् or चिनु ही३ इदम् ॥ The name of Châkravarmaṇa is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129) as well as to words other than इति ॥ In the case of इति it allows sandhi optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति, it ordains prakṛiti bhâva optionally, when there would have been always prakṛiti bhâva by VI. 1. 125. This is a case of उभयत्रविभाषा, prâpta and aprâpta both.

Ishti :—This apluta-vad-bhâva applies to pluta vowels other than इ; as वशा इ इयम् or वशेयम् ॥

दिव उक्त् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, उक्त् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङः पदान्तादतीत्यतःपदप्रणमनुवर्तते । दिव इति प्राति पदिकं गृह्यते न धातुः, सानुबन्धकत्वात् ॥

131. For the final of the nominal-stem दिव्, there is the substitution of उ, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

The porti on पद् of the word पदान्त must be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word दिव् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus दिवि कामो यस्य = द्युकामः, द्युमान्, विमलद्यु दिनं, द्युभ्याम्, द्युभिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prâti-padika and not a dhâtu, for as a dhâtu it ought to have its servile letter anubandha and should have been read as दिवु ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for व् by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have अक्षद्युभ्याम्, अक्षद्युभिः ॥ The उक्त् with a त् shows that short उ is meant, and debars ऊङ् (VI. 4. 19). In the case of ऊङ् substitution the forms will be द्युभ्याम्, द्युभिः ॥ The ऊङ् also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe दिवौ, दिवः ॥

एतत्तदोः सु लोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतत् - तदोः, सु लोपः, अकोः, अ - नञ् - समासे -, हलि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतत्तदौ यादककारौ नञ्प्रत्ययस्य न वर्त्तते तयोर्थः सुशब्दः कश्च तयोः सुशब्दो यस्तदर्थेन संबद्धस्तस्य संहितायां विषये हलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

132. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix स् (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क् (V. 3. 71) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः + ददाति = एष ददाति, स ददाति, एषभुङ्क्ते, स भुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say of एतद् and तद्? Observe यो ददाति, वो भुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say "the case affix of the Nom. singular?" Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः ॥ Why do we say 'without क्'? Observe एषको ददाति, सको ददाति ॥ The words एतद् and तद् with the affix अक्, which falls in the middle, would be considered just like एतन् and तन् without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is : तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it'.

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle"? Observe अनेषो ददाति, असो ददाति ॥ In the compound with the negative particle नञ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant'? Observe एषोऽत्र, सोऽत्र ॥

स्यश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, छन्दसि, बहुलम्, (सोः, लोपः,) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ स्य इत्येतस्य छन्दसि हलि परतो बहुलं सोर्लोपो भवति ॥

133. In the Chhandas, the case-affix of the nominative singular is diversely elided after स्य, when a consonant follows it.

Thus उत स्य वाजी क्षिपणिं तुरण्यति ग्रीवायां बद्धो अपिकक्ष भासनि (Rig IV. 40. 4), एष स्य ते मधुमो इन्द्र सोमः (Rig IX. 87, 4) ॥ Sometimes it does not take place : as यत्र स्यो निपतेत् ॥ The स्य means 'he'.

सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अचि, लोपे, चेत्, पाद-पूरणम्- ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इत्येतस्याचि परतः सुलोपो भवति लोपे सति चेत्पादः पूर्यते ॥

Kārikā

सैष द्वाशरथी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः ॥
सैष कर्णो महात्यागी सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

134. The case-affix of सस् 'he', is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus सेदु राजा क्षयति चर्षणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीरनुह्यते (Rig VIII. 43. 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say

'when by such elision the metre of the line is completed'? Observe स इव व्याघ्रो भवेत् ॥ The word अचि in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness: for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same. It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened; and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. Some explain the word पाद् as 'a foot of a Śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have:—सैष दाशरथी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः, सैष कर्णो महात्यागा, सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

सुद् कात्पूर्वः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुद्, कात्, पूर्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकाशयं, पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायामिति यावत् ॥ इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र युञ्जति कात्पूर्वं इति चतसृधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

135. Upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the following sentence is to be supplied in every aphorism:—"before क् is added स्" ॥

This is an adhikāra sūtra and extends upto VI. 1. 157. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, in all those, the phrase 'the augment सुद् is placed before the letter क्' should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VI. 1. 137 teaches "After सम्, परि and उप when followed by the verb क्, the sense being that of adorning". Here the above phrase should be read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. "the augment स् is added before the क् of क् when it is preceded by सम्, परि and उप, and the sense is that of adorning". Thus सम्+स्+क्+त्=संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुम्, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ In the succeeding aphorisms it will be seen that the augment सुद् comes only before those roots which begin with क् ॥ What is then the necessity of using the phrase कात्पूर्वः in this sūtra? It is used to indicate that the स् remains unattached to क्, though it stands before it. Thus though क् becomes क्क, yet the latter should not be considered to be a verb beginning with a conjunct (sanyoga) consonant: and therefore the guṇa taught in VII. 4. 10 (the root ending in क् and preceded by a conjunct letter, takes guṇa before लिङ्) does not apply, nor do the rules like VII. 4. 29, nor the rules ordaining the addition of intermediate इद् (VII. 2. 43) by which the इद् would come in लिङ् and सिच् (Imperfect and Aorist): as, संस्कर्षीष्ट and सनस्कृत; and so also VII. 4. 29, does not apply as संस्क्रियते the Passive Imperfect (यकिं लिङि) of संस्कृ ॥ If so, then the anudatta accent taught in VIII. 1. 28 would not take place, since the augment सुद् would intervene between the non-तिङ्- word सं and the तिङन्त word करोति, thus संस्करोति would have accent on the verb. It is a maxim स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् 'in applying a rule relating to accent the intervening consonants are considered as if non-existent'; and therefore सुद् does not offer any intervention to the application of the rule VIII. 1. 28. If स् is not to be taken as attached to क्, how do you explain

the guṇa in the Perfect 3rd Per. Dual and Plural in **संचस्करतुः** and **संचस्करः** which apparently is done by applying VII. 4. 10. Though that rule strictly applies to roots beginning with a conjunct consonant, it will apply also to roots like **संस्कृ** which have a conjunct consonant for their penultimate; and the guṇa is done also on the maxim **तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् महणेन गृह्यते** (See VI. 1. 132). The indicatory **द्** in **सुद्** is for the purpose of differentiating it from **सु** in the Sūtra VIII. 3. 70.

अडभ्यासव्यवायेपि ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, अभ्यास - व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अड्व्यवाये ऽभ्यासव्यवाये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

136. The augment **सुद्** is placed before **क** even when the augment **अद्** (VI. 4. 71) or the Reduplicate intervenes (between the preposition and the verb).

Thus **समस्क्ररोत्** (= **सम् + अकरोत्**), **समस्कार्षीत्**, **संचस्कार** (= **सम् + चकार**), **परिचस्कार** ॥ This sūtra is not that of Pānini, but is made out of two Vārtikas: **अड्व्यवायप संखयानाम्**; and **अभ्यासव्यवाये च ॥** The augmented root **स्कृ** would have given the form **चस्कार** by VII. 4. 61, if **स्** be considered an integral part of **कृ**; and no rule of Antaraṅga and Bahiraṅga be taken into consideration. It might be said where is the necessity then of this sūtra? The operation relating to a Dhātu and Upasarga is Antaraṅga, i. e. a root is first joined with the Upasarga, and it undergoes other operations afterwards. Therefore, first the augment **सुद्** is added, and then the **अद्** and **अभ्यास** operations take place. Thus **संस्कृ** is the form to which **अद्** and **अभ्यास** operations are to be applied. Now, we have said in the foregoing aphorism, that **सुद्** is considered as unattached to **क**; and therefore, the augment **अद्** may be added after this **सुद्**, and so also the reduplication may take place without it. Thus we may have the forms like **संसकरोत्** and **संसचकार** ॥ But this is not desired, hence the necessity of the present sūtra teaching that even after **अद्** and reduplicate, the **सुद्** must be placed before **क** and no where else.

संपर्युपेभ्यः करोतौ भूषणे ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम् - परि - उपभ्येः, करोतौ, भूषणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् परि उप इत्येतेभ्यो भूषणार्थे करोतौ परतः सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

137. The augment **सुद्** is placed before **क** when **सम्**, **परि** and **उप** are followed by the verb **कृ** and the sense is that of ornamenting.

Thus **संस्कर्ता**, **संस्कर्तुम्**, **संस्कर्तव्यम्** ॥ The **म्** of **सम्** is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 5. So also **परिष्कर्ता** **परिष्कर्तुं** **परिष्कर्तव्यम्** ॥ The **स्** is changed to **ष्** by VIII. 3. 70. So also with **उप**, as **उपष्कर्ता**, **उपष्कर्तुम्** **उपष्कर्तव्यम्** ॥ Why do we say

'when meaning to ornament'? Observe उपकरोति ॥ Sometimes सुद् comes after सम् even when the sense is not that of ornamenting: thus संस्कृतमन्त्रम् ॥

समवाये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवाये, (च सुद्)

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायः सघुदायस्तस्मिन्कार्ये करोती संपर्शुपेभ्यः कात्पूर्वः सुडागमो भवति ॥

138. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after सम्, परि and उप, the sense being that of combining.

The word समवाय means aggregation. Thus तत्र नः संस्कृतम् तत्र नः परिस्कृतम्, तत्र नः उपस्कृतम् = सघुदितम् that is 'we assembled there'.

उपात्प्रतियत्नवैकृतवाक्याध्याहारेषु ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रति, यत्न, वैकृत, वाक्य - अध्याहारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सतो गुणान्तराधानमाधिक्याय वृद्धस्य वा तावस्थाय समीहा प्रतियत्नः । विकृतमेव वैकृतम् । प्रज्ञादित्वात् । गम्यमानार्थस्य वाक्यस्य स्वरूपेणोपादानं वाक्यस्याध्याहारः । एतेष्वर्थेषु गम्यमानेषु करोती धातौ परत उपात् सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

139. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप, and the sense is that of 'to take pains for something, to prepare, and to supply an ellipsis in a discourse'.

To take pains in imparting a new quality to a thing in order to increase its value, or to keep it safe from deterioration is called प्रतियत्नः ॥ That which is prepared or altered is called वैकृतं ॥ The word वैकृतं is the same as विकृतं, the affix भण् being added without changing the sense, by considering it to belong to प्रज्ञादि class (V. 4. 38). To supply by distinct statement the sense of a sentence which is alluded to, is called the अध्याहार of a sentence. Thus in the sense of 'taking pains' we have एधोऽकस्योपस्कृते (See I. 3. 32); काण्डगुणस्योपस्कृते ॥ In the sense of 'altering by preparing' we have: उपस्कृतं भुङ्क्ते, उपस्कृतं गच्छति ॥ In the sense of 'supplying a thesis' we have उपस्कृतं जल्पति, उपस्कृतमधीते ॥ When not having any one of the above five senses (VI. 1. 137-139) we have उपकरोति ॥

किरतौ लवने ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ किरतौ, लवने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादित्येव । उपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ धातौ लवनविषये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ णमुलत्रवक्तव्यः ॥

140. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप and the sense is that of 'to cut or split',

Thus उपस्कारं मद्रका लुनन्ति, उपस्कारं काश्मीरका लुनन्ति = विक्षिप्य लुनन्ति ॥

Vârt.:—The above augment takes place when णञ्च् is added to the verb उप-कृ, as shown in the above examples. When the meaning is not that of 'to cut', the form is उपक्ररति ॥

हिसायां प्रतेश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिसायाम्, प्रतेः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ किरतावित्येव । उपात्प्रतेश्चोत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ हिसायां विषये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

141. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप and प्रति, and the sense is "to cause suffering".

Thus उपस्काणम् or प्रातस्काण हन्त ते वृषल भूयात् = तथा ते वृषल विक्षपो भूयाद् यथा हिसामनुबन्धात् ॥

Why do we say when 'the sense is to cause pain'? Observe प्रति-कर्णम् ॥

अपाच्चतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, चतुष्पात्, शकुनिषुः, आलेखने (सुद्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरतावित्येव ! अपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ चतुष्पाच्छकुनिषु, यशलेखनं तस्मिन् विषये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्वेव किरतेरात्मनेपदस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

142. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after अप and the sense is 'the scraping of earth by four-footed animals or birds'.

Thus अपस्किरते वृषभो हृष्टः, अपस्किरतं कुक्कुटो भक्ष्यार्थी; अपस्किरतश्चा आश्रयार्था = आलिख्य विक्षपति ॥ Why do we say 'four-footed animals or birds'? Observe अपक्ररति द्वेदन्तः ॥

Vârt.:—This rule applies when the scraping is through pleasure, or for the sake of finding food, or making a resting place, Therefore not here:—अपक्ररतिश्चा ओदनपिण्डमाशितः ॥ And it is in the above senses of scraping through pleasure &c, that the root takes Âtmanepada affixes; otherwise the Parasmaipada affixes will follow. See I. 3. 21. *Vârt.*

कुस्तुम्बुरुणि जातिः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरुणि, जातिः, (सुद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरुणीति सुद् निपात्यते जातिश्चेद्भवति ॥

143. The word कुस्तुम्बुरु is irregularly formed with the augment सुद् and means 'a species of herb'.

The कुस्तुम्बुरु is the name of coriander: i. e. धान्यकं; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the sūtra in the Neuter gender does not however show that the word is always Neuter. When not meaning coriander, the form is कुतुम्बुरु (कुम्पितानि तुम्बुरुणि) ॥ The word तुम्बुरु here means the fruit of the ebony tree.

अपरस्पराः क्रियासातत्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरस्पराः, क्रिया - सातत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपरस्परा इति सुद् निपात्यते क्रियासातत्ये गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā लुप्तेद्वयम् : कृत्ये तुकाममनसोरपि ।
समो वा हितततयोर्मांसस्य पचियुद्धप्रभोः ॥

144. The word अपरस्पराः is formed by the augment सुद् when the sense is that of 'uninterrupted action'.

Thus अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सन्ततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ When the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरपराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परे च सङ्गदेव गच्छन्ति ॥ The सातत्य comes from सततं, by adding व्यञ्च् to form the abstract noun, सततस्य भावः (V. I. 123) = सातत्यं ॥ How do you explain सततम्, it ought to be सन्ततम् ? The म् of सम् is optionally elided before ततं, on the strength of the Kārika:—"The म् of अवभ्यम् is elided before a word ending in a kṛitya affix, the म् of तुम् is elided before काम and मनस्, the म् of सम् is elided optionally before हते and तत, the final अ of मांस is elided before पाक or पचन ॥ As (1) अवभ्य कर्तव्यं = अवभ्यकर्तव्यं, (2) भोक्तुम् कामः = भोक्तु कामः, श्रोतुमनः ॥ (3) सम्हितं = सहितं, सम् ततं = सततं ॥ (4) मांस पाकः, मांस पचनम् ॥

गोष्पदं सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः-पदम्, सेवित - असेवित-
प्रमाणेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोष्पदमिति सुद् निपात्यते तस्य च षत्वं सेविते ऽसेविते प्रमाणे च विषये ॥

145. The word गोष्पद is formed by सुद्, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity.

Thus गोष्पदो देशः = गावः पद्यन्ते यस्मिन् देशे स गोभिः सेवितो देशः ॥ So also अगोष्पदान्यरण्यानि ॥ The word गोष्पद by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows'. Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोष्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रं, गोष्पदपूरं वृष्टो देवः ॥ Here the word has no reference to cow, but to the quantity of land and rain. When it has not the above senses, the form is गोष्पदम् = गोः पदम् ॥ What is the use of the word असेवित in the sūtra, the word गोष्पद will give अगोष्पद by adding the negative particle, न गोष्पद = अगोष्पद ? The force of नञ् compound is that of सदृश "like that but not that". As अत्राह्वण means "a man who is a Kshatrya &c. not a Brāhmana, but does not mean a stone &c", Therefore अगोष्पद with नञ् would mean "a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing". But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence असेवित is used. Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोष्पद ॥

आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आस्पदम्, प्रतिष्ठायाम्, (सुद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मयापनाय स्थानं प्रतिष्ठा तस्यामास्पदमिति सुद् निपात्यते ॥

146. The word आस्पद is formed by सुट् when meaning 'a place or position'.

The word प्रतिष्ठा means 'firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority'. Thus आस्पदम् अनेन लब्धम् ॥ Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe आ पदात् = आपदम् ॥

आश्चर्यमनित्ये ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्चर्यम्, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्यतया विषयभूतया ऽद्भुतत्वमिहलक्ष्यते तस्मिन्नाश्चर्यं निपात्यते । चरोराडि चागुराविति यत्प्रत्यये कृते निपातनात्सुट् ॥

147. The word आश्चर्ये is formed by सुट्, when meaning something 'unusual'.

The word आश्चर्य is formed by adding the affix यत् to the verb चर् with the preposition आ, and the augment सुट् ॥ Thus आश्चर्ये यदि स भुंजांत, आश्चर्ये यदि सो ऽधीयीत ॥ When not having this sense, we have आचर्यं कर्म शोभनम् ॥

वर्चस्के ऽवस्करः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्चस्के, अवस्करः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितं वर्चो, वर्चस्कमन्नमलं, तस्मिन्नभिधेये ऽवस्कर इति निपात्यते । अवपूर्वस्य किरतेः कर्मणि ऋहारप् इत्यप् निपातनात्सुट् ॥

148. The word अवस्कर is formed with सुट् meaning "excrement".

That which has bad lustre is called वर्चस्क (कुत्सितं) ॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root कृ is added the affix अप् (III. 3. 57), the preposition अव and irregularly the सुट् ॥ Thus अवस्करोऽन्नमलम् ॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have अवकरः ॥

अपस्करो रथाङ्गम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपस्करः, रथाङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्कर इति निपात्यते रथाङ्गं चेद्भवति । अपपूर्वात्किरतेः ऋदेरवित्यप्, निपातनात् सुट् ॥

149. The word अपस्कर is formed with सुट् meaning 'the part of a chariot'.

This word is also derived from कृ with the preposition अप and the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) and सुट् augment. When not having this meaning, we have अपकरः ॥

विष्करः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्करः, शकुनिः, विकिरः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकिर इति किरतेविपूर्वस्येषुपधत्तापीकिरः कः इति क्रमत्यये विहिते सुट् निपात्यते शकुनिभ्रंजवर्ति । विकिरशब्दाभिधेयो वा शकुनिर्भवति ॥

Verse सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या विष्किराः कुक्कुटादते ।

150. The word विष्किर is formed with सुट् optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being विकिर ॥

This word is formed by adding the affix क (III. I. 135) to कृ with the preposition वि and the augment सुद् ॥ The word विक्रि also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase शकुनिर्विक्रि वा is added from the Vārtika and is no part of the original sūtra. Thus सर्वे रक्षुनयो भक्ष्या विक्रिः कुककुटाहने ॥ Though the sūtra विक्रिवाशकुनौ would have given the optional form विक्रि, the specific mention of this form in the sūtra indicates that विक्रि always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise विक्रि would have referred to some thing other than a bird.

ह्रस्वाच्चन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, चन्द्रोत्तरपदे, मन्त्रे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चन्द्रशब्दउत्तरपदे ह्रस्वात्परः सुडागमो भवति मन्त्रविषय ॥

151. In a Mantra, the सुद् is added to चन्द्र when it is second member in a compound and is preceded by a short vowel.

Thus सुच्चन्द्रो युष्मान् ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel? Observe सूर्याच्चन्द्रमसाविव ॥ Why do we say 'in a Mantra'? Observe, सुच्चन्द्रा पौर्णमासी ॥ The उत्तरपद can only be in a compound (samāsa) as it is well-known to all. and it does not mean, 'the second word', as the literal meaning might convey: Therefore the rule does not apply here शुक्रमसि चन्द्रमसि ॥

पतिष्कशश्च कशोः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतिष्कशः, च, कशोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश गतिशासनयोरित्येतस्य धातोः प्रतिपूर्वस्य पचाद्याच्च कृते सुद् निपात्यते, तस्यैव षत्वम् ॥

Verse माममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः ।

152. To the root कश् 'to go, to punish', is added the augment सुद्, when preceded by the preposition प्रति, the form being प्रतिष्कशः ॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding अच् affix (III. I. 134) to the root, with adding the prefix प्रति ॥ Thus माममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः 'I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary'. The word प्रतिष्कशः means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary". Why do we say "to the root कश्"? Observe प्रतिगतः कशां=प्रतिकशोऽश्वः 'a horse guided by the whip'. Here though कशा is derived from कश्, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कश्, and not to a derivative word.

प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्कण्व हरिश्चन्द्रौ, ऋषी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्कण्वो हरिश्चन्द्र इति सुद् निपात्यते ऋषी चेशभिधेयौ भवतः ॥

153. The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुद्, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्कण्व ऋषिः, हरिश्चन्द्र ऋषिः ॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI. I. 151 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. When not referring to Rishis, we have प्रकण्वो देवाः, (कण्वं पापं तत्प्रगतं यस्मात्) हरिश्चन्द्रो मानवकः (हरिः चन्द्रो यस्य मुग्धस्य) ॥

मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्कर मस्करिणौ, वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्कर मस्करिन् इत्येतौ यथासंख्ये वेणौ परिव्राजके च निपात्येते ॥

154. The word मस्कर means 'a bamboo', and मस्करिन् means 'a mendicant monk'.

When not having these meanings, the form is मकरः ॥ This is an un-derived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुद् is added when 'a bamboo' is meant; and the affix इनि in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करिन् ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a bamboo or a mendicant". Observe मकरोद्गाहः "an alligator", मकरो समुद्र "an ocean". Some say the word मस्कर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix भच्, the long भा being shortened. Thus मा क्रियते येन प्रातिबिध्यते = मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of ताच्छल्यि to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिन् ॥ Thus मा करणशालि = मस्करि "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "मा कुस्तः कर्माणि शान्तिर्वः श्रेयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्तीर, अजस्तुन्दे, नगरे ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कास्तीर अजस्तुन्द इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते नगरे ऽभिधेये ॥

155. The words कास्तीर and अजस्तुन्द are names of cities.

When not meaning cities, we have कातीरम् (ईषत् तीरमस्य); and अजस्तुन्दम् (अजस्येव तुन्दमस्य) ॥

कारस्करो वृक्षः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारस्करः, वृक्षः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कारस्कर इति सुद् निपात्यते वृक्षश्चेद्भवति ॥

156. The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार+कृ+ट (III. 2. 21) = कारस्करः ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकरः ॥ Some do not make this a separate sūtra, but include it in the next aphorism.

पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारस्कर प्रभृतीनि, च, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च शब्दरूपाणि निपात्यन्ते संज्ञायां विषये ॥

157. The words पारस्कर &c are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुद् ॥ Thus पारस्करः 'a country called Pāraskara'. कारस्करः 'N. of a tree', रस्यस्या 'N. of a river', किष्कुः 'N. of a measure', किष्किन्वा 'N. of a cave', लस्कर 'a thief', formed by inserting सुद् in the compound of तन्+कर, and eliding त् ॥ वृहस्पति 'N. of a Diety', formed similarly by inserting सुद् between वृहन्+पति and eliding the त् ॥ Why do we

say when meaning a thief and a diety? Observe तस्करः, बृहस्पतिः ॥ The words चोर and देवता are used in the Ganapâtha merely for the sake of diversity, the word संज्ञा would have connoted that प्रस्तुम्पति गौः ॥ When the root तुप् तुम्प 'to injure' is preceded by the preposition प्र, there is added सुद् to प्र, when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रतुम्पति वनस्पतिः ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुद् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated:—प्रस्तुम्पति गौः, प्रस्तुम्पती गावो, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गावः ॥ This is an âkṛitigaṇa. Thus प्रायाश्चनम्, प्रायश्चित्तिः ॥

1 पारस्करो देशः, 2 कारस्करो वृक्षः, 3 रयस्या नदी, 4 किष्कुः प्रमाणम्, 5 किष्किन्धा युहा, 6 तद्बृहतोः करपत्न्योश्चरदेवतयोः सुद् तलापश्च (तस्करः चोरः, बृहस्पतिः = देवता), 7 प्रात् तुम्पती गवि कर्तरि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः) ॥ आकृतिगणः ॥

अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, पदम्, एक-वर्जम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयं स्वरविधिविषया। यत्रान्यः स्वर उदात्तः स्वरितो वा विधीयते तत्रानुदात्तं पदमेकं वर्जयित्वा भवतीत्येतदुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

Kārikā

आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च ।

पृथक्स्वरानिवृत्त्यर्थमेकवर्जं पदस्वरः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विभक्तिस्वराच्चनञ्स्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ विभक्तिनिमित्तस्वराच्चनञ्स्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

158. A word is, with the exception of one syllable, unaccented.

That is, only one syllable in a word is accented, all the rest are anudâtta or unaccented. This is a Paribhâshâ or maxim of interpretation with regard to the laws of accent. Wherever an accent—be it acute (udâtta) or a circumflex (svarita)—is ordained with regard to a word, there this maxim must be applied, to make all the other syllables of that word unaccented. The word अनुदात्त means 'having an anudâtta vowel'. What is the *one* to be excepted? That one about which any particular accent has been taught in the rules here-in-after given. Thus VI. I. 162 teaches that a root has acute accent on the final. Therefore, with the exception of the last syllable, all the other syllables are unaccented. Thus in गोपायति the acute accent is on य, all the rest are unaccented. The root accent is superseded by श्चा accent, thus लुनीति has acute accent on ना ॥ The श्चा accent is superseded by तस् accent, as लुनीतेः, has accent on तः ॥ The तस् accent is superseded by आम् accent, as लुनीतस्तराम् ॥

आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च, पृथक् स्वरानिवृत्त्यर्थं मेकवर्जं पदस्वरः ॥ The words 'with the exception of one syllable' show that the separate accent of an augment, or a preparative element, or a stem or an affix should cease, when a particular accent is taught for a word'. Thus as to (1) augment:—VII. I. 98 teaches "आम् acutely accented is the augment of चतुर् and अनडुह् when a sarvanâmsthâna affix follows". Thus चत्वारः, अनडुहः, here the augment-accent

supersedes the accent of the stem, for चतुर was acutely accented on the first syllable, so also अनडुह, these being formed by the affixes उरन् and असुन् respectively. Thus चत् + उरन् = चतुर (चतेरन् Un V. 58, accent VI. 1. 197); अनडुह is thus derived : अनो वहति = अनस् + व्ह + क्तिप्, the स् is replaced by ड्, and there is vocalisation of व् of व्ह VI. 1. 15 = अनडुह ॥ This word is formed by a Kṛit affix with a kârâka upapada, therefore, the second term will retain its original accent, namely the final acute of a root. (VI. 1. 162 and VI. 2. 139) अनस् itself is derived by adding the affix (Un IV. 189) असुन् which makes the word acutely accented on the first syllable. (2). Similarly as to विकार (Vikaraṇa):—VII. 1. 75 teaches “instead of अस्थि, हधि, सस्थि, and अक्षि, there shall be अनङ् acutely accented when ञ follows or any of the subsequent terminations beginning with a vowel”. This अन will supersede the acute accent of the first अ of the stem : as अस्थनि ॥ The word अस्थि is derived from अस् by adding the affix क्थिन् (Un III. 154) which makes the word acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is an example of विकार ॥ (3) Similarly in गोपायति the accent of the stem taught in VI. 1. 162 ‘a root has an accent on its final’, supersedes the accent of the vikaraṇa आय (III. 1. 28, 3), i. e. the acute accent on आ in आय gives way to the root-accent which makes य acute. (4) So also the accent of the affix supersedes that of the stem : as कर्त्तव्यम्, and हर्त्तव्यम्, which are formed by the affix ल्यन् (III. 1. 96) here VI. 1. 185 debars the accent of the root (VI. 1. 162).

The determination of the proper accent of a word depends upon considering the various rules that have gone to form it, and the sequence of those rules, e. g. a latter rule (पर) superseding a prior rule, a nitya rule superseding an anitya rule, an antaranga superseding a bahiranga, an apavâda rule superseding an utsarga rule. But another test is, what is the remaining rule that applies after giving scope to all. A rule, that in spite of another rule, finds scope or activity, bars that former rule. Thus गोपायति ॥ It is derived from गुप् root, which as a root has accent on the syllable गु (VI. 1. 162). When the affix आय is added to it by III. 1. 28, the word becomes गोपाय and it takes the accent of the affix (III. 1. 3), i. e. the accent now falls on पा ; but now comes rule III. 1. 32 which says that a word taking the affix आय is a root. Thus गोपाय gets the designation of root (धातु), and thus takes the accent of a dhātu (VI. 1. 162), and the accent falls on य ॥

The rule is that except one special accent taught in a sūtra the other syllables take anudâtta. Therefore, where there is a conflict of rules, the accent is guided by the following maxim: “परानित्यान्तरङ्गापवादैः स्वैरव्यवस्था सतिप्रकृतिशिष्टेनच” ॥ namely (1) the sequence, a succeeding rule setting aside a prior rule (2) a Nitya rule is stronger than Anitya, (3) Antaranga stronger than Bahiranga, (4) the Apavâda is stronger than Utsarga. When all these are exhausted, as we have illustrated above, then we apply the rule of सतिशिष्ट ॥ What is this rule? To quote the words of Kâsikâ: यो हि यस्मिन् सति शिष्यते स तस्य बाधको भवति “that which

does remain and must last in spite of the presence of another, debars such other". Thus in गोपायति; here the प्रत्ययस्वर: "the accent of the affix" (III. 1. 3) by which the acute is on the first syllable of the affix is an apavāda to the धातुस्वरः (VI. 1, 192) by which the final of a dhātu is acute, and it debars the dhātu-accent; but this affix-accent is in its turn debarred in the case of derivative verbs formed with affixes, by the rule of सतिशिष्ट, because even after the addition of the affix, these words retain the designation of dhātu. Similarly in काष्णोत्तरासङ्गपुत्रः, "The son of him whose upper garment (uttarāsanga) is of black color—the Son of Baladeva" the Bahuvrihi-accent (VI.2.1) being an apavāda to Samāsa-accent (VI. 1. 223), debars the samāsa-accent; but this Bahuvrihi-accent is in its turn debarred by the rule of सतिशिष्ट when a further compound is formed and the final word is a compound only and not a Bahuvrihi. Though the accent of the Vikarana is a सतिशिष्ट, yet it does not debar the Sārvadhātuka accent (VI. 1. 186). Thus in लुनीतः, the accent of the vikarana नी does not debar the accent of तस् ॥

Vārt:—The नञ् accent is stronger than the case-affix accent. Thus in अतिष्ठः, here the accent of जस् vibhakti after तिसृ (VI. 1. 166) though सतिशिष्ट is debarred by नञ् accent taught in VI. 2. 2, for Negative compounds are Tat-purusha.

Vārt:—The accent of नञ् is stronger than the accent of that which is caused or occasioned by a vibhakti. Thus अचत्वारः ॥ Here the augment आम् in चत्वार is occasioned because of the case-affix, for it is added only then when a Sarvanāma case-affix follows (VII. 1. 98). This औ is udātta (VI. 1. 98). But this udātta is superseded by the accent of the Negative particle.

Why do we say 'in the body of a pada'? In a sentence, every word will retain its accent. As दे वेदत्त ! गोमभ्याज शुक्लाम् "O Devadatta, drive away the white cow". The word पद् is in fact used in this sūtra in its secondary sense, namely that which will get the designation of पद् when completed; had it meant the full ready made pada, this word would not have been repeated in पदाधिकार sūtra (VIII. 1. 16, 17). Had a full 'pada' been meant, the incongruity would arise in the following. The word कुवल is acutely accented on the first as belonging to ग्रामादि class (Phit II. 15), adding the feminine affix डीष् to it by its belonging to गौरादि class, we get कुवली, which will retain its acute on the first because it is not technically a पद् ॥ But it is not so, the word कुवली has anudātta accent on the first syllable (Phit II. 15), and hence we can apply the अञ् affix to it by IV. 2. 44, thus कुवल्या विकारः = कौवलम् ॥ Similarly the word गर्भिणी formed from गर्भ (belonging to Grāmādi class Phit II. 15), with the affix इनि (V. 2. 115) and the feminine डीष् ॥ If here the affix इनि being udātta causes all the rest syllables anudātta, just at the very moment of its application, without seeing whether the word was a pada or not, then the word गर्भिणी being anudātta would have taken अञ्, and therefore its exception is proper in the भिक्षादि class

(IV. 2. 38). But if the anudatta-hood of the remaining syllables were to follow *after* a word had got the designation of पद्, then the word गर्भिणी would remain acutely accented on the first, and its enumeration in IV. 2. 38 would be useless.

कर्पात्त्वतो घञो ऽन्त उदात्तः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ष, अत्वतः, घञः, अन्तः,
उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्षतेर्धातोराकारवतश्च घञन्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

159. A stem formed with the Kṛita-affix घञ् has the acute accent on the end-syllable, if it is formed from the root कृष् (कर्षति) or has a long आ in it.

Thus कर्षैः, पार्कैः, ल्यागैः, रागैः, दार्यैः, धार्यैः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 197 by which affixes having an indicatory झ् have acute accent on the first syllable. The word कर्ष is used in the aphorism instead of कृष्, to indicate that कृष् of Bhivâdi gaṇa is affected by this rule, and not कृष्-कृषति of Tudâdigāṇa. The word कर्षैः derived from Tudâdi कृष् has acute accent on the first syllable.

उच्छादीनां च ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्छादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छ ह्रस्वेवमादीनामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

160. The words उच्छ &c. have acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus 1. उच्छैः, 2. म्लेच्छैः, 3. जञ्जैः, 4. जल्पैः ॥ These are formed by घञ्, and would have taken acute-accent on the first. 5. जर्षैः, 6. दर्षैः are formed by भृष् affix (III. 3. 61) which being grave (III. 1. 4), these words would have taken the accent of the dhātu (VI. 1. 162), i. e. acute on the first syllable. Some read च्यर्षैः also here. 7. युगैः is derived from युञ्ज् by घञ् affix, the non-causing of guṇa is irregular, and the word means 'a cycle of time', 'a part of a carriage'. In other senses, the form is योर्गैः ॥ 8. गर्षैः (=हृष्ये); is formed by भृष्, and has this accent when it means 'poison', in other senses, the acute is on the first syllable. 9. वेगैः, वेदैः, वेष्टैः (चेष्टः), and बन्धैः, करणे ॥ These words are formed by घञ् by III. 3. 121. When denoting instrument (करण) they take the above accent, when denoting भाव the accent falls on the first syllable. 10. स्तुयुद्बुवश्छन्दसि, e. g. परिष्टुयुन्, परिष्टुयुन्, सुष्टुयुन् ॥ 11. वर्त्तनिः स्तोत्रे, the stotra means Sâma Veda, the word वर्त्तानैः occurring in the Sâma Veda has acute on the last: in other places; it has the accent on the middle. 12. श्वेष्टे दरः, the दरैः has end-acute when meaning 'a cave', otherwise when formed by भृष् affix it has acute on the first. 13. शान्भवापौ भावगर्हायाम्, thus शान्भवाः, त्वापैः, in other senses, the acute is on the first. 14. उत्तमशश्वत्तमौ सर्वत्र, e. g. उत्तमः, शश्वत्तमैः ॥ Some read the limitation of भावगर्हा into this also. 15. भक्षमन्थभागमन्थाः (भोगदेशा) ॥ These are formed by घञ्, भक्ष though a प्यन्त root is here घञन्तं ॥

1 उञ्छ, 2 भ्लेञ्छ, 3 जञ्ज, 4 जल्प, 5 जप, 6 वध (व्यध), 7 युग, 8 गतो वृष्ये, 9 वेद-
वेगवेष्टबन्धाः, (चेष्ट वेष्ट) करणे, 10 स्तुयुद्बुवञ्छन्सि (परिष्दुन्, संयुन्, परिद्बुन्), 11 वर्तनिः स्तोत्रे
12 श्वन्ने इरः, 13 साम्बतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, 14 उत्तमशश्वत्तमौ (उत्तमशश्वत्तमशश्वौ) सर्वत्र, 15 भक्षमन्थ-
भोगमन्थाः (भक्षमन्थभोगदेहाः) ॥

अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, यत्र, उदात्त-
लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्तते । यस्मिन्ननुदात्ते परत उदात्तो लुप्यते तस्यानुदात्तस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

161. An unaccented vowel gets also the acute accent, when on account of it the preceding acute is elided.

The word *udâtta* is understood here. Thus कुमारे + ई = कुमारी ॥ The word कुमारे has acute on the last, when the unaccented (*anudâtta*) डीप् is added to it, the ई is elided (VI. 1. 148), the *anudâtta* ई becomes *udâtta*. So also पथिन् + शस् = पथिः (VII. 1. 88), पथिन् + ए = पथे, पथिन् + आ = पथी ॥ The पथिन् has acute on the last. So also कुमुदे + इमत्तुप् = कुमुदीन् (IV. 2. 87), नृङ्गेन्, वेत्स्वेन् ॥ The words कुमुदे &c. are end-acute, and the affix मन् (वन्) is *anudâtta* (III. 1. 4).

Why 'an *anudâtta* vowel gets &c'. Observe प्रासङ्गः + यन् = प्रासङ्ग्यः ॥ (प्रासङ्गं वहात् IV. 4. 76). Here though प्रासङ्ग्यः is end-acute (VI. 2. 144 formed by घञ् with gati) it is followed by यं which is svarita (VI. 1. 185), this svarita causes the lopa of अं *udâtta*: but it does not itself become *udâtta*. No, this is not a proper counter-example. For by the general rule of accent VI. 1. 158, when one syllable is ordained to be *udâtta* or svarita, all the other syllables of that word become *anudatta*. Therefore when यं is taught to be svarita, all the other syllables (like ङ्गं) will become *anudâtta*. So there is no lopa of *udâtta* when यं comes. The word अनुदात्त is used to indicate that the *initial* *anudâtta* becomes *udâtta*. Had *anudâtta* not been used, the sūtra would have been यत्रोदात्तलोपश्च, which would mean यस्मिन् प्रत्यये परत; उदात्तालुप्यते तस्यान्त उदात्ता भवत, for the *anuvritti* of अन्त would then be read from the last. There would then be anomaly in the case of मा हि धुक्षाताम्, and माहि धुक्षायाम् ॥ From the root दुह we have formed धुक्षाताम् and धुक्षायाम् in the Aorist Atmanepada, dual. दुह + क्स + आताम् = दुह + स् (VII. 3. 72) + आताम् ॥ Here आताम् causes the elision of the *udâtta* अ of स् ॥ Therefore the *final* of आताम् would be *udâtta*, which is not desired. The augment अ is not added because of मा, had it been added, the अं would have been *udâtta* (VI. 4. 71). Had हि not been given, then also the whole of धुक्षाताम् would have become *anudatta* in माधुक्षाताम् because of तिङ्ङांतङ् (VIII. 1. 28). See VIII. 1. 34 (हि च). Why have we used the word यत्र in the sūtra? If it was not employed, then the subsequent *anudâtta* may be such which would not have caused the elision of the previous *udâtta*; such *udâtta* being elided by some other operator, and still such *anudâtta* would have become *udâtta*. Thus in भार्गवः, भार्गवो, भूगवः ॥ Here भूगवः is plural of भार्गवः ॥ The word भार्गव is end-acute and this acute (अण्) was elided in the plural, before the affix जस् was added.

The elision here is not *caused* by जस्, but is a subject of जस् (not निमित्त but विषय). Therefore जस् does not become udātta, which would have been the case, had यत्र not been used. प्राक् सुबुत्पत्ते गोत्रप्रत्यस्य लुक् ॥ The gotra affix was elided prior to the adding of the case-ending. Why do we say "when an udātta is elided"? Observe बिद्+अञ् (IV. 1. 104) = ^वबद् ॥ The feminine of this will be बैद्+ङीन् (IV. 1. 73) = बैदी ॥ Here ई causes the elision of auûdātta अ of व, and hence remains unchanged. So also और्वी ॥

धातोः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्येव । धातोर्न्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. A root has the acute on the end-syllable.

The word अन्त is understood here. Thus पँचति, पँशति, ऊँर्षीति, गोपार्यति, यँति ॥

चितः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चितः, (अन्तः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चितो ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

163. A stem (formed by an affix or augment or substitute) having an indicatory च्, gets acute on the end syllable.

Thus भंगुरँम्, भासुरँम्, मेदुरँम्. These are formed by घुरच् III. 2. 161. So also कुण्डिनाः by II. 4. 70 where the substitute कुण्डिनच् is employed. To कुण्ड is added हान in the sense of मनुष्, then is added the feminine affix ङीप्, thus कुण्डिनी has middle-acute. The descendants of Kuṇḍinî will be कौण्डिन्यः (by यञ् of Gargâdi). The plural of Kaunḍinya will be formed by eliding यञ् and substituting क्वाण्डिनच for the remaining portion. In the cases of affixes having an indicatory च्, the acute accent falls on the final, taking the stem and the affix in an aggregate. Thus बहुपटुः ॥ The affix बहुच् is one of those few affixes which are really prefixes. (V. 3. 68), The accent will not, therefore, fall on हु, but on the last syllable of the whole word compounded of the prefix + the base. So also with the affix भक्च्. It is added in the *middle* of the word, but the accent will fall on the *end*; as उच्चैर्कैः (V. 3. 71).

तद्धितस्य ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितस्य, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्त इत्येव । चित्तस्तद्धितस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

164. A stem formed with a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory च्, has acute on the end syllable.

Thus कौञ्जायनाः formed by the affix च्फञ् (IV. 1. 98). कुञ्ज+च् फञ्+ज्य = कौञ्जायन्यः dual कौञ्जायन्यो, pl. कौञ्जायनाः (ज्य being elided by II. 4. 62, and thus giving scope to च्फञ् accent). In this affix there are two indicatory letters च् and म्; the च् has only one function, namely, regulating the accent according to this rule, while म् has two functions, one to regulate accent by VI. 1. 197, and another to cause Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 117. Now arises the question, should the word get the accent of च् or of म् ॥ The present rule declares that it should get

the accent of च and not of ऋ, for the latter finds still a function left to it, while if ऋ was to regulate the accent, च would have no scope.

कितः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितस्येत्येव । तद्धितस्य कितान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

165. A stem formed by a Taddhita affix having an indicatory क, has acute accent on the end syllable.

Thus नाडाद्यन्तैः formed by फक् (IV. 1. 99), so also चाराद्यन्तैः ॥ Similarly भाषिक्रैः, शालाक्रैः formed by ठक् (IV. 4. 1).

तिसृभ्यो जस् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिसृभ्यः, जस्, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृभ्य उत्तरस्य जसोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

166. The Nominative plural (जस्) of तिसृ has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus तिसृस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥ This debar the Svarita accent ordained by VIII. 2. 4. The word तिसृ (feminine of त्रि VII. 2. 99) meaning 'three' is always plural. There are no singular or dual cases of this numeral; of the seven plural cases, the accusative plural will have acute on the final by VI. 1. 174; the remaining cases (Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative) have affixes beginning with a consonant, and by VI. 1. 179 they will be udâta. Thus the only case not covered by any special rule is जस् (nom. pl); which would have been Śvarita, but for this rule. If जस् be the only case not provided for, then merely saying तिसृभ्यः would have sufficed to make the rule applicable to जस् only, why has then it been employed in the sūtra? This is done, in order that in compounds, where तिसृ may come as a subordinate member, and where singular and dual endings will also be added, this rule will not apply. Had जस् been not used in this sūtra, then in the case of simple तिसृ there would be no harm, but when it is second member in a compound there would be anomaly. Thus अतिसृष्वौ would have become end-acute. But that is not desired. It is svarita on the final by VIII. 2. 4.

चतुरः शसि ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुरः, शसि (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुरः शसि परतोऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

167. The word चतुर, followed by the accusative plural, has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus चतुरैः पश्य the accent is on तु ॥ The feminine of चतुर is चतसृ (VII. 2. 99), which has acute accent on the first (VII. 2. 99 Vârt), and its accusative plural will not have accent on the last syllable, This is so, because चतुर has acute on the first, as formed by उरच् affix. Its substitute चतसृ will also be so, by the rule of स्थानिवत् ॥ The special enunciation of आद्युदात्त with regard to चतसृ in the Vârtika चतसयाद्युदात्तनिपातनं कर्तव्यं (VII. 2. 99) indicates that the

present rule does not apply to चतसृ ॥ Another reason for this is as follows: चतसृ + शस् = चतस्र + शस् ॥ Now comes the present Sūtra; here, however, the substitute of ऋ being sthānivat, will prevent the udātta formation of the ऋ of त; nor will ऋ be considered as final and take the acute, as there exists no vowel ऋ but a consonant र which cannot take an accent. As चतस्रः पश्य ॥ Professor Bohtlingk places the accent thus चतुरैः, Pro. Māx Muller चतुरैः ॥ I have followed Prof. Māx Muller in interpreting this sūtra; for Bohtlingk's interpretation would make the ending शस् accented, and not the final of चतुर ॥

सावेकाचस्तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, एकाचः, तृतीयादिः,

विभक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साविति सप्तमीबहुवचनस्य सुराद्वस्य ग्रहणम् । तत्र सौ य एकाच् तस्मात्परा तृतीयादिर्विभक्ति-
हस्तात्ता भवति ॥

168. The case-affixes of the Instrumental and of the cases that follow it have the acute accent, if the stem in the Locative Plural is monosyllabic.

The word सौ (locative of सु) refers to the सु of the Locative plural. Thus वाचौ, वाग्भ्याम्, वृग्भिः, वाग्भ्यः, यातौ, याद्भ्याम्, याद्भिः ॥ Why do we say 'in the Locative plural'? Observe रीज्ञा, रीज्ञे ॥ Why do we say 'monosyllabic'? Observe हिरिणा, गिरिणा, रीजसु ॥ Why do we say 'the Instrumentals and the rest'? Observe वीचौ, वीचः ॥ Why do we say "the case-endings (विभक्तिः)?" Observe वीक्तार, वीक्तमा ॥ The plural of the Locative being taken in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to त्वया and त्वयि, as in the plural of the Locative they have more than one syllable, though in singular locative their stem has one syllable.

अन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तोदात्ता-
त्, उत्तरपदात्, अन्यतरस्याम्, अनित्यसमासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच् इति वर्तते, तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरिति च । नित्यशब्दः स्वर्यते । तेन नित्याधिकारविहितः स-
मासः पर्युदस्यते । नित्यसमासादन्यत्रानित्यसमासे यदुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तमेकाच् तस्मात्परातृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरन्य-
तरस्यामुदात्ता भवति ॥

169. The same case endings may optionally have the acute accent, if the monosyllabic word stands at the end of a compound, and has acute accent on the final, when the compound can be easily unloosened.

The phrases "एकाचः" and तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः are understood here also. The nitya or *invariable* compounds are excluded by this rule. Thus परमवाचा or परमवाचौ, परमवाचे or वाचे; परमवाचः or वाचैः ॥ So also परमवैचा or वैचैः &c. According to VI. I. 223, the compounds have acute accent on the final: that rule applies in the alternative when the case-affixes are not acute and gives us

the alternative forms. Why do we say 'is acutely accented on the final'? Observe अवाचा, सुवाचा, सुवचा ॥ These are Tatpurusha compounds and by VI. 2. 2. the first term of the compound retains its original accent. Why have we used the word 'standing at the end of a compound' when the word नित्यसमासे indicated that the compound was meant? Had we not used the word उत्तर-पदान्, the aphorism would have stood as, अन्तोदात्तादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे 'In a loose-compound having acute on the final, the above affixes are acute, if the compound consists of a monosyllable'. The word एकाच्चः will thus qualify the compound and not the second member of the compound, which is intended. And thus the rule will apply to इवोक्ते (युन ऊर्क) Ins. श्वोर्जा, श्वोर्जे: &c, and not to compounds having more than one syllable. Why do we say 'in loose compounds'? Observe अग्निर्चिंता, सोमसुता ॥ These words form invariable (nitya) compounds by II. 2. 19, and by VI. 2. 139, the second member retains its original accent, which makes चि उदात्ता.

अञ्चेदछन्दस्यसर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चेः, छन्दसि, असर्वनाम-स्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः परा ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

170. In the Chhandas, the case-endings other than the sarvanâmasthâna, get the acute accent when coming after अञ्चि ॥

In the Vedas, a stem ending in the word अञ्च्, has the acute not only on the affixes previously mentioned, but on the accusative plural affix also. Thus इन्द्रा इधीर्चो अस्यामिः (Rig I. 84. 13). Here the word इधीच् had accent on धी by VI. 1. 222, but by the present sūtra, the accent falls on the case-affix अस् ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of "Instrumentals and the rest" was understood here, the word asarvanâmasthâna has been used here to include the ending णस् also. As प्रनार्चो बाहून् प्रातिभङ्ग्येषाम् ॥

ऊडिदम्पदाद्यप्पुम्रैद्युभ्यः ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊड्, इदम्, पदादि, अप्, पुम्, रै, युभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊड् इदम् पदादि अप् पुम् रै द्विद् इत्येतेभ्यो ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

171. The same (asarvanâmasthâna) case-endings have the acute accent, when the stem ends in वाह्, also after इदम्, after पद् &c (upto निश् VI. 1. 63), after अप्, पुंस, रै and दिच् ॥

The ऊड् is the substitute of the वा of वाह् (VI. 4. 132) and not the ऊड् taught in VI. 4. 19 &c. Thus प्रष्टोर्होः, प्रष्टोर्होः, but not in अक्षयैवा (Ins. sing of अक्षयूः derived by ऊड् substitution of व् in अक्षद्वि VI. 4. 19 &c). इदम्—आभ्याम्, एभिः The anuvṛitti of "अन्तोदात्तान्" is understood here, therefore, when the word

इवम् is not end-acute, this rule will not apply. When, therefore, there is anvādeśa under II. 4. 32, the final being anudātta, this rule does not apply, as अथो आँभ्यां निपुणमधीत् ॥ The पदादि words are पद, इत् &c upto निश् in VI. 1. 63. Thus निपुणैश्चतुो ऊहि, या इ ताँधावति, अर्षेः पश्यः, अर्द्धैः, अद्भ्यैः, पुंसैः, पुम्भ्योम्, पुम्भ्यैः, पुंसो, पुंसैः, रायैः पश्य, राभ्योम्, राभिः, दिवैः, दिवो, दिवैः ॥ As regards the other cases of दिव् the accent is governed by VI. 1. 183. The word असन् and those which follow it, in VI. 1. 63, are not governed by this rule because they consist of more than one vowel, and the anuvritti of एकाच्च : is understood here from VI. 1. 168. When these become monosyllable by the elision of अ (penultimate), then the vibhakti will be udātta by VI. 1. 161 even after these. The case endings after these words are of course, anudātta, except when these words become monosyllabic :—As चीवायां बद्धो अपि कक्ष आसौनि, मत्स्यं न हीन उर्देनि क्षियन्ते ॥

अष्टनो दीर्घात् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो दीर्घान्तादसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिहस्ता भवति ॥

172. The asarvanâmasthâna case-endings after अष्टन् 'eight', have acute accent, when it gets the form अष्टा ॥

The word अष्टन् has two forms in the acc. pl. and the other cases that follow it, namely अष्टा and अष्ट ॥ The affixes of acc. pl. &c are udātta after the long form अष्टा and not after अष्ट ॥ Thus अष्टाभिः opposed to अष्टभिः, अष्टाभ्यः con. अष्टभ्यः, अष्टासु con. अष्टसु ॥ The word अष्टन् has acute on the last syllable, as it belongs to the class of घृतादि words (Phit I. 21); and by VI. 1. 180 the accent would have been on the penultimate syllable. This rule debarb it. The use of दीर्घात् indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long अष्टा taught in VII. 2. 84, thus becomes optional, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अष्टन् would always end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अष्टान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of षट् ॥ For if अष्टान् was not to be called a षट्, like अष्टन्, then there would be scope to the present sūtra in the case of अष्टान् while it would be debarred in the case of अष्टन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to षट् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घात् would become useless.

शतुरनुमो नद्यजादी ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शतुः, अनुमः, नदी, अजादी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोराचादिति वर्त्तते । अनुमः यः शतृप्रत्ययस्तन्तादन्तोराचात्परा नदी अजादिर्विभक्तिरसर्वनामस्थानमुदात्ता भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बृहन्महतीरूपसंख्यानम् ॥

173. After an oxytone Participle in अत् the feminine suffix ई,(nadi) and the case endings beginning with vowels

(with the exception of strong cases) have acute accent, when the participial affix has not the augment न् (i. e. is not अन्त्).

The word अन्तोदात्तान् 'after an oxytoned word' is understood here. Thus तुदती^३, तुदती^३, लुनती^३, पुनती^३, तुदती^३, लुनती^३, पुनती^३, सुनती^३ from तुदन्, तुदन् लुनन् and पुनन् ॥

Why do we say "not having the augment नुम्?" Observe तुदन्ता, तुदन्ती ॥ Here also by VI. I. 186, after the root तुद् which has an indicative अ, in the Dhâtupâtha, being written तुद्, the sârvadhâtuka affix ङत् (अन्) is anudâta. This anudâta अन्, coalescing with the udâta अ of तुद् (VI. I. 162), becomes udâta (VIII. 2. 5); and Rule VIII. 2. 1 not being held applicable here, the Participle gets the accent, and not the feminine affix. Why do we say "a नदी (feminine in ई) word and before vowel-endings?" Observe तुदन्त्याम्, तुदन्त्याम् &c. If the participle is not an oxytone, the rule does not apply. As हृदती^३, हृदती^३ ॥ Here the accent is on the first syllable by VI. I. 189.

Vart:—The words बृहती and महती should also be included: as बृहती^३ महती^३, बृहती^३, महती^३ ॥

उदात्तयणो हल्पूर्वात् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त, यणः, हल्, पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तस्थाने यो यण हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा नदी अजादिर्याऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥
षात्तिकम् ॥ नकारग्रहणं च कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

174. The same endings have the acute accent, when for the acutely accented final vowel of the stem, a semi-vowel is substituted, and which is preceded by a consonant.

Thus कर्त् + ई = कर्त्ती^३; कर्त्, हर्त्, हर्त्, प्रलविर्त्, प्रलविर्त् ॥ प्रसविर्त्, प्रसविर्त् ॥ All these are नृच् ending words and have consequently acute accent on the final (VI. I. 163). Why 'acutely accented final vowel is replaced &c'? Observe कर्त्ती^३, कर्त्ती^३, हर्त्ती^३, हर्त्ती^३, formed by नृच् having acute on the first syllable. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe बहुतितृ^३—बहुतितृ^३—बहुतितृ^३—बहुतितृ^३ (VIII. 2. 4) बहूनि तितृ^३ अस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः ॥ This compound with बहु gets udâta on the final by VI. 2. 175. In making the Instrumental singular of बहुतितृ^३, the तृ is replaced by तृ, but as this तृ is preceded by a vowel, the affix gets the svarita accent.

Vart:—The rule applies when the stem ends in नृच् though not in a semi-vowel, as वारूपती^३, चित्पती^३ ॥

नोङ् धात्वोः ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊङ्, धात्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊङो धातोश्च य उदात्तयण हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्पराऽजाद्यसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिर्नोङात्ता भवति ॥

175. But not so, when the vowel is of the feminine affix ऊ (IV. 1. 66), or the final of a root.

After the semi-vowel substitutes of the udâta ऊ (IV. I. 66) or of the udâta final vowels of the root, when preceded by a consonant, the weak case-

endings beginning with a vowel do not take the acute accent. Thus ब्रह्मबन्धा, ब्रह्मबन्धे, धीरबन्धा, धीर बन्धे from धीरबन्धू, which has acute accent on ऊ, because ऊः is udatta (III. 1. 3), and the ekadeśa of it, when it combines with the preceding vowel is also udatta (VIII. 2. 5). The व substituted for ऊ before the ending धा, is a semi-vowel substitute of an udatta (उदात्तयण्) the affix after it would have become udatta by the last sūtra, but not being so, the general rule VIII, 2. 4 applies and makes it svarita. Let us take an example of a semi-vowel substitute of the vowel of a root (धातु-यण्):—सकृल्लो, सकृल्ले; खल्ले from सकृल्ले, खल्ले formed by क्तिप् affix, the second member of the compound retaining its original accent, namely, the oxytone, the semi-vowel being substituted by VI. 4. 83 before the vowel case-endings.

ह्रस्वमुङ्भ्यां मतुप् ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्व, मुङभ्याम्, मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोदात्तादित्येव । ह्रस्वान्तादन्तोदात्तान्मुट्श्रपरोमतुङ् उदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ रेशब्दाच्च मतुप् उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ त्रैश्र प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

176. The otherwise unaccented म्रत् (व्रत्) takes the acute accent, when an oxytoned stem ends in a light vowel, or the affix has before it the augment न् (VIII. 2. 16).

The word अन्तोदात्त is understood here also. Thus अग्निमान्, वायुमान्, कर्तृमान्, हर्तृमान् ॥ So also when मतुप् takes मुट्, as अक्षुर्वेता, क्षीर्षुर्वेता ॥ Here by VII. 1. 76, the word अक्षि takes अनङ् and becomes अक्षन्, then is added मुट् by VIII. 2. 16, and we have अक्षन् न् मतुप् ॥ The preceding न् is elided. When the stem is not oxytone (antodatta) this rule does not apply: as वैसुमान् ॥ The word वैसु has acute on the first syllable, as it is formed from वस् with the affix उ (Uṇ I. 10) which is नित् (Uṇ I. 9) so the मतुप् retains its anudatta here. So also in the case of मरुत्वान्, the affix does not become acute, though the word मरुत् has acute on the final as the intervening न् makes the उ of रु heavy when the affix is added; the general maxim स्वरविधौ व्यंजनमविद्यमानवत् does not apply here, because the very fact that न् is only taken as an exception, shows this.

Vārt:—The affix मतुप् becomes acute after the heavy vowel of रे: as अरेवौन = रविरस्यास्ति ॥ There is vocalisation of य् of रयि, as र इ इ then substitution of one, as र इ, then गुण, रे ॥

Vārt:—The prohibition should be stated after त्रिः as त्रिर्वतीर्याज्यानु-
वाक्या भवन्ति ॥

नामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम, अन्यत्तरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वप्रहणमतुवर्त्तते मतुप्रहणं च । तेन मनुपा ह्रस्वो विशेष्यते । मनुपि यो ह्रस्वस्तन्तादन्तोदात्तादन्यतरस्यां नाम् उदात्तो भवति ॥

177. After an oxytoned stem which ends in a light vowel, the genitive ending नाम् has optionally the acute accent.

Thus अग्नीनाम् or अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् or वायूनाम्, कर्तृनाम् or कर्तृनाम् (see VII. 1. 54). It might be objected, that नाम् is not preceded by a short vowel, as is shown in the above examples, then how can the anuvritti of ह्रस्व 'short or light vowel' be read into this sūtra? The reply is that the anuvritti of मतुप् should also be read into this sūtra, the meaning being "a stem which has a light vowel when followed by मतुप्, will cause the नाम् acute, though the light vowel may become heavy before this ending, in its present form". Otherwise, this rule will apply to forms like तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम् having light vowels before नाम् and not to the forms above given. Why do we read नाम् with the तुद् augment (VII. 1, 54) and not भ्राम्? The rule will not apply to धन्वाम् शक्रव्याम् which get the acute on the final by VI. 1. 174. Why do we say 'after a stem ending in a light vowel'? Observe कुमारीणाम् (the word कुमारी is end-acute by Uṇ III. 138 and so is कुमारी by VI. 1. 161). Why do we say after an oxytoned word? Observe वैपूणाम्, वैसूनाम् the words वपु and वसु have acute on the first syllable.

इयाश्चन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयाः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयन्ताच्छन्दसि विषये नायुदात्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

178. In the Chhandas, the ending नाम् has diversely the acute accent after the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus देवसेनानाम् अभिभञ्जतीनाम्, बह्वीनाम् पिता ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as नदीनाम् परे; जयन्तीनाम् मरुतः ॥

षट्त्रिचतुर्थ्यो हलादिः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, त्रि, चतुर्थ्यः, हलादिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोदात्तादित्येतन्निवृत्तम् । षट्संज्ञकेभ्यस्त्रि चतुर इत्येताभ्यां च परा हलादिर्विभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

179. The case-endings beginning with a consonant, have the acute accent after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24), as well as after त्रि and चतुर् ॥

The anuvritti of अन्तोदात्ताद् ceases, for the present rule applies even to words like वैचन् and नैवद् which are acute on the initial by Phit II. 5. Thus षण्णाम्, षड्भिः, षड्भ्यः, पंचानाम्, सप्तानाम्, त्रिभिः, त्रिभ्यः, त्रयार्णाम्, चतुर्णाम् (See VII. 1. 55). Why do we say 'before case-affixes beginning with consonants'? Observe षैतन्नः पद्य (VI. 1. 167 and VII. 2. 99).

झल्युपोत्तमम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ झलि, उपोत्तमम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्त्रिचतुर्थ्यो या झलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्ते परे यदुपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति । त्रिप्रथतीनानन्यमुत्तमं तत्समीपे च यत्तदुपोत्तमम् ॥

180. The above numerals, when taking a case-affix beginning with a म् or स्, get the acute accent on the penultimate syllable, when the said numerals assume a form consisting of three or more syllables.

The numerals षट्, त्रि and चतुर् when ending in a case-affix beginning with a ह्रस्व consonant, form a full word (पद), in such a word the penultimate syllable gets the acute accent. The very word penultimate shows that the पद must be of three syllables at least. Thus पंचभिः, सप्तभिः, तिस्रिभः, चतुर्भिः ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with भ् and स्'? Observe, पंचानाम्, सप्तानाम् ॥ Why do we say 'the penultimate syllable'? Observe षड्भिः, षड्भ्यः ॥

विभाषा भाषायाम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्चिचतुर्भ्यो या ह्रस्वादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्ते पदे उपात्तममुदात्तं भवति विभाषा भाषायां विषये ॥

181. In the Secular language this is optional.

The ह्रस्वादि case-affixes coming after the above numerals षट्, त्रि and चतुर् may make the words so formed take the acute on the penultimate optionally, in the spoken ordinary language. Thus पंचभिः or पंचभिः ॥ In the alternative VI. 1. 179 applies. So also सप्तभिः or सप्तभिः, तिस्रिभिः or तिस्रिभिः ॥

न गोश्वन्त्साववर्णराडङ्कुड्कृदङ्भ्यः ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गो, श्वन्, सौ अवर्ण, राड्, अङ्, कुड्, कृदङ्भ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो श्वन् साववर्ण सौ प्रथमैकवचने यदवर्णान्तं राड् अङ् कुड् कृदङ् इत्येतेभ्यो यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

182. The foregoing rules from VI. 1. 168 downwards have no applicability after गो, and श्वन् and words ending in them; nor after a stem which before the case ending of the Nominative singular has अ or आ, nor after ऱरञ्, or after a stem ending in अञ्च्, nor as well as after कुञ्च् and कृन् ॥

Thus गौवा, गौवे, गौभ्याम् ॥ Here by VI. 1. 168, the case-endings would have got otherwise the accent, which is however prohibited. So also सुशुना, सुगौवे and सुगौभ्याम् ॥ Here VI. 1. 169 is prohibited. So also शुना, शुने, श्वभ्याम्, परमशुना, परमशुने and परमश्वभ्याम् ॥ The word साववर्णः (सौ अवर्णः) means 'what has अ or आ before सु (1st. sing.)' Thus श्वभ्यः, श्वभ्यः, कौभ्यः ॥ राज्—राजा, राजे, परमराजा ॥ (The word राज् is formed by क्तिप् affix): अङ्=अञ्च्+क्तिन्; the prohibition applies to that form of this word wherein the nasal is not elided (VI. 4. 30). Thus प्रौञ्चा, प्रौञ्चाम् ॥ Where the nasal is elided, there the case-ending must take the accent; as प्राञ्चा, प्राञ्चे प्राञ्चाम् ॥ कृदङ् is also a क्तिन् formed word. Thus कृञ्चा, कृञ्चे, परमकृञ्चा ॥ कृन् is derived from कृ 'to do' or from कृन् 'to cut' by क्तिप्; as कृता कृते and परमकृता ॥ Why has the word श्वन् been especially mentioned in this sūtra, when the rule would have applied to it even without such enumeration, because in the Nominative Singular this word assumes the form श्वा and consequently it is साववर्णः? The inclusion of श्वन् indicates that the elision of न should not be considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, the present rule will not apply to words like नृ and पितृ which in Nom. Sing. end in आ, as ना and पिता after the elision of न् of अनङ् (VII. 3. 94). Thus the Locative Singular of नृ will

be नर by VI. I. 168, this prohibition not applying, and the affix मनुप् will get udatta after पिता by VI. I. 176 as पितुमान् ॥ But rule VI. I. 176 will be debarred by the present in the case of वृक्षवान् because वृक्ष is a साववर्ण ॥

दिवो झल् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, झल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः परा झलादिर्विभक्तिर्नोदात्ता भवति ॥

183. After दिव् a case-ending beginning with म or स is unaccented.

Thus वृक्ष्याम्, वृक्षिभिः ॥ This debars VI. I. 168, 171. Why do we say 'beginning with a झल् consonant'? Observe दिवाँ, दिवेँ ॥

नृ चान्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्मात्परा झलादिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यां नोदात्ता भवति ॥

184. After नृ, a case ending beginning with म or स is optionally unaccented.

Thus नृभिः or नृभिः, नृभ्यः, नृभ्यः, नृभ्याम्, नृभ्याम्, नृषु, नृषु ॥ But not so वाँ, वेँ ॥

तिव्स्वरितम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिव्, स्वरितम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिव्स्वरितं भवति ॥

185. An affix having an indicatory त्, is svarita i. e. has circumflex accent.

Thus चिकीर्ष्यम्, जिज्ञीर्ष्यम्, formed by यत् (III. I. 97). कार्यम्, हार्यम् with प्यत् (III. I. 124). This is an exception to III. I. 3 which makes all affixes ádyudatta. For exception to this rule see VI. I. 213 &c.

तास्यनुदात्तेनृङिदुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विङोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥

तासि, अनुदात्तेत्, ङिद्, अदुपदेशात्, ल, सार्वधातुकम्, अनुदात्तम्, अ-ङ्, इङो, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तास्यनुदात्तेतोङितो ऽकारान्तोपदेशाच्च शब्दात्परं लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तं च भवति ह्रुङ् इङ् इत्यन्ताभ्यां परं वर्जयित्वा ॥

186. The Personal-endings and their substitutes (III. 2. 124-126) are, when they are sârvadhâtuka (III. 4. 113 &c), unaccented, after the characteristic of the Periphrastic future (तासि), after a root which in the Dhâtipâtha has an unaccented vowel or a ङ् (with the exception of ह्रुङ् and इङ्) as indicatory letter, as well as after what has a final अ in the Grammatical system of Instruction, (upadeśa).

Thus तासिः—कर्त्ता, कर्त्तारो, कर्त्तारः, this debars the affix accent (III. I. 3). Anudattat:—as, आस्—आस्ते, वस्—वस्ते ॥ ङित्—पूङ्—रूते, शीङ्—शेते ॥ अत् उपदेशः—as तुँदतः, नुँदतः, पैँचतः, पैँचतः ॥ A root taking शप् (अ) is considered as

taught (upadeśa) as if ending with an अ, as the indicatory letters च् and प् are disregarded on the maxim अनुबन्धस्यानैकान्तिकत्वं (= अनवयवत्वं) ॥ Thus पंचमानः, यजमानः ॥ The augment मुक् is added by आने मुक् VII. 2. 82 which may be explained in two ways; *first*, the augment मुक् is added to the final अ of the base (aṅga) when आन (आनच् &c) follows; or *secondly*, the the augment मुक् is added to the base (aṅga) which ends in अ, when आन follows. In the first case मुक् becomes part and parcel of अ and will be taken and included by the enunciation of अ, and therefore अदुपदेश will mean and include an अ having such मुक्, on the maxim यदागमात्तदुणीभूतास्तदग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते "That to which an augment is added denotes, because the augment forms part of it, not merely itself, but it denotes also whatever results from its combination with that augment". Therefore मुक् will not prevent the verb becoming अदुपदेश ॥ But if secondly मुक् be taken as part of the base which ends in अ, then the लसार्वाधातुक does not follow an अदुपदेश, because म intervenes. But we get rid of this difficulty by considering मुक् augment as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, when the Antaranga operation of accent is to be performed. The augment मुक् (म्) in the last two examples consequently does not prevent the application of the rule. Though the affix शानच् has an indicatory च्, yet चित् accent (VI. 1. 163) is debarred by this rule, as it is *subsequent*.

Why do we say after तासि &c. Observe चिनुतः चिन्वर्गितः ॥ The vikaraṇa ऋनु is डित् (I. 2. 4) with regard to operations affecting the prior term, and not those which affect the subsequent. Therefore though ऋनु is considered as डित् for the purposes of preventing the guṇa of the prior term चि, it will not be considered so for the purposes of subsequent accent. Or the word डित् in this sūtra may be taken as equal to डिदुपदेश and not the आतिदेशिक डित् like इनु ॥

Why do we use the word upadeśa? So that the rule may apply to पंचावः, पचामः, but not to हतः, हथः the dual of हन् which ends in न् in upadesa. though before तस् and थस् it has assumed the form ह ॥ Therefore हतः हथः ॥ Why do we use the word ल (Personal endings)? Observe कतीह पंचमाना formed by शानच् added to पू (III.2.128), which not being a substitute of लट्, is not a personal ending like शानच् ॥ Why do we use the word Sārvadhātuka? Observe शिद्वे, शिद्वेति, शिद्वेरे ॥ Why do we say with the exception of हनुङ् and इङ्? Observe हनुते, यद् अधीते ॥

आदिः सिचो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, सिचः, अन्यतरस्याम्, वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्त्तते । सिजन्तस्यान्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सिच आद्युदात्तत्वे ऽनितः पितः पक्षे उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

187. In सिच् Aorist, the first syllable may optionally have the acute accent.

The word उदात्त is understood here. Thus मा हि कौर्धाम्, मा हि कार्धैम्; मा हि लौविष्टाम् or मा हि ल्विष्टैम् ॥ In the last example the accent is on पि; and the

reason why मां and हि are used in these illustrations, has already been explained in VI. 1. 161. The indicatory च् of सिच् shows that by VI. 1. 163 the acute will be on the otherwise unaccented augment इद्, when it takes this augment. The सिच् being a बलादि affix will take the augment इद् (VII. 2. 35), and it is a general rule that augments are unaccented; so in the above the वि would have been unaccented, and the accent would have been on the final, but for the indicatory च् of सिच्, which otherwise would find no scope. Thus वि gets acute.

Vårt.—An affix having an indicatory प् (पित्) when coming after an Aorist formed by सिच् without the augment इद् (अनिद् सिच्) is in one alternative udâta (in the other, it is non-acute). This vârtika restricts the scope of the sūtra with regard to पित् affixes. Thus we get the following two forms, which otherwise would have one form only by dhātu-accent, namely, acute on the first, for पित् is anudâta. Thus माहि कार्षम् or मा हि कार्षम् ॥ But when it takes the इद् augment, there are two forms (1st.) मा हि लाविषम् as a तिङन्त, (2nd.) मा हि लाविषम् accent on वि (VI. 1. 163). but never मा हि लाविषम् ॥ When however the augment अ is added, the accent falls on this augment (VI. 4. 71).

स्वपादिर्हिसामच्यनिटि ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपादि, हिंसाम्, अचि, अनिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लसार्वाधातुकग्रहणं यदनुवर्तते तदच्यनिटीति सम्बन्धादिह सप्तम्यन्तं भवति स्वपादीनां हिसेश्चाजावावनिटि लसार्वाधातुके परतो अन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

188. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable when a Personal-ending, being a Sârvadhâtuka tense affix beginning with a vowel, provided that the vowel is not the augment इद्, follows after स्वप् &c, or after हिंस्र ॥

The phrase लसार्वाधातुके in the locative case is understood here. Thus स्वपन्ति or स्वपन्ति, श्वसन्ति or श्वसन्ति, हिंसन्ति or हिंसन्ति ॥ The accent on the middle falls by the accent of the affix III. 1. 3. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe स्वप्यात्, हिंस्यात् ॥ Why do we say 'not taking the augment इद्?' Observe स्वपित्तेः and श्वसित्तेः ॥ This rule applies to those vowel-beginning affixes which are डित् ; it does not apply to स्वपानि, हिंसानि ॥

अभ्यस्तानामादिः ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तानाम्, आदिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तानामजावावनिटि लसार्वाधातुके परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

189. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of the reduplicate verbs when followed by an affix beginning with a vowel (the vowel being not इद्) and being a sârvadhâtuka personal ending.

Thus वृक्षति, वृक्षतु, वृक्षति, वृक्षतु, ज्ञक्षति, ज्ञक्षतु, ज्ञाप्रति, ज्ञाप्रतुः ॥ Before consonant affixes: वृक्ष्यात् ॥ Before सेद् affixes:—जक्षितेः ॥ Though the word भादि was

understood here from the last aphorism, the repetition is for the sake of making this an *invariable* rule and not an *optional* rule as those in the foregoing.

अनुदात्ते च ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्ते, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यमानोदात्ते च लसार्धधातुके परतो ऽभ्यस्तानामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

190. Also when the unaccented endings of the three persons in the singular follow, the first syllable of the reduplicate has the acute.

The endings तिप् सिप् and निप् are anudatta (III. 1. 4). This sūtra applies to those personal endings which do not begin with a vowel. Thus ईषति, जहाति, ईधाति, जिहीति, निर्मीति ॥ The word अनुदात्त is to be construed here as a Bahuvrihi i. e. an affix in which there is no udatta vowel, so that the rule may apply when a portion of the affix is elided or a semivowel is substituted : as मा हि स्म ईधान्, and ईधात्वञ्च ॥

सर्वस्य सुपि ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दस्य सुपि परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वस्यरो ऽनकच्छस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. The acute is on the first syllable of सर्व when the case-endings follow.

Thus सर्वः, सर्वोः सर्वे ॥ Why do we say when the *case-endings* follow? Observe सर्वतरः, सर्वतमः the acute is on व ॥ The word सर्व has acute on the final, as it is so taught in the Uṇādi list by निपातत् ॥ It thus being anudattādi takes the affix भञ् and forms सर्वः (सर्वस्य विकारः) This rule applies even when the case affix is elided in spite of the prohibition of न लुमताङ्गस्य (I. 1. 63) : as सर्वस्तोमः ॥

Vāst.—The rule does not apply when the affix भकच् is put in : as सर्वकैः ॥ Here the accent is on the final by चिन् accent (VI. 1. 163).

भीहीभृहुमदजनधनदारिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं पिति ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद्, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, जागराम्, प्रत्ययात्, पूर्वम्, पिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी ही भृ हु मद् जन धन दरिद्रा जागृ इत्येतेषामभ्यस्तानां लसार्धधातुके पिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति ॥

192. In भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद्, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, and जागृ, in their reduplicates, the acute accent is, before the sâr-vadhâtuka unaccented endings of the three persons in singular, (पित्), on the syllable which precedes the affix.

This depars the accent on the beginning. Thus विभ्रति, जिह्रति, विभ्रिन्ति, जुह्रति, मर्मन्तु नः परिञ्जा ॥ Here the root मर् has diversely taken in the Chhandas the vikaraṇa भ्रु, though it belongs to Divādi class. जर्जनन्, इन्द्रम् ॥ The verb is here लृट् or the Vedic Subjunctive, so also is the next example, वधन्त् from धन धान्ये,

the इ of ति being elided by III. 4. 97, and the augment अद् being added by III. 4. 94 वर्धनन्, हरिर्द्विति, जार्गति ॥ In the case of other verbs we have वैशति ॥ Before affixes which have not the indicatory ए (i. e. all endings other than the three singular endings), the accent will be on the first syllable: as हरिर्द्विति ॥

लिति ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति ।

193. The acute accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding the affix that has an indicatory ल् ॥

Thus चिकीर्षकः, जिहीर्षकः with the affix ष्वल् (III. 1. 133), भौरिकिविधम् and ऐयुकारिभक्तम् with the affixes विधल् and भक्तल् (IV. 2. 54) accent on the क्ति and रि ॥

आदिर्णमुल्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, णमुलि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः । णमुलि परतो ऽन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

194. The first syllable may be optionally acute when the absolutive affix णमुल् follows.

Thus लोडूयम् or लोडूयम् ॥ In the reduplicate form लोडू, the second part डू is unaccented by VIII. 1. 3. The present sūtra makes लो accented. When लो is not accented, डू will get the accent by लिन् accent. This rule is confined to polysyllabic Absolutes, namely to reduplicated Absolutes (VIII. 1. 4).

अचः कर्तृयकि ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्तृ-यकि ॥

वृत्तिः । उपदेश इति वर्त्तते । अजन्ता ये उपदेशे धातवस्तेषां कर्तृयकि अन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

195. The roots which are exhibited in Dhātu-pāṭha with a final vowel, may optionally have the acute on the first syllable, before the affixes of the Passive (यक्), when the sense of the verb is Reflexive.

The word उपदेश is understood here. Thus लूयते or लूयते केशरः स्वयमेव ॥ स्तीर्यते or स्तीर्यते केशरः स्वयमेव ॥ When the accent does not fall on the first syllable, it falls on य (VI. 1. 186). This rule applies to जन्, खन्, and सन् when they get the form जायते, सायते and खायते; the long आ (VI. 4. 43) substitute is considered as if these verbs were taught in the Dhātupāṭha with long आ ॥ Thus जायते or जायते स्वयमेव सायते or सायते स्वयमेव; खायते or खायते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in a vowel'? Observe भिद्यते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say "when the sense is Reflexive (कर्तृ)"? Observe लूयते केशरो देवश्चैनं ॥

थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, इडन्तः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेटि थलि इट वा उदात्तो भवति अन्तो वा भादिर्वा ऽन्यतरस्याम् ।

196. Before the ending थ of the Perfect, second person singular, when this ending takes the augment इ; the acute accent falls either on the first syllable, or on this इ, or on the personal ending.

Thus लुलविथ, लुलविथ, लुलविथ, and लुलविथ. As थल् has an indicative ल्, the syllable preceding the affix may have also the accent (VI. 1. 193). Thus we get the four forms given above. In short, with इथ termination, the accent may fall on any syllable. When the थ is not सेद्, the accent falls on the root and we have one form only by लिद् accent (VI. 1. 193):—ययौथ ॥

अनित्यादिर्नित्यम् ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिनिति, आदिः, नित्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जिति निते च नित्यमादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

197. Whatever is derived with an affix having an indicative अ or ए, has the acute accent invariably on the first syllable.

Thus गर्ग्य with यञ् (IV. 1. 105), वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः with वुन् (IV. 3. 98). This is an exception to III. 1. 3. When the affixes are, however, elided, the word loses this accent, i. e. the affix does not leave its mark behind, as it generally does by I. 1. 62. Therefore गर्गाः, बिर्वाः, चञ्चौः having lost प्रञ्, अञ् and कन्, have lost their accent also.

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

198. The first syllable of a Vocative gets the acute accent.

Thus देवदत्त !, देवदत्तौ !, देवदत्ताः ॥ This debars the final accent ordained by VI. 2. 148. Though the affix may be elided by a लुमान् word (लुक्, लुप् or ह्रलु), yet the effect of the affix remains behind in spite of I. 1. 63. As सौपरा-
गच्छ ! सौपा गच्छत ! ॥

पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथोः, सर्वनामस्थाने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमथिशश्र्वावौपादिकाविनिप्रत्ययान्तौ प्रत्ययस्वरणान्तौ तथोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत भादि-
रुदात्तो भवति ।

199. The acute accent is on the first syllable of पथिन् and मथिन् when followed by a strong case-ending.

The words पथिन् and मथिन् are derived by the Uṇādi affix इनि, (IV. 12, and 13) and are oxytone by III. 1. 3. They become ādyudātta before strong cases. Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानो, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानो, मन्थानः ॥ Before other cases we have:—पथैः पश्य, मथैः पश्य ॥ The accent is on the final by VI. 1. 162, there being elision of the udātta इन् ॥ The rule I. 1. 62, about the remaining effect of the affix, does not apply here. As पथिप्रियः, has acute on the final of the first

word, by retaining its original accent.

अन्तश्च तवै युगपत् ॥ २०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च, तवै, युगपत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवैप्रत्ययान्तस्यान्तश्चशब्दादिश्च युगपदुदात्तो भवतः ।

200. The Infinitive in तवै has the acute on the first syllable and on the last syllable at one and the same time.

Thus कैतवै, हतवै ॥ This is an exception to III. I. 3 by which त of तवै ought to have got the accent, and it also countermands rule VI. I. 158 by which there can be only a single acute in a single word.

क्षयो निवासे ॥ २०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षयः, निवासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षयशब्दो निवासे ऽभिधये आद्युदात्तो भवति ।

201. The word क्षय has the acute on the first syllable in the sense of 'house, dwelling'.

Thus क्षये जागृहि प्रपद्यन् ॥ The word is formed by घ affix (III. I. 118) and would have had accent on the affix (III. I. 3). When not meaning a house we have: क्षयो वर्तते दस्थूनाम् ॥ The word is formed by भच् (III. 2. 31),

जयः करणम् ॥ २०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जयः, करणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जयशब्दः करणवाची आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

202. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of जय, in the sense of 'whereby one attains victory'.

Thus ज्योऽश्वः, but otherwise जयो वर्तते ब्राह्मणानाम् ॥ The former जय is by घ affix, (III. I. 118) the second by भच् (III. 2. 31) ॥

वृषादीनां च ॥ २०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषादीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृष इत्येवमादीनामादिर्दात्तो भवति ॥

203. The words वृष &c have the acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1. वृषः, 2. जैनः, 3. उर्वरुः, 4. ग्रहः, 5. ह्यः, 6. गयः ॥ These are formed by भच् (III. I. 134). The word गय is from गै-गायते, irregularly it is treated as गे ॥ 7. नयः, 8. तायः, 9. तयः, 10. चयः, 11. भमः, 12. वेदः, 13. सूदः, 14. वदः (formed by भच् numbers 8 to 11 are not in Kāśika). सूद is formed by क (III. I. 135) 15. अंशः, 16. गुहा (formed by भच् III. 3. 104). 17. शमरणौ संज्ञायां संमतौ भावकर्मणोः—शमः and रणः, 18. मन्त्रः (formed by भच् III. I. 134), 19. शान्तिः formed by क्तिच्, 20. कामः, 21. यामः, both formed by घञ्, 22. भार, 23. धारा, 24. कार, (all three formed by भच् III. 3. 104), 25. वहः = गोचरादिषु formed by घञ् 26. कल्पः, 27. पादः formed by घञ्, which may either take the accent indicated by the affix or by VI. I. 159, 28. पयः, 29. दवः ॥ It is आकृतिगणः ॥ All words which are acutely accented on the first, should be considered as belonging to this class, if their accent cannot be accounted for by any other rule,

1 वृषः, 2 जनः, 3 उवर 4 घट्टः 5 हयः, 6 गयः, 7 नयः, 8 ताय*, 9 तयः, 10 चयः*, 11 भ्रम*:, 12 वेहः, 13 मूहः, 14 अंशः, 15 युहा, 16 शमरणौ संज्ञायां संमतौ भावक्रमणोः, 17 मन्त्रः, 18 शान्तिः, 19 कामः, 20 यामः, 21 आरा, 22 धारा, 23 कारा, 24 वहः, 25 कल्पः, 26 पारः 27 पयः, 28 द्वः, 29 आकृतिगण ॥

संज्ञायामुपमानम् ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानशब्दः संज्ञायामाद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

204. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of that word with which something is likened, provided that it is a name.

Thus चञ्चा, वैधिका, खरकुटी, हँसी ॥ All these are उपमान words used as names of the उपमेय (the thing compared). The affix कन् (V. 3, 96) is elided here by V. 3. 98. It might be asked when कन् is elided, its mark, namely causing the first syllable to be acute (VI. 1. 197), will remain behind by virtue of I. 1. 62, where is then the necessity of this sūtra. The formation of this sūtra indicates that the प्रत्ययलक्षण rule is not of universal application in the rules relating to accent.

When the word is not a Name, we have अग्निर्माणवक्रः ॥ When it is not an upamāna we have देवदत्तैः (VI. 2. 148).

निष्ठा च द्व्यजनात् ॥ २०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, च, द्व्यच्, अनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च द्व्यच् संज्ञायां विषये आद्युदात्तं भवति चेदादिकारो न भवति ॥

205. A disyllabic Participle in त (Nishṭhâ), when a Name has the acute on the first syllable, but not if the first syllable has an आ ॥

Thus शुभ्रः, सुद्धः, ईत्तः ॥ This debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). In non-participles we have देवैः, भीमैः ॥ In polysyllabic Participles we have चिन्तितैः, रक्षितः ॥ In Participles having long आ in the first syllable, we have, वार्तैः, आर्तैः ॥ When the Participle is not a Name we have, कृतैस्, हृतैस् ॥

शुष्कधृष्टौ ॥ २०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क, धृष्टौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिदृशत्त इति वर्त्तते । शुष्क धृष्ट इत्येतावाद्युदात्तौ भवतः ॥

206. Also शुष्क and धृष्ट have acute on the first syllable.

These are non-Names. Thus शुष्कः and धृष्टः ॥

आशितः कर्ता ॥ २०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशितः, कर्ता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दः कर्तृवाची आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

207. The word आशित meaning 'having eaten' has acute on the first syllable.

Thus आशितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta, having eaten'. Here it is used as an active participle. The क्त is added to अश् preceded by आ, to form both Active and Passive Participles: which by VI. 2. 144 would have taken acute on the final. This debars that. In the Passive Participle we have आशितेन देवदत्तेन 'eaten by Devadatta'. आशितेनमत्रम् 'the eaten food'. The former is भावे क्त, the second is कर्मणि क्त ॥

रिक्ते विभाषा ॥ २०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिक्ते, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिक्तशब्दे विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

208. The word रिक्त may have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus रिक्तः or रिक्तेः ॥ This debars VI. 1. 204 and 205.

जुष्टार्पिते च छन्दसि ॥ २०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुष्टा, अर्पिते, च, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे छन्दसि विषये विभाषा आद्युदात्ते भवतः ॥

209. In the Chhandas, the words जुष्ट and अर्पित have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्टः or जुष्टेः; अर्पितः or अर्पितेः ॥ In the secular literature the accent is always on the last syllable (III. 1. 3).

नित्यं मन्त्रे ॥ २१० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे मन्त्रविषये नित्यमाद्युदात्ते भवतः ॥

210. In the Mantras, these words जुष्ट and अर्पित have always the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्टं देवानामर्पितं पितृणाम् ॥ Some say that this rule applies only to जुष्ट and not to अर्पित; in which option is allowed even in the Mantra: so that it has acute on the last in the Mantra even: e. g. तस्मिन्ताकं त्रिशता न शंकरोर्पितौ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोर्डासि ॥ २११ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः, डासि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदी मदिक्प्रत्ययान्ते ऽन्तोदात्ते तयोर्डासि परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

211. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Genitive Singular.

This applies when the forms are मम and तव, and not मे and ते ॥ Thus मम स्वम्, तव स्वम् ॥ The word युष्मद् and अस्मद् are derived from युष and अस by adding the affix मदिक् (Un I. 139) युष्मद् + ङस् = युष्मद् + अश् (VII. 1. 27) = तव अद् + अश् (VI. 2. 96) = तवे + अश् (VII. 2. 90) = तव (VI. 1. 97). Here by VIII. 2. 5, व would have been udâtta, the present sūtra makes तव udâtta. So also with मम ॥

डयि च ॥ २१२ ॥ पदानि ॥ डयि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोरिति वर्तते, आदिरुदात्त इति च । इत्येतस्मिन्श्च परतो युष्मदस्मदोरुदात्तो भवति ॥

212. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Dative Singular.

Thus तुभ्यम् and मैह्यम्, the forms त् and मे are not governed by this rule. The making of two separate sūtras is for the sake of preventing the application of यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). Had the sūtra been युष्मदस्मदो ङिङसोः, then yushmad in the Dative, and asmad in the Genitive alone would have taken this accent.

यतोऽनावः ॥ २१३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, अनावः ॥

वृत्तिः । निष्ठा च द्व्यजनादित्यतो द्व्यञ्ज्यहणमनुवर्त्तते । यत्प्रत्ययान्तस्य द्व्यञ्च आदिरुदात्तो भवति न चत्रौ-
शब्दात्परो भवति ।

213. Whatever is formed by the affix यत्, has, if it is a disyllabic word, the acute on the first syllable, with the exception of नाव्यः from नौ ॥

The word द्व्यञ्च is understood here from VI. 1. 205. Thus चैयम्, जैयम् (III. 1. 97); कैण्यम्, औण्यम् (V. 1. 6). This rule debars the Svarita accent required by तित् (VI. 1. 185) ॥ But नौ—नाव्यम् ॥ The rule does not apply to words of more than two syllables, thus:—चिकीर्ष्यम्, ललाय्यम् ॥

ईडवन्द्वृशंसदुहां ण्यतः ॥ २१४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड, वन्द, वृ, शंस, दुहाम, ण्यतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईड वन्द वृ शंस दुह इत्येतेषां यो ण्यत् तदन्तस्थादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

214. The acute accent is on the first syllable of ईड, वन्द, वृ, शंस and दुह, when they are followed by the affix ण्यत् ॥

Thus ईड्यम्, वन्द्यम्, वृय्यम्, शंस्यम्, हौह्या धेनुः ॥ The two letters ण् and त् being indicatory, the 'nyat' is not included in 'yat' of the last sūtra. The accent would be regulated by त् ॥ The accent of त् however is debarred by this rule. The वृ in the sūtra is वृङ् संभक्तौ of Kriyadi class: the वृञ् of स्वादि class takes kyap affix. See III. 1. 109.

विभाषा वेण्विन्धानयोः ॥ २१५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेणु, इन्धानयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेणु इन्धाने इत्येतयोर्विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ।

215. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable of वेणु and इन्धान ॥

Thus वैणुः or वेणुः; ईन्धानः or इन्धानः or इन्धानः ॥ The word वेणु is derived by the Uṇādi affix णु (III. 38), which being a तित् would always have acute on the first. This allows an option. The word इन्धान, if it is formed by चानच्, it will have the accent on the final. If it is considered to be formed by ज्ञानच्, the affix being a sârvadhâtuka is anudâta, and as it replaces udâta final of the root, it becomes udâta (VI. 1. 161), and thus इन्धान gets acute on the middle. It would never have acute on the first syllable, the present rule ordains that also. When वेणु is used as an upamâna वेणुरिव वेणुः, then it is invariably acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 204).

त्यागरागहासकुहश्वठक्रथानाम् ॥ २१६ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, क्रथानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः । त्याग राग हास कुह श्वठ क्रथ इत्येतेषां विभाषा आहिरुदात्तो भवति ।

216. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllables of त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, and क्रथ ॥

Thus त्यागेः or त्यागेः, रागेः, रागेः, हासेः, हासेः ॥ These are formed by घञ् affix and by VI. 1. 159 would take acute on the final, this ordains acute on the first syllable also. कुहः or कुहेः, श्वठः or श्वठेः, क्रथः or क्रथेः formed by अच् (III. 1. 13).

उपोत्तमं रिति ॥ २१७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपोत्तमम्, रिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिदन्तस्योपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति । त्रिप्रभृतीनामन्त्यमुत्तमं तस्य समीपे यत्तदुपोत्तम् ।

217. What is formed by an affix having an indicative र, has acute on the penultimate syllable, the full word consisting of more than two syllables.

A penultimate syllable can be only in a word consisting of three syllables or more. Thus कर्णेयम् and हर्णेयम् formed by अनीयर् (III. 1. 96) ; पदुजातीयः, घृदुजातीयः by जातीयर् (V. 3. 19). This debars III. 1. 3.

चङ्चन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङन्ते ऽन्यतरस्यामुपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति ।

218. The acute accent may be optionally on the penultimate syllable of the reduplicated Aorist in चङ्, the word consisting of more than two syllables.

Thus मा हि चीकरताम् or चीकरताम् ॥ The augment अद् is elided by the addition of मा, VI. 4. 74 ; हि prevents the verb from becoming anudatta VIII. 1. 34 then comes the चित् accent of चङ् ॥ The augmented form with अद् has acute always on the first syllable VI. 4. 71. When the word is of less than three syllables, the rule does not apply, as, माहि इधेत् ॥

मतोः पूर्वमात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियाम् ॥ २१९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः, पूर्वम्, आत्, संज्ञायाम्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतोः पूर्वं आकार उदात्तो भवति तद्येन्मत्त्वन्तं स्त्रीलिङ्गं संज्ञा भवति ।

219. The आ before the affix मत् has the acute accent, when the word is a name in the Feminine Gender.

Thus अदुम्भरीवती, पुष्करवती, शरीवती (IV. 2. 85). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 120. वीरणावती ॥ Why do we say 'the आ' ? Observe इक्षुर्वती, द्रुमवती ॥ The words इक्षु Un. III. 157 and द्रुम (V. 2. 108) are end-acute, so accent is on मतुप् by VI. 1, 176. Why do we say when a name ? Observe खड्गावती ॥ खड्गा is formed by कृत् and has acute on the first (Un. I, 151). Why do we say in

the Feminine Gender? Observe **रावावा** ॥ Why do we say when followed by **मत्**? Observe **गवादिनी** ॥

अन्तो ऽवत्याः ॥ २२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, अवत्याः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामित्येव । अवतीशब्दान्तस्य संज्ञायामन्त उदात्तो भवति ।

220. The Names ending in **अवती** have the acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus **अजिष्वती**, **खडिखती**, **ईसवती**, **कारण्डवती** ॥ These words being formed by **ङीष्** would have been unaccented on the final (III. 1. 4). Why do we use **अवती** and not **वती**? Then the rule would apply to **राजवती** also, for this word is really **राजन्वती** ending in **अन्वती**, the subsequent elision of **न्** is held to be non-valid for the purposes of the application of this rule (VIII. 2. 2). But the change of **म** into **व** (**मन् = वन्**) is considered asidhha for the purposes of this rule.

ईवत्याः ॥ २२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईवत्याः, (उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईवतीशब्दान्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति स्त्रियां संज्ञायां विशेषे ।

221. The Names ending in **ईवती** have the acute on the last syllable.

Thus **अहीवती**, **कृषीवती**, **सुनीवती** ॥
चौ ॥ २२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चादित्यञ्चतिसुवनकारणे मृशये । तस्मिन्मरतः पूर्वस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ।
वात्तिकम् ॥ चावतद्वितइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

222. In compound words ending in **अञ्च्**, the final vowel of the preceding word has the acute accent in the weak cases in which only **च्** of **अञ्च्** remains.

Thus **दधीचः पश्य**; **दधीचा**, **दधीचे**; **मधूचः पश्य**, **मधूचा**, **मधूचे** ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 161, 170 and VI. 2. 52.

Vart:—This rule does not apply before a Taddhita affix. As **दाधीचैः** .
माधूचैः ॥ Here the accent is regulated by the affix (III. 1. 3).

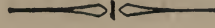
समासस्य ॥ २२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासस्य, (उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समासस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ।

223. A compound word has the acute on the last syllable.

Thus **राजंघुर्वैः** **ब्राह्मणकम्बलैः**, **कन्याखर्नैः**, **पट्टशब्दैः**, **नदीघोषैः**, **राजदुर्वैः**, **ब्राह्मणसमिन्** ॥ The consonants being held to be non-existent for the purposes of accent, the udatta will fall on the vowel though it may not be final, the final being a consonant. The exceptions to this rule will be mentioned in the next chapter.

ओ३म् ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।



BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, प्रकृत्या, पूर्वपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदमहणमत्र पूर्वपदस्थे स्वरे उदात्ते स्वरिते वा वर्त्तते । बहुव्रीहौ समासे पूर्वपदस्य यः स्वरः स प्रकृत्या भवति, स्वभावेनावतिष्ठते, न विकारमनुदात्तत्वमापद्यते ॥

I. In a Bahuvrîhi, the first member preserves its own original accent.

The word पूर्वपदम् means here the accent—whether udâta or swarita—which is in the first member: प्रकृत्या means, retains its own nature, does not become modified into an anudâta accent. By the rule VI. 1. 223, the final of a compound gets the accent, so that all the preceding members lose their accent and become anudâta, as in one word all syllables are unaccented except one. VI. 1. 158. Thus the first member of a Bahuvrîhi would have lost its accent and become anudâta; with the present sūtra commences the exceptions to the rule that the final of a compound is always udâta. Thus कर्णोत्तरासङ्गाः ॥ The word कर्ण is derived by the Taddhita affix अञ् (IV. 3. 154) from कृष्ण 'a kind of antelope;' and has the त्रिन् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. on the first syllable: which the word preserves in the compound also. So also शूषवल्जः; the word शूष is derived from शु by the Uṅādi affix ष (Uṅ III. 27), before which the vowel becomes lengthened (Uṅ III. 25) and the affix is treated as त्रिन् (Un III. 26), and hence the word is acutely accented on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). So also ब्रह्मचारिपरिस्कन्दः; the word ब्रह्मचारिन् has a Kṛit-formed word as its second part, and gets the acute on the final (VI. 2. 139). So also स्नातकपुत्रः, the word स्नातक is derived by कन् (V. 4. 29) affix and has त्रिन् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. udâta on the first syllable. So also अध्यापकपुत्रः, the word अध्यापक is accented on the middle as it is formed by द्, लिन् affix (III. 1. 133, VI. 1. 193). श्रोत्रियपुत्रः, the श्रोत्रिय being enounced with an indicatory न् in Sūtra V. 2. 84 is acutely accented on the first. मनुष्यनाथः, the word मनुष्य being formed by यन् (IV. 1. 161) a त्रिन् affix is svarita (VI. 1. 185),

The words udâta and svarita are understood in this aphorism. Therefore if *all* the syllables of the pûrvapada are anudâta, the present rule has no scope there, and such a compound will get udâta on the final by the universal rule enunciated in VI. I. 223. Thus समभागः, here सम being *all* anudâta, the accent falls on ग ॥

तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, तुल्यार्थ, तृतीया, सप्तमी, उपमान, अव्यय, द्वितीया, कृत्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे तुल्यार्थं तृतीयान्तं सप्तम्यन्तुपमानवाचि अव्ययं द्वितीयान्तं कृत्यान्तं च यत्पूर्वपदं तत्प्रकृतस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्यये नञ्कुनिपातानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

2. In a Tatpuruṣa, the first member preserves its original accent, when it is a word (1) meaning "a resemblance", or (2) an Instrumental or (3) a Locative or (4) a word with which the second member is compared, (5) or an Indeclinable, or (6) an Accusative, or (7) a Future Passive Participle.

Thus (1) तुल्यश्वेतः, तुल्यलोहितः, तुल्यमहान्, सदैकच्छ्रेतः, सदैगलोहितः, सदैग्महान् ॥ These are Karmadhâraya compounds formed under II. I. 68 : and तुल्य being formed by यन् is acutely accented on the first (VI. I. 216). The word सदैश् is formed by क्तिन् (III. 2. 60 Vârt), and has acute on the final (VI. I. 197 and VI. 2. 139). So also सदैश्वेतः सदैशलोहितः, सदैशमहान् ॥ The word सदैश् is formed by कश् added to दृश्, and by VI. I. 197 the accent falls on दृ (VI. 2. 139). (2) When the first member is in the Instrumental case, as :—शंकुल्या खण्डः = शंकुली-खण्डः, so also किरिकाणः (II. I. 30) शंकुला is derived from शंकु + ला ॥ To the root ला is added the affix क with the force of घञ्, and thus the noun ला is udâta : or the whole word शंकुला is a word formed by क् affix and hence VI. I. 165 applies and is final-acute. किरिः is formed by the Uṇâdi affix इ to कृ (Uṇ IV. 143), and it being treated as a क्तिन् (Uṇ. IV. 142) has udâta on the final.

(3) When the first member is a word in the Locative case, as :—भक्षेषु शौण्डः = भक्षशौण्डः, so also पानशौण्डः ॥ The word भक्ष is formed by the affix स added to भक्ष् (Uṇ III. 65), and is final acute (III. I. 3). The word पान is formed by ह्यद् affix added to पा, and is acute on the first (VI. I. 193) owing to the लिन् accent. (4) When the first member is a word with which the second member is compared, as :—शस्त्रीश्यामा, कुमुदश्वेनी, हंसगद्गदा, न्यग्रोधपरिमण्डला, दूर्वाकौण्डश्यामा, शरकण्डगौरी ॥ These compounds are formed by II. I. 55. शस्त्री is formed by ङीष् and is final-acute ; कुमुद is formed by क् affix (कौ मोदते = कुमुद) see III. 2. 5. Vârt : and is acutely accented on the first, or by Phit sūtra II. 3 it has acute on the first. हंस is formed by the Uṇâdi affix स added to हन्

(Uṇ III. 62), and is finally accented (III. 1. 3). न्ययोहति = न्यमोधः formed by धच् (III. 1. 134), and ह is irregularly changed into ध as Pānini himself uses this form (VII. 3. 5): and it is accented in the middle. The words कूर्वाकाण्ड, क्षारकाण्ड are Genitive Tatpurusha, and their second member has accent on the first syllable (VI. 2. 135). (5) When the first member is an Indeclinable, as, ईब्राह्मणः, अँवृषलः, कुँब्राह्मणः, कुँवृषलः ॥ निँष्कोशाभिवः, निँर्वाराणसिः, अँतिखट्वाः, अँतिमालः ॥ All these Indeclinable compounds have udātta on the first. they are formed by II. 2. 5 &c.

Vārt:—In cases of Indeclinable compounds the rule applies only to those which are formed by the negative Particle अ, by कु, and by Particles (nipāta). Though नञ् is one of the Nipātas, its separate mention indicates that नञ्-accent debarbs even the subsequent कृन्-accent as अकारणिः ॥ Therefore, it does not apply here स्नात्वाकालकः which has acute on the final and belongs to Mayuravyāsakādi class.

(6) When the first member as in the accusative case, as:—मुहूर्त्तसुखम्, मुहूर्त्तमणियम्, सर्वरात्रकल्याणी, सर्वरात्रशोभना ॥ They are formed by II. 1. 29. मुहूर्त्त belongs to पृषोदरादि class and is acutely accented on the last. सर्वरात्र is formed by the samāsanta affix अच् and is finally accented.

(7) When the first member is a Kṛitya-formed word, as, भोज्यलवणम्, भोज्योष्णम्, पानीयशीतम्, हरणीयचूर्णम् (II. 1. 68). भोज्य is formed by प्यन् and has svarita on the final: पानीय and हरणाय are formed by अनीय् and are accented on the penultimate (VI. 1. 185 and 217) i. e. on र् ई ॥

वर्णोवर्णेष्वनेते ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः, वर्णेषु, अनेते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं, तत्पुरुषइति च वर्तते । वर्णं वर्णवाच्य पूर्वपदं वर्णवाच्येष्वेवोत्तरपदेषु एतद्व्यतिरेकितेषु परतस्तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

3. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when a word denoting color is compounded with another color denoting word, but not when it is the word एत ॥

Thus कृष्णसारङ्गी, लोहितसारङ्गी, कृष्णकल्माषः, लोहितकल्माषः ॥ कृष्ण is formed by नक affix (Uṇ. III. 4) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). लोहित is formed by the affix तन् added to रूह् (Uṇ. III. 94) and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 197).

Why do we say 'color-denoting word'? Observe परमकृष्णैः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'with another color denoting word'? Observe कृष्णतिलैः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'but not when it is एत'? Observe कृष्णैः, लोहितैः ॥ The compounding takes place by II.1. 69.

गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाध, लवणयोः, प्रमाणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणवत्त्विनि तत्पुरुषे समासे गाध लवण इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

4. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when the second term is गाद्य or लक्षण, and the compound expresses a 'measure or mass'.

Thus शम्भगाद्यसुदकम्, अरित्रगाद्यसुदकम् 'water as low or fordable as a Samba or an Aritra i. e. of the depth of an oar or a pestle'. गोलवणम्, शम्भलवणम् 'so much salt as may be given to a cow or a horse'. These are Genitive Tatpurusha compounds. शम्भ is formed by adding वन् to शम् (Uṇ. IV. 94), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). अरित्र is formed by the affix इत्र added to अरि (III. 2. 184), and has acute on the middle (III. 1. 3): गो is formed by डो (Uṇ II. 68) and has acute on the final ओ; शम्भ is formed by क्वन् affix added to शम् (Uṇ. I. 151), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The word प्रमाण here denotes 'quantity', 'measure', 'mass', 'limit', and not merely the length. The power of denoting measure by these words is here indicated by and is dependent upon accent.

When not denoting प्रमाण we have परमगाद्यम् and परमलक्षणम् ॥

दायाद्यं दायादे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दायाद्यम्, दायादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यरूपे समासे दायाद्शब्दउत्तरपदे दायाद्यवाचि पूर्वपरं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

5. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word दायाद् as its second member, the first member denoting inheritance preserves its original accent.

Thus विद्यादायाद्, धनदायाद् ॥ The word विद्या is formed by the affix क्यप् (III. 3. 99) which is udatta (III. 3. 96). The word धन is derived by adding क्यु to धान् (Uṇ. II. 81). Though the Uṇādi Sūtra II. 81 ordains क्यु after the root धा preceded by नि, yet by बहुल (III. 3. 1) rule it comes after धा also when it is not preceded by नि and धन has acute on the first (III. 1. 3).

In the forms विद्यादायाद्: &c, what Genitive case has been taken? If it is the Genitive case which the word दायाद् requires by Rule II. 3. 39, then by the Vārtika प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यते (II. 2. 10 Vart), there can be no compounding. The Genitive case there is the ordinary Genitive case of II. 3. 50. i. e. a शैषिक Genitive case, and not a प्रतिपद Genitive. If it is a शेषलक्षण Genitive case, then why the other Genitive case is taught in II. 3. 39 with regard to दायाद् &c. That sūtra only indicates the existence of the Locative case in the *alternative*, and does not prevent the Genitive. In fact, had merely Locative been ordained in that sūtra, this particular case would have prevented the Genitive on the maxim that a particular rule debars the general. But the employment of both terms Genitive and Locative in that sūtra indicates the *alternative* nature of the rule and shows that the Genitive case so taught is not a प्रतिपद Genitive, but a general Genitive. In short the Genitive taught in II.

3. 39, is not an apūrva-vidhi, the words naturally would have taken Genitive; the taking of the Locative is the only new thing taught there.

Why do we say 'when meaning inheritance'? Observe परमज्ञायाः (VI. 1. 223) taking the final acute of a compound.

प्रतिबन्धि चिरकृच्छ्रयोः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिबन्धि, चिर, कृच्छ्रयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे चिरकृच्छ्रयोरुत्तरपदयोः प्रतिबन्धिवाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

6. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the words चिर or कृच्छ्र as its second member, the first member, when it denotes that which experiences an obstacle, preserves its original accent.

Thus गमनचिरम्, गमनकृच्छ्रम्, व्याहरणचिरम् or व्याहरणकृच्छ्रम् ॥ The words गमन and व्याहरण are formed by ल्युट् affix, and have लिट् accent (VI. 1. 193). This compound belongs either to the class of Mayūra-vyañsakādi (II. 1. 72), or of an attribute and the thing qualified. When going to a place is delayed owing to some defective arrangement or cause, or becomes difficult, there is produced an obstacle or hinderance, and is called गमनचिरं or गमनकृच्छ्रं ॥ Why do we say 'which experiences a hinderance'? Observe सुत्रकृच्छ्रम् ॥

पदे उपदेशे ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदे, अपदेशे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपदेशो व्याजस्तद्वाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पदशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

7. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word पद denoting 'a pretext'.

The word अपदेश means 'a pretext', 'a contrivance'. Thus मूत्रपदेन प्रस्थितः, उच्चरिपदेन प्रस्थितः ॥ Gone on pretext of voiding urine or excreta.

The word मूत्र is derived by adding the affix ट्च् to the root मुच्, the ऊ being substituted for उच् of मुच्, (Uṇ. IV. 163), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197) or it may be a word formed by घञ् to the root मूत्रयति ॥ The word उच्चार is also formed by घञ् and by VI. 2. 144 has acute on the final. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72 or it is an attributive compound.

Why do we say "when meaning a pretext?" Observe विष्णोः पद्म् = विष्णुपद्म् ॥

निवाते वातत्राणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निवाते, वात-त्राणे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निवातशब्दउत्तरपदे वातत्राणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वं पदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

8. In a Tatpurusha compound, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word निवात in the sense of 'a protection from wind'.

Thus कुञ्चोर्वं निवातं = कुञ्चीनिवातम् 'a hut as the only shelter from the wind'. So also शमीनिवातम्, कुड्यनिवातम् or कुड्यनिवातम् ॥ The word निवात is an Avyayi-

bhāva compound = वातस्य अभावः (II. 1. 6): or a Bahuvrihi = निरुद्धो वातोऽस्मिन् ॥ The words कुटीनिवातम् &c, are examples of compounds of two words in apposition. कुटी and शमी are formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). Some say that कुड्य is derived from कु by adding यन् with the augment ड्क and treating it as कित्, is has the acute on the first; others hold that it is derived by the affix ड्यक् to कु and the affix has the accent.

Why do we say when meaning 'a shelter from wind'? Observe राजनिवातं वसति, सुखं मान्निवातं = 'he lives under the shelter of the king'; 'pleasant is the shelter or the protection of the mother'. Here निवात = पार्श्वः or vicinity.

शारदे ऽनार्तवे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शारदे, अनार्तवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतौ भवमार्तवम् । अनार्तववाचिनि शारदशब्दउत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

9. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word शारद्, having any other sense than that of 'autumnal'.

The word आर्तव means appertaining to season (ऋतु) i. e. when the word शारद् does not refer to the season of शरत् or autumn. Thus रज्जुशारदमुदकम् 'fresh drawn water'. So also हर्षत् शारदाः सक्तवः 'the saktu flour fresh from the mill'. The word शारद् means here 'fresh' 'new': and it forms an invariable compound. The word रज्जु is formed by ड् affix added to सृज् (Uṇ. I. 15), the स being elided. The affix ड् is treated as नित् (Uṇ. I. 9) and the accent falls on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word हर्षत् is formed by the augment ष and shortening of the vowel of the root हृ 'to tear' (हृणाति), and the affix अदिक् (Uṇ. I. 131) and has accent on the final (III. 1. 3).

Why do we say 'when not meaning autumnal'? Observe परमशारदम्, उत्तमशारदम् 'the best autumnal grass &c'. (VI. 1. 223).

अध्वर्युकषाययोजातौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्युः, कषाययोः, जातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युकषाय इत्येतयोर्जातिवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

10. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting a genus, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word अध्वर्यु or कषाय ॥

Thus प्राच्याध्वर्युः, कठध्वर्युः, कालापाध्वर्युः ॥ These are Appositional compounds denoting 'genus or kind', with a fixed meaning. प्राच्य is formed by यन्, and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 213). कठ is derived by अच् affix (III. 1. 34), and to it is added the Taddhita affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104), in the sense of कठेन प्रोक्तं (IV. 3. 101), and the affix is then elided by IV. 3. 107. The word कालाप comes from कलापिन् + अण् (IV. 3. 108) in the sense of कलापिना प्रोक्तं (IV. 3.

101), and it would have preserved its form without change before this affix (VI. 4. 164) but for a vārtika which declares that the हन् of कलापिन् will be elided (See VI. 1. 144 vart). Thus कालौप gets accent on the final (III. 1. 3). So also सर्पिमण्डकपायम्, उमापुष्पकपायम्, दैवारिककपायम् ॥ These are Genitive compounds. The words सर्पिमण्ड and उमापुष्प are Genitive compounds and have accent on the final (VI. 1. 223). The word दैवारिक is formed by ङक् affix added to द्वार and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 165). Why do we say when meaning a 'genus'? Observe, परमाध्युः, परमकण्ठायः (VI. 1. 223).

सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदृश, प्रतिरूपयोः, सादृश्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदृश प्रतिरूप इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः सादृश्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

11. In a Tatpurusha compound expressing resemblance with some one or something, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is सदृश or प्रतिरूप ॥

Thus पित्रसदृशः, मातृसदृशः ॥ The words पितृ and मातृ are formed by Uṇādi affix नृच् (Un. II. 95) and are finally accented. By II. 1. 31, सदृश forms Instrumental Tatpurusha. That case, however, is governed by VI. 2. 2, which provides for Instrumental compounds. The examples here given are of Genitive Tatpurusha: and it applies to cases where the case-ending is not elided. As दास्याः सदृशो, वृषल्याः सदृशः ॥ Here दासी and वृषली are finally acute, and the case-affix gets the accent when semivowel is substituted (VI. 1. 174). So also पित्रप्रतिरूपः, मातृप्रतिरूपः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning resemblance'? Observe परमसदृशैः, उत्तमसदृशैः (VI, 1. 223): here the sense of the compound is that of 'honor' and not 'resemblance'.

द्विगौ प्रमाणे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, प्रमाणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगादुत्तरपदे प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

12. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'measure or quantity', the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is a Dvigu.

Thus प्राच्यसप्तसमः and गान्धारिसप्तसमः ॥ The word सप्तसमः = सप्तसमाः प्रमाण-मस्य, the affix मात्रच् denoting 'measure' (V. 2. 37) is elided (See V. 2. 37 Vart) प्राच्यश्चासौ सप्तसमश्च = प्राच्यसप्तसमः "an Eastern seven-years old". So also गान्धारि-सप्तसमः or षट्समः ॥ प्राच्य has acute on the first; while गान्धारि is either accented on the first or on the middle; as it belongs to the Kardamādi class (Phit III. 10). Why do we say 'before a Dvigu'? Observe त्रीहिप्रत्यः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting measure?' Observe परमसप्तसमः ॥

गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गन्तव्य, पण्यम्, वाणिजे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाणिज्याब्दुत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे गन्तव्यवाचि पण्यवाचि च पूर्वपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

13. Before the word वाणिज 'a trader', the first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when it is a word specifying the place whither one has to go, or the ware in which one deals.

Thus मद्रवाणिजः, काश्मीरवाणिजः, गान्धारिवाणिजः = मद्रादिषु गत्वा व्यवहरन्ति 'the Madra-merchants i. e. who trade by going to Madra &c' All these are Locative compounds. मद्र is derived by र्क affix (Un II, 13) and is acutely accented on the last (VI. 1. 165). काश्मार belongs to Kṛṣhodarâdi class (VI. 3. 109), and has acute either on the first or the second syllable. The word गान्धारि belongs to the Kardamâdi class, and is consequently acute on the first or the second (Phit III. 10) In the sense of पण्य we have: गोवाणिजः 'a dealer in cows', अश्ववाणिजः &c. गौ is finally accented (Un II. 67): and अश्व has acute on the first (Un I. 151) the affix being कृन् ॥

Why do we say 'the place whither one goes, or the goods in which one deals?' Observe परमवाणिजः, उत्तमवाणिजः ॥

मात्रोपज्ञोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम, छाये, नपुंसके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रा उपज्ञा उपक्रम छाया एतेषु उत्तरपदेषु नपुंसकवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

14. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent before the words मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम and छाया when these words appear as neuter.

Thus भिक्षामात्रं न ददाति याचतः, समुद्रमात्रं न सरोऽस्ति किञ्चन ॥ The word मात्रा is here synonymous with तुल्य, the phrase being = भिक्षायास्तुल्यप्रमाणं, and is a Genitive compound. The word भिक्षा is derived from भिक्ष, by the feminine affix अ (III. 3. 103), and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word समुद्र has also acute on the final as it is a word denoting 'a sea', (Phit sūtra I. 2). So also with उपज्ञा, as पाणिनोपज्ञमकालिकं व्याकरणम्; व्योडुषपज्ञं दुष्करणम् आपिशत्युपज्ञं गुरुलाघव (see II. 4. 21). All these are Genitive compounds. The word पाणिन is derived by अण् affix from पणिन् (पणिनोऽपत्यम् = पाणिनै), and has acute on the final, (III. 1. 3). The word व्याडि being formed by इञ् affix has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), so also आपिशलि ॥ So also with उपक्रम, as आढ्योपक्रमं प्रासादः, दर्शनोपक्रमम्, सुकुमारोपक्रमम्, नन्दापक्रमणि मानानि ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. The word भाङ्ग्यं (तत्रैत्येनं ध्यायन्ति) is derived from आ + ध्ये + क् affix added with the force of घञ्, the ध being changed to ढ the word belonging to पृषोदरादि class (VI. 3. 109), and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. The word दर्शनीय is formed by अनीयुर् and has acute on the penultimate नी owing to the indicatory र् (VI. 1. 217). The word सुकुमार has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172. The word नन्द् is formed by अञ् (III. 1. 134). The Tatpurusha compounds ending in उपज्ञा and उपक्रम, are neuter by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, as इषुच्छायम्,

धनुच्छायम् ॥ The word इषु is derived from इष् by उ affix (Un I. 13), and it being treated as निन् (Un I. 9) the acute falls on इ the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word धनुस् has also acute on the first by Phiṭ sūtra II. 3. The compound is a Genitive Tatpurusha—इषूणां छाया; and it is Neuter by II. 4. 22. When the compound is not a Neuter we have कुञ्चछाया (II. 4. 25).

सुखप्रिययोर्हिते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख, प्रिययोः, हिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्हितवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

15. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when the second term is सुख or प्रिय, and the sense is 'to feel delight, or is good'.

Thus गमनसुखम् 'the pleasure of going'. So also वैचनसुखम्, व्याहरणसुखम्, गमनप्रियम्, वैचनप्रियम्, व्याहरणप्रियम् ॥ These are appositional compounds. All the above words are formed by ल्युट् affix and have acute on the syllable preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). The words sukha and priya have the sense of हित or 'well good 'beneficial', i. e. when the thing denoted by the first term is the cause of pleasure or delight. When this is not the sense we have परमसुखम्, परमप्रियम् ॥

प्रीतौ च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रीतौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रीतौ गम्यमानायां सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

16. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, the second term being सुख or प्रिय, in the sense of "agreeable to one, or desired".

Thus ब्राह्मणसुखं पायसं "the sweetmilk desired by or agreeable to the Brāhmanas", छात्रप्रियोऽनध्यायः ॥ कन्याप्रियो मृदङ्गः ॥ &c. The words ब्राह्मण and छात्र have acute on the final being formed by the affixes अण् and ण (V. 4. 62) respectively (III. 1. 3) and कन्या has svarita on the final. When not meaning agreeable to or desired, we have राजसुखम्, राजप्रियम् ॥

स्व स्वामिनि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, स्वामिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिशब्दउत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे स्ववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

17. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word स्वामिन् as its second member, the first term, when it denotes the thing possessed, retains its original accent.

Thus गौस्वामी, ऐश्वस्वामी, धनस्वामी ॥ The accents of गौ, ऐश्व and धन have already been mentioned before in VI. 2. 14.. When the first member is not a word denoting possession, we have परमस्वामी ॥

पत्यवैश्वर्ये ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्यौ, ऐश्वर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

18. In a Tatpurusha ending in पति when it means 'master' or lord', the first member preserves its original accent.

Thus गृहपतिः, सेनापतिः, नरपतिः, धान्यपतिः ॥ The word गृह is formed by क (III. 1. 144) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सेना is a Bahuvrihi (सह इनेन वर्तते = सेना), and by VI. 2. 1 the first member retains its accent. The word नर is derived from नृ 'to lead' by the affix अच् (III. 3. 57) and has acute on the first (III. 1. 4), the word धान्य has svarita on the final (See Phit II. 23 ?) Why do we say when meaning 'lord'? Observe ब्राह्मणो वृषलीपतिः "a Brahmana, husband of a Sûdrâ".

न भू वाक्चिदिधिषु ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, वाक्, चित्, दिधिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भू वाक् चित् दिधिषू इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि प्रकृतिस्वरणि न भवन्ति ॥

19. The words भू, वाक्, चित् and दिधिषू, however, do not preserve their original accent in a Tatpurusha when coming before the word पति denoting 'lord'.

This debars the accent taught by the last aphorism. Thus भूपतिः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पतिः, दिधिषूपतिः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds and are finally accented by VI. 1. 223.

वा भुवनम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भुवनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भुवनशब्दः पूर्वपदं वा प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

20. The word भुवन may optionally keep its accent in a Tatpurusha, before पति denoting 'lord'.

Thus भुवनपतिः or भुवनपतिः ॥ The word भुवन is formed by क्युन् (Uṇ. II. 80), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Though Sûtra II. 80 (Unadi) ordains क्युन् after भू in the Vedas only, yet on the theory of बहुल (III. 1. 3), it comes in the secular literature also, as भुवनपतिरादित्यः ॥

आशङ्काबाधनेदीयस्सु संभावने ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशङ्क, आ बाध, नेदीयस्सु, संभावने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं तत्पुरुषइति वर्तते । आशङ्क आबाध नेदीयस् इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु संभावनवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

21. Before आशङ्क, आबाध and नेदीयस्, the first member in a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when it treats about a supposition.

The word संभावनम् = अस्तित्वाध्यवसायः "the hesitation about the existence of a thing". Thus गमनाशङ्कं वर्तते 'one fears the journey'; so also वैचनशाङ्कं, व्याहरणाशङ्कं, &c. Similarly गमनाबाधम् वर्तते = गमनं बाध्यते इति संभाव्यते "it has stepped in as

an obstacle to journey". So also वैचनानावाधम्, व्याहरणानावाधम् ॥ Similarly गमननेरीयो वतन्ते, वैचननेरीयः व्याहरणनेरीयः = गमनमिति निकटतरमिति संभाव्यते "the journey stands directly before".

Why do we say when a supposition is meant? Observe परमनेरीयः ॥ All the above words are formed by ल्युद् affix and have लिट् accent. (VI. I. 193).

पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, भूतपूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दउत्तरपदे भूतपूर्ववाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

22. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent when the word पूर्व is the second member, and the sense is "this had been lately——".

Thus आढ्यो भूतपूर्वः = आढ्यपूर्वः "formely had been rich". The compound must be analysed in the above way. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 57 or it belongs to Mayura-vyañsakâdi class. So also दशनीयपूर्वः, सुकुमारपूर्वः ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'had been lately'. Observe परमपूर्वः, उत्तमपूर्वः, which should be analysed as परमश्वासौ पूर्वश्चति ॥ If it is analysed as परमो भूतपूर्वः then it becomes an example under the rule and not a counter-example. In order therefore, to make this rule applicable we must know the sense of the compound.

सविधसनीडसमर्यादसवेशसदेशेषु सामीप्ये ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, सदेशेषु, सामीप्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सविध सनीड समर्याद सवेश इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु सामीप्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

23. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when the second 'member is सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, and सदेश in the sense of "what can be found in the vicinity thereof".

Thus मद्रसविधम्, गान्धारिसविधम्, कादमीरसविधम् ॥ So also मद्रसनीडम्, मद्रसमर्यादम्, मद्रसवेशम् and मद्रसदेशम्. So also with गान्धारि and कादमीर ॥ The accents of these words have been taught before in Sûtra VI. 2. 12, 13. The words सविध &c, are derived from सह विधया &c, but they all mean 'in the vicinity': मद्रसविधं = मद्राणां सामिप्यम् ॥ Why do we say when meaning in the vicinity thereof? Observe सह मर्यादया वतन्ते = समर्यादौ क्षेत्रम् 'a field having boundary'. देवदत्तस्य समर्यादं = देवदत्तसमर्यादौ "the bounded field of D'. Why do we say सविध &c? Observe देवदत्तसमर्यादौ ॥

विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विस्पष्ट, आदीनि-गुणवचनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विस्पष्टादीनि पूर्वपदानि गुणवचनेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वराणि भवन्ति ॥

24. The words **विस्पष्ट** &c preserve their accent when followed by an Adjective word in a compound,

Thus **विस्पष्ट कटुकम्**, **विचित्रकटुकम्** **व्यक्तकटुकम्**, **विस्पष्टलवणम्**, **विचित्रलवणम्**, **व्यक्तलवणम्** ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 4, and it should be analysed thus **विस्पष्टं कटुकम्** &c.

The words **विस्पष्ट** &c, are indeed here adjectives, and in conjunction with **कटु** &c, they denote an object possessing those qualities; and therefore not being in apposition, the compound is not a Karmadhāraya.

The word **विस्पष्ट** has acute on the first by VI. 2. 49. The word **विचित्र** is also acute on the first as it gets the accent of the Indeclinable. Some read the word as **विचित्तः**, which being a Bahuvrīhi has also first acute. The word **व्यक्त** has svarita on the first by VIII. 2. 4. The remaining words of this class are **संपन्नं**, **पदु** or **कदु**, **पण्डितं**, **कुशलं**, **चपलं** and **निपुणं**. Of these, the word **संपन्नं** has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144; **पदु** is formed by **उ** (Uṇ I. 18), which being considered as **निन्** (Uṇ I. 9), it has acute on the first. **पण्डित** is formed by **क्त** to the root **पङ्**, and is finally acute (VI. 2. 144). **कुशल** has accent on the final being formed by a kṛit affix (**कुशान् लाति** = **कुशलः**, **ला आदाने**, or Uṇ I. 106), **चपल** being formed by a **चिन्** affix (Uṇ I. 111), has acute on the final (VI. 1. 163), for **चिन्** is understood in the Uṇadi sūtra Uṇ. I. 111 from sūtra Uṇ. I. 106. The word **निपुण** has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, being formed by **क** affix added to **पुण्** &c.

Why do we say 'of **विस्पष्ट** &c' Observe **परमलवणम् उत्तमलवणम्**, both having acute on the final. Why do we say "when followed by a word expressing a quality"? Observe **विस्पष्टब्राह्मणः** ॥

श्रज्यावमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्र, ज्य, अवम, कन्, पापवत्सु, भावे, कर्मधारये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्र ज्य अवम कन् इत्येतेषु पापशब्दवति चोत्तरपदे कर्मधारये समासे भाववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

25. In a Karmadhāraya compound, the first member consisting of a Verbal noun (**भाव**), preserves its original accent before adjective forms built from **श्र** (V. 3. 60), **ज्य** (V. 3. 61) **अवम** and **कन्** (V. 3. 64), and before a form built from the word **पाप** ॥

Thus **गैमनश्रेष्ठम्**, or **गैमनश्रेयः**, **वैचनज्येष्ठम्** or **वचनज्यायः**; **गैमनावमम्**, **वैचनावमम्**, **गैमनकनिष्ठम्** or **गमनकनीयः** ॥ So also **गैमनपापिष्ठम्**, **गैमनपापीयः** ॥ All the first members are स्तुट् formed words and have **लित्** accent i. e. on the first syllable. (VI. 1. 193). The words **श्र**, **ज्य** and **कन्** are substitutes which certain adjectives take in the comparative and superlative degree, and the employment of these forms in the sūtra indicates that the comparative and superlative words having these ele-

ments should be taken as second members, and so also of पाप, the comparative and superlative are taken, for this is the meaning here of the word पापवत् ॥

Why do we say "अ &c"? Observe गमनशोभनम् ॥ Why do we say 'a verbal Noun'? Observe गमनश्रेयः, where the word गमन is = गम्यते ऽनेन 'a carriage'. Why do we say 'a Karmadhâraya compound'? Observe गमनं श्रेयः = गमनश्रेयः ॥

कुमारश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

26. The word कुमार preserves its original accent when standing as a first member in a Karmadhâraya compound.

Thus कुमारकुलया, कुमारश्रमणा, कुमारतापसी ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the final as it is derived from the root कुमार क्रीडायाम् with the affix भच् of पचादि ॥ By II. 1. 70, it is ordained that कुमार is compounded with श्रमण &c. Some commentators hold that the word कुमार must be followed by श्रमण &c. (II. 1. 70) to make this rule applicable. They refer to the maxim लक्षणप्रतिपक्षेऽन्वयोः प्रतिपक्षेऽन्वयैव ग्रहणम् "whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar, or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule, such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed." Other Grammarians, however do not make any such limitation, but apply the rule to all Karmadhâraya compounds of कुमार ॥

आदिः प्रत्येनसि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, प्रत्येनसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयइति वर्चते । प्रतिगत एनसा प्रतिगतमेनो वा यस्य सः प्रत्येनाः । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपदे कर्मधारस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

27. In a Karmadhâraya compound of Kumâra followed by प्रत्येनस्, the acute falls on the first syllable of Kumâra.

The word प्रत्येनस् = प्रतिगत एनसा or प्रतिगतमेनो यस्य ॥ Thus कुमारप्रत्येनाः ॥ The word udâta is required to be read into the sûtra to complete the sense: for the construction of the sûtra requires it, and the anuvritti of the 'first member preserves its accent' would be inappropriate because the word आदि is employed here.

पूगेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूगेषु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूगा गणास्तद्वाचिन्नुत्तरपदे कर्मधारये समासे कुमारस्यान्यतरस्यामदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

28. The first syllable of Kumâra is acute optionally, when the second member is a word denoting 'the name of a horde'.

The word पुग means 'a multitude, a collection &c'. See V. 3. 112 also. Thus कुँमारचातकाः or कुमारेँचातका (VI. 2. 26), or कुमारचातकाँः ॥ So also कुँमारलोहध्वजाः or कुमारेँलोहध्वजाः or कुमारलोहध्वजाँः ॥ So also with कुँमारवल्लहकाँः, कुँमारेँजीमुतकाँः ॥ Here चातक &c, are horde-names; and the affix ड्य is added to them by V. 3. 112: which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 62. In the above examples when the word 'Kumâra' is not accented on the first syllable, it gets accent on the last by VI. 2. 26, when the प्रतिपदोक्त maxim is not applied: when that maxim is applied, the final of the compound takes the accent by the general rule VI. 1. 223.

इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इगन्त, काल, कपाल, भगाल, शरावेषु, द्विगौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तउत्तरपदे कालवाचिनि कपाल भगाल शराव इत्येतेषु च द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

29. In a Dvigu compound, the first member preserves its original accent, before a stem ending in a simple vowel, with the exception of अ (इक्), before a word denoting time, as well as before कपाल, भगाल and शराव ॥

Thus वैञ्चारत्निः, ईशारत्निः ॥ The above are examples of Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), equal to पञ्चारत्नयः प्रमाणमस्य, the प्रमाण denoting-affix मात्रच् is always elided in Dvigu (V. 2. 3 Vârt). So also वैञ्चमास्यः, ईशमास्यः = पञ्च मासान् भूतो भूतो भावी वा. This is also a Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), formed by the affix यप् (V. 1. 80—82). So also वैञ्चवर्षः, ईशवर्षः the affix डङ् being elided (V. 1. 88). So also वैञ्चकपालः, ईशकपालः, वैञ्चभगालः, ईशभगालः, वैञ्चशरावः, ईशशरावः ॥ These are also Taddhitârtha Dvigu formed by IV. 2. '16, the affix भण् being elided by IV. 1. 88.

Why do we say "before an इगन्त stem &c"? Observe पञ्चभिरश्वैःक्रीतः = पञ्चाश्वैः, दशाश्वैः ॥ Why do we say "in a Dvigu Compound?" Observe परमारत्निः, परमशरावैम् ॥

When these Dvigu compounds, by case-modifications do not end in इक् vowel, but the vowel is replaced by a semi vowel or Guṇa, the rule will still apply. Thus, वैञ्चारत्न्य or वैञ्चारत्नयः ॥ This is done on the strength of the maxim असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे. "That which is bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect or as not existing, when that which is antaranga is to take effect:" because the substitution of semivowel or guṇa is a bahiranga opera-

tion in relation to accent. Or the substitutes may be considered as sthānavat to the short-vowel which they replace.

बह्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुशब्दः पूर्वपदमिगन्तादिपूत्तरपदेषु द्विगौ समासे ज्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

30. In a Dvigu compound, the word बहु may optionally preserve its accent when followed by an ik-ending stem, or by a time-word, or by kapāla, bhagāla and śarāva.

This allows option where the last rule required the accent necessarily. Thus बहुरत्निः or बहुरत्निः, बहुमास्यः or बहुमास्यः, बहुकपालः or बहुकपालः, बहुभगालः or बहुभगालः, बहुशरावः or बहुशरावः ॥ The word बहु has acute on the final being formed by the affix कु (Uṇ I. 29). When the उ is changed to व्, as in the first example, the anudatta अ is changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 4 : when the first member preserves its accent. In the other alternative, the accent falls on the last syllable.

दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिष्टि, वितस्त्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिष्टि वितस्ति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

31. In a Dvigu compound, the first member may optionally preserve its accent, when followed by the words दिष्टि and वितस्ति as second members.

Thus वैञ्चद्विष्टिः or पञ्चद्विष्टिः, वैञ्चवितस्तिः or पञ्चवितस्तिः ॥ The affix मात्रच् is elided after the प्रमाण denoting words diṣṭi and vitasti (V. 2. 37).

सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धेष्वकालात् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व, बन्धेषु, अकालात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं पूर्वपदं सिद्ध शुष्क पक्व बन्ध इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषुप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति सा चेत्सप्तमी कालात् भवति ॥

32. A locative-ending word when it does not denote time, preserves its original accent, when followed by सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व and बन्ध in a compound.

Thus सांकाश्यसिद्धः or सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिल्यसिद्धः or काम्पिल्यसिद्धः ॥ The words sāmkaśya and kāmpilya have acute on the final, and by Phīṭ Sūtra (III. 16) in the alternative the accent falls on the middle also. So also निर्धनशुष्कः, ऊर्कशुष्कः ॥ The word निर्धन is derived by क्यु affix added to नि-धाञ् and has acute on the middle ; the word ऊर्क is formed from अच् root by the affix कर्क, and has acute on the final. So also कूर्मपक्वः, कल्मीपक्वः, कल्मीपक्वः ॥ The words Kumbhī and Kalāśī are formed by डीष् affix and हाये acute on the final ; the word भ्राष्ट्र is formed by घ्न affix, and has acute on the beginning. So also चक्रबन्धः, चारकबन्धः ॥ The word chakra has acute on the final, and chāraka being formed by ष्वल् has acute on the first.

Why do we say 'when not denoting time'? Observe पूर्वाह्नसिद्धः, अपराह्नसिद्धः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 41. The accent of the Locative Tatpurusha taught in VI. 2. 1 was debarred by Kṛit-accent taught VI. 2. 144. The present sūtra debars this last rule regarding Kṛit accent, and reordains the Locative Tatpurusha accent when the Kṛit-words are सिद्ध &c.

परिप्रत्युपापा वर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि, प्रति, उप, अपाः, वर्ज्यमान, अहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि प्रति उप अप इत्येते पूर्वपदभूता वर्ज्यमानवाचिनि अहोरात्रावयव वाचिनि राज्यवयववाचिनि चोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरा भवन्ति ।

33. The particles परि, प्रति, उप and अप preserve their accent before that word, which specifies an exclusion, or a portion of day and night, (in an Avyayībhāva compound also).

Thus परित्रिगते वृद्धे देवः "It rained all round (but not in) Trigarta". (See II. 1. 11 and 12). So also परिसौवीरम् परिसार्वसनि, परिपूर्वरात्रम् ॥ So also प्रति-पूर्वाह्नम्, प्रत्यपराह्नम्, प्रत्यपररात्रम्, उपपूर्वाह्नम्, उपापराह्नम्, उपपूर्वरात्रम्, उपापररात्रम् ॥ अप-त्रिगते वृद्धे देवः, अपसौवीरम्, अपसार्वसनी (II. 1. 11 and 12).

By Phit Sūtras IV. 12, and 13 all Particles (Nipāta) have acute on the first syllable. So also upasargas with the exception of अभि ॥ Therefore परि &c, have acute on the first. In a Tatpurusha and Bahuvrīhi compounds, these words 'pari', 'prati' &c, as first members would have retained their accent by the rules already gone before; the present sūtra, therefore, extends the principle of the preservation of the accent to Avyayībhāva compounds also. The prepositions अप and परि alone denote the limit exclusive or वर्जन, and it is therefore with these two prepositions only that the second member can denote the thing excluded, and not with प्रति and उप ॥ With these prepositions अप and परि, the second term if denoting a member of day or night, are also taken even as *excluded*, therefore no separate illustrations of those are given.

Why do we say 'before a word which is excluded, or is a part of a day and night'? Observe प्रत्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति ॥ In परिवनम् "all round the forest, but not in it", the accent falls on the last by VI. 2. 178, which debars this general rule, as well as all special rules which might affect वन in a compound.

राजन्यवहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्धकवृष्णिषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्य, बहु वचन, द्वन्द्वे, अन्धक, वृष्णिषु, (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यवाचिनां बहुवचनान्तानां यो द्वन्द्वोऽन्धकवृष्णिषु वर्त्तते तत्र पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

34. The first member of a Dvandva compound, formed of names denoting the Kshatriya (warrior) clans in

the plural number, retains its original accent when the warrior belongs to the clan of Andhaka or Vṛiṣṇi.

Thus श्वाफल्कचैत्रकाः, चैत्रकरोधका, शिनिवासुदेवाः ॥ The words Svâphalka and Chaitraka are formed by अण् affix (IV. 1. 114) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). The word शिनि has acute on the first syllable, and does not change in denoting Patronymic. Why do we say 'in denoting a Warrior clan'? Observe द्वैप्यहैमायनाः ॥ Here द्वैप्य is derived from द्वीप by the affix यञ् (IV. 3. 10) = द्वीपे भवाः; हैमायनः = हैमेरपत्यं युवा ॥ These names belong to Andhaka and Vṛiṣṇi clans, but are not the warrior-names. The word राजन्य here means those Kshatriyas who belong to the family of annointed kings and warriors (अभिषिक्तवंश्याः); these (Dvaipya and Haimâyana) do not belong to any such family. Why do we say 'in the Plural number'? Observe संकर्षणवासुदेवौ ॥ Why do we say 'in a Dvandva compound'? Observe वृष्णीनां कुमाराः = वृष्णिकुमारौः ॥ Why do we say 'of Andhaka and Vṛiṣṇi clans'? Observe कुरुपञ्चालैः ॥

संख्या ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वसमासे संख्यावाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

35. The Numeral word, standing as the first member of a Dvandva compound, preserves its accent.

Thus एकैकादश, द्वौदश, त्रयोदश or त्रयोदश ॥ The word एक is derived from इण् by कन् affix (Uṇ III. 43) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The त्रयस् is the substitute of त्रि (VI. 3. 48) and has acute on the final.

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि । आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्तेवासी, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्रपूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

36. When words denoting scholars are named after their teachers and are compounded into a Dvandva, the first member retains its accent.

The word अन्तेवासी means 'a pupil' 'a boarding not a day scholar'. When the scholar is, named by an epithet derived from the name of his teacher, that name is आचार्योपसर्जनः or teacher-derived name. Thus आपिशलि-पाणिनीयाः, पाणिनीय-रौढीयाः, रौढीयकाशकृत्स्नाः ॥ The son of Apisála is आपिशलि the name of a Teacher or founder of a school—an âchârya : formed by इञ् affix (IV. 1. 95). The science taught by him is called आपिशलम्, formed by adding अण् affix to आपिशलाः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 11). The scholars who study the Apisalam are also called आपिशलाः the affix denoting 'to study' is elided by (IV. 2. 59 and 64). Or the pupils of Apisáli will be also called Apisálâḥ. Thus in both ways Apisálâḥ is a scholar name derived from the name of a teacher. The word आचार्योपसर्जनं qualifies the whole Dvandva compound and

not the first member only. That is, the whole compound in all its parts should denote scholars, whose names are derived from those of their teachers. Therefore not here पाणिनीय-देवदत्तौ where though the first is a teacher-derived name, the second is not. Why do we say "names derived from the teacher's"? Observe छान्दसवैयाकरणाः ॥ Why do we say "a Scholar"? Observe आपिशलपाणिनीये शास्त्रे ॥

कार्तिकौजपादयश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्तिकौजप, आदयः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कार्तिकौजपादया ये द्वन्द्वास्तिषु पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

37. Also in the Dvandvas कार्तिकौजप &c, the first members retain their accent.

Those words of this list which end in a dual or plural affix have been so exhibited for the sake of distinctness. The following is a list of these words. 1. कार्तिकौजपौ (formed by अण् IV. 1. 114 in the sense of Patronymic, from कृत and कुजप these being Rishi names) ॥ 2. सार्वर्णिमाण्डूकेयौ (sāvarni is formed by इञ् Patron. affix and माण्डूकेय by षक् IV. 1. 119). 3. आवन्त्यश्मकाः The word Avanti is end-acute, to which is added the Patron affix ण्यां by IV. 1. 171, which being a Tadrāj is eiided in the plural; अवन्तीनां निवासो जनपद = अवन्ति the quadruple significant अण् being elided.

4. पैलद्यापर्णेयाः (Paila is derived from Pīlā the son of Pīlā is Paila, the yuvan descendent of Paila will be formed by adding किञ् IV. 1. 156, which is, however, elided by II. 4. 59.) The word Śyâparna belongs to Bidâdi class IV. 1. 104, the female descendant will be Śyâparni, the yuvan descendant of her will be Śyâparneya. It is not necessary that the compound should be plural always We have पैलद्यापर्णेयौ also.

5. कपिद्यापर्णेयाः (Kapi has acute on the final. The son of Kapi will be formed by यञ् IV. 1. 107, which is however elided by II. 4. 64. This compound must, therefore, be always in the plural.

6. शैतिकक्षपांचालेयाः (Śitikāksha is the name of a Rishi, his son will be Śaitikāksha by अण्, IV. 1. 114, the yuvan descendant of the latter will be formed by इञ् which is elided by II. 4. 58. Pāñchâla's female descendant is Pāñchâlî, her yuvan descendant is Pāñchâleya. The plural number here is not compulsory. We have शैतकाक्षपाञ्चालेयौ also.)

7. कटुकवाधूलेयाः or कटुकवार्चलेयाः (The son of Kaṭuka will be formed by इञ् IV. 1. 59, which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 66. The son of Varchalā is Vārchaleya).

8. शकलशुनकाः (The son of Śakala is Śakalya, his pupils are Śakalāḥ by अण् IV. 2. 111. The son of Śunak will be Śaunaka by अञ् IV. 1. 104, which will be elided in the Plural by II. 4. 64). Some read it as शकलसणकाः, where the इञ् affix after Saṇaka is elided by II. 4. 66. So also शुनकधात्रेयः ॥

9. शणकबाभ्रवाः (the son of Babhru is Bābhrava). 10. आर्चाभिर्नोद्गलाः (Archāvināḥ are those who study the work produced by Rīchāva, the affix

णिनि being added by IV. 3. 104. Mudgala belongs to Kañvâdi class IV. 2. 111; Maudgalâh are pupils of the son of Mudgala. 11. कुन्तिसुराष्ट्राः. This a Dvandva of Kunti and Surâshṭra in the plural or of the country-names derived from them like Avanti. Kunti and Chinti have acute on the final. 12. चिन्तिसुराष्ट्राः as the last. 13. तण्डवतण्डाः (Both belong to Pachâdi class formed by अच् III. 1. 134, from तडि ताडेने Bhvâdi 300, वतण्ड is formed from the same root with the prefix अव, the अ being elided, and both have acute on the final: and are enumerated in the Gargâdi list IV. 1. 105. In the plural the patronymic affix यञ् is elided by II. 4. 64. 14. गर्गवत्साः Here also यञ् affix is elided II. 4. 64. 15. अविमत्तकामवधाः or ० विद्धाः ॥ Avimatta has acute on the first being formed by the नञ् particle. Both the words lose इञ् patronymic by II. 4. 66.

16. बाभ्रवशालङ्कायनाः The son of Babhru is Bâbhruva, and the son of Śalaṅku or Śalaṅka of नडादि IV. 1. 99 is Śalaṅkāyana.

17. बाभ्रवदानच्युताः Dâncyuta takes इञ् in the patronymic which is elided by II. 4. 66.

18. कठकालापाः, Kaṭhâḥ are those who read the work of Kaṭha, the affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104) being elided by IV. 3. 107. Those who study the work of Kalâpin are Kâlâpâḥ, the अण् being added by IV. 3. 108, which required the इन् of kalâpin to be retained by VI. 4. 164 but by a Vârtika under VI. 4. 144 the इन् portion is elided before अण् ॥

19. कठकौथुमाः Those who study the work of Kuthumin are कौथुमाः formed by अण् IV. 1. 83 the इन् being elided before अण् by VI. 4. 144 Vârt already referred to above.

20. कौथुमलौकाशाः Those who study the work of Lokâksha are Laukâkshâḥ. Or the son of Lokâksha is Laukâkshi, the pupils of latter are Laukâkshâḥ.

21. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥ Strî has accent on the final.

22. मौदपैप्पलादाः, the son of Muda is Maudi, the pupils of latter are Maudâḥ. So also Paippalâdâḥ.

23. मौदपैप्पलादौः The double reading of this word indicates that Rule VI. 1. 223 also applies.

24. वत्सजरन् or वत्सजरन्तः = वत्स + जरन् ॥ Vatsa has acute on the final.

25. So also सौश्रुतपार्थवाः, The pupils of Suśruta and Prîthu are so called they take अण् IV. 1. 83. 26. जरायुल्यु, 27. याज्यानुवाक्ये Yâjya is formed by प्यन्, added to यञ्, the ज्ञ is not changed to a Guttural by VII. 3. 66. It has svarita on the final by तित् accent (VI. 1. 185). Anuvâkya is derived from anu + vach + प्यन् ॥

महान् ब्रीह्यपराङ्गृष्टीष्वासजावालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ महान्, ब्रीहि, अपराङ्ग, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जावाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, प्रवृद्धेषु, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदमिति वर्त्तते, द्वन्द्वइति निवृत्तम् । महानित्येतत्पूर्वपदं व्रीहि अपराह्ण, गृष्टि इष्वास जाबाल भार भारत हैलिहिल रौरव प्रवृद्ध इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

38. The word महत् (महा) retains its accent before the following : व्रीहि, अपराह्ण, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जाबाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, and प्रवृद्ध ॥

Thus महौव्रीहिः, महौपराहणः, महौगृष्टिः, महौष्वासः, महौजाबालः, महौभारः, महौभारतः, महौहैलिहिलः, महौरौरवः, महौप्रवृद्धः ॥ The महत् has acute on the final. (Uṇ II. 84) On the पतिपदोक्त maxim already mentioned under VI. 2. 26, this accent will apply to that compound of महत् which it forms under rule II. 1. 61, for that is the particular rule of Karmadhâraya compounding relating to mahat (pratipadokta). This rule therefore, will not apply to Genitive Tatpuruṣa. Thus महतो व्रीहिः = महद्व्रीहिः which has accent on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Q. The word प्रवृद्ध is a Participle formed by क्त affix, and by rule VI. 2. 46, in a Karmadhâraya compound, the first member will retain its original accent. What is then the necessity of reading this word in this sūtra ?
Ans. That sūtra VI. 2. 46 applies, on the maxim of pradipadokta, to the special participles and nouns mentioned in II. 1. 59 and not to every participle and noun.

क्षुल्लकश्च वैश्वदेवे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुल्लकः, च, वैश्वदेवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुल्लक इत्येतत्पूर्वपदं महांश्च वैश्वदेवउत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

39. The words mahat and kshullaka retain their accent before the word Vaiśvadeva.

Thus महौवैश्वदेवम्, and क्षुल्लकौवैश्वदेवम् ॥ The word kshullaka is derived thus क्षुधं लानि = क्षुल्लः to which the Diminutive क (V. 3. 73 &c) is added : and the word has udâtta on the final.

उष्ट्रः सादिवाम्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रः, सादि, वाम्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रशब्दः पूर्वपदं सादिवाम्योरुत्तरपदयोः प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

40. The word 'ushtra' retains its accent before 'sâdi' and 'vâmi'.

Thus उष्ट्रसादि and उष्ट्रवामि ॥ The word उष्ट्र is derived from उष् by ष्ट् affix (Uṇ IV. 162) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is either a Karmadhâraya or a Genitive compound. In some texts the above examples are given with a ṽisarga in the masculine, and not Neuter.

गौः सादिसादिसारथिषु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गौः, साद, सादि, सारथिषु, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दः पूर्वपदं साद सादि सारथि इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

41. The word 'गो' retains its accent before 'sâda', 'sâdi', and 'sârathi'.

Thus गोःसादः or गां सादयति = गो^३सादः, गोः सादि = गो^३सादि, and गो^३सारथिः ॥ साद is formed from सद् with the affix घञ् and forms a Genitive compound (गोः सादः). Or from the causative verb सादयति, we get गोसादः by adding अण् (III. 9. 1) गोसादी is formed by णिनि from the same causative root. The Kṛit-accent is debarred in the case of साद and सादिन्, the Samâsa-accent VI. 1. 223 in the case of सारथि ॥

कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगुर्वसूतजरत्यश्लीलदृढरूपा पारेवडवा तैतिलकद्रूः पण्यकम्बलो दासीभारणां च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरुगार्हपत, रिक्तगुरु, असूतजरती, अश्लीलदृढरूपा, पारेवडवा, तैतिलकद्रूः, पण्यकम्बलः, दासीभारणाम्, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कुरुगार्हपत रिक्तगुरु असूतजरती अश्लीलदृढरूपा पारेवडवा तैतिलकद्रू पण्यकम्बल इत्येते समासास्तिषां दासीभारिणीनां च पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुरुवृज्योर्गार्हपतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ संज्ञायामिति उक्तव्यम् ॥

42. The first member retains its accent in the following :—'Kuru-gârhapata', 'Rikta-guru', 'Asûta-jaratî', 'Aslîla-driḍha-rûpâ', 'Pâre-vaḍabâ', 'Taitila-kadrûḥ', 'Paṇya-kambalaḥ' and 'Dâsî-bhâra &c'.

The first seven words are compounds, the first two of these are exhibited without any case-ending, the remaining five are in nom. Singular. Thus कुरुगार्हपतम् (कुरूणां गार्हपत, Kuru is formed by कु affix added to कृ Uṇ I. 24,) and has acute on the final.

Vârt:—So also वृजिगार्हपतम्, the word Vṛiji has acute accent on the first.

So also रिक्तो गुरुः = रिक्तगुरुः or रिक्तगुरुः for rikta has acute either on the first or on the second (VI. 1. 208). So also असूता जरती = असूतजरती, अश्लीलादृढरूपा = अश्लीलदृढरूपा ॥ Asûta and aslîlâ being formed by नञ् particle have acute on the first : (VI. 2. 2). That which has श्री is called श्लील, the affix लच् being added by its belonging to Sidhmâdi class, and र changed to ल by its belonging to kapilakâdi class. So also पारेवडवा, this is = पारेवडवेव ॥ This is a samâsa with the force of इव, and there is elision of the case ending. The word पार belongs to Ghṛitâdi class, and has acute on the final. तैतिलानां कद्रूः = तैतिलैकद्रूः, the son or pupil of Tîtilin is Taitila formed by अण् affix. पण्यकम्बलः, panya ends in यत् and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 213).

Vârt:—पण्यकम्बलः has acute on the first only when it is a name. Otherwise in पणितव्ये कम्बले compound, the accent will be on the final by the general rule VI. 1. 223. The word पण्य being formed by यत् affix (III. 1. 101) is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 213). The word पण्यकम्बलः is as Name when it means the market-blanket i. e. a blanket of a well known determinate size

and fixed price, which is generally kept for sale by the blanket-sellers. But when the compound means a saleable blanket, it takes the samasa accent (VI. 1. 223). If it be objected what is the use this Vartika, for the word पण्य being formed by a kṛitya affix, will retain its accent in the Tatpurusha, by VI. 2. 2, we reply that the कृत्य used in VI. 2. 2 relates to pratipadokta kṛitya compounds such as ordained by कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या II. 1. 68, while here the compound is by विशेषण विशेष्येण II. 1. 51 and is a general compound. So also दास्याभारः = दासीभारः ॥ The words belonging to Dâsi bhârâdi class are all those Tatpurusha compound words, not governed by any of the rules of accent, in which it is desired that the first member should retain its accent. Some of them are देवैजूतिः, देवैसूतिः, देववीतिः, वैसुनीतिः ॥ Vasu has acute on the first being formed by a नित् affix Un I. 9 10). ओषधिः = ओषधीयतेऽस्याम्, formed by क्ति affix (III. 3. 93), ओष being formed by घञ् has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). चन्द्रमाः is formed by असि affix added to the root माङ् माने preceded by the upapada चन्द्र as, चन्द्र + मा + अस् = चन्द्रमस्, the affix being treated as डित् (Un IV. 228), and चन्द्र is formed by रक् affix (Un II. 13) and has acute on the final.

चतुर्थी तदर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, तदर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं तर्द्युत्तरपदे तदभिधेयार्थं यत्तद्वाचिन्युत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । तदिति चतुर्थ्यन्तस्यार्थः परामुच्यते ।

43. A word in the Dative case as the first member retains its accent, when the second member expresses that which is suited to become the former.

Thus यूपदारु, कुण्डलैर्हिरण्यम् ॥ The word यूप has accent on the first syllable, as it is formed by प (Un III. 27) treated as a नित् (Un III. 26). The word कुण्डल is formed by कल affix which is treated as चित् (Un. I. 108) and has acute on the final. So also रथदारु, वल्लीहिरण्यम् ॥ Ratha is first-acute formed by kthan affix (Un II. 2). Vallî has acute on the final formed by डीष् affix. (IV. 1. 41) Why do we say 'it being suited to the first'? Observe कुवेरबलिः ॥ This accent applies when the second member denoting the material is modified into the first by workmanship. The composition takes place by II. 1. 36.

अर्थे ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थीति वर्तते । अर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

44. Before the word 'artha', the first member in the Dative retains its accent.

Thus मात्रे इदं = मात्रार्थम्, देवैतार्थम्, अतिथ्यर्थम् ॥ The words मात्र and पितृ are finally acute as taught so in Unâdi sūtra (Un II. 95) : देवता being formed by a लित् affix (V. 4. 27) has acute on the middle ; अतिथि is formed by इथिन् affix and has acute on the first.

The difference between तदर्थ and अर्थ is that the former, like दारु 'wood', द्विष्य 'gold', has not inherent in it the sense of adaptability, while अर्थ means 'adapted'. Some say that the making of two sūtras, one with तदर्थ and the other with अर्थ indicates, that the former rule is applicable only to that compound where the material itself is changed into the substance of the first. Therefore the rule does not apply to अश्वघासैः, श्वसुरम् &c, though 'grass be suited for the horse' &c.

केच ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कान्ते चोत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

45. The first member in the Dative case retains its accent before a Past Participle in क्त ॥

Thus मोहितम्, मनुष्यहितम्, अश्वहितम्, गो रक्षितम्, अश्वरक्षितम्, तापसैरक्षितम् वनम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 36. The compound गोरक्षितं means गो-भ्योक्षिते and is a sampradana Dative.

कर्मधारये ऽनिष्ठा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारये, अनिष्ठा, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे क्तान्तउत्तरपदे ऽनिष्ठान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

46. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', the first member, when it itself is not a Past Participle, retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya compound.

This rule is confined to the Past Participles and the Nouns specifically mentioned in II. 1. 59; on the maxim of pratipadokta &c. Thus श्रेणि-कृताः, पूगकृताः, ऊककृताः, निर्धनकृताः ॥ The word श्रेणि has acute on the first as it is formed by the affix नि which is considered नित् (Uṇ IV. 51). The word पूग is end-acute as it is formed by the affix गक् (Uṇ I. 124). The word ऊक is also end-acute (VI. 2. 32). The word निर्धन has acute on the middle. Why do we say in a Karmadhâraya compound? Observe श्रेण्या कृतं = श्रेणिकृतम् ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a non-nishṭhâ word?' Observe कृताकृतम् ॥ Here the compounding is by II. 1. 60.

अहीने द्वितीया ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहीने, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहीनवाचिनि समासे क्तान्तउत्तरपदे द्वितीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वितीयानुपसर्गहति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', a word ending in the Accusative case retains its accent, when it does not mean a separation.

Thus कष्टश्रितः, त्रिशकलपतितः, भ्रामगतः ॥ Kasha has acute on the end, trīśakala is a Bahuvrīhi compound (trīṇi śakalāni asya), and consequently acute on the first : grāma has acute on the first as it is formed by the नित् affix

मन् added to व्रस्, the final being replaced by आ (Uṇ I. 143) ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning separation'? Observe कान्ताराततिः, योजनार्ततिः, because one has taken himself beyond kāntāra and yojana.

Vārt :—This rule does not apply when the Past Participle has an upasarga attached ; as सुखप्राप्तैः, दुःखप्राप्तैः सुखापन्नैः, दुःखापन्नैः (VI. 4. 144). This is an exception to rule VI. 2. 144.

तृतीया कर्मणि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, कर्मणि, (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मवाचिनि कान्तउत्तरपदे तृतीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

48. A word ending in an Instrumental case retains its accent before the Past Participle in 'kta', when it has a Passive meaning.

Thus अहिहतः or अहिहतः रुद्रहतः, वैजहतः, महाराजहतः, नखनिर्भिन्ना, दौत्रलूना ॥ The word 'ahi' is derived from हन् with the proposition आ which is shortened, and the affix हण् (Uṇ IV. 138), and has acute on the final, according to others the acute is on the first : Rudra is formed by रक् affix (Uṇ II. 22) added to the causative रोदि ; Mahārāja is formed by the Samāsanta affix टच् ; nakha is formed by ख affix added to नह् (Uṇ V. 23) or it may be a Bahuvrihi नास्य खमस्ति = नखः, formed by अच् (V. 4. 121), and has acute on the final : Dātra is formed by घृन् (III. 2. 182). Why do we say when having a Passive signification? Observe रथेन यातः = रथयातैः, the 'kta' is added to a verb of motion with an Active signification.

गतिरनन्तरः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, अनन्तरः (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तं कर्मणीति वर्त्तते । कर्मवाचिनि कान्तउत्तरपदे गतिरनन्तरः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

49. A word called Gati (I. 4. 60) when standing immediately before a Participle in 'kta' having a Passive signification, retains its accent.

Thus प्रकृतः, प्रहतः ॥ Here one of the following rules would have applied otherwise, namely, either (1) the Samasa end-acute IV. 1. 223 (2) or the Indeclinable first member to retain its accent VI. 2. 2, (3) or the end acute by VI. 2. 139 and 144. The present sūtra debars all these. Why do we say 'immediately?' Observe अभ्युद्धतः, समुद्धतः, समुद्दहतः ॥ Where the distant Gati words अभि and सम् do not preserve their accent, but the immediately preceding Gati, as उन् does retain its accent, though it is not the first member of the compound word. Compare also VIII. 2. 70. But in दूरान् + आगतः (āgata being governed by this rule) we have दूराद्गतैः, (II. 1. 39 and VI. 3. 2) where VI. 2. 144 has its scope, though it had not its scope in अभि + उद्धतः = अभ्युद्धतः ॥ In the former case this maxim applies कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणे ॥ "A Kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed, a word-form which begins with that to which that

Kṛit affix has been added, and which ends with the Kṛit affix, but moreover should a Gati or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the Kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it". In the second example, this maxim is not applied, because scope should be given to the word अनन्तर in this aphorism. When the Participle has not a Passive significance, the rule does not apply because the word कर्मणि is understood here also ; as, प्रकृतः कदं देवदत्तः ॥ This sūtra debars VI. 2. 144.

तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तादौ, च, निति, कृति, अ-तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ च तुशब्दवर्जिते निति कृति परतो गतिरनन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवति ॥

50. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before (a word formed by) a Kṛit-affix beginning with त्, which has an indicatory न्, but not before तु ॥

Thus प्रकर्ता (with त्) प्रकर्तुम् (with तुप्), प्रकृतिः (with क्तिन्) ॥ This sūtra debars the Kṛit-affix accent (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say "before an affix beginning with त्"? Observe प्रज्जलपाकः formed with the affix पाकन् (III. 2. 155), and the Gati प्र, the accent being governed by VI. 2. 139. Why do we say 'which is नित्'? Observe प्रकर्ता formed by त्च् affix. When a Kṛit-affix takes the augment इट्, it does not lose its character of beginning with त् on the Vartika कृदुपदेशो वा ताद्यर्थमिडर्थम् ॥ Thus प्रलपता, प्रलपितुम् ॥ Why do we say "but not before तु"? Observe आगन्तुः with the Uṇādi affix तुन् ॥

तवै चान्तश्च युगपत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवै, च, अन्तः, च, युगपत्, (उदात्तः प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवैप्रत्ययस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति गतिश्चानन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वर इति एकदुभयं युगपद्भवति ॥

51. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before an Infinitive in तवै (III. 4. 14) but whereby simultaneously the final has the acute as well.

Thus अन्वेतवै, परिस्तरितवै, परिपातवै, अभिचारितवै ॥ All upasargas have acute on the first except 'abhi': which therefore has acute on the final. (Phit Su IV. 13) which declares उपसर्गा आद्युदात्ता अभिवर्जम् ॥ This debars कृन् accent (VI. 2. 139) and is an exception to the rule that in a single word, a single syllable only has acute.

अनिगन्तोञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनिगन्तः, अञ्चतौ, वप्रत्यये, (प्रकृतिस्वरः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिगन्तो गतिः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवत्यञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये वरतः ॥

52. An immediately preceding Gati not ending in इ or उ, retains its original accent before अञ्च् when an affix having a च् follows.

Thus प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः or प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥ The accent is acute and optionally svarita by VIII.* 2. 6. So also पैराङ्, पैराञ्चौ, पैराञ्चः, पैराचः, पैराचा ॥ But with प्रति which ends in इ, we have प्रत्यङ्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चः here by VI. 2. 139 the second member retains its original accent. Why do we say 'before an affix च्'? Observe उदञ्चनः ॥ When the nasal of 'añch' is elided, then rule VI. 1. 222 presents itself; but that rule is superseded when a Gati not ending in इ or उ precedes, because the present rule is subsequent. Thus पैराचः and पैराचाः ॥ In some texts, the reading is अञ्चतानप्रत्यये ॥ The affix च् is like क्विप् &c, (VI. 1. 67).

न्यधी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, अधी, च, (प्रकृतिस्वरौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अधि इत्येतौ चाञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये परतः प्रकृतिस्वरौ भवतः ॥

53. The Gatis नि and अधि, however, retain their original accent before 'añch' followed by a च् affix.

Thus न्यङ्, न्यञ्चौ, न्यञ्चः ॥ The अ becomes svarita by VIII. 2. 4. So also अँध्यङ्, अँध्यञ्चौ, अँध्यञ्चः, अँधीचः, अँधीचः, नीचः, नीचा ॥

ईषदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्, अन्यतरस्या, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्येतत्पूर्वपदनन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

54. The word ईषत् when first member of a compound may optionally preserve its original accent.

Thus ईषत्कडारः or ईषत्कडारैः, ईषत्पिङ्गलः or ईषत्पिङ्गलैः ॥ ईषत् has acute on the final. But in ईषद्भेदः &c, the Kṛit-accent will necessarily take place (VI. 2. 139); no option being allowed; because the compounds to which the present rule applies are, on the maxim of pratipadokta, those formed by ईषत् with non-Kṛit words under II. 2. 7.

हिरण्यपरिमाणं धने ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिरण्य-परिमाणम्, धने, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिरण्यपरिमाणवाचि पूर्वपदं धनशब्दउच्चारणपदे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

55. The first member, denoting the quantity of gold, retains optionally its original accent, before the word धन ॥

Thus द्विसुवर्णधनम् or द्विसुवर्णधनम् ॥ This is a Karmadhāraya compound द्विसुवर्णो परिमाणस्थ = द्विसुवर्ण, तदेव धनम् ॥ It may also be treated as a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the accent will be of that compound, as द्विसुवर्णधनः or द्विसुवर्णधनः ॥ Why do we say 'gold'? Observe प्रस्थधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'quantity'? Observe क्वाँषुनधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'धन'? Observe निष्कमाला ॥

प्रथमो ऽचिरोपसंपत्तौ ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमः, अचिरः, उपसम्पत्तौ (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमशब्दः पूर्वपदमचिरोपसंपत्तौ गन्धमानांयामन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । अचिरावसंपत्तिर-
चिरोपश्लेषोऽभिनवत्वम् ॥

56. The word प्रथम when standing first in a compound, retains optionally its original accent when meaning 'a novice'.

The word अचिरोपसंपत्ति = अचिरोपश्लेष or अभिनवत्वम् ॥ Thus प्रथमवैयाकरणः or प्रथमवैयाकरणैः = संप्रतिव्याकरणमध्येतुं प्रवृत्तः 'one who has recently commenced to study Grammar'. The word प्रथम is derived from प्रथ by अमच् (Uṇ V. 68) and by चित् accent the acute falls on the last. Why do we say when meaning 'a Novice?' Observe प्रथमवैयाकरणैः (वैयाकरणानामाद्यो सुख्यो वा यः सः) 'the first Grammarian or a Grammarian of the first rank'. It will *always* have acute on the final.

कतरकतमौ कर्मधारये ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, कर्मधारये, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कतरशब्दः कतमशब्दश्च पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

57. The words कतर and कतम standing as the first member of a compound retain optionally their original accent in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus कतरकतः or कतरकतैः, कतमकतः or कतमकतैः ॥ The word Karmadhâraya is used for the sake of the next sūtra, this sūtra could have done without it, as 'katara' and 'katama' by the maxim of pratipadokta, form only Karmadhâraya compound by II. 1. 63.

आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः ॥५८॥ पदानि ॥ आर्यः, ब्राह्मण-कुमारयोः, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आर्यशब्दः पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारशब्दयोरुत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

58. The word आर्य optionally retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya, before the words ब्राह्मण and कुमार ॥

Thus आर्यब्राह्मणः or आर्यब्राह्मणैः, आर्यकुमारः or आर्यकुमारैः ॥ The word आर्य is formed by ष्यत् affix and has svarita on the final. Why do we say 'Arya'? Observe परमब्राह्मणैः, परमकुमारैः ॥ Why do we say before 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra'? Observe आर्यक्षत्रियः ॥ Why 'Karmadhâraya'? Observe आर्यस्य ब्राह्मणः = आर्यब्राह्मणैः ॥ According to the Accentuated Text the accent is आर्ये (Pro. Bohtlingk).

राजा च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजा च पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारयोरुत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

59. The word राजन् retains optionally its accent before the words 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra', in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus **राजब्राह्मणः** or **राजब्राह्मणैः**, **राजकुमारः** or **राजकुमारैः** ॥ The word **राजन्** is formed by the affix **कनिन्** added to **राज्** (Uṇ I. 156). But **राज्ञो ब्राह्मणः** = **राजब्राह्मणः** where the compound is not **Karmadhāraya**. The making of this a separate aphorism is for the purpose of preventing the **yathāsankhya** rule and also for the sake of the subsequent **sūtra** into which the **anuvritti** of **राजन्** runs and not of **आर्य** ॥

षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, प्रत्येनसि, (अन्यतरस्याम् राजा प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजेति वक्षते, अन्यतरस्यामिति च । षष्ठ्यन्तो राजशब्दः पूर्वपद प्रत्येनस्युचरे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

60. The word 'râjan' ending in the Genitive case optionally retains its accent before the word **प्रत्येनस्** ॥

The words **राजन्** and **अन्यतरस्याम्** are understood here also. Thus **राज्ञः** **प्रत्येनाः** or **राज्ञः प्रत्येनाँ** ॥ The sign of the Genitive is not elided by VI.3. 21. When **आक्रोश** is not meant we have, **राज्ञप्रत्येनाः** or **राज्ञप्रत्येनाँ** ॥ Why do we say 'ending in the Genitive'? Observe **राजा चासौ प्रत्येनाश्च** = **राज्ञप्रत्येनाः** no option.

के नित्यार्थे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, नित्यार्थे (पूर्वपदम् अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कान्तउत्तरपदे नित्यार्थे समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

61. A word having the sense of 'always', retains optionally its accent before a Past Participle in **क्त्** ॥

Thus **नित्यप्रहसितः** or **नित्यप्रहसितैः**, **सततप्रहसितः** or **सततप्रहसितैः** ॥ These are Accusative compounds formed under Rule II. 1. 28. **नित्य** is formed by **त्यप्** affix added to the upasarga **नि** (IV. 2. 104 Vârt); and has acute on the first, the upasarga retaining its accent, the affix being **anudâta** (III. 1. 4). The word **सतत** being formed by **क्त्** affix with the force of **भावः**, has acute on final by VI. 2. 144. If it be considered to have been formed by **कर्मणि क्त**, then the accent will be on the beginning by VI. 2. 49. Why do we say when the first term means 'always'? Observe **मुहूर्त्तप्रहसितैः** ॥ In the case of **नित्यप्रहसितः** &c the **samâsa** accent VI. 1. 223 was first set aside by the Accusative **Tatpurusha** accent VI. 2. 2. this in its turn was set aside by **क्त्** accent VI. 2. 144, which is again debarred by the present.

ग्रामः शिल्पिनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामः, शिल्पिनि, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दः पूर्वपदं शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

62. The word **ग्राम** when first member of a compound, optionally retains its accent before a word denoting "a professional man or artisan".

Thus ग्रामनापितः or ग्रामनापितैः, ग्रामकुलालः or ग्रामकुलालैः ॥ The word ग्राम has acute on the first. Why do we say "ग्राम"? Observe परमनापितैः ॥ Why do we say 'a śilpī a professional workman'? Observe ग्रामरथ्या; where there is no option.

राजा च प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च, प्रशंसायाम्, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजशब्दः पूर्वपदं शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे प्रशंसायां गम्यमानाया अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

63. The word राजन् followed by a profession-denoting noun, optionally retains its accent, when praise is to be expressed.

Thus राजनापितः or राजनापितैः, राजकुलालः or राजकुलालैः "A royal barber i. e. a skillful barber or one fit to serve the king even" &c. It may be either a Karmadhāraya or a Genitive compound. Why do we say 'राजन्'? Observe परमनापितैः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting praise'? Observe राजनापितैः 'king's barber'. Why do we say 'a professional man'? Observe राजहस्ती 'a royal elephant'.

आदिरुदात्तः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, उदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरुदात्त इत्येतदधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्ग्रह्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

64. In the following up to VI. 2. 91 inclusive the phrase "the first syllable in—(the word standing in the Nominative) has the acute", is to be always supplied.

This is an adhikāra aphorism. The first syllable of the पूर्वपद will get the acute in the following aphorisms. In short, the phrase 'ādir udātta' should be supplied to complete the sense of the subsequent sūtras. The very next sūtra illustrates it. That sūtra literally means "a word in the Locative case or a word denoting the name of the receiver of a tax or tribute, standing before a word denoting that which is lawful, but not before हरण". To complete the sense we must supply the words "has acute on the first syllable". Thus ईत्तपशाणः, घुकुटे कार्पापणम्, यौज्ञिकाश्वः, वैयाकरणहस्ती ॥ The word आदि 'the first syllable' is understood upto VI. 2. 91, the word उदात्त has longer stretch: it governs upto VI. 2. 137.

सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्येऽहरणे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, हारिणौ, धर्म्ये, अहरणे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं हारिवाचि च पूर्वपदं धर्म्यवाचिनि हरणशब्दादन्यास्मिन्नुत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

65. The first member of a compound, if in the Locative case or denoting the name of the Receiver of a tax, has acute on the first syllable, when the second member is a word denoting 'what is lawful', but not when it is हरण ॥

The word हारिण् means 'appropriates the dues or taxes': and धर्म्यम् means 'the due or tax which has been determined by the custom or usage, of the country, town, sect or family, that which one is lawfully entitled to get'. The word धर्म्ये is formed by यन् under IV. 4. 91 and 92 and has the sense of both. Of Locative words we have the following examples:—स्तुपे-ज्ञाणः सुकुटे-कार्पाणम्, हले-द्विपदिका, हले-त्रिपदिका, द्विपदि-माषकः ॥ These compounds are formed under II. 1. 44, and the sign of the Locative is not elided by VI. 3. 9 and 10. With the name of a due-receiver हारी we have the following:—यज्ञिकाश्वः 'the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer'. So also वैयाकरणहस्ती, मातुलाश्वः, पितृव्यगवः ॥ In some places the established usage is to give a ज्ञाण coin in every sacred Tope &c, or to give a horse to a sacrificer &c. Why do we say 'what is lawful'? Observe स्तम्भेरमैः, कर्मकर वद्धितकैः वद्धितको नाम मूले स्थूलोमे सूक्ष्म भेदान् पिण्डः, स कर्मकराय दीयते, अन्यथा कर्म न कुर्यादिति, न त्वयं धर्मः ॥ Why do we say "but not before हरण"? Observe वाडबहरणम् 'that which is given to a mare'. हरण is that customary food which is given to a mare after she has been covered, in order to strengthen her. The word हरण is a Kṛit-formed word, its exclusion here indicates that other Kṛit-formed words however are governed by this rule when preceded by a हारी denoting word; and thus this sūtra supersedes the Kṛit accent enjoined by VI. 2. 139, so far. Thus वाडबहायः has acute on the first by this rule, the subsequent VI. 2. 139 not applying.

युक्ते च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्ते, च, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तवाचिनि च समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ।

66. The first member of a compound has acute on the first syllable, when the second member denotes that by whom the things denoted by the first are regulated or kept in order.

The word युक्तः means 'he who is prompt in the discharge of his appointed duty' i. e. the person appointed to look after. Thus गोबल्लवः 'a cowherd looking after cow': अश्वबल्लवः, गोमणिन्दः, अश्वमणिन्दः, गोसख्यः, अश्वसख्यः ॥ All these word बल्लवः, मणिन्दः, सख्यः &c mean पालकः 'the protector &c.

विभाषा ऽध्यक्षे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अध्यक्षे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यक्षशब्दउत्तरपदे विभाषा पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

67. The acute is optionally on the first syllable when the word अध्यक्ष follows.

Thus गौदाध्यक्षः or गवाध्यक्षैः 'a superintendent of cows': अश्व्याध्यक्षः or अश्व्याध्यक्षैः ॥

पापं च शिल्पिनि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पापम्, च, शिल्पिनि, (विभाषा)(आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पापशब्दः शिल्पिवाचिन्त्युत्तरपदे विभाषा ऽऽद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

68. The word पाप has optionally acute on the first syllable when followed by a word denoting a professional man.

Thus पापनापितः or पापनापितैः, पापकुलालः or पापकुलालैः ॥ This rule applies to the pratipadokta samâsa of पाप in the sense of censure as taught in II. 1. 54, when it is an appositional compound; and not when it forms a Genitive compound. Thus पापस्यनापितः = पापनापितैः ॥

गोत्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु क्षेपे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र, अन्तेवासि, माणव, ब्राह्मणेषु, क्षेपे, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिन्यन्तेवासिवाचिन चोत्तरपदे माणवब्राह्मणयोश्च क्षेपवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तम् भवति ॥

69. The first syllable of the first member of a compound has the acute accent before a Patronymic name or a scholar-name, as well as before माणव and ब्राह्मण, when a reproach is meant.

Thus जैवावास्स्यः = यो जंवादानं दान्यहमिति वास्स्यः, संपद्यते सः; यत्र श्राद्धादौ वास्स्यानामिव पादप्रक्षालनं क्रियते, तत्रावास्स्यः सन् वास्स्याऽहमिति ब्रुते तल्लाभाय सः ॥ भार्यासौश्रुतः 'a descendant of Suśruta under the petticoat government of his wife'. The compounding takes place by the analogy of शाकपार्थिवः ॥ वैशाब्राह्मणकृतयः (Brahmakrita belongs to Subhrâdi class). The above are examples of Gotra words. Now with scholar names. कुमारीदाक्षाः 'the pupils of Daksha for the sake of marriage i. e. who study the work of Daksha or make themselves the pupils of Daksha for the sake of girls'. कम्बलचारायणीयाः, वृत्तरौढीयाः, and औदनपाणिनीयाः &c. भिक्षानाणवः = भिक्षालस्येऽहमिति माणवो भवति ॥ द्वासीब्राह्मणः, वृषली ब्राह्मणः, भयब्राह्मणः = यो भयेन ब्राह्मणः संपद्यते ॥ Compounding by II. 1. 4 where no other rule applies. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gotra word?' Observe द्वासीश्रोत्रिर्धैः ॥ Why do we say 'when reproach is meant?' Observe महाब्राह्मणः ॥

अङ्गानि मैरेये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गानि, मैरेये, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मैरेयशब्दोत्तरपदे तदङ्गवाचीनि पूर्वपदान्याद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

70. The first syllable of the word preceding मैरेय, gets the acute, when it denotes the ingredient of the same.

Thus शुद्धमैरेयः 'the wine maireya prepared from treacle or molasses'. मधुमैरेयः 'the maireya prepared from honey'. Why do we say when denoting 'an ingredient?' Observe परमैरेयैः ॥ Why do we say "before मैरेय?" Observe पुष्पासर्वैः ॥ Every sort of spirituous liquor except सुरा is called मैरेयं ॥

भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ताख्याः, तदर्थेषु, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तमत्रं तदाख्यास्तद्वाचिनः शब्दास्तदर्थेषूत्तरपदेषु आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

71. A word denoting food gets the acute on the first syllable, when standing before a word which denotes a repository suited to contain that.

Thus भिक्षावासः, भक्तकंसः, श्रौणाकंसः, भौजीकंसः ॥ The words like भिक्षा, भक्त &c, are names of food. Why do we say 'when denoting the name of food'? Observe समाशालयैः (the word समाश=समशनं is the name of an 'action' and not of a 'substance'). Why do we say 'tadartheshu suited to contain that'? Observe भिक्षाप्रीयः, which is a Bahuvrihi, and the first member gets acute on the final.

गोविडालसिंहसैन्धवेषूपमाने ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, विडाल, सिंह, सैन्धवेषु, उपमाने, (आद्यूदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवादिषूपमानवाचिषूत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

72. A word denoting the object of comparison gets the acute on the first syllable when standing before गो, विडाल, सिंह, and सैन्धव ॥

Thus धान्यगवः=धान्यं गौरिव ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 56, the words गो &c, being considered to belong to Vyâghrâdi class, which is an Akṛitigana. The meaning of the compound must be given according to usage and appropriateness. Thus धान्यगवः means गवाकृत्याऽवस्थितं धान्यं ॥ So also हिरण्यगवः, भिक्षाविडालः, ब्राह्मणविडालः, तृणसिंहः, कौष्ठसिंहः, सैन्धुसैन्धवः, पानसैन्धवः ॥ Why do we say "when denoting the object of comparison"? Observe परमसिंहः ॥

अके जीविकार्थे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अके, जीविकार्थे, (आद्यूदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकप्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे जीविकार्थवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

73. The first member of a compound has the acute on the first syllable when the second member is a word ending in the affix अक, and the compound expresses a calling by which one gets his living.

Thus ईन्तलेखकः, नखलेखकः, अवस्करशोधकः, रमणीयकारकः=इन्तलेखनादिभिर्येषां जीविका ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say when meaning 'means of living'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां न धारयसि ॥ All affixes which ultimately become अक by taking substitutes, are called अक affixes. Thus ण्वुल्, वुन् &c are अक affixes (VII. 1. 1). Why do we say "ending in the affix अक"? Observe रमणीयकृत्ता ॥ Here the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17, and the affix तृच् is added in the sense of sport and not of livelihood.

प्राचां क्रीडायाम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, क्रीडायाम्, (आद्यूदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्देशवृत्तिनां या क्रीडा तद्वाचिनि समासे ऽकप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

74. A compound the second member of which is a word ending in अक affix, and which denotes the sport of the Eastern people, gets the the acute accent on the first syllable.

Thus ईदालकपुष्पभञ्जिका, वीरणपुष्पप्रचायिका, शीलभञ्जिका, तौलभञ्जिका ॥ These are formed by ष्वल् affix (III. 3. 109), and the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say 'of the Eastern Folk'? Observe जीवपुत्रप्रचायिका, which is a sport of the Western People. Why do we say 'when denoting a sport'? Observe तत्रपुष्पप्रचायिका 'thy turn for &c,' which is formed by ष्वच् (III. 3. 111) and denotes 'rotation or turn'.

अणि नियुक्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणि, नियुक्ते, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्तउत्तरपदे नियुक्तवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

75. A compound, the second member of which is a word ending in the Kṛit-affix अण्, and which denotes a functionary, gets the acute on the first syllable.

Thus छत्रधारः, तूणीधारः, कैमण्डलुग्राहः, भृङ्गारधारः ॥ Why do we say when meaning 'a functionary'? Observe काण्डलावः, शरलावः ॥

शिल्पिनि चाकृञः ॥ ७६ ॥ शिल्पिनि, च, अकृञः, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिल्पिवाचिनि समासे ऽणन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति स चेदण् कृञो न भवति ॥

76. And when such a compound ending in अण् affix denotes the name of a professional man, but not when the second term is कार (derived from कृञ्), the acute is on the first syllable of the first word.

Here also the second term ends in अण् affix. Thus तन्तुवायः, तुन्नवायः, वीलवायः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a work-man or professional person'? Observe काण्डलावैः, शरलावैः ॥ Why do we say 'but not when the affix अण् comes after कृ'? Observe कुम्भकारैः, अयस्कारैः ॥

संज्ञायां च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये ऽणन्तउत्तरपदे ऽकृञः पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

77. Also when such an upapada compound ending in अण् affix denotes a Name, the acute falls on the first syllable : but not when the second term is कार ॥

Thus तन्तुवायः 'a kind of insect, spider'. वीलवायः 'the hill Vālavāya'. But not so अण् with कृ; as रथकारैः 'the name of a Brāhmaṇa caste'.

गोतन्तियवं पाले ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, तन्ति, यवम्, पाले, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो तन्ति यव इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पालशब्दउत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

78. The words गो, तन्ति and यव get the acute on the first syllable when followed by पाल ॥

Thus गोपालः, तन्तिपालः, यवपालः ॥ The word तन्ति is the rope with which calves are tied. (तनु विस्तरि+तन्तिच्). This applies to words not denoting a functionary, which would be governed by VI. 2. 75. Why do we say गो &c ? Observe वत्सपालः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by पाल' ? Observe गोरक्षः ॥

गिनि ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गिनि, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गिनन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

79. A compound ending in the Kṛit-affix गिनि (इन्) has the acute on the first syllable of the first member.

Thus पुँष्पहारिन्, फँलहारिन्, पैर्णहारिन् ॥

उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानम्, शब्दार्थ, प्रकृतौ, एव, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचि पूर्वपदं शब्दार्थं प्रकृतावेव गिनन्तउत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

80. When the first member of a compound expresses that with which resemblance is denoted, then it has acute on the first syllable, before a word formed by गिनि affix, only then, when such latter word is a radical without any preposition, and means 'giving out a definite sound like so and so'.

The word उपमान means the object with which something is likened : शब्दार्थं means 'expressing a sound'; प्रकृति means 'root, without any preposition'. Thus उँष्ट्रक्रोशिन्, धँवाङ्क्षराविन्, खँरनादिन् ॥ The word उपमान shows the scope of this sūtra as distinguished from the last. So that, when the first term is an उपमान word, the preceding sūtra will not apply, though the second member may be a गिनि formed word. When the second term is not a word denoting sound, the rule will not apply. As वृकवञ्चिन्, वृकप्रेक्षिन् which retain kṛit accent (VI. 2. 139) Why do we say 'a radical word without any preposition' ? Observe गर्दभोच्चारिन्, कोकिलभिष्याहारिन् ॥ Here the second terms radically (i. e. chārin and hārin) do not denote sounds, but it is with the help of the Prepositions उन् and अभि, वि and आ that they mean sound. The force of एव is that the उपमान words are restricted. Such words get acute on the first syllable only then, when the second member is a radical sound name. According to Patanjali, the first syllable gets acute, whether it denotes उपमान or not, when the second word is a radical denoting sound. (शब्दार्थं प्रकृतौ ह्युपमानं चातुपमानं चाद्युदात्तमिष्यते) ॥ As पुक्कलजल्पिन्, for had एव not been used, the sūtra would have run

thus: उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतौ and would mean:—"If the second member is a sound denoting radical word, then the upamâna first member and no other will get the acute". But this is not what is intended : because when the second member is a sound-denoting radical, the first member will get the acute, whether it is upamâna word or not. The word एव therefore restricts upamâna; i. e. a first member denoting उपमानं will get the accent then only, when the second term is a sound-denoting radical. If the second term is not a sound denoting radical, the first term denoting upamâna will not get the accent. The compounding takes place by III. 2. 79.

युक्तारोह्यादयश्च ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्तारोह्यादयः, च (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तारोह्यादयः समासा आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

81. The compounds युक्तारोहिन् &c, have acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवञ्ची, 5 आगतनन्दी, 6 आगतनन्दी, 7 आगतप्रहारी ॥ These are formed by णिनि affix, and are illustrations of Rule VI. 2. 79. Some say, these declare a restrictive rule with regard to the first and second member of these terms. Thus रोहिन् &c must be preceded by युक्त, &c and युक्त &c followed by रोहिन् &c to make this rule VI. 2. 79 applicable. Thus वृक्षारोहिन् though ending in णिनि does not take acute on the first, so युक्ताध्ययिन् ॥ 8 आगतमत्स्या or °त्स्य, 9 क्षीरहोता, 10 भगिनीभर्ता ॥ The last two are Genitive compounds under Rule II. 2. 9. 11 आमगोधुक्, 12 अश्वत्रिरात्रः, 13 गर्गत्रिरात्रः, 14 व्युष्टत्रिरात्रः, 15 शनपादः (गणपादः), 16 समपादः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. 17 एकशितिपात् = एकःशितिःपादोऽस्य ॥ This is a Bahuvrihi of three terms. The word एकशितिः is a Taddhitârtha Samâsa (II. I. 51), and being a Tatpurusha, required acute on the final, as the Tatpurusha accent is stronger. This declares acute on the first. Moreover by VI. 2. 29, this word एकशितिः would have acute on the first, as it is a Dvigu ending in a simple vowel. But the very fact that this word is enumerated here, shows that other Dvigu compounds in शिति are not governed by VI. 2. 29, therefore द्विशितिपाद् has acute on ति ॥ The enumeration of the एकशितिपात् further proves by implication that the (एकशितिपात् स्वरवचनं ज्ञापक निमित्तस्वरबलीयस्त्वस्य) accent for the application of which a case is present is stronger. (See Mahâbhâshya II. I. I.) The class of compounds known as पात्रेसमित &c, (II. I. 48) also belong to this class.

1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवञ्ची, 5 आगतनन्दी (आगतनन्दी), 6 आगतप्रहारी, 7 आगतमत्स्यः (आगतमत्स्या), 8 क्षीरहोता, 9 भगिनीभर्ता, 10 आमगोधुक्, 11 अश्वत्रिरात्रः, 12 गर्गत्रिरात्रः, 13 व्युष्टत्रिरात्रः, 14 गणपादः (शनपादः), 15 एकशितिपात्, 16 पात्रेसमितादयश्च (पात्रेसमितादयश्च), 17 समपादः ॥

दीर्घकाशतुषभ्राष्ट्रवटं जे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घ, काश, तुष, भ्राष्ट्र, वटम्, जे, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घान्तं पूर्वपदं काश तुष भ्राष्ट्र वट-इत्येतानि च जउत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

82. When the first member is a word ending in a long vowel, or is काश, तुष, भ्राष्ट्र or वट, and is followed by ज, the acute falls on the first syllable.

Thus कुटीजः, शैमीजः, काशजः, तुषजः, भ्राष्ट्रजः, वटजः These are formed by the affix ड added to जन् (III. 2. 97).

अन्त्यात्पूर्वं बह्वचः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, बह्वचः (उदाराम् जे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जउत्तरपदे बह्वचः पूर्वपदस्यान्त्यात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति ॥

83. In a word consisting of more than two syllables, followed by ज, the acute falls on the syllable before the last.

Thus उपसैरजः, मन्दुरजः, आर्मल्लकीजः, and वडैबाजः (though the last two words have upapadas ending in long vowel, the accent is governed by this sūtra and not the last). Why do we say "a Polysyllabic first member"? Observe वृत्तानि तृणानि ॥

ग्रामेऽनिवसन्तः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामे, अनिवसन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति न चेन्नियसद्वाचिभवति ॥

84. Before ग्राम, the first syllable of the first member has acute, when thereby inhabitants are not meant.

Thus मल्लग्रामः, वैणिग्रामः ॥ Here ग्राम is equal to समूह 'an assembly'. देवग्रामः = देवस्वामिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning inhabitants'. Observe दाक्षिग्रामः 'a village inhabited by the descendants of Daksha', माहिकग्रामः 'a village inhabited by Māhikas'.

घोषादिषु च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ घोषादिषु, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोषादिषु चोत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

85. The first member has acute on the first syllable when followed by घोष &c.

Thus दक्षिघोषः, दक्षिकटः, दक्षिपल्लवः, दक्षिबद्री, दक्षिवल्लभः, दक्षिह्रदः, दक्षिपिङ्गलः, दक्षिपिशङ्गः, दक्षिमाला, दक्षिरक्षा, दक्षिशाला, or (रक्षः or शालः), दक्षिशिल्पी, दक्ष्यश्वथः, दक्षिशाल्मली, कुन्दतृणम्, आश्रममुनिः, दक्षिपुंसा, दक्षिकूटः ॥

Of the above, those which denote places of habitation, there the first members though denoting inhabitants get the acute accent. Some do not read the anuvritti of अनिपसन्तः in this aphorism, others however read it.

1 घोष, 2 कट (पट), 3 वल्लभ (पल्लव), 4 ह्रद, 5 बद्री (बदर), 6 पिङ्गल, 7 पिशङ्ग, 8 माला, 9 रक्षा (रक्षः), 10 शाला (शालः), 11 कूट, 12 शाल्मली, 13 अश्वथ, 14 तृण, 15 शिल्पी, 16 मुनि, 17 प्रेक्षा (प्रेक्षाकूटः; पुंसा) ॥

छात्र्यादयः शालायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छात्र्यादयः, शालायाम्, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालायाहुत्तरपदे छात्र्यादय आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

86. The words छात्रि &c, get acute on the first syllable when followed by the word शाला ॥

Thus छात्रिशाला, ऐलिशाला, भाण्डिशाला ॥

Where the Tatpurusha compound ending in शाला becomes Neuter, by the option allowed in II. 4. 25 ; there also in the case of these words, the acute falls on the first syllable of the first term ; thus superseding VI. 2. 123 which specifically applies to Neuter Tatpurushas. Thus छात्रिशालम्, ऐलिशालम् ॥

1 छात्रि, 2 ऐलि (ऐलि), 3 भाण्डि, 4 व्याडि, 5 आखण्डि, 6 आदि, 7 गामि (गौमि) ॥

प्रस्थे ऽवृद्धमकर्ष्यादीनाम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थे, अवृद्धम्, अकर्ष्यादीनाम्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थशब्दउत्तरपदे कर्ष्यादिवर्जितमवृद्धं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

87. The first member, which has not a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, or which is not कर्का &c, gets the acute on the first syllable before प्रस्थ ॥

Thus ईन्द्रप्रस्थः, कुण्डप्रस्थः, द्वेदप्रस्थः, सुवणप्रस्थः ॥ But not in सक्षिप्रस्थः, माहिकप्रस्थः which have Vṛiddhi in the first syllable ; nor also in कर्काप्रस्थः मयीप्रस्थः &c.

1 कर्की, 2 मयी (मयी), 3 मयी, 4 कर्कन्धु (कर्कन्धु), 5 शमी, 6 करीर, 7 कन्दुक (कडुक), 8 कवल (कुबल ; कुरल), 9 बदरी (बदर) ॥

मालादीनां च ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मालादीनाम्, च, (आदिः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थइति वर्त्तते । प्रस्थउत्तरपदे मालादीनामाहिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

88. The first syllable of माला &c, gets the acute when प्रस्थ follows.

Thus मालाप्रस्थः, शालाप्रस्थः ॥ This sūtra applies even though the first syllables are Vṛiddhi vowel. In the words एक and शोणा the letters ए and ओ are treated as Vṛiddhi (I. I. 75).

1 माला, 2 शाला, 3 शोणा (शोण), 4 द्वाक्षा, 5 छाक्षा, 6 क्षामा, 7 काञ्ची, 8 एक, 9 काम, 10 क्षौमा ॥

अमहन्नवं नगरे ऽनुदीचाम् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, महत्, नवम्, नगरे, अनुदीचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरशब्दउत्तरपदे महन्नवशब्दवर्जितं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति तच्चेदुदीचां न भवति ॥

89. The first member has acute on the first syllable before the word नगर, but not when it is the word महत् or नव, nor when it refers to a city in the lands of the Northern People.

Thus सुद्वानगरम्, पुण्ड्रनगरम्, विरटनगरम् ॥ But not in महानगरम् and नवनगरम्, Why do we say "but not of Northern People"? Observe नान्दीनगरम् कान्तीनगरम् ॥

अर्मे चावर्णं द्रव्यच्यञ्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्मे, च, अवर्णम्, द्रव्यच्, च्यच्,
(पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्मेऽब्दउत्तरपदे द्व्यच् च्यच् पूर्वपदमवर्णान्तमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

90. A word of two or three syllables ending in अ or आ (with the exception of महा and नव), standing before the word अर्मे has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ईत्तार्मम्, गुप्तार्मम्, कुक्कुटार्मम्, वीयसार्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in अ (long or short)?' Observe बृहदर्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'consisting of two or three syllables'? Observe कपिञ्जलार्मम् ॥ The words महा and नव are to be read here also. The rule therefore does not apply to महार्मम् and नवार्मम् ॥

न भूताधिकसंजीवमद्राश्मकञ्जलम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भूत, अधिक, संजीव,
मद्र, अश्म, कञ्जलम्, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत अधिक संजीव मद्र अश्मन् कञ्जल इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि अर्मेऽब्दउत्तरपदे नाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आद्युदात्तप्रकरणे द्विवोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The following words do not get acute on the first syllable, when standing before 'arma', viz : भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अश्मन् and कञ्जल ॥

Thus भूतार्मम्, अधिकार्मम्, संजीवार्मम्, मद्रार्मम्, अश्मार्मम्, मद्राश्मार्मम् (because the sūtra shows the compounding of those words in madrāsmam) कञ्जलार्मम् ॥ All these compounds have acute on the final by VI. I. 223.

Vart:—In the Vedas the words द्विवोदात्त &c, have acute on the first syllable. Thus द्विवोदासाय गायत, वध्यश्वाय हाशुषे ॥

अन्तः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

92. In the following sūtras upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive, is to be supplied the phrase "the last syllable in a word standing in the Nominative case has the acute".

This is an adhikāra aphorism. In the succeeding sūtras, the last syllable of the first member of a compound gets the acute accent. Thus in the next sūtra the word सर्व gets acute on the final. This adhikāra extends upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive.

सर्वे गुणकात्स्न्ये ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वम्, गुण, कात्स्न्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं गुणकात्स्न्ये वर्त्तमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

93. The acute is on the final of the word सर्व standing as first member before an attributive word, in the sense of 'whole, through and through'.

Thus सर्वश्वेतः, सर्वकृष्णः, सर्वमहान् ॥ Why do we say सर्व? Observe परमश्वेतः, here the attribute of श्वेत pervades through and through the object referred to: but the accent is not on the final of परम ॥ Why do we say 'attributive word'? Observe सर्वसौवर्णः, 'golden', सर्वरजतः 'silvery', which do not denote any attribute in their original state but modification. In fact it is not गुणकात्स्न्य here at all, but a विकारकात्स्न्य ॥ Why do we use the word 'Kârtsnya or complete pervasion'. Observe सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः here the compounding takes place by the elision of the affix तरप् denoting comparison, and as it shows only comparative, not absolute, whiteness, the rule does not apply. Moreover, in this example, the "kârtsnya" is not that of "guṇa" but of "guṇī", not of the 'attribute', but of the 'substance'. *Objection*:—How do you form such a compound सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः, for it is prohibited by II. 2. 11.? *Ans.* We do it on the strength of the following Vârtika गुणात्तरेण समासो वक्तव्यः, तरलोपश्च ॥

संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, गिरि, निकाययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गिरि निकाय इत्येतयोर्दत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

94. The last syllable of the first member before गिरि and निकाय has the acute, when the compound is a Name.

Thus भञ्जनागिरिः, भञ्जनागिरिः, The finals of añjana and bhañjana are lengthened by VI. 3. 117. शापिण्डिनिकायः, मौण्डिनिकायः, चिखिलिनिकायः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe परमगिरिः, ब्राह्मणनिकायः ॥

कुमार्यां वयसि ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार्याम्, वयसि, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार्यामुत्तरपदे वयसि गम्यमाने पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

95. The last syllable of the first member gets the acute when the word कुमारी follows, the compound denoting age.

Thus वृद्धकुमारी 'an old maid'. The compounding is by II. 1. 57. जर्तकुमारी ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 49 with जरती ॥ The words become masculine by VI. 3. 42 in both examples. Q. The word कुमारी was formed by डीप् by IV. 1. 20 in denoting the prime of youth, how can this word be now applied to denote old age by being coupled with वृद्धा or जरती; it is a contradiction in terms. *Ans.*; The word कुमारी has two senses; one denoting "a young maiden" and second "unmarried virgin". It is in the latter sense, that the attribute वृद्धा or जरती is applied. Why do we say "when the compound denotes age"? Observe परमकुमारी ॥

उदके ष्केवले ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदके, अ, केवले, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकेवलं मिश्रं तद्वाचिनि समासे उदकशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

96. Before the word उदक, when the compound denotes a mixture, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गुडोदकम् or गुडोदकम्, तिलोदकम् or तिलोदकम् ॥ When we have already made the ड and ल acute by this rule, then the svarita accent may result optionally, by the combination of the acute अ of गुड and तिल and the subsequent grave उ of उदक, by Rule VIII. 2. 6. The word अक्रेवल means mixture. When mixture is not meant, this rule does not apply. As शीतोदकम्, उष्णोदकम् ॥

द्विगौ क्रतौ ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, क्रतौ, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगादुत्तरपदे क्रतुवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

97. Before a Dvigu, when the compound denotes a sacrifice, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गर्गत्रिरात्रः, चारकत्रिरात्रः, कुसुखविन्दसम्रात्रः = गर्गाणां त्रिरात्रः &c. Why do we say 'before a Dvigu compound'? Observe अतिरात्रैः (रात्रिमतिक्रान्त इति प्रादिसमासः) which being formed by the Samasānta affix अच् (V. 4. 87) has acute on the final (VI. 1, 163). Why do we say 'when denoting a sacrifice'? Observe बिल्वसम्रात्रः = बिल्वशतस्य बिल्वहोमस्य वा सम्रात्रः ॥

सभायां नपुंसके ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाम्, नपुंसके, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दउत्तरपदे नपुंसकलिङ्गसमासे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

98. Before the word सभा when it is exhibited as Neuter, the first member of the compound gets acute on the last syllable.

Thus गोपालसभम्, पशुपालसभम्, स्त्रीसभम्, श्वीसभम्, गावडालसभम् ॥ Why do we say 'before सभा'? Observe ब्राह्मणसभम् ॥ Why do we say 'when in the Neuter'? Observe राजसभा, ब्राह्मणसभा ॥ The word सभा becomes Neuter under Rules II. 4. 23-24: therefore when the word सभा does not become Neuter under those rules, then by the maxim of Pratipadokta &c: the accent does not fall on the final of the preceding term as, रमणीयसभं, here the word सभा is neuter not by the force of any particular rules, but because the thing designated (अभिधेय) is neuter.

पुरे प्राचाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरे, प्राचाम्, (पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरशब्दउत्तरपदे प्राचां द्वौ पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

99. Before the word पुर, when the compound denotes a city of the Eastern People, the final of the first member has the acute.

Thus लकाईपुरम्, कांचीपुरम्, शिवदत्तपुरम्, काण्णपुरम्, नामपुरम् ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe शिवपुरम् ॥

अरिष्टगौडपूर्वं च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अरिष्ट, गौड, पूर्वं, च, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्)
वृत्तिः ॥ अरिष्ट गौड इत्येवं पूर्वं समासे पुरशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

100. When the words अरिष्ट and गौड stand first, the first member has the acute on the final before the word पुर ॥

Thus अरिष्टपुरम्, गौडपुरम् ॥ By the force of the word पूर्व in the aphorism, we can apply the rule to अरिष्टभित्तपुरम्, गौडभृत्यपुरम् ॥

न हास्तिनफलकमादंयाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, हास्तिन, फलक, मादंयाः, (अन्तोदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हास्तिन फलक मादंय इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पुरशब्द उत्तरपदे नान्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

101. But when the words हास्तिन, फलक and मादंय precede पुर, the acute does not fall on their final.

This is an exception to VI. 2, 99. Thus हास्तिनपुरम्, फलकपुरम्, मादंयपुरम् ॥ The son of वृद् is मादंय formed by ढक्, the word belonging to Subhrādi class. The उ is elided by VI. 4. 147.

कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं विले ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ, शालम्, विले ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कुसूल कूप कुम्भ शाला इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि विलशब्द उत्तरपदे अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

102. The words कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ and शाला have the acute on the last syllable before the word विल ॥

Thus कुसूलविलम्, कूपविलम्, कुम्भविलम्, शालविलम् ॥ But not so here सर्पविलम् ॥ Why do we say 'before विल'? Observe कुसू रस्वामी ॥

दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्शब्दाः, ग्रामजनपदाख्यान, चानराटेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्शब्दाः पूर्वपदानि अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ग्रामजनपदाख्यानवाचिषूत्तरपदेषु चानराटशब्दे च ॥

103. Words expressing direction (in space or time) have acute on the last syllable, when followed by a word denoting a village, or a country or a narrative, and before the word चानराट ॥

Thus पूर्वुकामशामी, अपरुकामशामी or पूर्व and अपरे' (VIII. 2. 6). The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. पूर्वकृष्णवृत्तिका, अपरकृष्णवृत्तिका ॥ Country name—पूर्वपञ्चालाः, अपरपञ्चालाः ॥ These are Karmadhāraya compounds (II. 1. 58). Story name:—पूर्वाधिरामम् or पूर्वा, पूर्वयायात्म्, पूर्वाधिरामकम्, अपरयायात्म् ॥ So also पूर्वचानराटम्, अपर चानराटम् ॥ The employment of the term शब्द in the aphorism shows that time-denoting दिक् words as in पूर्वयायात् should also be included. The word आधिरामम् is derived from अधिराममधिकृत्य कृतो मन्थः (IV. 3. 87).

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिनि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्तेवासिनि, (अन्तोदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे दिक्शब्दा अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

104. The direction denoting words have acute on the final, before the names of scholars, when such names are derived from those of their teachers.

Thus पूर्वपाणिनीयाः, अपरंपाणिनीयाः, पूर्वकाशकृष्णाः, अपरंकाशकृष्णाः ॥ Compare VI. 2. 36 Why do we say 'when derived from the names of their Teachers'? Observe पूर्वशिष्याः ॥ Why do we say 'Scholar-names'? Observe पूर्वपाणिनीयं शास्त्रम् ॥ (पाणिनीयं शास्त्रं पूर्वं चिरन्तनम्) ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर-पद-वृद्धौ, सर्वम् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्यधिकृत्य या विहिता वृद्धिस्तद्वत्पुनरपदे सर्वशब्दोदिकसब्दाश्चान्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

105. Words denoting direction and the word सर्व have acute on the final, before a word which takes Vṛiddhi in the first syllable of the second term by VII. 3. 12 and 13.

By the sūtra उत्तरपदस्य VII. 3. 10, 12, the Vṛiddhi of the Uttarapada is ordained when the Taddhita affixes having ञ्, ण् or क् follow, the Purvapada being सु, सर्व and अर्ध ॥ The word उत्तरपदवृद्धिः therefore, means that word which takes Vṛiddhi, under the rule relating to uttarapada, i. e. under rule VII. 3. 12 and 13. Thus पूर्वपाञ्चालकाः, अपरंपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः ॥ These are formed by वृञ् affix (IV. 2. 125). Why do we say "which takes Vṛiddhi in the second term?" Had the word उत्तरपद not been used, then the sūtra would have run thus वृद्धौ सर्वं च, and would have applied to cases like सर्वमासः, सर्वकारकः where मासः and कारकः are Vṛiddha words not by virtue of VII. 3. 12.

बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, विश्वम्, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे विश्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं संज्ञायां विषये ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

106. The word विश्व has acute on the final, being first member in a Bahuvrīhi, when it is a Name.

Thus विश्वदेवः, विश्वयशाः, विश्वमहान् ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first member in a Bahuvrīhi would have retained its original accent. Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi compound? Observe विश्वे च देवाः = विश्व-देवाः ॥ Why do we say 'when a name'? Observe विश्वेदेवा ऋश्य = विश्वेदेवः ॥ But विश्वामित्रैः and विश्वामित्रिनः have acute on the final, as they are governed by the subsequent rule VI. 2. 165 which supersedes this. The word Bahuvrīhi governs the succeeding sūtras upto VI. 2. 120 inclusive. The word विश्व is originally acute on the first, as it is formed by the affix व्वन् added to विश् ॥ This rule has unrestricted scope in विश्वदेवः, विश्वयशाः, and rule VI. 2. 165 has unrestricted scope in कुलमित्रः, कुलामित्रिनः ॥ But in विश्वामित्रः and विश्वामित्रिनः there is a conflict, as both these rules would apply, therefore by the maxim of vipratishedha, VI. 2. 165 supersedes this.

उदराश्वेषुषु ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदर, अश्व, इषु षु ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उदर अश्व इषु इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञाया विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

107. The first member in a Bahuvrīhi, before the words उदर, अश्व and इषु, gets acute on the final syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

Thus वृकोदरः, शोमोदरः, हर्यश्वः, यौवनाश्वः, सुवर्णपुङ्खेषुः and महेषुः ॥ This sūtra is also an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first term would have retained its original accent. The word वृक has acute on the first by Phit II. 7. The word शोम is formed by मनिन् affix (Uṇ IV. 145) and is first acute; हेरि is also first acute as formed by इन् (Uṇ IV. 118). The word यौवन if considered as an underived primitive, has acute on the first by Phit II. 19. If it be considered as derived from युवन् with the affix अण् then it is already end-acute and would retain its accent even by VI. 2. 1. The first Bahuvrīhi word सुवर्ण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, the second Bahuvrīhi compound सुवर्णपुङ्खाः has acute on ण by VI. 2. 1, the third Bahuvrīhi with इषु gets accent on ख ॥ The word महत् is end-acute by V. 2. 38. Its mention here appears redundant.

क्षेपे ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने उदरादिषुत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञायां विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

108. A word before उदर, अश्व and इषु in a Bahuvrīhi gets acute on the final, when reproach is meant.

Thus कुण्डोदरः, घटोदरः, कटुकाश्वः, स्यान्दित्ताश्वः, अनिघातेषुः, चलाचलेषुः ॥ The word कुण्ड has acute on the first as it is a Neuter name (Phit II. 3), and it would have retained this accent in the Bahuvrīhi by VI. 2. 1. but for this sūtra. The word घट is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) and has acute on the final, and so it would have retained this accent by VI. 2. 1. even with out this sūtra. The word कटुक being formed by कन् (V. 3. 75) has acute on the first. स्यान्दित् is formed by the Nishṭā affix क्त ॥ The word अनिघात being an avyayībhāva, the first member would have retained its original accent. In this and the last sūtra, all the accents may optionally be changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 6. But अनुदरः and मूरः have acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, which being a subsequent sūtra, supersedes this present, so far as अन् and सु are concerned.

नदी बन्धुनि ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नदी, बन्धुनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे बन्धुन्युत्तरपदे नद्यन्तं पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

109. In a Bahuvrīhi compound having the word बन्धु as its second member, the first member ending in the Feminine affix ई (नदी word) has the acute on its final syllable.

Thus गौर्गीबन्धुः, वात्सीबन्धुः ॥ The words गौर्गी and वात्सी are formed by adding डीप् (IV. 1. 16) to गार्ग्यं and वात्स्य ending in यञ् (IV. 1. 105), and therefore, they are first acute. By VI. 2. 1 this accent would have been retained, but for the present sūtra. Why do we say “a Nadi (Feminine in ई) word”? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धुः, the word ब्रह्म has acute on the first syllable as it is formed by मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 146) and it retains that accent (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say “before बन्धु” ? Observe गौर्गीप्रियः ॥

निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपसर्ग-पूर्वम्, अन्य-तरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे निष्ठान्तसुपसर्गपूर्वे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यामन्तोऽज्ञात्तं भवति ॥

110. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, a Participle in क्त preceded by a preposition, standing as the first member of the compound, has optionally acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रधोतसुखः or प्रधौतसुखैः (VI. 2. 169), or प्रैधौतसुखः (VI. 2. 49 and 1) प्रक्षालितैवाद्ः or प्रैक्षालितैवाद्ः ॥ When the word सुख means (mouth) then by VI. 2. 167 which is an optional rule, the accent falls on the last syllable खः ॥ When the other alternative is taken or when it does not mean (mouth) then by VI. 2. 49 the acute falls on प्र. which accent is retained (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say “a Nishṭhā”? Observe प्रसवक्रतुलः which is acute in the middle by the कृत् accent being retained after प्र (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say ‘preceded by a preposition’? Observe शुक्रतुलः which has acute on the first by VI. 1. 206.

उत्तरपदादिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर, पदादिः, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदादिरित्येतदधिकृतम् । यदित उर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्याम उत्तरपदादिरित्शक्तो मवतीत्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

111. In the following sūtras, upto VI. 2. 136 inclusive, should always be supplied the phrase “the first syllable of the second member has the acute”.

This is an adhikāra aphorism and the word उत्तरपदः exerts its influence upto the end of the chapter, while the word आदिः has scope upto VI. 2. 187 exclusive.

कर्णो वर्णलक्षणात् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णः, वर्ण, लक्षणात्, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे वर्णवाचिनो लक्षणवाचिनश्च कर्णशब्दउत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

112. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, the word कर्ण standing as second member, has acute on the first syllable, when it is preceded by a word denoting color or mark.

Thus with color we have शुक्लकर्णः, कृष्णकर्णः, and with mark-name, we have दात्राकर्णं दात्रकृष्णः, the lengthening of दात्र and दात्रु takes place by VI. 3. 115.

The marks of 'scythe', 'arrow' &c, are made on the ears of cattle to mark and distinguish them. It is such a 'mark' which is meant here, therefore, the rule does not apply to स्थूलकर्णः ॥ Why do we say कण ? Observe श्वनशरः, कूटशुङ्गः here श्वन being formed by भच् (II. 1. 134) is end-acute, and कूट being formed by क् (III. 1. 135) is also end-acute and these accents are retained in the compound. Why do we say "when preceded by a word denoting color or mark"? Observe शोभनशरः where शोभन being formed by युच् (III. 2. 149) is end-acute and this accent is retained (VI. 2. 1).

संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, औपम्ययोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामौपम्ये च यो बहुव्रीहिर्वर्त्तते तत्र कर्णशब्द उत्तरपदानाद्युदात्तं भवति संज्ञायाम् ॥

113. In a Bahuvrīhi the second member कर्ण has acute on the first syllable, when the compound denotes a Name or a Resemblance.

Thus कुञ्चिकर्णः, मणिकर्णः, are Names, गोकर्णः, खरकर्णः denote resemblance i. e. "persons having ears like a cow or an ass".

कण्ठपृष्ठश्रीवाज्जङ्घं च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, श्रीवा, जङ्घम, च, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्ठ पृष्ठ श्रीवा जङ्घा इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञौपम्ययोरुदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

114. In a Bahuvrīhi expressing a Name or comparison, the second members कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, श्रीवा and जङ्घा have acute on the first syllable.

Thus Name: शितिकण्ठः, नीलकण्ठः ॥ Comparison खरकण्ठः, उष्ट्रकण्ठः ॥ Name काण्डपृष्ठः, नाकपृष्ठः ॥ Resemblance गोपृष्ठः, अजपृष्ठः ॥ Name सुश्रीवः, नीलश्रीवः, रशश्रीवः ॥ Resemblance गोश्रीवः, अश्वश्रीवः ॥ Name नाडीजङ्घः, तालजङ्घः ॥ Resemblance गोजङ्घः, अश्वजङ्घः, एणीजङ्घः ॥

The sūtra कण्ठपृष्ठश्रीवाज्जंघ is in Neuter gender, and जंघा is shortened as it is a Samāhāra Dvandva. In the case of सुश्रीव, the accent would have fallen on the final व by VI. 2. 172, this ordains acute on श्री ॥

शृङ्गमवस्थायां च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृङ्गम, अवस्थायाम्, च (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शृङ्गशब्द उत्तरपदानवस्थायां संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च बहुव्रीहौ आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

115. In a Bahuvrīhi denoting age, (as well as a Name or a Resemblance), the second member शृङ्ग gets acute on the first syllable.

Thus उद्गतशृङ्गः, झंयुलशृङ्गः, अंयुलशृङ्गः ॥ Here the word शृङ्ग denotes the particular age of the cattle at which the horns come out, or become one or two inches long. Name:—क्रुष्यशृङ्गः comparison: गोशृङ्गः, मेघशृङ्गः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'age &c'. Observe स्थूलशृङ्गः ॥

नञो जरमरमित्त्रमृताः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, जर, मर, मित्र, मृताः, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नङ् उत्तरे जरमरमित्त्रमृता बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

116. After a Negative Particle, in a Bahuvrīhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of जर, मर, मित्र and मृत् ॥

Thus अञ्जरः, अमरः, अमित्त्रः and अमृत्तः ॥ Why do we say after a Negative Particle? Observe ब्राह्मणमित्रः ॥ Why do we say “जर &c”. Observe अशङ्कः when the final gets the acute by VI. 2. 172.

सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, मन्-असी, अ लोम, उपसी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोरुत्तरमनन्तमसन्तं च बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति लोमोषसीवर्जयित्वा ॥

117. After the adjective सु in a Bahuvrīhi, a stem ending in मन् and अस्, with the exception of लोमन् and उपस्, has acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुकर्मन्, सुधर्मन्, सुप्रथिमन्, सुपैयस्, सुयैशस्, सुज्ञोतस् so also सुध्वत् and सुध्वत् from the root ध्वस् and ध्वस् with the affix क्विप् ॥ The final स् is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 72. But this substitution is considered asidhha for the purposes of accent, and these words are taken as if still ending in अस् ॥ Why do we say ‘after सु?’ Observe कृतकर्मन्, कृतयशस् ॥ Why do we say ‘ending in मन् and अस्?’ Observe सुराजन् and सुतक्षन् formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156), and the accent is on श and त, but with सु, the accent is thrown on the final by VI. 2. 172. Why do we say with the exception of लोमन् and उपस्? Observe सुलोर्मन् and सुध्वस् (VI. 2. 172). The following maxim applies here : अनिनस्मन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तर्विधिं प्रयोजयन्ति “whenever 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 the मन् and अस् void of meaning are also included here. Thus धर्मन् is formed by मन् (Uṇ I. 140), but कर्मन् is formed by कनिन् (Uṇ IV. 145), and प्रथिमन् is formed by इमनिच् affix (V. 1. 122) in which मन् is only a part. Similarly यशस् is formed by अशन् (Uṇ IV. 191), and so also ज्ञोतस् (Uṇ IV. 202); but in सुध्वत् (सुध्वस् from ध्वस् with the affix क्विप् III. 2. 76) the rule applies also, though अस् is here part of the root. But when the samâsânta affix कप् is added (V. 4. 154), then the accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding कप्, for there the subsequent Rūle VI. 2. 173 supersedes the present rule: thus सुकर्मकः, सुज्ञोतस्कः ॥

क्रत्वादयश्च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रत्वादयः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रत्वादयः सोरुत्तरे बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

118. After सु in a Bahuvrîhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of क्तु &c.

Thus सुकृतः, सुदृशीकः, सुप्रैपतिः, सुहैव्यः, सुभैगः, सुप्रैतिकः ॥

आद्युदात्तं द्वयच्छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्युदात्तम्, द्वयञ्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तं ब्रह्म उच्चारणं बहुव्रीहौ समासे सौरुत्तरं तदाद्युदात्तमेव भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

119. In a Bahuvrîhi compound in the Chhandas, a word of two syllables with acute on the first syllable, when preceded by सु, gets acute on the first syllable.

In other words, such a word retains its accent. Thus:—स्वइवासिन्धुः सुरया सुवासा (Rig Veda X. 76. 8). Here ईवश्च and सुरयः have acute on अ and र, which they had originally also, for अश्च and रय are formed by कृन् (Uṇ I. 151) and कृयन् (Uṇ II. 2) respectively and have the निन् accent (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'having acute on the first syllable'? Observe या सुब्राहुः स्वङ्गुरिः (Rig II. 32. 7). Here बाहु has acute on the final (Uṇ I. 27 formed by उ affix and has the accent of the affix III. 1. 3). Why do we say 'having two syllables'? Observe सुयुरसन्, सुहिरण्यः ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 172.

वीरवीर्यौ च ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ वीर, वीर्यौ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वीर वीर्य इत्येतौ च शब्दौ सौरुत्तरौ बहुव्रीहौ समासे छन्दसि विषये आद्युदात्तौ भवतः ।

120. In a Bahuvrîhi compound in the Chhandas, after सु, the words वीर and वीर्य have acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुवीरेण ते, सुवीरस्ते जनिता (Rig IV. 17. 4) सुवीर्यैस्वइव्यस् (Rig VIII. 13 36) where सुवीर्य has acute on वी ॥ So also सुवीर्यस्य पतयः स्याम ॥ The word वीर्य is formed by यन् affix and by VI. 1. 213, it would have acute on the first. But its enumeration in this sūtra shows that Rule VI. 1. 213 does not apply to वीर्य ॥ The word वीर्य has svarita on the final in the Chhandas, by Phit IV. 9. In the secular literature it is ādyudātta.

कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसममव्ययीभावे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष, समम्, अव्ययीभावे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल तीर तूल मूल शाला अक्ष सम इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि अव्ययीभावसमासआद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

121. In an Avyayîbhâva compound, the following second terms have acute on their first syllable : कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष and सम ॥

Thus परिकूलम्, उपकूलम्, परितीरम्, उपतीरम्, परितूलम्, उपतूलम्, परिमूलम्, उपमूलम्, परिशालम्, उपशालम्, उपोक्षम्, पर्योक्षम्, सुपमम्, विपमम्, निपमम् and दुपमम् ॥ These last four are to be found in Tishṭhadgu class of compounds (II. 1. 17). Why do we say 'कूल &c'? Observe उपकुम्भम् ॥ Why do we say "in an Avyayîbhâva

compound?" Observe परमकूलम्, उत्तमकूलम् ॥ After the prepositions परि, प्रति, उप and अप, the words कूल &c would have become accentless by VI. 2. 33, the present sūtra supersedes VI. 2. 33, and we have accent on कूल &c and not on the Prepositions.

कंसमन्थशूर्पपाय्यकाण्डं द्विवर्गौ ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाय्य, काण्डम्, द्विवर्गौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कंस मन्थ शूर्प पाय्य काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि द्विवर्गौ समासभाष्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

122. In a Dvigu Compound the following second members get acute on their first syllable :—कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाय्य and काण्ड ॥

Thus द्विकंसः, (द्वाभ्यां कंसाभ्यां क्रीतः the affix टिङ् V. 1. 25 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिकंसः, द्विमन्थः, (the affix टक् V. 1. 19 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिमन्थः, द्विशूर्पः, (the affix भञ् V. 1. 26 is elided) त्रिशूर्पः, द्विपाय्यः, त्रिपाय्यः, द्विकाण्डः, त्रिकाण्डः ॥ Why do we say in a Dvigu? Observe परमकंसः, उत्तमकंसः ॥

तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, शालायाम्, नपुंसके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालाशब्दान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

123. The word शाला at the end of a Tatpurusha compound when exhibited in the Neuter has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ब्राह्मणशालम्, क्षत्रियशालम् ॥ The compound becomes Neuter by II. 4. 25. Why do we say "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe दृष्टशालं ब्राह्मणकुलम् which is a Bahuvrīhi compound and therefore first member retains its accent VI. 2. 1, and as the first member is a Nishṭhā word, it has acute on the final. Why do we say "the word शाला?" Observe ब्राह्मणसेनम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Neuter'? Observe ब्राह्मणशाला ॥ Compare VI. 2. 86.

कन्था च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे कथाशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

124. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्था, the acute falls on the first syllable of the second member.

Thus सौशमिककन्थम्, आह्वरकन्थम्, चण्डकन्थम् ॥ The word सौशमिः denotes the descendant of सुशमः (शोभनः शमो यस्य) आह्वर is formed by the preposition आ with the verb ह्व् and the affix क (III. 1. 136) The compound is Neuter by II. 4. 20. These are Genitive compounds. When the word is not Neuter we have साक्षिकन्था ॥

आदिश्विहणादीनाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, चिहणादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे चिहणादीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

125. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्था, the first syllable of चिहण &c have the acute.

As चिह्नकन्धम्, मँडरकन्धम्, मँडुकन्धम् ॥ The repetition of the word भादि in this sâtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the first syllable of the *first member* gets the acute. The word चिह्न is derived from the root चिनाति with विवप् which gives चित् and हन is formed by adding भच् (III. 1. 134) to हन् ॥ चित् + हन = चिह्न the elision of त् is irregular.

चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हायाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेल, खेट, कटुक, काण्डम्, गर्हायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चेल खेट कटुक काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि तत्पुरुषे समासे गर्हायां गम्यमानायामाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

126. The words चेल, खेट, कटुक and काण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha have acute on the first syllable, when a reproach is meant.

Thus पुत्रचेलम्, भार्याचेलम्, उपानतुखेटम्, नगरखेटम्, (खेट इति वृणनाम, तद्वद् दुर्बला उपानत्) अधिकैटुकम् (कटुकमस्वाद्) उद्विश्वत्कैटुकम्, भूतकाण्डम् (काण्डमिति शरनाम, तद्यथा सत्वपीडाकर मेवं भूतमपि) प्रजाकाण्डम् ॥ The reproach is denoted of the sons &c by comparing them to चेल &c. The analysis will be पुत्रश्चेलमिव i. e. चेलवत् तुच्छम् and the compounding takes place under II. 1. 56: the Vyaghrâdi class being an akṛti-gaṇa. When reproach is not meant, we have परमचेलम् ॥

चीरमुपमानम् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चीरम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चीरुत्तरपद्मुपमानवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

127. The word चीर, at the end of a Tatpurusha, has acute on the first syllable, when something is compared with it.

Thus वस्त्रम् चीरमिव = वस्त्रचीरम्, पदचीरम्, कम्बलचीरम् ॥ Why do we say 'when comparison is meant?' Observe परमचीरम् ॥

पललसूपशाकं मिश्रे ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलल, सूप, शाकम्, मिश्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलल सूप शाक इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि मिश्रवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

128. In a Tatpurusha ending in पलल, सूप and शाक the acute falls on the first syllable of these, when the compound denotes a food mixed or seasoned with something.

Thus गुडपललम्, घृतपललम्, घृतसूपः, मूलकसूपः, घृतशौकम्, घृद्गशौकम् = गुडेन मिश्रं पललं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 35. Why do we say 'when meaning mixed or seasoned?' Observe परमपललम् ॥

कूलसूदस्थलकर्पाः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, सूद, स्थल, कर्पाः, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल सूद स्थल कर्ष इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि तत्पुरुषे समासे संज्ञायां विषये आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

129. The words कूल, सूद, स्थल and कर्ष have acute on their first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha denoting a Name.

Thus दाक्षिकूलम्, आहिकूलम्, देवसूदम्, भाजीसूदम्, राण्डायनस्थली, माहकिस्थली, दाक्षिकर्षः ॥ All these are names of villages. The feminine of स्थल is taken here, formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 42). When not a name we have परमकूलम् ॥

अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, कर्मधारये, राज्यम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयवर्जिते तत्पुरुषे समासे राज्यमित्येतदुत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

130. The word राज्यम् has acute on the first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, which is not a Karmadhâraya.

Thus ब्राह्मणराज्यम्, क्षत्रियराज्यम् ॥ In a Karmadhâraya we have परमराज्यम् ॥ The accent taught in VI. 2. 126 to 130 is superseded by the accent of the Indeclinable taught in VI. 2. 2, though that rule stands first and this subsequent. As कुंचेलम्, कुंराज्यम् ॥

वर्ग्यादयश्च ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ग्यादयः, च, (आद्युदात्तानि)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ग्य इत्येवमादीन्युत्तरपदानि अकर्मधारये तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

131. At the end of a non-Karmadhâraya Tatpurusha compound, the words वर्ग्य &c have acute on the first syllable.

Thus वासुदेववर्ग्यः, वासुदेवपैक्ष्यः, अर्जुनवर्ग्यः, अर्जुनपैक्ष्यः ॥ In a Karmadhâraya we have परमवर्ग्यः ॥ The words वर्ग्य &c are no where exhibited as such; the primitive words वर्ग, पूग, गण &c sub-division of दिगादि (IV. 3. 54) are here referred to, as ending with यत् affix.

पुत्रः पुम्भ्यः ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रः, पुम्भ्यः (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दः पुंशब्देभ्य उच्चरस्तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

132. The word पुत्र coming after a Masculine noun in a Tatpurusha has acute on the first syllable.

Thus कौनटिपुत्रः, रामकपुत्रः, माहिषपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say 'a पुत्र' ? Observe कौनटिमातुलः ॥ Why do we say 'after a masculine word' ? Observe गार्गीपुत्रः, वासीपुत्रः ॥

नाचार्यराजर्त्विक्संयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आचार्य, राज, ऋत्विक्, संयुक्त, ज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः, (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्य उपाध्यायः । राजा ईश्वरः । ऋत्विजो याजकाः । संयुक्ताः स्त्रीसंबन्धिनः इत्यालादयः । ज्ञातयो मातृपितृसंबन्धिनो बान्धवाः । आचार्याद्याख्येभ्यः परः पुत्रशब्दो नाद्युदात्तो भवति ।

133. The word पुत्र has not acute on the first syllable, when preceded by a word which falls under the category of teachers, kings, priests, wife's relations, and agnates and cognates.

The word आचार्य means 'teacher', राजा 'prince, king', ऋत्विज् 'a sacrificing priest', संयुक्ताः 'relations through the wife's side' as दयाला 'brother-in-law' &c; ज्ञाति means 'all kinsmen related through father and mother or blood-relations'. The word आख्या shows that the rule applies to the synonyms of 'teacher' &c, as well as to particular 'teacher' &c. Thus आचार्यपुत्रैः, उपाध्यायपुत्रैः, शाकटायनकपुत्रैः, राजपुत्रैः, ईश्वरपुत्रैः, नन्दपुत्रैः, ऋत्विक्पुत्रैः, याजकपुत्रैः, होतुःपुत्रैः, (VI. 3. 23) संयुक्तपुत्रैः, संबन्धिपुत्रैः, श्यालकपुत्रैः, ज्ञातिपुत्रैः, भ्रातृपुत्रैः (VI. 3. 23). Here the special accent of पुत्र taught in the last sūtra being prohibited, the accent falls on the last syllable by the general rule VI. 1. 2 23.

चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिपष्ट्याः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णादीनि, अ, प्राणि, पष्ट्याः, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदादिरिति वर्त्तते तत्पुरुषइति च । चूर्णादीन्युत्तरपदानि अप्राणिवाचिनः षष्ठ्यन्ताम्प्राणि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

134. The words चूर्ण &c, in a Tatpurusha compound have acute on the first syllable, when the preceding word ends in a Genitive and does not denote a living being.

Thus मुद्गचूर्णम्, मसूरचूर्णम्, but मत्स्यचूर्णम् where the first term is a living being, and परमचूर्णम् where it is not Genitive. Another reading of the sūtra is चूर्णादीन्यप्राण्युपग्रहात्, the word उपग्रह being the ancient name of षष्ठी given by old Grammarians.

1 चूर्ण, 2 करिव, 3 करिप, 4 शाकिन, 5 शाकट, 6 द्राक्षा, 7 तूस्त, 8 कुन्दुम (कुन्दम), 9 दलप, 10 चमसी, 11 चकन (चकन चक्वन), 12 चोल ॥

The word चूर्ण is derived from the root चूरी इहे (Div 50) with the affix क्त; करिव and करिप are formed with the upapada करि and the verbs वा 'to go' and पा 'to protect' respectively, and the affix क्त (करिणवाति = करिव) (III. 2. 3); शक् with the affix इनष् added diversely (Uṇ II. 56); शक् with अटच् (Uṇ IV. 81) gives शकट; this with अण् (तद्भवति) gives शाकट; द्राक् क्षरति = द्राक्षा (Prishodarādi); तुस् (शब्दे) with क्त gives तूस्त the penultimate being lengthened; the word कुन्दु is formed by the affix क्विप् added to the root दु with the upapada कु (कुन्दुनोति कुत्सितं वा दुनोति) the augment मुष् being added to कु ॥ कुन्दु मिमीते = कुन्दुमः ॥ दल with the affix क्पन् gives दलप; चम with असच् forms चमस, then is added डीष्; चकन is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to कन् and reduplication, चोलस्यापत्यं = चोलः ॥

पद् च काण्डादानि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, च, काण्डादानि, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पद् पूर्वोक्तानि काण्डादीन्पुत्रपरिज्ञान अप्राणवपथ्या भाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

135. The six words काण्ड, चीर, पलल, सूप, शाक and कूल of Sûtras VI. 2. 126-129, preceded by a non-living genitive word, have acute on the first syllable.

As र्भर्कौण्डम्, शरकौण्डम्; र्भर्चौरम्, कुशचौरम् ॥ In the last two examples चौर is not used as a comparison, that case being governed by VI. 2. 127, तिलपल्लम्, मूलकशाकम्, सुद्वसूपः ॥ Here पलल, सूप and शाक do not denote mixing, which is governed by VI. 2. 128. नन्दीकूलम्, समुद्रकूलम्, here the compound does not denote a Name, which would be the case under VI. 2, 129. Why these 'six' only? Observe राजसूदः ॥

कुण्डं वनम् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुण्डम्, वनम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डशब्देन कुण्डसादृश्येन वने वर्तते । कुण्डमित्येतदुत्तरपदे वनवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे भाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

136. The word कुण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'a wood or forest', has acute on the first syllable.

The word कुण्ड here denotes 'a wood' by metaphor. Thus र्भर्कुण्डम्, शरकुण्डम् ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a wood'? Observe पृत्कुण्डम् ॥ The word कुण्ड means (1) a basin (2) a caste called kunda. Some say it means 'forest' also primarily and metaphorically. The force here is that of समुद्राय, i. e. शरवणसमुद्रायः = शरकुण्डम् ॥

प्रकृत्या भगालम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, भगालम्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भगालवाच्युत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

137. The word भगाल at the end of a Tatpurusha, preserves its original accent.

The synonyms of भगाल are also included. As कुम्भीभगालम्, कुम्भीकर्पौलम्, कुम्भीनर्दालम् ॥ The words भगाल &c, have acute on the middle. Phit II. 9. The word प्रकृत्य governs the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 2. 143.

शितेर्नित्यावहज् बहुव्रीहावभसत् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शितेः, नित्य, अवहच्, बहुव्रीहौ, अभसत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शितेरुत्तरपदे नित्ये यदवहज् अभसच्छब्दवर्जितं बहुव्रीहौ समासे तत्प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

138. After शिति, a word retains in a Bahuvrîhi its original accent, when it is always of not more than two syllables, with the exception of भसद् ॥

Thus चित्तिपादः, शिष्यसः, शिष्योष्ठः ॥ The word पाद belongs to वृषादि class (VI. 1. 203) and has acute on the first, and भंसः and ओष्ठः being formed by सन् (Uṇ V. 21) and यन् (Uṇ II. 4) affixes, have acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'after चित्ति'? Observe दर्शनीयपादः which being formed by the affix भनीयर् has acute on the penultimate syllable नी by VI. 1. 217 ॥ Why do we say 'always'? Observe शिष्यतिककुत्, for though ककुत् is here of two syllables, it is an abbreviated form of ककुद्, the final अ being elided in denoting condition of life (V. 4. 146), in compounds other than those denoting 'age', we have शिष्यतिककुद्, hence this word is not such which is *always* of two syllables. The word चित्ति has acute on the first syllable, by Phiṭ II. 10, and retains this accent in the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say 'ababhvach or not many-syllable'? Observe शिष्यतिल्लाङः ॥ Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi? Observe शिष्येतिः पादः = शिष्यिपादः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of भसन्'? Observe शिष्येतिभसन् ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 1.

गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, कारक, उपपदात्, कृत, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यरूपइति वर्त्तते न बहुव्रीहिविति । गतेः कारकादुपपदाच्च कृदन्तुत्तरपदं तस्यरूपे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

139. In a Tatpurusha, a word ending in a Kṛit-affix preserves its original accent, when preceded by an Indeclinable called Gati (I. 4. 60), or a noun standing in intimate relation to a verb (Kāraka), or any word which gives occasion for compounding (Upapada see III. 1. 92).

The above is according to Professor Bohtlingk. Thus प्रकौरकः, प्रकौरणम्, प्रहौरकः, प्रहौरणम् ॥ The compounding is here by II. 2. 18. With kāraka-word we have :—इध्मव्रश्ननः, पलाशाशातनः, इमशुकैल्पनः (III. 3. 117). With upapada words, we have :—इषत्कौरः, दुष्कौरः, सुकौरः ॥ All these are formed by लिट् affixes and the accent is governed by VI. 1. 193. i. e. the word व्रश्नन is formed by ल्युट् (इध्मं प्रवृ-ञ्च्यते येन); so also with शातन (पलाशानि शास्यन्ते येन स ङङः); so also with कल्पन (इमशु कल्पते येन स शुरादिः) Why do we say "after a Gati, Kāraka, or an Upapada word?" Observe देवदत्तस्यकारकः = देवदत्तकारकः ॥ Here the Genitive in देवदत्त does not express a kāraka relation. The genitive is here a शेषलक्षणा षष्ठी denoting a possessor and not a कर्मलक्षणा one: for had it been latter, there would have been no compounding at all, by II. 2. 16. see also II. 3. 65. The word कृत् is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness; for a gati, kāraka or upapada could not be followed by any other word than a kṛit-formed word, if there is to be a samasa. For two sorts of affixes come after a root (dhātu) namely तिङ् and कृत् ॥ A samāsa can take place with kṛit-formed words, but

not with *tiñanta* words. So that without employing कृत् in the sūtra, we could have inferred that कृत् was meant. Therefore, it is said the 'Kṛit' is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness. According to this view we explain the accent in प्रपचतितराम्, प्रपचतितमाम्, by saying that first compounding takes place with प्र and the words पचतितरं and पचतितम ending in तरष् and तमप् and then आम्, is added and the accent of the whole word is regulated by आम् by the rule of सतिशिष्ट (see V. 3. 56. and V. 4. 11). According to others, the कृत् is taken in this sūtra, in order to prevent the gati accent applying to verbal compounds in words like प्रपचति देश्यः, or प्रपचति देशीयं (V. 3. 67), or प्रपचतिरूपम् (V. 3. 66). The accent of these will be governed by the rule of the Indeclinable first term retaining its accent.

उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, वनस्पत्यादिषु, युगपत्,
(प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्येति वर्त्तते । वनस्पत्यादिषु समासेषु उभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे युगपत् प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

140. In वनस्पति &c, both members of the compound preserve their original accent simultaneously.

Thus वैनस्पतिः, both वन and पति have acute on the first syllable, and सुद् augment comes by VI. 1. 157. (2) बृहस्पतिः or बृहस्पतिः = बृहतां पतिः (VI. 1. 157). The word बृहन् is acutely accented on the final, some say it has acute on the first. (3) शचीपतिः (Sachî being formed by डीष्), some make Sachî acute on the first शचीपतिः, by including it in Sarangrava class (IV. 1. 73). (4) तनून्पान् (tanû being formed by ऊ Un I. 80 has acute on the final, according to others it has acute on the first and napât = na pâti or na palayati with क्तिप् and has acute on the first). (5) नाराशंसः नरा अस्मिन्नासीनाः शंसन्ति or नरा एव शंसन्ति (nara is formed by अप् and has acute on the first, Sañsa is formed by घञ्, the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137). (6) शूनः शेषः = शून इव शेषोऽस्य is a Bahuvrihi : the Genitive is not elided by (VI. 3. 21. Vârt.), and both have acute on the first. (7) सण्डामर्का both 'Sanda' and 'Marka' being formed by घञ् have acute on the first: the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. (8) तृष्णावरुत्री ॥ Tṛishṇa has acute on the first, वरुत्री has acute on the final. The lengthening here also is by VI. 3. 137. (9) बम्बाविश्ववयसौ ॥ Bamba is finally acute, and viśva by VI. 2. 106 has acute on the final, as viśvavayas is a Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place as before by VI. 3. 137. (10) मर्मरुः ॥ मर् is formed by वित् affix and रुन्त्यु has acute on the final. The words governed by this sūtra are those which would not be included in the next two sūtras.

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता, द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिर्नां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्र युगपदुभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

141. In a Dvandva compound of names of Divinities, the both members retain their original accent.

Thus इंद्रासौमै, इंद्रावरुणो, इंद्राबृहस्पती ॥ The word इंद्र has acute on the first (by nipatana), सोम is formed by मन् (Uṇ I. 140), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), वरुण is formed by उनन् (Uṇ III. 53) and by VI. 1. 197 has acute on the first. बृहस्पति has two acutes by VI. 2. 140, and Indra-Brihaspati has three acutes. Why do we say "names of divinities"? Observe लक्ष्म्यघोषौ ॥ Why do we say 'a Dvandva'? Observe अग्निष्टोमः ॥

नोत्तरपदे ऽनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूपमन्थिषु ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उत्तरपदे, अनुदात्तादौ, अ पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूष, मन्थिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदे ऽनुदात्तादौ पृथिवीरुद्रपूपमन्थिषु वाजते देवताहन्त्रे नांभे शुगपत्पकृतिस्वरे भवनः ॥

142. In a Dvandva compound of the names of divinities, both members of the compound simultaneously do not retain their accent, when the first syllable of the second word is anudâta, with the exception of पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूषन्, and मन्थिन् ॥

Thus इंद्राग्नी, इंद्रवायु, the words Agni and Vāyu have acute on the final. The word uttarapada is repeated in the sūtra, in order that it should be qualified by the word 'anudâttâdau', which latter would otherwise have qualified Dvandva. The word "anudattadau" shows the scope of the prohibition and the injunction. Why do we say with the exception of 'prthivi' &c? Observe घोषापृथिव्यौ or घ्यौ dvyâvâ has acute on the first, 'prthivi' being formed by 'nish', has acute on the final. सौमहर्द्रौ, Rudra is formed by 'rak' affix (Uṇ II. 22.), and has acute on the final. इंद्रापूषणो, Pūshan has acute on the end. (Uṇ I. 159) सुक्रामन्थिनौ, the words Śukra and manthin have acute on the final.

अन्तः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकारो यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्र समासस्योत्तरपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वेदिसध्यम् ॥

143. In the following sūtrâs up to the end of the chapter, should always be supplied the phrase "the last syllable of the second member has the acute".

The application is given in the next sūtra.

थाथघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम् ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ थ, अथ, घञ्, क्त, अच्, अप्, इत्र, काणाम्, (अन्त उदात्तः,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ थ अथ घञ् क्त अञ् अप् इत्र क इत्येवमन्तानामुत्तरपदानां गतिकारकोपपदात्परेषामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

144. The last syllable of the second member has the acute, in the verbal nouns ending in थ, अथ. घञ्, क्त. अच्, अप्, इत्र and क, when preceded by a Gati, a Kâraka or an Upapada (VI. 2. 139).

Thus सुनीयैः, अवृथैः formed by क्यन् affix (Uṇ II. 2 and 3), and but for this sūtra, by VI. 2. 139 these words would have retained their original accent which was acute on the first. अथः—आवसथैः, उपवसथैः formed by अथन् affix (Uṇ III, 116). घञ्—प्रभेदैः, काष्ठभेदैः, रज्जुभेदैः ॥ क्तः—वृषादागतैः, Here क्त has the force of कर्म, and the gati आ would retain its accent (VI. 2. 49) therefore, आगत is first acute: this accent would have been retained when compounded with the kāraka word dūra, but for this sūtra. विशुष्कैः आतपशुष्कैः ॥ अच् (III. 3. 56) :—प्रक्षयैः, प्रजयैः, the words क्षय 'dwelling', and जय 'victory' are acute otherwise on the first (VI. I. 201, 202). अप्—प्रलवैः, प्रसवैः ॥ इञ्—प्रलवित्रैः, प्रसवित्रैः ॥ क—खरिवृषैः गोवृषैः = गां वर्षति, खरं वर्षति (III. 2. 5 Vārt) : प्रवृषैः, प्रहृषैः, (क being added by III. 1. 135). The word वृष has acute on the first as it belongs to वृषादि class (VI. I. 203). When the preceding words are not Gati, Kāraka or Upapada, this rule does not apply : as सुस्तुतं भवता, अतिस्तुतं भवता, where सु and अति being Kar-mapravachaniya, the words get the accent of the Indeclinable.

सूपमानात् क्तः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, उपमानात्, क्तः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सु इत्येतस्मादुपमानाच्च परं क्तान्तपुत्रपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

145. The Participle in क्त has acute on the final, when it is preceded by सु or by a word with which the second member is compared.

Thus सुकृतैः, सुभुक्तैः, सुपीतैः ॥ With Upamāna words we have—वृकाव-
लुप्तैः, शशालुप्तैः, सिंहविनीदितैः ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49 and 48. When सु is not a Gati, the rule does not apply, as सुस्तुतैः भवता ॥

संज्ञायामनाचितादीनाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, अनाचितादीनाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गतिकारकोपपज्ञात् क्तान्तपुत्रपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति आचितादीन्वर्जयित्वा ॥

146. The Participle in 'kta' has acute on the last syllable, when preceded by a Gati, or a Karaka or an Upapada, if the compound denotes a Name, but not in आचित &c.

Thus संतूतौ रामायणः, उपहृतैः शाकल्यः, परिजग्म्यैः कौण्डिन्यः ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49, धनुषस्यातो नदी, कुहालखातैः नगरम्, हस्तिवृतिर्ना भूमिः ॥ Here VI. 2. 48 is debarred. Why do we say "when it is not आचित &c" Observe औच्यितम् &c.

1 आचित, 2 पर्याचित, 3 आस्थापित, 4 परिगृहीत, 5 निरुक्त, 6 प्रतिपन्न, 7 अपश्लिष्ट*, 8 पश्लिष्ट, 9 उपहित (उपहत) 10 उपस्थित, 11 संहितागवि (संहिताशब्दो यदा गोरान्यस्य संज्ञा तदान्तोदात्तो न भवति । यदा तु गोः संज्ञा तदान्तोदात्त एव ॥)

The word संहिता in the above list does not take acute on the final, when it is the name of anything else than a 'cow'; but when it denotes 'a cow' it has acute on the final.

प्रवृद्धादीनां च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रवृद्धादीनाम्, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवृद्धादीनां च क्तान्तपुत्रपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

147. The words प्रवृद्ध &c. ending in 'kta' have acute on the final.

Thus प्रवृद्धं यानम्, प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, प्रयुक्तोः सक्तवः, आकर्षेऽवहितः, अवहितो भोगेषु, खट्वारूढः, कविशस्त्रैः ॥ It is an Akritigaṇa. The words have acute on the final, even when not followed by यान &c, though in the Ganapâṭha they are read along with these words. Some hold it is only in connection with यान &c that these words have acute on the final. This being an Akritigaṇa we have पुनरुत्सृज्यते वासोदेयं, पुनर्निष्कृतो रथः &c.

1 प्रवृद्धं यानम्, 2 प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, 3 प्रयुक्तासृज्यवः or प्रयुक्ताः सक्तवः 4 आकर्षेऽवहितः, 5 अवहितो भोगेषु, 6 खट्वारूढः 7 कविशस्त्रैः, आकृतिगण.

कारकाद्दत्तश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारकात्, दत्त, श्रुतयोः, एव, आशिषि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामिनि वर्त्तते, ऋ इति च । संज्ञायां विषये आशिषि गम्यमानायां कारकादुत्तरयोर्दत्तश्रुतयोरेव कान्तयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

148. The final of Part Participles दत्त and श्रुत alone has acute, in a compound denoting a Name and a benediction, the preceding word being a word standing in close relation to an action (kâraka).

Thus देवा एनर्देवासुः = देवदर्त्तः, विष्णुरेवं भूयाद् = विष्णुभूतैः ॥

Why do we say "of दत्त and भूत"? Observe देवैर्पालितः (VI. 2. 48), which, though a Name, is not governed by VI. 2. 146, and does not take acute on the final, for the present rule makes a restriction with regard to that rule even. So that where a Participle in ऋ is preceded by a kâraka, and the compound denotes a benediction and a Name, the accent is not on the final, as required by VI. 2. 146, but such a word is governed by VI. 2. 48, unless the Participle be Datta and śruta, when the present rule applies. The word कारक indicates that the rule will not apply when a gati or upapada precedes. Why do we use 'एव (alone)'? So that the restriction should apply to 'kâraka', and not to 'Datta' and 'Śruta'. For the words 'Datta' and 'Śruta' will have acute on the final even after a nonkâraka word. As संभूतैः, विभूतैः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'? The rule will not apply where benediction is not meant. As देवैः खाता = देवखाता ॥ This rule applies to Datta and Śruta after a kâraka-word, only when benediction is meant. It therefore does not apply to देवदत्त 'the name of Arjuna's conch', as आहतो न इति देवदत्तः, which is governed by VI. 2. 48.

इत्थंभूतेन कृतमिति च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूतेन, कृतम्, इति, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इमं प्रकारमापन्न इत्थंभूतः । इत्थंभूतेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः समासो वर्त्तते तत्र कान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

149. The Participle in ऋ has acute on the final, when the compound denotes 'done by one in such a condition'.

The word इत्थंभूत means 'being in such a condition'. Thus सुप्तप्रलपितम्, उन्मत्तप्रलपितम्, प्रमत्तगतिम्, विपन्नभुत्तम् as Adjectives and Abstract verbal nouns. This is an exception to VI. 2. 48. When the words प्रलपित &c are used to denote Noun of Action (भाव, then by VI. 2. 144 they get of course acute on the final.

अनो भावकर्मवचनः ॥ १'१० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, भाव, कर्मवचनः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अन प्रत्ययान्तुत्तरपदं भाववचनं कर्मवचनं च कारकात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

150. After a kâraka as mentioned in VI. 2. 148, the second member ending in the affix अन, and denoting an action in the Abstract or the object (i. e. having the senses of a Passive Adjective), has acute on the final.

Thus ओदनभोजनं सुखम्, पयपानं सुखम्, चन्दनप्रियङ्गुकालिपनं सुखम् ॥ All these are examples of भाव or Abstract Verbal Nouns. राजभोजनः शालयः, राजाच्छादनार्तिं वासांसि, are examples of कर्मवचन or Passive Adjectives. These are formed by ल्युट् under III. 3. 116. For the Sûtra III. 3. 116 may be explained by saying that (1) ल्युट् is applied when the Upapada is in the objective case and bhâva is meant, (2) as well as when object is to be expressed. When the first explanation is taken, the above are examples of Bhâva; when the second explanation is taken, they are examples of Karma. Why do we say "ending in अन"? Observe, हस्तहार्यमुत्तभित् ॥ Why do we say "when expressing an action in the abstract (bhâva), or an Object (karma)"? Observe दन्तधार्येनम्, here ल्युट् is added after an Instrumental kâraka (III. 3. 117). Why do we say "after a kâraka"? Observe निदंशनेम्, अत्रलेखनेम् ॥ In all the counter-examples, the second members retain their original accent,

मनुक्तिन्व्याख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्, क्तिन्, व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान, याजकादि, क्रीताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्तन्तं क्तिन्तन्तं व्याख्यान शयन आसन स्थान इत्येतानि याजकादयः क्रीतशब्दश्चेत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

151. The words ending in मन् or क्तिन् affixes, and the words व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान and क्रीत as well as याजक &c, have acute on the final, when at the end of a compound, preceded by a kâraka word.

Thus मन्—रथवर्त्मन्, शकटवर्त्मन् ॥ क्तिन्—पाणिनिकृतिः, आपिशालिकृतिः ॥ व्याख्यान—ब्रह्मयनव्याख्यानम्, छन्दोव्याख्यानम् ॥ शयन—राजशयनम्, ब्राह्मणशयनम् ॥ आसन—राजासनम्, ब्राह्मणसनम् ॥ स्थान—गोस्थानम्, अश्वस्थानम् ॥ याजकादि words are those which form Genitive compounds under II. 2. 9, and those compounds only are to be taken here; as ब्राह्मणयाजकैः, क्षत्रिययाजकैः, ब्राह्मणपूजकैः, क्षत्रियपूजकैः ॥ क्रीत—गोक्रीतः, अश्वक्रीतः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 139. and in the case of क्रीत, rule VI. 2. 48 is superseded. The words व्याख्यान &c do not denote here भाव or कर्म, had they done so, rule

VI. 2. 149 would have covered them. When the first member is not a kâraka, we have प्रकृतिः and प्रहृतिः ॥

1 याजक, 2 पूजक, 3 परिचारक, 4 परिषेचक परिवेषक 5 स्त्रायक स्नानक 6 अध्यापक, 7 उस्ताहक (उस्ताइक) 8 उद्वर्तक, 9 हानु, 10 भर्तु, 11 रथगणक, 12 पत्तिगणक, 13 पानु, 14 हानु, 15 वर्तक,

सप्तम्याः पुण्यम् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्याः, पुण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तात्परं पुण्यमित्येतदुत्तरपदमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

152. The word पुण्य has acute on the final when preceded by a noun in the Locative case.

Thus अध्ययने पुण्यम् = अध्ययनपुण्यम्, वेदपुण्यम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 40 by the process of splitting the sūtra (yoga-vibhāga), taking सप्तमी there as a full sūtra, and शौण्डेः another. Here by VI. 2. 2, the first member would have preserved its accent, the present sūtra supersedes that and ordains acute on the final. The word पुण्य is derived by the Uṇādi affix यन् (Uṇ V. 15) and would have retained its natural accent (VI. 1. 213) and thus get acute on the first syllable by kṛit-accent. (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'a locative case'? Observe वेदेन पुण्यं = वेदपुण्यम् ॥

ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊनार्थ, कलहम्, तृतीयायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊनार्थान्युत्तरपदानि कलहशब्दश्च तृतीयान्तात्परान्यन्तोशात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

153. The acute falls on the final of words having the sense of ऊन, and of कलह, when they are second members in a compound, preceded by a term in the instrumental case.

Thus माषोर्णम्, कार्पाषणोर्णम्, मासविक्रमम्, कार्पाषणविक्रमम्, असिकलहैः, वाक्कलहैः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 31. This is an exception to VI. 2. 2 by which the first member being in the third case, would have retained its original accent. Some say that the word अर्थ in the sūtra means the word-form अर्थ, so that the aphorism would mean—"after an Instrumental case, the words ऊन, अर्थ, and कलह get acute on the final". The examples will be in addition to the above:—धान्येनार्थाः = धान्यार्थाः ॥ If this be so, then the word-form ऊन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विक्रम &c. To this we reply, that ऊन will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word अर्थ ॥ By sūtra II. 1. 31, ऊनार्थ and कलह always take the Instrumental case, so we could have omitted the word तृतीयायाः, from this sūtra, for by the maxim of pratipadokta &c, ऊनार्थकलहं would have referred to the compound ordained by II. 1. 31. The mention of तृतीया here is only for the sake of clearness.

मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसंशौ ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिश्रम्, च, अनुपसर्गम्, असंशौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयैति वर्तते । मिश्र इत्येतदुत्तरपदमनुपसर्गं तृतीयान्तात्परमन्तोशात्तं भवत्यसंशौ गम्यमाने ॥

The word इत्थंभूत means 'being in such a condition'. Thus सुप्तप्रलपितम्, उन्मत्तप्रलपितम्, प्रमत्तगतिम्, विपन्नशुनम् as Adjectives and Abstract verbal nouns. This is an exception to VI. 2. 48. When the words प्रलपित &c are used to denote Noun of Action (भाव, then by VI. 2. 144 they get of course acute on the final.

अनो भावकर्मवचनः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, भाव, कर्मवचनः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन प्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपरं भाववचनं कर्मवचनं च कारकात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

150. After a kâraka as mentioned in VI. 2. 148, the second member ending in the affix अन, and denoting an action in the Abstract or the object (i. e. having the senses of a Passive Adjective), has acute on the final.

Thus आदनभोजनं सुखम्, पयपानं सुखम्, चन्दनप्रियङ्गुकालेपनं सुखम् ॥ All these are examples of भाव or Abstract Verbal Nouns. राजभोजनाः शालयः, राजाच्छादनानि वा-
सांसि, are examples of कर्मवचन or Passive Adjectives. These are formed by ल्युट् under III. 3. 116. For the Sûtra III. 3. 116 may be explained by saying that (1) ल्युट् is applied when the Upapada is in the objective case and bhâva is meant, (2) as well as when object is to be expressed. When the first explanation is taken, the above are examples of Bhâva; when the second explanation is taken, they are examples of Karma. Why do we say "ending in भन्"? Observe, हस्तहार्यमुत्थित् ॥ Why do we say "when expressing an action in the abstract (bhâva), or an Object (karma)"? Observe दन्तधार्वनम्, here ल्युट् is added after an Instrumental kâraka (III. 3. 117). Why do we say "after a kâraka"? Observe त्रिदशनिम्, अवलेखनम् ॥ In all the counter-examples, the second members retain their original accent,

मन्क्तिन्व्याख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्, क्ति-
न्, व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान, याजकादि, क्रीताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्तन्तं क्तिन्तन्तं व्याख्यान शयन आसन स्थान इत्येतानि याजकादयः क्रीतशब्दश्चात्तरपदमन्तोदा-
त्तं भवति ॥

151. The words ending in मन् or क्तिन् affixes, and the words व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान and क्रीत as well as याजक &c, have acute on the final, when at the end of a compound, preceded by a kâraka word.

Thus मन्—रथवर्मन्, शक्रवर्मन् ॥ क्तिन्—पाणिनिकृतिः, आपिशालिकृतिः ॥ व्याख्यान—
कृगयनव्याख्यानम्, छन्दोव्याख्यानम् ॥ शयन—ऽजशयनम्, ब्राह्मणशयनम् ॥ आसन—राजासनम्, ब्राह्म-
णसनम् ॥ स्थान—गोस्थानम्, अश्वस्थानम् ॥ याजकादि words are those which form Genitive
compounds under II. 2. 9, and those compounds only are to be taken here; as
ब्राह्मणयाजकैः, क्षत्रिययाजकैः, ब्राह्मणपूजकैः, क्षत्रियपूजकैः ॥ क्रीत—गोक्रीतैः, अश्वक्रीतैः ॥ This is
an exception to VI. 2. 139. and in the case of क्रीत, rule VI. 2. 48 is superseded.
The words व्याख्यान &c do not denote here भाव or कर्म, had they done so, rule

VI. 2. 149 would have covered them. When the first member is not a kâraka, we have प्रकृतिः and प्रहृतिः ॥

1 याजक, 2 पूजक, 3 परिचारक, 4 परिषेचक परिवेषक 5 स्नायक स्नानक 6 अध्यापक, 7 उवाहक (उवाचक) 8 उद्धर्तक, 9 होतृ, 10 भर्तृ, 11 रथगणक, 12 पक्षिगणक, 13 पातृ, 14 हातृ, 15 वर्तक.

सप्तम्याः पुण्यम् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्याः, पुण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तात्परं पुण्यमित्येतदुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

152. The word पुण्य has acute on the final when preceded by a noun in the Locative case.

Thus अध्ययने पुण्यम् = अध्ययनपुण्यम्, वेदपुण्यम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 40 by the process of splitting the sūtra (yoga-vibhāga), taking सप्तमी there as a full sūtra, and श्लोकेः another. Here by VI. 2. 2, the first member would have preserved its accent, the present sūtra supersedes that and ordains acute on the final. The word पुण्य is derived by the Uṇādi affix यन् (Uṇ V. 15) and would have retained its natural accent (VI. 1. 213) and thus get acute on the first syllable by kṛit-accent. (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'a locative case'? Observe वेदेन पुण्यं = वेदपुण्यम् ॥

ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊनार्थ, कलहम्, तृतीयायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊनार्थान्युत्तरपदानि कलहशब्दश्च तृतीयान्तात्परान्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

153. The acute falls on the final of words having the sense of ऊन, and of कलह, when they are second members in a compound, preceded by a term in the instrumental case.

Thus मानेनम्, कार्पापणेनेनम्, मासविकलेनम्, कार्पापणविकलेनम्, असिकलहेः, वाक्कलहेः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 31. This is an exception to VI. 2. 2 by which the first member being in the third case, would have retained its original accent. Some say that the word अर्थ in the sūtra means the word-form अर्थ, so that the aphorism would mean—"after an Instrumental case, the words ऊन, अर्थ, and कलह get acute on the final". The examples will be in addition to the above;—धान्येनार्थाः = धान्यार्थैः ॥ If this be so, then the word-form ऊन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विकल &c. To this we reply, that ऊन will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word अर्थ ॥ By sūtra II. 1. 31, ऊनार्थ and कलह always take the Instrumental case, so we could have omitted the word तृतीयायाः, from this sūtra, for by the maxim of pratipadokta &c, ऊनार्थकलहं would have referred to the compound ordained by II. 1. 31. The mention of तृतीया here is only for the sake of clearness.

मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसंश्रौ ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिश्रम्, च, अनुपसर्गम्, असंश्रौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयोति वर्तते । मिश्र इत्येतदुत्तरपदमनुपसर्गं तृतीयान्तात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवत्यसंश्रौ गम्यमाने ॥

154. The word मिश्र has acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any Preposition and does not mean a 'compact or alliance'.

Thus गुडमिश्रः, तिलमिश्रः, सर्पिमिश्रः ॥ Why do we say मिश्र? Observe गुडधानः ॥ Why do we say 'not having a Preposition'? Observe गुडसंमिश्राः ॥ The employment in this sūtra of the phrase 'anupasargam' implies, that wherever else, the word miśra is used, it includes miśra with a preposition also. Therefore in II. 1. 31 where the word मिश्र is used, we can form the Instrumental compounds with मिश्र preceded by a preposition also. Why do we say 'not denoting a compact'? Observe ब्राह्मणमिश्रो राजा = ब्राह्मणेः सह सहित ऐकार्थमापन्नः ॥ The word सन्धि here means a contract formed by reciprocal promises, if you do this thing for me, I will do this for you. Others say, it means close proximity, without losing identity, and thus differs from मिश्र in which two things blend together into one. Therefore though the King and the Brāhmaṇa may be in close proximity as regards space, they both retain their several individualities: hence the counter-example ब्राह्मणमिश्रो राजा ॥ While in the examples गुडमिश्राः & there is no possibility of separating the two.

नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे संपाद्यर्हितालमर्थास्तद्धिताः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, गुण, प्रतिषेधे, संपादि, अर्ह, हित, अलम्, अर्थाः, तद्धिताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपादि अर्ह हित अलम् इत्येवमर्था ये तद्धितास्तदन्तान्युत्तरपदानि नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे वर्त्तमानास्व-
द्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

155. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes denoting 'fitted for that' (V. 1. 99), 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63), 'good for that' (V. 1. 5), 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101), have acute on the final, when preceded by the Negative Particle नञ्, when it makes a negation with regard to the above mentioned attributes.

Thus संपादि 'suited for that' (V. 1. 99):—अकार्णवेष्टकिकं मुख्यम् = न कार्ण वेष्ट-
किकं (कर्ण वेष्टकाभ्यां संपादि) ॥ The affix is ष्ट् ॥ अर्ह 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63):—
अच्छोदकः = न छेदि कः (छेदमर्हति). The affix is ष्ट् (V. 1. 64 and V. 1. 19). हित 'good for
that' (V. 1. 5):—अवृत्सीर्यः = न वृत्ती यः ॥ The affix is छ (V. 1. 1). अलमर्थः 'capable
to effect that' (V. 1. 101):—असंतापिकः = न संतापिकः ॥ The affix is ष्ट् (V. 1. 18)
Why do we say 'after नञ्'? Observe गर्हभरथमर्हति = गर्हभराधिकः, विगर्हभराधिकः, where
the negative वि is used and therefore the avyaya वि retains its accent by VI. 2.
2. Why do we say 'negation of that attribute'? Observe गर्हभराधिकान्यः =
अगर्हभराधिकः ॥ The word गुण here means the attribute denoted by the
Taddhita affix, and not any attribute in general. Thus अकार्णवेष्टकिकं मुख्यम् =

कर्णवेष्टकाभ्याम् न संपादि युत्वम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the sense of sampādi &c'? Observe पाणिनीयमधीयते=पाणिनीयः; न पाणिनीयः=अपाणिनीयः ॥ Why do we say "Taddhita affixes"? Observe कन्यां वाढुमङ्गति=कन्यावाढा. न वाढा=अवाढा ॥ Here कृच् a kṛit affix is added in the sense of 'deserving' (III. 3. 169).

ययतोश्चातदर्थे ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ य, यतो, च, अतदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ य यत् इत्येतौ यौ तद्धितावतदर्थे वर्तेते तदन्तस्योत्तरपदस्य नञो गुणप्रतिषेधविषयादन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

156. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes य and यत् when not denoting 'useful for that', have acute on the last syllable, after the particle नञ् negating the attribute.

Thus पाशानां समूहः=पाशयाः, न पाश्याः=अपाश्याः, So also अनृत्याः (IV. 2. 49); एन्तेषु भवं=इन्त्यम्, न इन्त्यं=अइन्त्यम्, अकर्ण्यम् (V. 1. 6). Why do we say 'atadārtha:— not useful for that'. Observe पाशार्थमुदकम्=पाशम्, न पाशम्=अपाशम् (V. 4. 25). This rule does not apply when the affixes are not Taddhita, as अदेयम् formed with the kṛit affix यत् ॥ There must be negation of the attribute, otherwise इन्त्यादन्यत्=अइन्त्यम् ॥ The affix य and यत्, one without any anubandha and the other with the anubandha न् being specifically mentioned, excludes all other affixes having य as their effective element, such as डच् &c. (IV. 2. 9), thus न वामदेव्यं=अवामदेव्यम् ॥ See IV. 2. 9.

अच्कावशक्तौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, कौ, अ शक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच् क इत्येवमन्तमशक्तौ गम्यमानायामुत्तरपदं नञः परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

157. A word formed with the kṛit affix अच् and क, preceded by the particle नञ्. has acute on the final, when the meaning is 'not capable.'

Thus अपचः=य पक्तुं न शक्नोति, so also अजयः, अपठः, अविक्षिपः, अविच्छिद्यः (III. 1. 134 &c). Why do we say when meaning 'not capable'? Observe अपचो हीक्षितः, अपचः परिव्राजकः ॥ A हीक्षित and a परिव्राजक do not cook their food, not because they are physically incapable of cooking, but because by the vows of their particular order they are prohibited from cooking.

आक्रोशे च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे च गम्यमानं नञ् उत्तरमच्कान्तमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

158. A word formed by the kṛit-affixes अच् or क, preceded by the Negative particle, has acute on the final when one abuses somebody by that word.

Thus अपचोऽयं जाल्मः 'this rogue does not cook, though he can do so'. Here avarice is indicated, the fellow wants more pay before he will cook : and not his incapacity. So also अपठोऽयं जाल्मः, so also अविक्षिपः, अविच्छिद्यः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (अन्तो दात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमानं नञः परमुत्तरपदं संज्ञायां वर्त्तमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

159. When abuse is meant, a word preceded by नम्, has acute on the final, in denoting a Name.

Thus अदेवदत्तैः 'No Devadatta, not deserving of this name' अयत्तदत्तैः, अविष्णुमित्रैः ॥

कृत्योकेष्णुश्चार्वाद्यश्च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, उक, इष्णुच्, चार्वाद्यः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य उक इष्णुच् इत्येवमन्ताश्चार्वाद्यश्च नम् उत्तरेणोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

160. After the Negative particle, the words formed by the kṛitya affixes (III. 1. 95), by उक, and इष्णुच्, and the words चारु &c. have acute on the final.

Thus kṛitya:—अकर्त्तव्यम्, अकरणीयम्, उकः—अनाभासुकर्म, अनपलापुकर्म ॥ इष्णुच्—अनलंकारिष्णुः, अनिराकरिष्णुः ॥ The affix इष्णुच् includes खिष्णुच् also: अनाद्वयभविष्णुः, असुभगभावष्णुः ॥ चारु &c:—अचारुः, असाधुः, अयोधिकः, अवदान्यः, अननङ्गमेजयैः (double negation). अनकस्मान् (double negation), The words वर्तमान, वर्धमान स्वरमाण, धीयमाण, रोचमान, क्रीयमाण, and शोभमान preceded by अ (नम्) when denoting names have acute on the final. अविकारैः, असदृशैः and अविकारसदृशैः (विकार and सदृश taken jointly & separately). अगृहपति, अगृहपतिकः ॥ अराज्ञो and अनर्हः in the Vedas only. In the Vernacular they have the accent of नम्, i. e. udātta on the first.

1 चारु, 2 साधु, 3 यौध्याकि (यौधिक) 4 अनङ्गमेजय, 5 वदान्य 6 अकस्मान्, 7 वर्तमानवर्धमानस्वरमाणधियमाणक्रीयमाणरोचमानशोभमानाः (क्रियमाण क्रीयमाण) संज्ञायाम्, 8 विकारसदृशे व्यस्ते समस्ते (अविकार, असदृश अविकारसदृश), 9 गृहपति, 10 गृहपतिक, 11 राजाहो भ्रूण्डसि.

विभाषा तृन्नन्तरीक्षणशुचिषु ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृन्, अन्न, तीक्ष्ण, शुचिषु, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृन्नन्त अन्न तीक्ष्ण शुचि इत्येतेषु नम् उत्तरेषु विभाषा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

161. After the Negative particle, the final of the following is optionally acute :—a word formed with the affix तृन्, and the words अन्न, तीक्ष्ण, and शुचि ॥

Thus तृन्—अकर्त्ता or अकर्त्ता; अन्न &c—अनन्नम् or अन्नत्रम्, अतीक्ष्णम्, or अतीक्ष्णम्, अशुचिः or अशुचिः ॥ The alternative accent is that of the Indeclinable. (VI. 2. 2)

बहुव्रीहाविदमेतत्तद्भ्यः प्रथमपूरयोः क्रियागणने ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, इदम्, एतद्, तद्भ्यः, प्रथम, पूरयोः, क्रिया-गणने, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे इदम् एतद् तदित्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य प्रथमशब्दस्य पूरणप्रत्ययान्तस्य च क्रियागणने वर्त्तमानस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. In a Bahuvrīhi, after the words इदम्, एतद् and तद्, the last syllable of प्रथम and of a proper Ordinal Numeral, has the acute, when the number of times of an action is meant.

Thus इदं प्रथमं गमनं भोजनं वा = स इदमप्रथमैः 'this is the first time of going or eating'. इदं द्वितीयैः, इदं तृतीयैः, एतत्प्रथमैः, एतद्वितीयैः, एतत्तृतीयैः तत्प्रथमैः, तद्वितीयैः तत्तृतीयैः ॥ Why do we say 'in a Bahuvrīhi?' Observe अनेन प्रथमः = इदं प्रथमः ॥ Here the first member being in the third case retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say "after idam &c". Observe यत्प्रथमः = यः प्रथम एषाम्, here the first term retains its accent by VI. 2. 1. Why do we say 'of prathama and the Ordinals?' Observe तानि बहून्यस्य = तद्बहुः ॥ Why do we say 'in counting an action'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां = त इदं प्रथमाः ॥ Here *substances* are counted and not *action*. Why do we say 'in counting'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां = इदं प्रथमाः i. e. इदं प्रधानाः ॥ and the word प्रथम means here 'foremost', and is not a numeral. When the कप् affix is added, the acute falls on the last syllable preceding कप् ॥ As इदं प्रथमकाः ॥ The Bahuvrīhi governs the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 2. 178.

संख्यायाः स्तनः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, स्तनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दो बहुव्रीहौ समासेन्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

163. In a Bahuvrīhi, after a Numeral, the word स्तन has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ, त्रिस्तनौ, चतुःस्तनौ ॥ Why do we say after a Numeral? Observe दर्शनायस्तना ॥ Why do we say 'स्तन'? Observe द्विशिराः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दो विभाषा अन्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

164. Optionally so, in the Vedas, the stana after a Numeral has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ or द्विस्तना, चतुःस्तनौ or चैतुःस्तना ॥

संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, मित्र, अजिनयोः (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे मित्र अजिन इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ ऋषिप्रतिषेधो मित्रे ॥

165. In a Bahuvrīhi, ending in मित्र and अजिन, the acute falls on the last syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

As देवमित्रैः, ब्रह्ममित्रैः, वृत्राजिनैः, कूलाजिनैः कृष्णाजिनैः ॥ Why do we say 'a Name'? Observe प्रियमित्रैः, महाजिनः ॥

Vari:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of मित्र when the name is that of a Rishi. As विश्वामित्रः which is governed by VI. 2. 106 ॥

व्यवायिनो अन्तरम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवायिनः, अन्तरम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवायी व्यवधाता । तद्वाचिनः परमन्तरं बहुव्रीहौ समासे अन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

166. In a Bahuvrīhi ending in अन्तर, the acute falls on the final, after a word which denotes 'that which lies between'.

Thus वस्त्रान्तरम् 'through an intervened cloth or drapery', पदान्तरम्, कम्बलान्तरम् = वस्त्रमन्तरं व्यवधायकं यस्य &c. Why do we say 'when meaning lying between'? Observe आत्मान्तरम् = आत्मा स्वभावोऽन्तरोऽन्वेष्यस्य ॥

मुखं स्वाङ्गम् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुखम्, स्वाङ्गम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुखमुत्तरपरं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

167. In a Bahuvrīhi the acute is on the final, when the second member is मुख meaning mouth i. e. the actual bodily part of an animal and not used metaphorically.

Thus गौरमुखः, भद्रमुखः ॥ Why do we say 'an actual part of a body'? Observe शीर्षमुखा शाला ॥ Here मुख means "entrance or door". The word स्वाङ्ग means "a non liquid substance actually to be found in living beings &c". as explained in III. 4. 54.

नाव्ययदिक्शब्दगोमहत्स्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्यय, दिक्शब्द, गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु, वत्सेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय दिक्शब्द गो महत् स्थूल मुष्टि पृथु वत्स इत्येतेभ्यः परं मुखं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

168. In a Bahuvrīhi, the acute does not fall on such मुख denoting a real mouth, when it comes after an Indeclinable, and a name of a direction, or after गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु and वत्स ॥

Thus: अव्ययः—उच्चैर्मुखः, नीचैर्मुखः ॥ The words उच्चैः and नीचैः are finally acute and retain their accent. दिक्—प्राङ्मुखः, प्रत्यङ्मुखः ॥ The word प्राङ् has acute on the first by VI. 2, 52, and प्रत्यङ् is finally acute by VI. 3. 139. गो &c :—गोर्मुखः, महोर्मुखः, स्थूलमुखः, मुष्टिमुखः, पृथुमुखः and वत्सैर्मुखः ॥ In these the first members of the Bahuvrīhi preserve their respective accents under Rule VI. 2. 1 and in the case of compounds preceded by गो, मुष्टि and वत्स, the optional rule taught in the next sūtra is also superseded by anticipation, though the words may denote comparison.

निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपमानात्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तादुपमानवाचिनश्च मुखं स्वाङ्गमुत्तरपरमन्यतरस्यां बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

169, In a Bahuvrīhi, the word मुख denoting 'an actual mouth', has optionally the acute on the final, when preceded by a participle in त्, or by that wherewith something is compared.

Thus प्रक्षालितमुखैः or प्रक्षालितमुखः or प्रक्षालितमुखः ॥ When the final is not acute, then Rule VI. 2. 110 applies which makes the first member have acute on the final optionally, and when that also does not apply, then by VI. 2. 1. the first member preserves its original accent, which is that of the gati (VI. 2. 49). Thus there are three forms. So also with a word denoting comparison:—सिंहमुखैः or सिंहमुखः, व्याघ्रमुखैः or व्याघ्रमुखः ॥

जातिकालसुखादिभ्यो ऽनाच्छादनात् को ऽकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिकाल, सुखादिभ्यः, अनाच्छादनात्, कः, अकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिन आच्छादनवर्जितात् कालवाचिनः सुखादिभ्यश्च परं कान्तं कृतमितप्रतिपन्नान्वर्जयित्वा बहुव्रीहौ समासेन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

170. After a word denoting a species (with the exception of a word for 'garment or covering'), and after a time-denoting word as well as after सुख &c. the Participle in क्त has acute on the final, in a Bahuvrīhi, but not so when the participles are कृत, मित and प्रतिपन्न ॥

Thus सारङ्गजग्धैः, पलाण्डुभक्षितैः, सुरपीतैः ॥ कालः—मासजातैः, संवत्सरजातैः, ब्रह्मजातैः, इयहजातैः ॥ सुख &c.—सुखजातैः, दुःखजातैः, वृषजातैः ॥ Why do we say "after a Species, a time or सुख &c. word"? Observe पुत्रजातः (II. 2. 37), the participle being placed after the word Putra. Why do we say 'when not meaning a garment'? Observe वैस्त्रच्छत्रः, वैस्त्रच्छत्रः from the root वस् with the affixes घ्नन् and ल्युट् respectively. Why do we say "when not कृत &c."? Observe कुण्डकृतः, कुण्डमितः, कुण्डप्रतिपन्नः; कुण्ड is first acute by Phit II. 3 being neuter. These three participles do not stand first in a compound (contrary to II. 2. 36), as this sūtra implies. In the counter-examples, above given, the first members retain their original accent (VI. 2. 1). The words सुख &c are given under III. 1. 18.

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 वृष (वृष तोत्र) 4 कृच्छ्र, 5 अन्न, 6 आस्र*, 7 अलीक 8 प्रतीप, 9 करुण, 10 कृपण, 11 सोढ. 12 गहन.

वा जाते ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जाते, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातशब्दउत्तरपदे वा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति बहुव्रीहौ समासे जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः ॥

171. After a species (with the exception of garment) or a time denoting word, or after सुख &c. in a Bahuvrīhi, the word जात has optionally acute on the final.

Thus दन्तजातैः or दन्तजातः, स्तनजातैः or स्तनजातः, मासजातैः, or मासजातः, संवत्सरजातैः or संवत्सरजातः; सुखजातैः or सुखजातः, दुःखजातैः or दुःखजातः &c. The words दन्त and स्तन are first-acute by Phit II. 6; मास is first-acute by Phit II. 15, संवत्सर is finally-acute by Phit I. 7. बहिष्ठवत्सरति शतयान्ताम् "words ending in बहिष्ठ, वत्स, ति, शत् and थ are finally acute", as बहिष्ठैः, संवत्सरैः, सप्ततिः, विशत्, गुर्यम् ॥ The words सुख and दुःख are end-acute by Phit I. 6.

नञ्सुभ्याम् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, सुभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां परपुत्रपरं बहुव्रीहौ समासेन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

172. A Bahuvrīhi formed by the Negative particle नञ् or by सु has acute on the last syllable of the compound.

Thus अयवो^३ देशः, अत्रीहि^३, अमाष^३, सुयव^३, सुत्रीहि^३, सुमाष^३ ॥ The acute here rests on the last syllable of the completed compound ; so that the rule applies to the compounds which have fully developed themselves by taking the samāsānta affixes. Thus अनृच^३ (formed by the samāsānta affix अ V. 4. 74). Though the word समास and उत्तरपर are both present here by context, yet the operation is performed on samāsa. This is to be inferred, because of the next sūtra. For had the present sūtra meant that the final of the second member (उत्तरपर) preceded by नञ् and सु gets the acute, then there would have been no necessity of the next sūtra, for the present would have covered the case of सुकुमारीक &c because कप् is not a part of the *second term* (uttarapada) कुमारी but of the *compound* (Samasa) सुकुमारी; and therefore, if we translated the present sūtra, by saying that the end of second term gets acute, the accent would have fallen on ई in सुकुमारीक: even by this sūtra. But this is not intended, because of the accent of the samāsānta words अनृचः and बहुचः ॥ There is necessity of the next sūtra, because a samāsa includes not only the simple samāsa, but one ending with a samāsānta affix. Therefore, had not the next sūtra been made, the accent would have fallen on क् and not on ई, for the affix कप् is considered part of the samāsa and not of the uttarapada समासान्तः समासस्यैवावयवं नोत्तरपरस्य ॥

कपि पूर्वम् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, पूर्वम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां कपि परतः पूर्वमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

173. A Bahuvrīhi formed by नञ् or सु and ending in the affix कप्, (V. 4. 153) has acute on the syllable preceding the affix.

By the last sūtra the accent would have fallen on कप्, this makes it fall on the vowel preceding it. Thus अकुमारी^३कोदेशः, अवृषली^३कः, अब्रह्मबन्धू^३कः, सुकुमारी^३कः, सुवृषली^३कः, सुब्रह्मबन्धू^३कः ॥

ह्रस्वान्ते ऽन्त्यात्पूर्वम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वान्ते, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, (उदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वो ऽन्तो यस्य तद्विदं ह्रस्वान्तपुत्रपरं समासो वा, तत्रान्त्यात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति कपि परतो नञ्सुभ्यां परं बहुव्रीहौ समासे ॥

174. When the compound ends in a light vowel, the acute falls on the syllable before such last, in a Bahuvrīhi preceded by नञ् and सु to which कप् is added.

Thus अयवकोदेशः, अत्रीहि^३कः, अमाषकः, सुयवकः, सुत्रीहि^३कः, सुमाषकः ॥ The repetition of पूर्व in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present from the last,

shows, that in the last aphorism, the syllable preceding कप् takes the acute, while here the syllable preceding the short-vowel-ending final syllable has the acute and not the syllable preceding कप् ॥ This is possible with a word which is, at least, of two syllables (not counting, of course, सु and क or कप्). Therefore, in अज्ञैकः and सुज्ञैकः, the acute is on the syllable preceding कप् by VI. 2. 173, because it has here no 'antyât-purvam.

बहोर्नञ्चदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, नञ्चदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदार्थबहुत्वे यो बहुशब्दो वर्तते तस्मान्नञ्चद्व स्वरो भवति । नञ्चुभ्यामित्युक्तम् । बहोरपि तथा भवति ॥

175. A Bahuvrîhi with बहु, has the same accent as नञ्, when it denotes muchness of the object expressed by the second member.

In other words a Bahuvrîhi with the word बहु in the first member, is governed by all those rules which apply to a Bahuvrîhi with a Negative Particle such as Rules VI. 2. 172 &c. when this gives the sense of multitude of the objects denoted by the second member, Thus बहुयवो देवाः, बहुव्रीहोः, बहु-तिर्लः the same as VI. 2. 172. बहुयवकः, बहुव्रीहिकः, बहुमौषकः by VI. 2. 174. बहुजैरः, बहुमैरः, बहुमित्रैः, बहुमृतैः by VI. 2. 116: these examples of VI. 2. 116 are not given by Dr. Bohtlingk.

Why do we say 'uttara-pada-bhumni—when multitude of the objects denoted by the second member is meant'? Observe बहुषु मनोऽस्य = बहुमना भयम् (VI. 2. 1).

न गुणादयो ऽवयवाः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गुणादयः, अवयवाः (अन्तोदात्ताः)

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणादयो ऽवयववाचिनो बहोरुत्तरे बहुव्रीहौ नान्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

176. In a Bahuvrîhi, after बहु, the acute does not fall on the final of गुण &c. when they appear in the compound as ingredient of something else.

Thus बहुगुणाः रज्जुः, बहुक्षरं पद्म, बहुच्छन्दोमानम्, बहुध्यायः (VI. 2. 1). गुणादि is an Akrtigaṇa. Why do we say "when it denotes an avayaya or ingredient"? As बहुगुणो ब्राह्मणः = अध्ययनश्रुतसदाशारादयोऽत्रगुणाः ॥

1 गुण, 2 अक्षर, ३ अध्याय, 4 सूक्त, 5 छन्दोमान. आकृतिगण.

उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपर्शु ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, स्वाङ्गम्, ध्रुवम्, अपर्शु, (अन्तोदात्ताम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवं पर्शुवर्जितमन्तोदात्तं भवति बहुव्रीहौ समासे ॥

177. A word denoting a part of the body, which is constant (and indispensable), with the exception of पर्शु, has, after a Preposition in a Bahuvrîhi compound, the acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रपृष्ठैः, प्रोद्गैः, प्रललादैः; सततं यस्य प्रगतं पृष्ठं भवति स प्रपृष्ठः ॥ Why do we say 'after a Preposition'? Observe दर्शनीयललाटः ॥ Why do we say 'part of the body'? Observe प्रशाखो वृक्षः ॥ Why do we say 'dhruva—constant and indispensable'? Observe उद्गाहुः क्रोशति ॥ Here the hand is raised up only at the time of cursing and not *always*, so the state of उद्गाहु is temporary and not permanent. Why do we say with the exception of पशुं? Observe ईस्पशुः, विपशुः (VI. 2. 1).

वनं समासे ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, समासे, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासमात्रे वनमित्येतदुत्तरपदस्युपसर्गात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

178. After a preposition, वन has acute on the final in compounds of every kind.

Thus प्रवर्णे यष्टव्यम्, निर्वर्णे प्रणिधीयते, the न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 5. The word 'samāsa' is used in the sūtra to indicate that all sorts of compounds are meant, otherwise only Bahuvrīhi would have been meant.

अन्तः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तदशब्दादुत्तरं वनमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

179. After अन्तर् the acute falls on the final of वन ॥

Thus अन्तर्वर्णो देशः ॥ This sūtra is made in order to make वन oxytoned, when a preposition (upasarga) does not precede.

अन्तश्च ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तदशब्दश्चोत्तरपदस्युपसर्गादन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

180. The word अन्तर् has acute on the final when preceded by a Preposition.

Thus प्रान्तैः, पर्यन्तैः ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi or a प्रादि compound.

न निविभ्याम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, नि, विभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरोन्तदशब्दो नान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

181. The word antar has not acute on the final, after the prepositions नि and वि ॥

Thus न्यन्तः, व्यन्तः, here the first member retains its acute, and semivowel is then substituted for the vowel इ, then the subsequent grave is changed to svarita by VIII. 2. 4.

परेरभितोभावि मण्डलम् ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, अभितः-भावि, मण्डलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेरुत्तरमभितोभाविवचनं मण्डलं चान्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

182. After परि, a word, which expresses something, which has both this side and that side, as well as the word मण्डल, has acute on the final.

Thus परिकूर्लम्, परित्तीरम्, परिमण्डलम् ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi or प्रादि compound or an Avyayibhāva. If it is an Avyayibhāva, then rule VI. 2, 33 is superseded,

and the first member does not retain its original accent. अभित्तः = उभयतः 'on both sides, अभित्तोभावोऽस्यास्ति = अभित्तोभाविन् 'that which has both sides: namely those things which have naturally two sides such as 'banks', 'shores' &c.

प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रात्, अस्वाङ्गम्, संज्ञायाम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादुत्तरपदमस्वाङ्गवाचि संज्ञायां विषयेऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

183. After प्र, a word, which does not denote a part of body, has acute on the final, when the compound is a name.

Thus प्रकोष्ठम्, प्रगृह्यम्, प्रद्वारम् ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting a body part'? Observe प्रहस्तम्, प्रपदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe प्रपीठम् ॥
निरुदकादीनि च ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरुदकादीनि, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरुदकादीनि च शब्दरूपाण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

184. The words निरुदक &c, have acute on the final.

Thus निरुदकम्, निरुपम्, निरुपलम् &c.

1 निरुदक, 2 निरुपल निरुपल 3 निर्मक्षिक, 4 निर्मक्षक, 5 निष्कालक, 6 निष्कालिक, 7 निष्पेष, 8 दुस्तरीप, 9 निस्तरीप, 10 निस्तरीक, 11 निराजिन, 12 उदजिन, 13 उपाजिन, 14 परेर्हस्तपादकेशकर्षां भाकृतिगण.

These may be considered either as प्रादि समास or Bahuvrihi. If they be considered as avyayī bhāva compounds then they are end acute already by VI. I. 223. The word निष्कालकः = निष्कालन्तः कालकान्, is a Prādi-samāsa with the word काल ending in the affix कन् ॥ The word दुस्तरीपः is thus formed: to the root तृ is added the affix ई and we have तरी (Uṇ III. 158) तरीम् पति = तरीपः; कुत्सित स्तरीपः = दुस्तरीपः ॥ The word निस्तरीकः is formed by adding the affix कप् to the Bahuvrihi निस्तरी ॥ The words हस्त, पाद, कश and कर्ष have acute on the final after परि, as, परिहस्तः, परिपादः, परिकेशः, and परिकर्षः ॥

अभेर्मुखम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, मुखम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभेः उत्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

185. The word मुख has acute on the final when preceded by अभि ॥

As, अभिमुखम् ॥ It is a Bahuvrihi or a प्रादि samāsa. If it is an Avyayī-bhāva, then it would have acute on the final by VI. I. 223 also. By VI. 2. 177, even मुख would have oxytone after an upasarga, the present sūtra makes the additional declaration that मुख is oxytone even when the compound is not a Bahuvrihi, when it does not denote an indispensable part of body, or a part of body even, as was the case in VI. 2. 177. Thus अभिमुखो ज्ञाला ॥

अपाच्च ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपाच्चोत्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

186. The word मुख has acute on the final, after the preposition अप् ॥

Thus अपमुख्यम्, अपमुख्यैः ॥ The compound is in one case Avyayibhāva also, when rule VI. 2. 33 will be superseded. The separation of this from the last sūtra, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism, in which the anuvritti of अप only goes.

स्फिगपूतवीणाञ्जोध्वकुक्षिसीरिनाम नाम च १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फिग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जः, उध्वम् कुक्षि, सीरि नाम, नाम, च,

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फिग पूत वीणा अञ्जस् उध्वम् कुक्षि इत्येतान्युत्तरदानि सीरिनामानि नामशब्दभाषादुत्तराण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ।

187. The words स्फिग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जस्, अध्वम्, कुक्षि, नामन् and a word denoting 'a plough', have acute on the final when preceded by अप् ॥

Thus अपस्फिग्यम्, अपपूतम्, अपवीणम्, अपाञ्जः, अपाध्वम् (This ordains acute on the final where the compound apādhwā does not take the samāsanta affix अच् by V. 4. 85, when it takes that affix, the acute will also fall on the final because अच् is a चित् affix.) This further shows that the samāsanta affixes are not compulsory. (अनित्यश्च समासान्तः), अपकुक्षिः, अपसीरिः, अपहलः, अपलाङ्गलम्, अपनाम ॥ These are प्रादि compounds or Bahuvrihi or Avyayibhavas. Some of these viz. स्फिग, पूत and कुक्षिः will be end-acute by VI. 2. 177, also when they denote parts of body and a permanent condition and the compound is a Bahuvrihi. Here the compound must not be a Bahuvrihi, nor should these words denote parts of body and permanent condition of these parts.

अधेरुपरिस्थम् ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, उपरिस्थम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अधेरुत्तरमुपरिस्थवाचि अन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

188. After अधि, that word, which denotes that thing which overlaps or stands upon, has acute on the final.

Thus अधिदन्तः = दन्तस्योपरि द्योऽन्योदन्तो जायते 'a tooth that grows over another tooth'. अधिकर्णः, अधिकेशः ॥ These are प्रादि samāsa or an appositional compound in which the second member has been dropped. Why do we say when meaning 'standing upon'? Observe अधिकर्णम् Here the acute is on क, the krit-formed second member retaining its accent (VI. 2. 139).

अनोरप्रधानकनीयसी ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनोः, अप्रधान, कनीयसी, (अन्तोदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरमप्रधानवाचि कनीयश्वान्तोदात्तं भवति ।

189. After अनु, a word which is not the Principal, as well as कनीयस् has acute on the final.

The word अप्रधान means a word which stands in a dependant relation in a compound. Thus अनुगतो ज्येष्ठम् = अनुज्येष्ठः, अनुमध्यमैः ॥ These are प्रादि samāsa

in which the first member is the principal or Pradhâna. भनुगतः कनीयाम् = भनुक-नीयाम्, here the second member is the Principal: the word कनीयम् is taken as प्रधान ॥ Had it been non-pradhâna, it would be covered by the first portion of the sūtra, and there would have been no necessity of its separate enumeration. Why do we say "अप्रधान"? Observe भनुगतो ज्येष्ठः = भनुज्येष्ठः, where ज्येष्ठ is the Principal.

पुरुषश्चान्वादिष्टः ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषः, च, अन्वादिष्टः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्देऽन्वादिष्टवाची चानोरुत्तरोन्तादात्तो भवति ।

190. After अनु, the acute falls on the final of पुरुष, when it means a man of whom mention was already made.

The word अन्वादिष्ट means 'of a secondary importance, inferior', or 'mentioned again after having already been mentioned'. Thus अन्वादिष्टः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः; but अनुगतः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः ॥

अतेरकृतपदे ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतेः, अकृतपदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतेः परमकृतपदं पदशब्दश्चान्तोदात्तो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अतेर्द्वातुलोपइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. After अति, a word not formed by a kṛit-affix, and the word पद्, have acute on the last syllable.

Thus अत्यङ्कुशो नागः, अतिकशोऽश्वः, अतिपर्शो शकूरी ॥ Why do we say 'non-kṛit-word and पद्'? Observe अतिकारकः ॥

Vārt :—The rule is restricted to those compounds in which a root has been elided. That is, when in analysing the compound a verb like कम् is to be employed to complete the sense. Therefore it does not apply to शोभनो गार्ग्यः = अतिगार्ग्यः ॥ But it would apply to अतिकारकः, which when analysed becomes equal to अतिक्रान्तः कारकम् ॥

नेरनिधाने ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, अनिधाने, (अन्तोदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

192. After नि, the second member has the acute on the last syllable, when the sense is of 'not laying down'.

The word निधानं = अप्रकाशता 'not making manifest'. Thus निमूर्णम्, न्यक्षम्, नितूर्णम् ॥ These are either Bahuvrihi or prâdisamâsa. In the case of their being Avyayibhâva, they would have acute on the final by VI. I. 223. Why do we say when meaning 'not laying down'? Observe निवाक् = निहितवाक् as निवाग्वृषलः; निदण्डः = निहितदण्डः ॥ The force of नि is that of निधान here.

प्रतेरंश्वाद्यस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, अंश्वाद्यः, तत्पुरुषे, (अन्तोदात्ताः)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतेरंश्वाद्यस्तत्पुरुषे समासेन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ।

193. In a Tatpuruṣa compound, the words अंशु &c have acute on the final when preceded by प्रति ॥

Thus प्रत्यंशुः, प्रतिजनैः, प्रतिराजौ ॥ In the case of राजन् this rule applies when the Samāsānta affix टच् is not added, when that affix is added, the acute will also be on the final by virtue of टच् which is a चिन् affix.

1 अंशु, 2 जन, 3 राजन्, 4 उग्र, 5 खेटक (रोटक), 6 अजिर, 7 भार्ता, 8 श्रवण, 9 कृत्तिका, 10 अर्ध, 11 पुर (आर्धपुर आर्धपुरः) ॥

The word अंशु is formed by the affix कु under the general class मृगयुः (Uṇ I. 37), राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156), उग्र by adding घ्नृन् to उग् 'to burn'. (Uṇ IV. 162), खिद् + ष्वल् = खेटक ; अजिर is formed by किरच् (Uṇ I. 53) आ + द्वा + अङ् (III. 3. 106), with the augment रक् added to आ = भार्ता ॥ शृ + ल्युट् = श्रवण, कृत + तिकन् = कृत्तिका (Uṇ III. 147) ऋध् + अच् (III. I. 134) = अर्ध ; पुर + क = पुर ॥

Why do we say 'in the Tatpurusha'? Observe प्रतिगता अंशवोऽस्य = प्रत्यंशुरग्रघ्नृः ॥

उपाद् द्व्यज्जिनमगौरादयः ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाद्, द्व्यच् अजिनम्, अगौरादयः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरं द्व्यज्जिनं चान्तोदात्तं भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे गौरादीन्वर्जयित्वा ॥

194. In a Tatpurusha, the words of two syllables and अजिन have acute on the final when preceded by उप, but not when they are गौर and the rest.

Thus उपगतो देवः = उपदेवैः, उपन्द्रैः, उपसोमैः, उपहोडैः, उपाजिनम् ॥ But not so in उपगौरः, उपनैषः &c.

1 गौर, 2 नैष (नैष) 3 तैल, 4 लेट, 5 लोट, 6 जिह्वा, 7 कृष्ण (कृष्णः) 8 कन्या, 9 सुध (सुड) 10 कल्प, 11 पाव

Why "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe उपगतः सोमोऽस्य = उपसोमः ॥

सोरवक्षेपणे ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, अवक्षेपणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुशब्दात्परमुत्तरपदं तत्पुरुषे समासेन्तोदात्तं भवति अवक्षेपणे गम्भमाने ॥

195. After सु, the second member has acute on the final in a Tatpurusha compound, when reproach is meant, in spite of the addition of सु which denotes praise.

Thus इह खल्विदानीं, सुस्थण्डिले सुस्फिताभ्यां सुप्रत्यवसितैः ॥ The word सु here verily denotes praise, but it is the sense of the whole sentence that indicates reproach or censure. Why do we say "after सु"? Observe कुब्राह्मणः ॥ Why 'when reproach is meant'? Observe शोभनेषु तृणेषु = सुतृणेषु ॥

विभाषोत्पुच्छे ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उत्पुच्छे, (अन्तउदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पुच्छशब्दे तत्पुरुषे विभाषाऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

196. In a Tatpurusha, the word उत्पुच्छ may optionally have acute on the final.

Thus उक्कान्तः पुच्छान् = उत्पुच्छः or उत्पुच्छः (VI. 2. 2) ॥ When this word is derived by the affix अच् from पुच्छमुदस्यति = उत्पुच्छयति, then it would always have taken acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, the present sūtra ordains option there also. The rule does not apply to a non-Tatpurusha : as, उरस्तं पुच्छमस्य = उत्पुच्छः ॥

द्वित्रिभ्यां पादन्मूर्द्धं सु बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, त्रिभ्याम्, पाद्, दत्, मूर्द्धं सु, बहुव्रीहौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि त्रि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरेषु पाद् दत् मूर्द्धन् इत्येतेषु भरपदेषु यो बहुव्रीहिसूत्रे विभाषा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

197. In a Bahuvrīhi, the words पाद्, दत् and मूर्द्धन् have optionally acute on the final after द्वि and त्रि ॥

Thus द्वौ पाशवस्य = द्विर्पात् or द्विर्पात्, त्रिर्पाद् or त्रिर्पाद्, द्विर्दन् or द्विर्दन्, त्रिर्दन् or त्रिर्दन्, द्विमूर्द्धं or द्विमूर्द्धं ॥ The word पाद् is पाद् with its अ elided, (V. 4. 140) दत् is the substitute of दन्त (V. 4. 141) and मूर्द्धन् retains its न् not allowing samāsanta affix. This also indicates that the samāsanta rule is not universal. When the samāsanta affix is added, then also the acute is on the final, for the कार्षी is here the Bahuvrīhi compound, and this is only a part of it. Thus द्विमूर्द्धः, त्रिमूर्द्धः ॥ Why after द्वि and त्रि? Observe कर्त्वीणमूर्धा here the first member is middle acute by Phit II. 19 and this accent is retained VI. 2. 1. Why 'पाद् &c'? Observe द्विहस्तम्, त्रिहस्तम् ॥ Why 'Bahuvrīhi'? Observe द्योमूर्धा = द्विमूर्धा ॥

सकथं चाक्रान्तात् ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सकथम्, च, अ क्रान्तात्, (अन्तोदात्तः) (विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकथमिति कृतसमासान्तः सकथिशब्दोत्र गृह्यते सोक्रान्तात्परो विभाषान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

198. The word सकथ has acute on the final optionally, when preceded by any word other than what ends in क्र ॥

The word सकथ is the samāsanta form of सकथि (V. 4. 113,). Thus गौरसकथः or गौरसकथः, श्लक्ष्णसकथः or श्लक्ष्णसकथः The word गौर being formed by प्रज्ञादि अण् and श्लक्ष्ण by कस् (Uṇ III. 19) are both end-acute. Why 'not after a word ending in क्र'? Observe चक्रसकथः which is *always* oxytone as it is formed by षच् (V. 4. 113) a चित् affix.

परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परादिः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये परादिः उदात्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

Karika—परादिश्च परान्तश्च पूर्वान्तश्चापि दृश्यते ।

पूर्वादिश्च दृश्यन्ते व्यत्ययो बहुलं ततः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्तप्रकरणे त्रिचक्रादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तप्रकरणे मरुद्वृद्धादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपदान्तुदात्तप्रकरणे द्विवोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

199. The first syllable of the second member is diversely acute, in the Veda.

The word पर "the second member" refers to सक्य, as well as to any other word in general. Thus अञ्चिसक्यमालभेत, but लोमसोसक्यः so also ऋशुबाहुः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पति ॥ In the non-Vedic literature these last two compounds will be final acute by VI. 1, 223, rule VI. 2, 18 not applying because of the prohibition contained in VI. 2, 19.

The rule is rather too restricted. It ought to be: "In the Veda, the *first* syllable and the *final* syllable of the *second* member, as well as the *final* syllable and the *first* syllable of the *preceding* member are seen to have the acute accent, in supersession of all the foregoing rules".

As to where the final of the second terms takes the acute, we have this *Vārtika*—In the Veda, त्रिचक्र &c have acute on the final of the second term. As त्रिचक्रेण, त्रिबन्धुरेण, त्रिवृत्तारथेन, ॥ नियेनं मुष्टिहृत्थया ॥

As to where the final of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vārtika*:—The words मरुद्वृद्ध &c in the Vedas have acute on the final of the first term. As मरुद्वृद्धः and विश्वोयुः ॥

As to where the first syllable of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vārtika*:—In the Veda, the words दिवोदास &c have acute on the first syllable of the first member. As दिवोदासाय सामगाय ते ॥

आम् ३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER THIRD

अलुगुत्तरपदे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलुक्, उत्तरपदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलुगिति च उत्तरपदे इति च एतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । यदित उर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो ऽलुगुत्तरपद-
स्येव तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. In the following upto VI. 3. 24 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase “the elision does not take place before the second member of the compound”.

The words अलुक् ‘there is no elision’, and उत्तरपदे “before the second member” are to be supplied in the subsequent sūtras. Both these words govern the sūtras upto VI. 3. 24, jointly; while उत्तरपदे extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अङ्ग (VI.4. 1). Thus sūtra VI. 3. 2 says “the affixes of the Ablative after ‘stoka’ &c”. The present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. “the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c are not elided before the second member of the compound”. Thus स्तोकात् मुक्तः = स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः ॥ Why do we say “before the second member”? Observe निष्कान्तः स्तोकात् = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, स्तोकादिभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोकान्तिकवृत्तार्थकृच्छ्राणि स्तोकादीनि तेभ्यः परस्याः पञ्चम्या उत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

2. The Ablative-ending after स्तोक &c is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः, अन्तिकाशगतः, अभ्याशाशगतः, वृशाशगतः, विप्रकृष्टा-
शगतः, कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः ॥ By I. 2. 46, a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called pratipadika, and by II. 4. 71 the endings of a Prātipadika are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् मुक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sūtra prevents that. The words स्तोक &c in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः, स्तोकेभ्यः मुक्तः are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not

one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have *one* accent, for in *one* word, there is only *one* acute. Thus while स्तोत्रान्मुक्तः being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI. 1. 158, VI. 2. 144), the word स्तोत्राभ्यां मुक्तः being treated as *two* words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39.

Vart :—The word ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् शंसति = ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् “a kind of Ritvik priest”.

ओजः सहोम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयायाः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् तमसः, तृतीयायाः (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् तमस् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयाया अलुग्भवति उत्तरपदे ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अञ्जस उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पुंसानुजो जनुषान्ध इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् and तमस् are not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus ओजसाकृतम्, सहसाकृतम्, अम्भसाकृतम्, तमसाकृतम् ॥

Vart —अञ्जस् also should be enumerated. Thus अञ्जसाकृतम् ॥

Vart :—The compounds पुंसानुजः and जनुषान्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसा हेतुनानुजः = पुंसानुजः ॥ जनुषा हेतुनाऽन्धः = जनुषान्धः ॥ The word जनु is another name of जन्मन् ‘birth’.

मनसः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनसः, संज्ञायाम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनस उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयायाः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

4. After मनस, when the compound is a Name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसाइत्ता, मनसागुप्ता, मनसासंगता ॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe मनोइत्ता, मनागुप्ता ॥

आज्ञायिनि च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आज्ञायिनि, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आज्ञायिन्युत्तरपदे मनस उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयाया अलुग्भवति ॥

5. Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन् = मनसाऽऽज्ञातुं शीलमस्य ॥

आत्मनश्च पूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनः, च, पूरणे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयायाः पूरणप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

6. The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided when an Ordinal Numeral follows.

Thus आत्मनापंचमः, आत्मनाषष्ठः ॥ The Instrumental case here takes place under the Vārtika तृतीयाविधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसख्यानं (II. 3. 18 Vārt). And compounding takes place by II. 1. 30, by separating तृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sūtra or in this way :—आत्मना कृतः पंचमः = आत्मनापंचमः ॥ How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थं in जनार्दनस्त्वात्मचतुर्थं एव? It is a Bahuvrīhi compound = आत्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य ॥ The word पूरणे is a later addition of the Vārtikakāra.

वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वैयाकरणाख्यायाम्, चतुर्थ्याः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैयाकरणस्याख्या वैयाकरणाख्या । आख्या संज्ञा । यया संज्ञया वैयाकरणा एव व्यवहरन्ति तस्या-
आत्मन उत्तरस्याश्चतुर्थ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

7. The Dative case ending is not elided after आत्मन् when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥ The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 36, and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha.

परस्य च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्य, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य च या चतुर्थी तस्या वैयाकरणाख्यायामलुग्भवति ॥

8. The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus परस्मैपदम्, परस्मभाषा ॥

हलदन्तात्सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् अदन्तात्, सप्तम्याः, संज्ञा-
याम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताद्दन्ताच्चोत्तरस्याः सप्तम्याः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हद्दुभ्यां डेः ॥

9. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name.

Thus युधिष्ठिरः, त्वचिसारः, गविष्ठिरः ॥ Though गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of VIII. 3. 95 (गविशुधिभ्यां स्थिरः) which shows by implication that गवि is governed by this rule. So also अ ending words: as अरण्यतिलकाः, अरण्यभाषकाः, वनेकिशुकाः, वनेहरिद्रकाः, वनेबल्लजकाः, पूर्वाहणे-
स्फोटकाः, कूपेपिशाचकाः ॥ Why do we say “after a word ending in a consonant or अ”? Observe नद्यां कुक्कुटिका = नदीकुक्कुटिका, भूम्यां पाशाः = भूमिपाशाः ॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe अक्षशोण्डः ॥

Vārt :—The Locative ending is not elided after हद् and गद्वि; as : ह्रस्विक, दिविस्पृक् ॥

कारनास्त्रि च प्राचां हलादौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारनास्त्रि, च, प्राचाम्, हलादौ, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे यत्कारनाम तत्र हलादावुत्तरपदे हलन्तादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

10. The Locative-case affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus सूपेशाणः, दृषदिमाषकः, हलेद्विपदिका, हलेत्रिपदिका ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule. The present rule makes a *niyama* or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant.

Why do we say when it is the name of a tax.? Observe अभ्यर्हितेषुः = अभ्यर्हितपशुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues', but not of a 'tax'. Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe यूथेषुः = यूथपशुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe अविकटोरणः = अविकटोरणः ॥ So also नद्यां रोहनी = नदीरोहनी ॥ For accent of these words see VI. 2. 65.

मध्याद्गुरौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्, गुरौ, अलुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या गुरावुत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

11. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows.

As, मध्येगुरुः ॥

Vārt :—So also after अन्त ; as अन्तेगुरुः ॥

अमूर्द्धमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ मूर्द्धे, मस्तकात्, स्वाङ्गात्, अकामे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्द्धमस्तकवर्जितात्स्वाङ्गादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या अकामउत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

12. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठे कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः, उरसिलोमा, उदरेमणिः ॥ But मूर्धेशिखः, मस्तकशिखः, मुखे कामोऽस्य = मुखकामः ॥ When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply : as अक्षशौण्डः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अंगुलित्राणः, अङ्घ्राबलिः ॥

बन्धे च विभाषा ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धे, च, विभाषा, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बन्ध इति घञन्तो गृह्यते । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपदे हलन्तादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

13. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before वन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तेबन्धः or हस्तेबन्धः, चक्रेबन्धः or चक्रेबन्धः ॥ This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrihi when the first member is a स्वाङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19, when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्वाङ्ग or not. The word बन्धः is घञ् formed word. When the first member ends in a vowel (other than अ), the rule does not apply. As गुम्फिबन्धः ॥

तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत् पुरुषे, कृति, बहुलम्, (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे कृन्तउत्तरपदे सप्तम्या बहुलमलुग्भवति ॥

14. In a Tatpurusha compound, when the second member is a word formed with a kṛit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved.

As स्तम्भेरमः, कर्णेजपः, but also कुरुचरः, मद्रचरः ॥

प्रावृट्शरत्कालदिवां जे ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृट्, शरत्, काल, दिवां, जे, (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृट् शरत् काल दिव् इत्येतेषां ज उत्तरपदे सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

15. The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृट्, शरत्, काल and दिव् when ज follows.

Thus प्रावृषिजः, शरदिजः, कालेजः, दिविजः ॥ This sūtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sūtra.

विभाषा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वर्ष, क्षर, शर, वरात्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ष क्षर शर वर इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या ज उत्तरपदे विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

16. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्ष, क्षर, शर, and वर when ज follows.

Thus वर्षेजः or वर्षेजः, क्षरेजः or क्षरेजः, शरेजः or शरेजः, वरेजः or वरेजः ॥

घकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, काल, तनेषु, काल नाम्नः, (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घसंज्ञके प्रत्यये कालशब्दे तनप्रत्यये च परतः कालनाम्न उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

17. The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time ending in a consonant or अ when तरप् or तमप्, or the word काल or the affix तन follows.

The affixes त्र and त्म are called घ (I. 1. 22). Thus घः—पूर्वाङ्गु तरे or पूर्वाङ्गु तरे, पूर्वाङ्गु तमे or पूर्वाङ्गु तमे ॥ कालः—पूर्वाङ्गु काले or पूर्वाङ्गु काले ॥ तनः—पूर्वाङ्गु तने or पूर्वाङ्गु तने ॥ Why do we say 'after a time—name'? Observe शुक्रतरे, शुक्रतमे ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in रात्रितरायाम् ॥

As a general maxim, an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मान् स विहित स्तद्वि स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम्) ॥ Thus the word थ, अथ &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in थ affix &c. But in this chapter, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपदे goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the following maxim : उत्तरपदाधिकारं प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्तं ग्रहणम् ; on the contrary the affix denotes its own-form. Thus तर, तम and तन here do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in sūtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares "हृद् is the substitute of हृदय when the word लेख, and the affixes वन्, अण्, and लास follow". Had the affix अण् here meant the word-form ending in अण्, then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sūtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix. The word काल in the aphorism means the word-form काल ॥ See Sūtra IV. 3. 23 for the affix तन ॥

शयवासवासिष्वकालात् ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥ शय, वास, वासिषु, अकालात्, (अलुक्) वृत्तिः ॥ शय वास वासिन् इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेष्वकालवाचिन उत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या विभाषा अलुग्भवति ॥

18. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन् when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus खेशयः, or खशयः, ग्रामवासः or ग्रामवासः, ग्रामवासिन् or ग्रामवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have पुरीङ्गुशयः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिशयः ॥

Vart:—The Locative case-affix is retained after अण् when योनि, or the affix यत् or मतुप् follows. Thus अप्शुयोनिः, अप्सव्यः, अप्शुमनौ ॥ The affix यत् is added by treating अण् as belonging to the दिगादि class (अप्शु भवः, IV. 3. 54).

नेत्सिद्धवध्नातिषु च ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्, सिद्ध, वध्नातिषु, च, (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ इन्नन्ते सिद्धशब्दं वध्नातौ च परतः सप्तम्या अलुग्भ भवति ॥

19. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from वन्ध् ॥

Thus स्थण्डिलशायिन्, सांक्राश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिन्यसिद्धः, चक्रबन्धकः, चक्रबन्धकः ॥ The compounding takes place by yoga-vibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 40. Some use the word चक्रबन्धः as an illustration under this rule: बन्ध then is derived by भच् of III. 1. 134. The बन्ध ending in घञ् is governed by VI. 3. 13. This sūtra is an exception to VI. 3. 14.

स्थे च भाषायाम् ॥२०॥ पदानि ॥ स्थे, च, भाषायाम्, (न) (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ स्थे चोत्तरपदे भाषायां सप्तम्या अलुग्भ भवति ॥

20. The Locative ending is not preserved before स्थ in the spoken language.

Thus विषमस्थः, कूटस्थः, पर्वतस्थः ॥ But आखरेष्ठः in the Veda, as in कृष्णास्या-
खरेष्ठः ॥ स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106.

षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः, आक्रोशे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने उत्तरपदे षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठीप्रकरणे वाग् दिक्पद्यङ्गो युक्तिरङ्गहरेषु यथासंख्यमलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ आमुष्यायणामुष्यपुत्रिकामुष्यकुलिकेति चालुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ देवानां प्रिय इत्यत्र च षष्ठ्या अलुग् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ शेषपुच्छलाङ्गुलेषु शुनः भसंज्ञायां षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ दिवश्च हासे षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

21. The Genitive case affix is retained when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult'.

Thus चौरस्यकुलम्, वृषलस्यकुलम् ॥ Why do we say when insult is meant ?
Observe ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Vårt :—The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्ति, after दिश् before षण्ड, and after पद्यन् before हर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्तिः, दिशोऽण्डः, पद्यतोहरः ॥

Vårt :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आमु-
ष्यायणः, आमुष्यपुत्रिका and आमुष्यकुलिका ॥ अमुष्य is the Genitive Singular of the
Pronoun अस्, and is enumerated in the नडादि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes फक्
in forming the Patronymic, अमुष्यापत्यम् = आमुष्यायणः, अमुष्यपुत्रस्य भावः = आमुष्यपुत्रिका
formed by वुञ् (V. 1. 133) ॥ So also आमुष्यकुलिका ॥

Vårt :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानांप्रियः ॥
The author of Siddhânta Kaumudi says "when the sense is that of a fool, the
affix is not elided in devânâm-priya" There is no authority for this, either
in the Mahâbhâshya or the Kâsîkâ. This was the title of the famous Budd-
hist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it, had it meant 'a fool'.
The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshit through Brahmani-
cal spite.

Vårt :—The Genitive affix is not elided after श्वन् when शेष, पुच्छ and
लांगुल follow it :—शुनः शेषः, शुनः पुच्छः, शुनोर्लांगुलः ॥

Vårt :—The Genitive affix is not elided after दिव् when हास follows : as
दिवोहासः ॥

पुत्रे ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दउत्तरपदे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ऽन्यतरस्यां षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

22. The genitive affix is optionally retained when insult is meant, when पुत्र follows.

Thus हास्याः पुत्रः or हासपुत्रः, वृषल्याः पुत्रः, or वृषलीपुत्रः ॥ But when insult
is not meant we have ब्राह्मणीपुत्रः ॥

ऋतो विद्यायोनिस्वन्धेभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, विद्या, योनि, स्वन्धेभ्यः,
(अलुक्) ॥

anomalous use there being no Dvandva compounding here. द्यावा पृथिवी नमते ॥

उषासोषसः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उषासा, उषसः, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उषस उषासा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

31. For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatâ-dvandva.

Thus :—उषासासूयम्, उषासानक्ता ॥

मातरपितराबुदीचाम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातर, पितरौ, उदीचाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातरपितराबिस्तुदीचामाचार्याणां मतेनारङ्गादेशो मातृशब्दस्य निपात्यते ॥

32. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by भरद् substitution of the ऋ of मातृ ॥ The other form is मातापितरौ ॥

पितरामातरा च छन्दसि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितरा, मातरा, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितरामातरा इति छन्दसि निपात्यते ॥

33. In the Vedas the form पितरामातरा is valid.

In the ordinary language मातापितरौ is the proper form. The Vedic form is derived by adding भरद् to the first member, and मा is added to the second by VII. 1. 39: and then Guṇa by VII. 3. 110. Thus मा मा गन्तां पितरामातरा च ॥

स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु ॥ ३४ ॥

पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, पुम्बत्, भाषितपुंस्कात्, अनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियाम्, अपूरणी, प्रियादिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ्: स्त्रीशब्दस्य पुंशब्दस्यैव रूपं भवति समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे स्त्रीलिङ्गे पूरणीप्रियादिदर्जिते ॥

34. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ्, and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it; but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral, nor निय &c.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis; स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word', पुंवद् "like the masculine", i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्येन, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspond-

ence must be in the *form* (आकृति) and the *connotation* (आयान) of the two words; that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same objects, but of different genders. A word which has not the affix ऊङ् is called अनूङ् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कारनूङ् स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The word भाषितपुंस्कारनूङ् is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously. Of such a भाषितपुंस्कारनूङ् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form. Provided that, the second member is a (समानाधिकरण) i. e. a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियाम्) of the feminine gender: with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus दर्शनीयभार्यः (= दर्शनीयाभार्या यस्य). Here दर्शनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीयः; moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ऊङ्, but in the affix आ; it is followed by another feminine word भार्या which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the प्रियादि class; hence this word दर्शनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also दलक्षणचूडः, वीरिजङ्घः ॥ Why do we say स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word'? Observe यामणि ब्राह्मणकुलं दृष्टिरस्य = यामणिदृष्टिः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine (भाषितपुंस्कः)? Observe खट्वाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of खट्वा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानायामाकृतौ"? Observe द्रोणीभार्यः; the masculine word द्रोण has not the same significance as द्रोणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in ऊङ्? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धूभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यामाता = कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyāṇi". Why do we say स्त्रियाम् 'followed by a feminine word'? Observe कल्याणी प्रधानमेषां = कल्याणीप्रधानाः (इम) ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? Observe कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां ताः = कल्याणी पञ्चमारात्रयः, so also कल्याणीदशमाः ॥ The Ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीकः षष्ठः ॥ The samāsānta affix अप् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as a secondary word; and therefore the above compound does not take अप् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c. Observe कल्याणीप्रियः ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोत्ता, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा, 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सच्चिवा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 क्षान्ता, 11 समा, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वामा) 15 तनया, 16 अम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्तिः is anomalous.

तसिल्लादिप्राकृत्यसुचः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिल्लादिषु, आकृत्यसुचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यास्तसिल्लित्यतः प्रभृति संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्याम्वृत्तपणने कृत्यसुजिति प्रागितस्माद् ये प्रत्ययास्तेषु भाषितपुंस्कारनूङ्स्त्रियाः पुंवङ्गवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शक्ति बहुलपार्थस्य पुंवङ्गावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ स्वतलोरुणवचनस्य पुंवङ्गावो वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ भस्यादे तद्धिते पुंवङ्गावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ टक्छसोश्च पुंवङ्गावो वक्तव्यः ॥

35. A feminine word not ending in the affix ऊङ्, and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिब् &c (V. 3. 7) and ending with कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17)

Thus तस्याः शालायाः = ततः, तस्यां = तत्र, यस्यां = यत्र, यस्या = यतः ॥ The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: च् and तस्, तरप् and तमप्, चरद्, जातीयर्, कल्पप्, वेद्य, देशीयर् रूपप्, पाशप्, यम, याल, रा and हिल् तिल् तातिल् ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender. Thus तरप् तमप् &c दर्शनीयतरा, दर्शनीयतमा, पटुचरी, पटुजातीया, दर्शनीयकल्पा, दर्शनीयदेशीया, दर्शनीयरूपा, दर्शनीयपाशा ॥ कया प्रकृत्या = कथम्, यया प्रकृत्या = यथा, तस्यां वेलाया = तरा, तर्हि &c.

Vårt:—The feminine of बहु and अल्प is changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस्:—as बह्वीभ्यो देहि = बहुशो देहि; अल्पाभ्यो देहि = अल्पशो देहि ॥

Vårt:—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine before the affixes स्व and तल् ॥ As पदव्या भावः = पदस्वम् or पदता ॥ Why do we say ‘an adjective’? Observe कव्या भावः = कण्ठीस्वं or कठीता ॥

Vårt: The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except ढ, when the word gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् ॥ Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI. 4. 148), the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being sthânavat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144, ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हास्तिकम् instead of हास्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say ‘with the exception of ढ’? Observe इयैनेयः, रौहिनेयः the masculine being इयेत and रोहित ॥ The word आग्नेयः (= अग्नायी देवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य) is an exception to this rule.

Vårt:—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes टक् and छस् ॥ As भवत्या ष्छान्ना = भावत्काः, भवशीयाः ॥

क्यङ्मानिनोश्च ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यङ्, मानिनोः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्यङि परतो मानिनि च स्त्रिया भाषितपुंस्कारदृङ् पुंवङ्गवति ॥

36. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed into masculine before the Denominative क्यङ्, and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, इयेनी—इयेतायते ॥ मानिन्:—दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः “ He esteems her as handsome ”. दर्शनीयमानिनीयमस्याः (इयम् अस्याः “ She esteems her as handsome ’. The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words:—दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तां =

दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तां यज्ञ-
दत्ता = दर्शनीयमानिनी इयमस्याः ॥

न कोपधायाः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क, उपधायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोपधायाः स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भावो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कोपधप्रतिषेधे बु तद्धितग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

37. A Feminine word having a penultimate क्, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाचिकाभार्यः, कारिकाभार्यः, वृजिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाकल्पा, मद्रिकायते ॥ वृजिकायते, मद्रिकामानिनी, वृजिकामानिनी, वैलेपिकं (वैलेपिकायां धर्म्यं). This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36 : and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vart :—The rule applies to the क of the affix बु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकाभार्यः, भेकाभार्यः ॥ The word पाका means “young”; and भेकी means ‘action’.

संज्ञापूरण्योश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, पूरण्योः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाः पूरण्याश्च स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भावो न भवति ॥

38. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । शुभाभार्यः । दत्तापाशा । शुभापाशा । दत्तायते । शुभायते । दत्तामानिनी । शुभामानिनी । पूण्याः । पञ्चमीभार्यः । दशमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा । दशमीपाशा । पञ्चमीयते । दशमीयते । पञ्चमीमानिनी । दशमीमानिनी ॥

वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य, च, तद्धितस्य, अरक्तविकारे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्तद्धितः स यदि रक्तेर्ये विकारे च न विहितः, तदन्तस्य स्त्रीशब्दस्य न पुंवद्भवति ॥

39. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix, which causes the Vriddhi of the first syllable, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning ‘colored therewith’, and ‘made there of’.

Thus सौम्रीभार्यः, माथुरीभार्यः, सौधनीपाशा, माथुरीपाशा, सौधनीयते, माथुरीयते, सौधनीमानिनी and माथुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say ‘which causes Vriddhi’? Observe मध्यमभार्यः (मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8 which does not cause Vriddhi). Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe काण्डलावभार्यः (काण्डं लुनाते = काण्डलावी with भण् (कर्मण्यण्) and डीप्). Why do we say when not meaning ‘colored there with’ or ‘made thereof’? Observe. कषायेण रक्ता = काषायी, काषायी बृहत्तिका यस्य = काषायबृहत्तिकाः, लोहस्य विकारोलौही लौही ईषा यस्य रथस्य = लौहेषः (IV. 3. 134). The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpurusha, i. e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or झ् or क् &c which causes

Vridhhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तावद्भार्यः यावद्भार्यः (तावती भार्या यस्य &c). Here the affix वतुप् V. 2. 39 added to तद् does not cause Vridhhi by its own force, but by VI. 3. 91.

स्वाङ्गाच्चेतो ऽमानिनि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गत्, च, इतः, अमानिनि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गादुत्तरो य ईकारस्तदन्तायाः स्त्रिया न पुंवद्भवति अमानिनि परतः ॥

40. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine, except when the word मानिन् follows.

Thus रीर्धकेशीभार्यः, शुक्रकेशीभार्यः, रीर्धकेशीपाशा, श्लक्ष्णकेशीपाशा, रीर्धकेशीयते, श्लक्ष्णकेशीयते, but पटुभार्यः (पटु not denoting any bodily member), अकेशभार्यः (अकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई), and रीर्धकेशमानिनी ॥ The exception अमानिनि has been added from the Vārtika and is no part of the original sūtra.

जातेश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, च, (न) (अमानिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातेश्च स्त्रिया न पुंवद्भवति अमानिनि परतः ॥

41. A feminine noun expressing a class or kind does not become masculine.

Thus कठीभार्यः, बह्वृचीभार्यः कठीपाशा, बह्वृचीपाशा, कठीयते, बह्वृचीयते ॥ But not so when मानिन् follows, as कठमानिनी, बह्वृचमानिनी ॥

The exception does not apply to इस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् ॥

पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंभवत्, कर्मधारय, जातीय, देशीयेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे जातीय देशीय इत्येतयोश्च प्रत्यययोर्भाषितपुंस्काद्वन्तस्त्रियाः पुंवद्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुक्कुत्वादीनामण्डादिषु पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥

42. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhāraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras. Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37). Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. Thus दत्तवृन्दारिका, दत्तजातीया, दत्तदेशीया, पंचमवृन्दारिका, पंचमजातीया, पंचमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : सौम्यवृन्दारिका, सौम्यजातीया, सौम्यदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, as श्लक्ष्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लक्ष्णमुखजातीया and श्लक्ष्णमुखदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 41, as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine (भाषितपुंस्क), So the rule does not apply खट्वावृन्दारिका, as खट्वा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ ; as ब्रह्मबन्धूवृन्दारिका ॥

Vārt :—The words कुक्कुटी &c become masculine before अण्ड &c : as, कुक्कुत्वा अण्डं = कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ मृग्याःपदं = मृगपदम्, मृग्याःक्षीरं = मृगक्षीरम्, काक्याः शापः = काक-

श्रावः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

Vart :—When a word formed by an affix having an indicatory स्व, or the affixes तर and तम &c (VI. 3. 43) follow, the final long vowel of the first term becomes short instead of its becoming masculine. As कालीमात्मानं मन्यते काल्येवाहम् = कालिमन्या (compare VI. 3. 66) हरिणिमन्या, पद्वितरा, पद्वितमा, पद्विरूपा, पद्विकल्पा, पद्विका, मृद्धिका ॥ We have said that the rule does not apply to the feminines in ऊ ॥ The words इडविद्, वरद्, पृथ and उशिज are names of countries denoting Kshatriya clans. The tadrâja affix (VI. 1. 168 and 170), is elided in forming the feminine of these (IV. 1. 177). Thus we have the compound of इडविद् वृम्भारिका ॥ When the first words become masculine, we have ऐडविड, दारद्, &c. Thus ऐडविडवृन्भारिका, औशिजवृन्भारिका ॥

घरूपकल्पचेलडवृवगोत्रमतहतेषु ड्योऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, रूप, कल्प, चेलड, वृव, गोत्र, मत, हतेषु, ड्यः, अनेकाचः, ह्रस्वः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घ रूप कल्प चेलड् वृव गोत्र मत हत इत्येतेषु परतो भाषितपुस्कात्परो यो डीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्थाने-
काचो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

43. Before the affixes तर, तम, रूप, कल्प, before चेल (with the feminine in ई), वृव, गोत्र, मत and हत, a word ending in the feminine affix डी becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus घ—ब्राह्मणितरा, ब्राह्मणितमा ब्राह्मणिरूपा, ब्राह्मणिकल्पा, ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणिवृवा ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणिमता and ब्राह्मणिहता ॥ घ, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलड् &c are words as second members; वृवः is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to वृ, गुण and वच् substitution being prevented anomalously. Why do we say ending in ई (डी)? Observe दत्तातरा, गुप्तातरा ॥ Why do we say consisting of more than one syllable? Because words of one syllable *optionally* become shortened by the next rule. Why do we say having a corresponding masculine? Observe आमलकीतरा कुवलीतरा, where आमलकी and कुवली have no equivalent masculine forms.

नद्याः शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याः, शेषस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नद्याः शेषस्य घादिषु परतो ह्रस्वो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् । कश्च शेषः । अडी च या नदी डञ्चत्
च यद्देकाच् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृन्नद्याः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. In all the remaining feminine words called Nadî (I. 4. 3 and 4), the substitution of short vowel under the preceding circumstances is optional.

What are the शेष or the remnants? Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (डी), and are called Nadi; and those feminines which end in long ई but consist of one syllable. Thus ब्रह्मबन्धूतरा or ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा वीरबन्धूतरा or वीरबन्धुतरा, छितरा or छीतरा, छितमा or छीतमा ॥

Vart:—Nadi words formed by कृन् affixes are excepted: as लक्ष्मीतरा, तन्वीतरा formed by the Uṇādi affix ई (Uṇ III. 158, 160)

उगितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (ह्रस्वः) (अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितश्च परस्या नद्या घादिषु अन्यतरस्यां ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

45. The feminine ई (डी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicative उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before the घ &c (VI. 3. 43).

Thus श्रेयसितरा or श्रेयसीतरा, or श्रेयस्तरा, विदुषितरा or विदुषीतरा or विद्वत्तरा ॥ The first is formed by the Taddhita affix ईयसुन्, and the second by कृषु ॥ In one alternative, there is masculinisation also when we get the forms श्रेयस्तरा &c. Or this latter form may be considered to have been evolved from श्रेयसु, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, महतः, समानाधिकरण, जातीययोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे जातीये च प्रत्यये परतो महत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ महात्वे चासकराविशिष्टरूपसंख्यानं पुंवद्भचनं चासमानाधिकरणार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ अटनः कपाले हविष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ गवि च युक्ते ऽटन उपसंख्यान कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

46. For the final of महत्, is substituted आत् (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीय ॥

As महादेवः, महाब्राह्मणः, महाबाहुः, महाबलः, महाजातीयः ॥ But महतः पुत्रः = महत्पुत्रः "the son of the great man": the two words are not in apposition. The compounding with महत् takes place under II. 1. 61. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrihis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहुः ॥ In fact this is the object of using the word samānādhikarana in this sūtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurasha compounds of mahat taught under II. 1. 61 but not to Bahuvrihis. In महद्भूतश्रन्द्रमा = अमहान् महान् संपन्नः, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महत् is here secondary.

Vart:—आ is substituted for the final of महत् before घास, कर and विशिष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या घासः = महाघासः, महत्याः करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Vart:—आ is substituted for the final of अटन् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अटाकपालं चहं निर्वपेत् ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अटाकपालं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vart:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before नौ, when the meaning is that of 'yoked'. As, अष्टाग्वेन शकटेन ॥ But अष्टागवं ब्राह्मणस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The त् in आत् is for the sake of distinctness.

द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यष्टनः, संख्यायाम्, अबहुव्रीहि, अशीत्योः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अष्टन् इत्येतयोराकारादेशो भवति संख्यायापुत्तरपरे अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राक् शतादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टन् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वाद्दश, द्वाविंशतिः, द्वाविंशत्, अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशतिः, अष्टाविंशत् ॥ Why do we say द्वि and अष्टन्? Observe पञ्चदश ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Numeral'? Observe द्वे मातुरः, अष्टमातुरः ॥ Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्विनाः, त्रिंशः, द्व्यशीतिः ॥

Vart:—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, त्रिंशत्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम्, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

त्रेस्त्रयः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयस्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि इत्येतस्य त्रयमित्यमादेशो भवति संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥

48. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीतिः ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशतिः, त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ But not in त्रेमातुरः (the second word not being a Numeral), nor in त्रिंशः which is a Bahuvrīhi, (II. 2. 25) त्र्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, त्रिंशत्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चत्वारिंशत्, प्रभृतौ, सर्वेषाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ संख्यायापुत्तरपरे अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः सर्वेषां द्व्यष्टन् त्रि इत्येतेषां यदुक्तं तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

49. The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टन्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत् or द्वाचत्वारिंशत्, त्रिपञ्चाशत् or त्रयःपञ्चाशत्, अष्टपञ्चाशत् or अष्टपञ्चाशत् ॥ This also before hundred : as, द्विशतम् and अष्टशतम्, त्रिशतम् ॥

हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयदणलासेषु ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य, हृत्, लेख, यत्, अण्, लासेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्य हृदित्ययमादेशो भवति लेख यत् अण् लास इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

50. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख, and the affixes यत् and अण् and before लास ॥

Thus हृदयं लिखाति = हृदयः, हृदयस्य प्रियं = हृदयम्, हृदयस्येदम् = हृदयम्, हृदयस्य लासो = हृदयः ॥ The word लेख is derived by भण् affix from लिख् ॥ Before the word लेख formed by घञ् affix, this substitution does not take place, as हृदयलेखः ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sūtra proves the existence of this maxim “उत्तरपदाधिकारि प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्तग्रहणम्” ॥ See VI. 3. 17.

वा शोकप्यञ्ज् रोगेषु ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शोक, प्यञ्, रोगेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शोक प्यञ् रोग इत्येतेषु परतो हृदयस्य वा हृदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

51. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix प्यञ् follows.

Thus हृदशोकः or हृदयशोकः, सौहार्दयम् or सौहृदयम् ॥ Here प्यञ् is added as हृदय belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class V. 1. 124. When हृद् is substituted there is Vṛiddhi of both the members सु and हृ by VII. 3. 19. So also हृद्रोगः or हृदय-रोगः ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृत् which is a full word sui generis, having the same meaning as हृदयः ॥ The substitution taught in this sūtra is rather unnecessary.

पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादस्य, पत्, आजि, आति, ग, उपहतेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादस्य पद् इत्ययमादेशो भवति आजि आति ग उपहत इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु ॥

52. पद् is substituted for पाद्, before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजिः = पादाभ्यामजिति ; पदातिः = पादाभ्यामतति ॥ आजिः and आतिः are formed by इण् from अज् and अन् (Uṇ IV. 131), and irregularly अञ् is not changed to वी though required by II. 4. 56; before this affix. So also पदगः = पादाभ्यां गच्छति ; पदोपहतः = पादनोपहतः ॥ पाद् belongs to Vṛishādi class (VI. 1. 203) and has therefore acute on the first syllable, the पद् substitute however has acute on the final, only in the उपदेश (VI. 1. 171), therefore in पदोपहतः, पद् retains its accent (VI. 2. 48), and it becomes acute on the final. While पदाजिः, पदातिः and पदगः have acute on the final (VI. 1. 223 and kṛit-accent).

पद्यत्यतदर्थे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, यति, अतदर्थे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्प्रत्यये परतः पादस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवत्यतदर्थे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पद्भवे इके चरतावुपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. पद् is substituted for पाद् before the affix यत् used in any sense other than that of “suited there to. ;

Thus पादौविध्यन्ति = पद्याः शर्कराः, पद्याः कण्टकाः ॥ When यत् has the force of “suited there to” we have पाद्यम् = पादार्थयुदकं ॥ (see IV. 4. 83 and V. 4. 25).

Vart.—Before the affix इक्, in the sense of ‘he walks there by’, पद् is substituted for पाद्; as पाद्भ्यां चरति = पादिकः (IV. 4. 10) by एन् affix. The word पाद् in this sūtra means ‘the actual foot’, a part of animal organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यत् of V. I. 34, as द्विपाद्यम्, त्रिपाद्यम् because पाद् here denotes ‘a measure’.

हिमकापिहतिषु च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिम्, कापि, हतिषु, च, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिम कापिन् हति इत्येतेषु पाद्शब्दस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

54. पद् is substituted for पाद् before हिम, कापिन् and हति ॥

Thus पद्धिमम्, (= पादस्य शीतं) पत्कापिन् (= पाद्धारिणः) as in भय पत्कापिणा यान्ति, and पद्धतिः (पद्भ्यां हन्यते) ॥

ऋचः शे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचः, शे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋक्संज्ञिभ्यः पाद्शब्दस्य शे परतः पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

55. पद् is the substitute for पाद् before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पच्छो गायत्री शंसति = पाद् पाद् शंसति, the affix शस् being added by V. 4. 43. Why do we say ‘when meaning a Hymn’? Observe पाद्शः कार्पापिणं इवाति ॥

वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, घोष, मिश्र, शब्देषु, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोष मिश्र शब्द इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु पादस्य वा पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्के चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

56. This substitution of पद् for पाद् is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोषः or पाद्घोषः, पन्मिश्रः or पाद्मिश्रः, पच्छब्दः or पाद्शब्दः ॥

Vart.—So also before निष्कः as पन्निष्कः or पाद्निष्कः ॥

उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदकस्य, उदः, संज्ञायाम् (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदकशब्दस्य संज्ञायाम् विषये उद् इत्ययमादेशो भवति उत्तरपदे परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संज्ञायाम् उत्तरपदस्य उदकशब्दस्य उदादेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

57. उद् is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उद्मेघः ‘a person called Udamegha’, उद्वाहः “a person named Uda vāhah.” The well-known Patronymics from these are औद्मेघिः and औद्वाहिः ॥ Why do we say ‘when it is a Name’? Observe उदकगिरिः ॥

Vart.—उद् is the substitute for उदक when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name: as, लोहितोद्, नीलोद्, क्षीरोद् ॥

पेपं वासवाहनधिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पेपम्, वास, वाहन, धिषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पेपं वास वाहन धि इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु उदकस्य उद् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

58. उद् is substituted for उदक before पेपं, वास, वाहन, and धि ॥

Thus उद्वेषं पिनष्टि formed by णमुल् by III. 4. 38; उद्वेषासः = उद्वकस्थनासः, so also उद्ववाहनः ॥ उद्वकं धीयतेऽस्मिन् = उद्वधिः 'a water jar'.

एकहलादौ पूरयितव्ये ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, हलादौ, पूरयितव्ये, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इल् आदिर्यस्योत्तरपदस्य तदेकहलादिस्तस्मिन्नेकहलादौ पूरयितव्यवाचिन्यन्यतरस्यामुद्वकस्य उद्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

59. उद्व is optionally substituted for उद्वक, before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उद्वकुम्भः, or उद्वकुम्भः, उद्वपात्रम् or उद्वकपात्रम् ॥ The word एकहलादि means 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'. The rule does not apply to उद्वकस्थालम् as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant: nor to उद्वकपर्वतः, as the पर्वतः is not a vessel which is to be filled.

मन्थौदनसक्तुविन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, विन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, गाहेषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्थ ओदन सक्तु विन्दु वज्र भार हार वीवध गाह इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषूद्वकस्य उद्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

60. उद्व is optionally substituted for उद्वक, before मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, विन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उद्वकेन मन्थः = उद्वमन्थ or उद्वकमन्थः । उद्वकेनौदन, उद्वौदनः or उद्वकोदनः । सक्तु । उद्वकेन सक्तुः, उद्वसक्तु or उद्वकसक्तुः । विन्दु । उद्वकस्य विन्दुः, उद्वविन्दुः or उद्वकविन्दुः । वज्र । उद्वकस्य वज्रः, उद्ववज्रः or उद्वकवज्रः । भार । उद्वकं विभतीति उद्वभारः or उद्वकभारः । हार । उद्वकं हरतीति, उद्वहारः or उद्वकहारः । वीवध । उद्वकस्य वीवध, उद्ववीवधः or उद्वकवीवधः । गाह । उद्वकं गाहत इति, उद्वगाहः or उद्वकगाहः ॥

इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, ह्रस्वः, अङ्यः, गालवस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्याङ्यन्तस्योत्तरपदे ह्रस्वो भवति गालवस्याचार्यस्य मतेनान्यतरस्याम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ भूकुंसादीनामकारो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. According to the opinion of Gālava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second member, for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ऋ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (ङी).

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (ङी) and for ऊ, a short इ and उ are substituted in a compound before the second member. Thus घामणिपुत्रः or घामणीपुत्रः, ब्रह्मबन्धुपुत्रः or ब्रह्मबन्धूपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe खट्वापाङ्, मालापाङ् ॥ Why do we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix ङी'? Observe गर्गीपुत्रः, वास्तीपुत्रः ॥ The name of Gālava is mentioned pujaṛtha for the anuvṛitti of 'optionally' was present in this sūtra. It is a limited option

pujārtha, (vyavasthita vibhāsha), and does not apply to कारीषगन्धीयानि &c which are governed by VI. 3. 139.

Vart.—It does not apply to Avyayibhāva compounds, nor to those words which take इयङ् or उवङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीकुलम्, धूकुलम्, काण्डीभूतम्, कुडपीभूतं, वृषलीभूतम् ॥

Vart.—It does however apply to भुकुंस &c, as भुकुंसः, भुकुटिः ॥ Others say अ is substituted for भ्र &c as भ्रकुंसः and भ्रकुटिः

एक तद्धिते च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक तद्धिते, च, (ह्रस्वः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकशब्दस्य तद्धिते उत्तरपदे ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

62. The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकस्या आगतं = एकरूप्यम्, एकमयम्, एकस्या भावः = एकत्वम्, एकता ॥ So also एकस्याः क्षीरं = एकक्षीरम्, एकदुग्धम् ॥ The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका, having the affix आ ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculination, such as VI. 3. 35, i. e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-affix as a Chhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the *final* letter, and not to a vowel situated in the body of a word.

ङ्यापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङ्यापोः, संज्ञा, छन्दसोः, बहुलम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्यन्तस्याबन्तस्य च संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलं ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

63. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (डी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As रेवतिपुत्रः, रोहिणिपुत्रः, भरणितुत्रः ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकरः, नान्दीघोषः, नान्दीविशालः ॥ So also in the Vedas, as कुमारिद्वारा, प्रदर्विंशः; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as फाल्गुनीपौर्णमासी, जगतीछन्दः ॥ आप् ending words in Name: शिलवहम्, शिलप्रस्थम्; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकागृहम्, लोमकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas:—अजक्षीरेण जुहोति, ऊर्णम्रशः पृथिवीं विश्वधायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णासूत्रेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

त्वे च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वे, च, (ह्रस्वः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्वप्रत्यये परतो ङ्यापोर्बहुलं ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

64. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus अजाया भावः = अजत्वं or भजात्वं, रोहिणित्वं or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥ These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

इष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्ट का, इषी का, माला-
नाम्, चित, तूल, भारिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित तूल भारिषु इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु यथासंख्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

65. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in
इष्टका before चित, in इषीका before तूल, and in माला before भारिषु ॥

Thus इष्टकचितम्, इषीकतूलम् and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta
applies to इष्टका &c, so that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed
by this rule : as पक्षेष्टकचितम्, मुञ्जेषीकतूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

खित्यनव्ययस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिति, अनव्ययस्य, (ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ खिदन्तउत्तरपदे ऽनव्ययस्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

66. A short is always substituted for the final of
the first member, when the second member is a word formed
by an affix having an indicative ख, but not when the first
member is an Indeclinable.

Thus कार्लिमन्या, हरिणिमन्या ॥ The augment मुम् does not prevent the
shortening, had it done so, the rule would have been unnecessary. But दोषा-
मन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः, where दोषा and दिवा are Indeclinables there is no shortening.
The above words are formed by खञ् (III. 2. 83). The phrase anavyayasya
indicates by implication that the word खित् here means खिदन्तः, contrary to the
maxim enunciated in VI. 3. 17 उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्नेष्यते ॥ For an
Avyaya can never take a खित् affix which are ordained only after dhātus.

अरुद्धिषदजन्तस्य मुम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरुस्, द्विषत्, अजन्तस्य, मुम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरुस् द्विषत् इत्येतथोरजन्तानां च खिदन्तउत्तरपदे मुमागमो भवति अनव्ययस्य ॥

67. मुम् is the augment 'added immediately after
the final vowel, of अरुस्, द्विषत्, and of a stem ending in a
vowel, unless it is an Indeclinable, when a word formed by a
खित् affix follows.

Thus अरुन्दुः, द्विषन्तपः, कार्लिमन्या &c. See III. 2. 35, 39, 83. The स् of
अरुस् and the त् of द्विषत् are dropped by VIII. 2. 23.

Why do we say 'of अरुस् &c'? Observe विद्वन्मन्या ॥ Why do we say
'not an Indeclinable'? Observe दोषामन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः ॥ Why do we use
the word अन्त in अजन्त, when merely saying अचः would have sufficed by the
rule of tadanta-vidhi? This indicates that the shortening taught in the preced-
ding sūtra does not debar the मुम् augment, nor does मुम् debar the shortening.
So that मुम् is added after the shortening has taken place.

इच एकाचोम्प्रत्ययवच्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इचः, एकाचः, अम्, प्रत्ययवत्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजन्तस्य एकाचः खिदन्तउत्तरपदे ऽमागमो भवति अम्प्रत्ययवच्चद्वितीयैकवचनवच्च स भवति ॥

68. A monosyllabic word, ending in any vowel other than अ, when followed by a word formed by a खित् affix, receives the augment अम्, which is added in the same way as the affix अम् of the Accusative singular.

The word अम् is to be repeated here thus, इच्च एकाचोऽम्, अम्प्रत्ययवच्च ॥ Thus गामन्यः, स्त्रीमन्यः, or स्त्रियमन्यः, श्रियमन्यः, भुवमन्यः ॥ By force of the atideśa अम्प्रत्ययवच्च, the changes produced by the Accusative ending are caused by this augment also : viz : the substitution of long आ, the substitution of a vowel homogenous with the first, the guṇa, the substitutes इयङ् and उवङ् As आ—गामन्यः (VI. 1. 93) ; पूर्वसवर्ण as स्त्रीमन्यः (VI. 1. 107) ; guṇa, as, —करमन्यः (VII. 3. 110) and इयङ् and उवङ्, as श्रियमन्यः, भुवमन्यः (VI. 4. 81 &c). Why do we say ending in a vowel other than अ (इच्च) ? Observe त्वन्मन्यः ॥ Why do we say 'a monosyllable' ? Observe लेखाधुं मन्याः ॥

The affix अम् is elided after a Neuter noun (VII. 1. 23), therefore, will this अम् also be elided when श्री is treated as Neuter ? As श्रियमात्मानं मन्यते षाद्गणकुले = श्रियमन्यम् or श्रिमन्यम् ? The second is the valid form according to Patanjali.

वाचंयमपुरंदरौ च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचंयम, पुरन्दरौ, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाचंयम पुरंर इत्येतौ निपात्यते ॥

69. वाचंयम and पुरन्दर are irregularly formed.

Thus वाचंयमः आस्ते (III. 2. 40 खच् affix). पुरं दारयति = पुरन्दरः (III. 2. 42). The shortening of याम and दार takes place by VI. 4. 94.

कारे सत्यागदस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारे, सत्य, अगदस्य, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कारशब्दउत्तरपदे सत्य अगद् इत्येतयोर्धुमागमो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अस्तुसत्यागदस्य कारइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भक्षस्य छन्दासि कारे सुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ धेनोर्भव्यायां सुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ लोकस्य पूणे सुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ इत्ये ऽनभ्याशस्य सुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ भ्राष्ट्राग्नोरिन्धे सुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ गिले ऽगिलस्य सुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गिलगिले च्वात् वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उष्णभद्रयोः करणे सुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ सुतोभ्राजभोजमेर्वित्ये तेभ्य उत्तरस्य दुहितृशब्दस्य पुत्त्वडादेशो वा वक्तव्यः ॥

70. सुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद् when the word कार follows.

As सत्यंकारः = सत्यं करोति or सत्यस्यकारः ॥ So also अगदंकारः ॥

Vart :—So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुंकारः ॥

Vart :—So also in Vedas, of भक्ष before कारः—e. g. भक्षंकार, in secular language भक्षकारः ॥

Vart :—Of धेनु before भव्या, e. g. धेनुंभव्या ॥

Vart :—Of लोक before पूण, e. g. लोकंपूणा ॥

Vårt :—Of अनभ्याश before इत्य as अनभ्याशमित्यः ॥

Vårt :—Of भ्राष्ट्र and अग्नि, before इन्धः, as भ्राष्ट्रमिन्धः, अग्निमिन्धः ॥

Vårt :—A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल e. g. तिमिङ्गिलः, but गिलगिलः ॥

Vårt :—So also before गिलगिल, e. g. तिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

Vårt :—Of उष्ण and भद्र before करण, e. g. उष्णं करणं, भद्रं करणं ॥

Vårt :—पुत्रङ् is optionally the substitute of दुहितृ when the words सूत, उग्र, राज, भोज, and मेरु precede it e. g. सूतपुत्री or सूतदुहिता, उग्रपुत्री or उग्रदुहिता, राजपुत्री or राजदुहिता, भोजपुत्री or भोजदुहिता, मेरुपुत्री or मेरुदुहिता ॥ Some read पुत्र in the Śāraṅgaravādi class (IV. 1. 73), and then this word has its feminine पुत्री ॥ This is seen in other places also, e. g. शैलपुत्री ॥

इयेनतिलस्य पाते ज्ञे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयेन, तिलस्य. पाते, ज्ञे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयेन तिलइत्येतयोः पातशब्दउत्तरपदे अग्रत्यये ममागमो भवति ॥

71. मुम् is the augment of the words इयेन and तिल, before पात, when the affix ज्ञ is added.

Thus इयेनपातोऽस्यां क्रीडायां = इयैर्नपाता, तैर्लपाता ॥ See IV. 2. 58. Why do we say before ज्ञ? Observe इयेनपातः ॥

रात्रेः कृति विभाषा ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, कृति, विभाषा, (मुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्रेः कृदन्तउत्तरपदे विभाषा शुभागमो भवति ॥

72. The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by कृत्-affix.

As रात्रिचरः or रात्रिचरः, रात्रिमटः or रात्र्यटः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. The augment is compulsory before a कृत्-affix having an indicatory ख, As, रात्रिमन्थः ॥

नलोपो नञः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, नञः, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञो नकारस्य लोपो भवत्युत्तरपदे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपो ऽवक्षेपे तिङ्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The न of the Negative particle नञ्, is elided when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अब्राह्मणः. अवृषलः, असुरापः, असौमपः ॥

Vårt :—The न of नञ् is elided before a verb also, when reproach is meant : as, अपचसि त्वं जाल्मः, अकरोषि त्वं जाल्मः ॥

तस्मान्नुडचि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुट्, अचि, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्माल्लुप्तनकारात्तस्मात् नुडागमो भवति अजाश्वुत्तरपदे ॥

74. After the above न-elided नञ् (i. e. after अ) is added the augment नुट्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनञः, अनन्धः, अनुष्टः ॥ Why do we use तस्मात् “after such a नञ्”? Otherwise नुट् would have been the augment of नञ्, and not of the subsequent

word for: the sūtra would have read thus नुडाचि ॥ Adding नुद् to नञ् or rather to अ, we have अन् (granting that नुद् is not to be added *before* अ but *after* it, against I. i. 46). Now अन्+अजः will be अजः and not अनजः for VIII. 3. 32 will cause the doubling of the final न् of अन् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, नुद् is ordained with regard to the second member and not with regard to अ or नञ् ॥

नभ्राणनपान्नवेदानासत्या नमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या ॥ ७५ ॥
पदानि ॥ नभ्राद्, नपात्, नवेदा, नासत्या, नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र,
नाकेषु, प्रकृत्या, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नभ्राद् नपात् नवेदाः नासत्या नमुचि नकुल नख नपुंसक नक्षत्र नख नक्र नाक इत्येतेषु नञ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

75. The Negative particle remains unchanged in नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या (dual), नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र and नाक ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative! नभ्राजते=नभ्राद्, formed by क्विप् and नञ् composition. न पाति=नपात् formed by श्त् affix. न वेत्ति=नवेदा, formed by असुन् ॥ सत्सु साधवः=सत्याः, न सत्याः=असत्याः, न असत्याः=नासत्याः ॥ न पुञ्चति=न मुचि, formed by कि affix (Uṇadi), नास्य कुलमस्ति=नकुलः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति=नखम् ॥ न स्त्री न पुमान्=नपुंसकम् ॥ न क्षरते क्षीयते वा=नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति=नक्र by ड affix. न अस्मिन् अकम्=नाकम् ॥

एकादिश्रैकस्य चादुक् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादिः, च, एकस्य, च, अदुक्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकादिश्च नञ्प्रकृत्या भवति एकशब्दस्यादुगागमो भवति ॥

76. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अदुक् (अद्).

Thus एकेन न विंशतिः=एकान्रविंशतिः, एकान्रविंशत् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds. The augment आदुक् is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकात् न विंशतिः and एकात् न विंशति by VIII. 4. 45.

नगो ऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगः, अप्राणिषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

77. The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in नग, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नगः or अगः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix ड is added to गम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring

to animate beings. Observe अगः वृषलः शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here.

सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सः, संज्ञायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्रब्दस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

78. स is substituted for सह, in a Name.

Thus साश्वत्थम्, सपलाशम्, साक्षिशपम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहयुष्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The word सह has acute on the first syllable, because all Particles have acute on the first syllable. The substitute स coming in the room of the acute स and the grave ह, will have an accent mid-way between सँ acute and ह grave, namely, it would have the svarita accent. But, as a matter of fact, it has the acute accent. As सँपुत्रः, सँमार्यः ॥ These are Bahuvrihi. In Avyayibhâva, the samâsa-accent will prevail (VI. 1. 223), as सँष्टिँ, सपञ्चबन्धम् ॥

ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रन्थान्त, अधिके, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रन्थान्ते ऽधिके च वर्त्तमानस्य सहस्रब्दस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

79. स is the substitute for सह, when it has the sense of 'upto the end' (in connection with a literary work), or 'more'.

Thus सकलं = कालान्तं ज्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also ससुहृत्तम् = (सुहृत्तन्तम्) ॥ स संग्रह (=संग्रहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayibhâva compounds by °अन्त-वचने (II. 1. 6). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI. 3. 81. The present sūtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time-denoting words even, when the meaning is that 'of the end of a book'. When the sense is that of 'more', we have सद्गोणाखारी, समापः कार्षापणः सकाकिणीको मापः ॥

द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीये, च, अनुपाख्ये, (सहस्यसः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये ऽनुपाख्ये सहस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

80. स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter however is not directly perceived.

Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, the non-principal is called the 'second' or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपाख्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाख्य, i. e. what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word. Thus साम्निः (कपोतः) 'a pigeon which' points out that conflagration has taken place some where'. सपिशाचा वात्या "a storm-wind which announces the Piśāchas". सराक्षसीका शाला ॥ Here the fire, the Piśācha or the Rākshasas are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon &c.

अव्ययीभावे चाकाले ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावे, च, अकाले, (सहस्यसः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावे च समासि ऽकालवाचिन्युत्तरपदे सहस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

81. स is the substitute of सह, in an Avyayībhāva when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रंधेहि, मधुरं प्राजः, but सहपूर्वाह्णम् the second member being a time denoting word (II. I. 5).

वोपसर्जनस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उपसर्जनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वोपसर्जनो बहुव्रीहिर्गृह्यते । तदवयवस्य सहसब्दस्य वा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

82. स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrīhi is such a compound, because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood. Thus सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, सच्छात्रः or सहच्छात्रः ॥ Why do we say of a Bahuvrīhi? Observe सहयुष्मा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrīhi like सहकृत्वप्रियः or सहयुद्धप्रियः ॥

प्रकृत्याशिष्यगोवत्सहलेषु ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, आशिषि, अ, गोवत्सहलेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या सहसब्दो भवति आशिषि विषये ऽगोवत्सहलेषु ॥

83. The word सह retains its original form when the sentence denotes benediction, except when it is गो, वत्स or हल ॥

Thus स्वस्ति देवदाय सहपुत्राय, सहच्छात्राय, सहामात्याय ॥ But optionally here, as स्वस्ति भवते सहगवे or सगवे, सहवत्साय or सवत्साय, सहहलाय, or सहलाय ॥ The phrase अगोवत्सहलेषु is no part of the original sūtra, but has been added by the Kāśikā from a Vārtika.

समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्द्धप्रभृत्युदकेषु ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानस्य, छन्दसि, अ, मूर्द्धे, प्रभृति, उदकेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये मूर्द्धे प्रभृति उदके इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि वर्जयित्वा ॥

84. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas, but not before मूर्द्धे, प्रभृति and उदके ॥

Thus अनुधाता सगर्भः, अनुसखा सयूथः, योनः सनूयः (See IV. 4. 114). समानो गर्भः = सगर्भः, तत्र भवः = सगर्भः formed by यन् affix IV. 4. 114. But समानमूर्द्धा, समानप्रभृतयः, समानोदकाः ॥ This substitution takes place in secular literature also, as सपंक्षः, साधर्म्यम्, सजातीयः &c.

ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥
ज्योतिः, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नाम, गोत्ररूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयोवचन, बन्धुषु, (समानस्यसः)

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् जनपद रात्रि नाभि नामन् गोत्र रूप स्थान वर्ण वयस् वचन बन्धु इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु समा-
नस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

85. This substitution of स for समान takes place before ज्योतिस्, जनपद्, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान वर्ण, घयस्, घचन and बन्धु in the common language also.

Thus सज्योतिः, सजनपद्, सरात्रिः, सनाभिः, सनामा, सगोत्रः, सरूपः, सस्थानः, सवर्णः, सवयाः, सवचनः, सबन्धुः ॥

चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणे, ब्रह्मचारिणि, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) वृत्तिः ॥ चरणे गम्यमाने ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

86. स is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समानो ब्रह्मचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ ब्रह्म means the Vedas. The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान refers to the vow, the vow of studying being common to both : i. e. समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ According to Bhattoji Dikshit चरणे in the sūtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study. He who has a common (samāna) branch (charaṇa) is a sabrahmchārī.

तीर्थे ये ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर्थे, ये, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययपरे परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थ when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थः = समाने तीर्थे वासी (IV. 4. 107). 'a fellow-student ?

विभाषोदरे ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उदरे, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदरशब्दउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययान्ते समानस्य विभाषा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

88. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सौदर्यः or समानोदर्यः (IV. 4. 108).

दृग्दृशवतुषु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृक्, दृश, वतुषु, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृक् दृश वतु इत्येतेषु परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा७ ॥ दृशोः क्सप्रत्ययोपि तत्रैव वक्तव्यः ॥

89. स is substituted for समान, before दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus सदृक्, सदृशः ॥ The affixes कश् and क्विन् are added to दृश् under III. 2. 60. Vārt :—which give as the forms दृक् and दृश ॥ Vārt :—So also before दृक्षः as सदृक्षः ॥ दृक्ष is formed by क्स affix under III. 2. 60. Vārtika. The affix वत् is taken for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

इदं किमोरीशकी ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ इदम्, किमोः, ईश, षी, (दृग्दृशवतुषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदं किम् इत्येतयोरीश की इत्येतौ यथासंख्यमादेशौ भवतो दृग्दृशवतुषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. ई is substituted for इद्म and की for किम् before the words दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus इदृक्, ईदृशः and इयान्, कीदृक्, कीदृशः and कियान् ॥ ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई+इयन् and कौ+इयन् by V. 2. 40 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 : and we get इयत् and कियत् ॥

Vārt :—So also before दृक्ष, as ईदृक्षः and कीदृक्षः ॥

आ सर्वनाम्नः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, सर्वनाम्नः, (दृग्दृशवत्तुषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्न भाकारदेशो भवति दृग्दृशवत्तुषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

91. आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (I. 1. 27) before these words दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus तादृक्, तादृशः. तावान्, यादृक्, यादृशः, यावान् ॥

Vārt :—So also before दृक्ष, as तादृक्षः and यादृक्षः ॥

विष्वदेवयोश्च देरद्याञ्चतौ (ता) वप्रत्यये ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्वक्, देवयोः, च, टेः, अद्रि, अञ्चतौ, अप्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्वक् देव इत्येतयोः सर्वनाम्नश्च देरद्रीत्ययमदेशो भवति मञ्चतौता वप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपरे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि स्त्रियां बहुलीमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

92. In the room of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्वक् and देव, is substituted अद्रि, when अञ्च with the affix च follows.

Thus विष्वग्ञ्चति = विष्वद्यङ्, This form is thus evolved. मञ्च + क्विन् = मञ्च् + O = मञ्च् + नुम् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant च्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the क्विन् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. च् is changed to ङ् and we have अङ् which with विष्वद्दि gives the above form. देवद्यङ्, तद्यङ्, यद्यङ् ॥ आद्रि and सध्रि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (nipātan) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when इ is changed into ष् the following vowel becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 4). Why do we say of विष्वग् and देव? Observe अथाची = अथमञ्चति, the feminine डीप् being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vārt*. The अ of मञ्च् is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of मञ्च् is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when मञ्च् follows'? Observe विष्वग्युक् ॥ Why do we say 'when the affix च् follows'? Observe विष्वगञ्चनं ॥ The व is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अप्रत्यये (अञ्चतावप्रत्यये). It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वप्रत्यये or अप्रत्यये indicates by implication that in other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had अप्रत्यये not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when अञ्च followed, but when अञ्चाना ending in ल्युद् also followed. The maxim धातुमहणे तदादि विधिरिष्यते is illustrated in मयस्कृतं and

अयस्कारः; for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that visarga is changed into स् when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ, therefore which begins with कृ, such as कारः and कृतः ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृन् which is followed merely by the verb कृ; as well as to forms like अयस्कृतः ॥

Vart :—In the Vedas, diversely before the feminine nouns : thus in “विश्वाची च घृताची च” there is no substitution in विश्वाची, but in कद्वीची there is this substitution. कद्वीची is derived from किम् + अञ्च् = काद्वि + अञ्च् ॥ Then is added डीप् and then like अम्वाची ॥

समः समि ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, समि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समिलेतस्य समि इत्ययमादेशो भवति अञ्चतौ व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ॥

93. समि is substituted for सम, before this अञ्च when no affix (or व affix) follows.

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यञ्चौ, सम्यञ्चः ॥

तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, तिरि, अलोपे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरस् इत्येतस्य तिरि इत्ययमादेशो भवत्यञ्चतौ व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ऽलोपे । यथा ऽस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

94. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अञ्च when no affix (or व affix) follows, provided that the अ of अञ्च is not elided.

Thus तिर्यङ्, तिर्यञ्चौ, तिर्यञ्चः ॥ Why do we say ‘when there is no elision’? Observe तिरश्चा, तिरश्चे ॥ Here अ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word अलोपे in the sūtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) “where अ is elided” or (2) “Where there is no elision”. The latter meaning should be taken however.

सहस्य सध्रिः ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सध्रिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्यस्य सध्रिरित्ययमादेशो भवत्यञ्चतौ व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ।

95. सध्रि is the substitute of सह, before अञ्च् followed by no affix (or व affix).

Thus सध्यङ्, सध्यञ्चौ, सध्यञ्चः; and सध्रीचः, सध्रीचा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

सध मादस्थयोश्छन्दसि ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सध, माद, स्थयोः, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माद स्थ इत्येतयोश्छन्दस्योः सहस्य सध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

96. सध is substituted for सह in the Veda, when माद and स्थ follow.

Thus सधमादेशोद्युम्य एकास्ताः, सधस्थाः ॥ Another example is आत्वा बृहन्तो हरयो युजाना, अर्वागिन्द्र सधमादेशो बहन्तु (Rig III. 3. 7) सहमाद्यन्ति रेवा अस्मिन् ॥

द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गोभ्यो ऽप ईत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, अन्तर्, उपसर्गोभ्यः, अपः, ईत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अन्तरित्येताभ्यामुपसर्गाच्चोत्तरस्याधित्येतस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समापईत्वे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ईत्वमनवर्णादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. After द्वि, अन्तर् and Prepositions, long ई is the substitute of अप् ॥

By I. 1. 54, ई replaces the *first-letter* of अप् viz अ only. Thus द्वीरः, अन्तरीपः, नीपम्, वीपम्, समीपम् ॥ The samāsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74.

Vārt:—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समापं नाम द्वैव्यजनम् ॥ Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place. Thus प्रापम्, परापम् ॥ The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप्; here however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra. It means प्र &c.

ऊदनोद्देशे ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, अનોः, देशे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरस्याप ऊकारादेशो भवति देशाभिधाने ॥

98. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप्, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अनूपो देशः, but अन्वीपम् when locality is not meant. The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed; as अनु ऊपः = अनूपः ॥ The form अनूपः could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु + उपः = अनूपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

अपष्ट्यतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छेषु ॥९९॥
पदानि ॥ अपष्टी, अतृतीयास्थस्य, अन्यस्य, दुक्, आशीः, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित,
उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक, राग, च्छेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपष्टीस्थस्य अतृतीयास्थस्य चान्यशब्दस्य दुगागमो भवति भाशि स् भाशा भास्था भास्थित
उत्सुक ऊति कारक राग छ इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

Kārikā—दुगागमो ऽविशेषेण वक्तव्यः कारकच्छयोः ।

षष्ठीतृतीययोर्नेट आशीरादिषु समु ॥

99. अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (द्), before आशिस्, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय).

Thus अन्या आशीः = अन्यदाशीः अन्या आशा = अन्यदाशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यदास्था, अन्य आस्थितः = अन्यदास्थितः, अन्य उत्सुकः = अन्यदुत्सुकः, अन्या ऊतिः = अन्यदृतिः, अन्यः कारकः = अन्यकारकः, अन्यो रागः = अन्यद्वारागः ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यदीयः ॥ It takes छ because it belongs to गहादि class (IV. 2. 138.)

The word अन्य belongs to गहादि class (IV. 2. 138). Why do we say when not in Genitive or the Instrumental? Observe अन्यस्य आशीः = अन्याशीः, अन्येन आस्थितः = अन्यास्थितः &c. With regard to the word कारक and the affix छ, the दुक् augment is universal, though अन्य may be even in the Genitive case &c: as अन्यस्य कारकः = अन्यन् कारकम्, अन्यस्येदम् = अन्यदीयम् ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sūtra (अपष्टी and अतृतीया), implies this.

अर्थे विभाषा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, विभाषा, (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे अन्यस्य विभाषा दुगागमा भवति ॥

100. **कु** is optionally the augment of **अन्य** when **अर्थ** follows.

As **अन्यार्थः** or **अन्यार्थः** ॥

कोः कत्तत्पुरुषे ऽचि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोः, कत्त तत्पुरुषे, अचि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कु इत्येतस्य कदित्ययमादेशो भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे ऽऽज्ञाशुत्तरपदे ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कञ्जावे चापुपसंख्यानम् ॥

101. **कत्** is substituted for **कु** in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As **कवजः**, **कवधः**, **कदुष्टः**, **कवन्नम्** ॥ Why do we say in a Tatpurusha? Observe **कूष्मे राज्ञा** ॥ Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel"? Observe **कुब्राह्मणः**, **कुपुरुषः** ॥

Vart :—**कत्** is substituted before **व्य**, as **कवयः** = **कुस्वितान्वयः** ॥

रथवदयोश्च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथ, वदयोः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रथ वद इत्येतयोश्चात्तरपदयोः कोः कदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

102. **कद्** is substituted for **कु** before **रथ** and **वद्** also.

Thus **कद्रथः**, **कद्वद्** ॥

तृणे च जातौ ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणे, च, जातौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तृणशब्दउत्तरपदे जातावभिधेयायां कोः कदादेशो भवति ॥

103. **कत्** is substituted for **कु**, when **तृण** follows denoting a species.

As **कच्णा** नाम जातिः ॥ But **कुस्वितानि तणानि** = **कुत्णानि** ॥

का पथ्यक्षयोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ का, पथि, अक्षयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् अक्ष इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

104. **का** is the substitute of **कु**, before **पथिन्** and **अक्ष** ॥

Thus **कापथः** and **काक्षः** ॥

ईषदर्थे ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-अर्थे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदर्थे वर्त्तमानस्य कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

105. **का** is the substitution for **कु**, when the meaning is 'a small'.

As **कामधुरम्**, **कालवणम्**, **काम्लम्** ॥ Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 : as **कोष्णम्** ॥

विभाषा पुरुषे ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पुरुषे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दउत्तरपदे विभाषा कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. **का** is optionally substituted for **कु**, when the word **पुरुष** follows.

Thus कापुरुषः or कूपुरुषः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. In the sense of 'a little ईषद्', the substitution is compulsory ; as ईषत् पुरुषः = का पुरुषः ॥

कचञ्चोष्णे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कचम्, च, उष्णे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्णशब्दउत्तरपदे कोः कचञ्चित्यमादेशो भवति का च विभाषा ॥

107. का and कचञ् are optionally the substitutes of कू when उष्ण follows.

As कचोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कदुष्णम् ॥

पथि च्छन्दसि ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशब्दउत्तरपदे छन्दसि विषये कोः कच का इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो विभाषा ॥

108. This substitution of का, and कच for कू takes place in the Veda, before पथ ॥

Thus कचपथः, कापथः and कूपथः ॥

पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृषोदरादीनि, यथोपदिष्टम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृषोदरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि येषु लोपागमवर्णविकाराः शास्त्रेण न विहिता दृश्यन्ते च तानि यथोप-
दिष्टानि साधूनि भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दिक्शब्देभ्य उत्तरस्य तीरस्य तार भावो वा भवति ॥

वा० ॥ वाचो वदि उत्वं च लभावश्चेत्तरपदस्येभि प्रत्यये ॥

वा० ॥ षपउत्वं इत्तदशाधासूत्तरपदादिष्टुत्वं च ॥

वा० ॥ दुरोदाशानाशब्दमध्येष्टुत्वं वक्तव्यमुत्तरपददेश्चष्टुत्वं ॥

वा० ॥ स्वरो रोहतौ छन्दस्युत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ पीवापवसनादीनां च लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

Kārikā—वर्णागमो वर्णविपर्ययश्च द्वौ चापरौ वर्णविकारनाशौ ।

धातोस्तर्थातिशयेन योगस्तदुच्यते पञ्चविधं निरुक्तम् ॥

109. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पृषाद् &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages.

The word यथोपदिष्टम् = विशिष्टव्यारितानि ॥ Thus पृषदुदरो यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् उद्दानं यस्य = पृषोद्दानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द् ॥ So also वरिवाहकः = बलाहकः; here वारि is replaced by ब, and ल replaces व of वाहकः; जीवनस्य मूतः = जीमूतः; here वन has been elided; शवानां शयनं = श्मशानम्; here श्म replaces शव; and शान for शयन ॥ उर्द्धं खमस्य = उर्द्धखलम्; here उल replaces ऊध, and खल replaces खम ॥ पिशिताशः = पिशाचः ॥ भुवन्तोस्यांसीवन्ति = वृसी ॥ Here सद् takes the affix उद् in the locative, and भुव is replaced by ब ॥ नद्यां रोति = मयूरः ॥ Here मही is replaced by मयू, and the final of रु is elided before the affix अच् ॥ And so on with अश्वस्य, कपिस्य &c.

Vārt:—तीर becomes optionally तार, after a word denoting direction, as दक्षिणतीरम् or दक्षिणतारम्, उत्तरतीरम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vārt:—Before the Patronymic इम् affix, वाग्वाद becomes वाङ्गाल as, वाग्वाद-
स्यापत्यं = वाङ्गालः ॥

Vārt:—The final of बष् is changed to उ before दद्, दश, and धा (meaning

'location'): and the first letter of the second member is changed to ड or ढ ॥ Thus षड् दन्ता अस्य = षाडन्; so षोडश; षड्धा or षोढा कुरु ॥ The addition of ड is optional here. The putting of धासु in the plural number indicates that धा has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नानाधिकरण). In fact it has the force of an affix here. The rule therefore does not apply to these:—षड् दधाति or धयति = षड्धा ॥

Vart.—The final of दुर् is changed to उ, before हाश, नाश, दभ and ध्ये and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus दुःखेन हाभ्यते, नादयते, दभ्यते यः = दुडाशः, वृणाशः, वृडभः, In the last (दभ) there is elision of the nasal also. दुष्ट ध्यायति = वृड्यः ॥ Here is added the affix क to the root ध्या (ध्यै) preceded by the upapada दुः, by III. I. 136.

Vart.—उ is substituted for the final of स्वर when the verb रुह follows in the Vedas: as एहित्वं जयिस्वो रोहायं (रोहाय is Imperative Ist. Pers. Dual).

Vart.—The final of पीवस्, पयस् &c. is elided in the Vedas. as पीवोप वस-नानां, पयोपवसनानाम् ॥

संख्याविस्सायपूर्वस्याहस्याहनन्यतरस्यां डौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वि, साय, पूर्वस्य, अहस्य, अहन्, अन्यतरस्याम्, डौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्या वि साय इत्येवंपूर्वस्याहशब्दस्य स्थाने अहनित्ययमादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां डौ परतः ॥

110. अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह्, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय precedes it.

Thus द्वयोरहोर्भवः = द्यहः, द्यहः ॥ The Locative singular of these are द्यह्नि or द्यहनि, द्यह्नि or द्यहनि ॥ So also द्यह्ने, द्यह्ने ॥ With वि—व्यह्नि, व्यहनि or व्यह्ने; साय—सायाह्नि, सायाहनि, सायाह्ने ॥ These are एकशतसमासः, and this very sūtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or साय ॥ Thus we have मध्याह्ने = मध्यमहः (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वाह्ने and अपराह्ने only.

दूलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घो ऽणः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूलोपे, पूर्वस्य, दीर्घः, अणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढकाररेफयोर्लोपो यस्मिन् स दूलोपः, तत्र पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घो भवति ॥

111. When ढ् or र् is elided, for the preceding अ, इ and उ a corresponding Long vowel is substituted.

Thus लीढम्, मीढम्, उपगूढम् ॥ रलोपे-निर्-रक्तम् = नीरक्तम्, अग्निरथः = अग्नीरथः, इन्द्र रथः, पुना रक्तम् वासः, प्राता राजक्रयः ॥ For the elision of ढ see VIII. 3. 13, and for the elision of र see VIII. 3. 14. But आवृढम्, the ऋ is not lengthened because it is not included in the pratyahāra अण् which is formed with the ण् of अइउण् ॥

सहिवहोरोदवर्णस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहि, वहोः, ओत्, अवर्णस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहि वहि इत्येतयोरवर्णस्योकार आदेशो भवति दूलोपे ॥

112. When ह् or र् are elided, there is the substitution of ओ for the अ or आ of the verbs सह् and वह् ॥

Thus सोढा, सोढुम्, सोढव्यम्, वोढा, वोढुम् and वोढव्यम् ॥ Why do we say of अ or आ? Observe ऊढः, ऊढवान् ॥ Why do we say अवर्णं which includes long आ also? The rule will apply even when the short अ of सह and वह is changed to आ by Vpiddhi: as उर्वोढाम्, उर्वोढम् ॥ Had merely अ been read into the sūtra, instead of अवर्णं then coming after the न् of आन्, it would have denoted only short अ (तादपि परः = तपरः I. 1. 75).

साढ्यै साढ्वा साढेति निगमे ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साढ्यै, साढ्वा, साढा, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साढ्यै साढ्वा साढा इति निगमे निपात्यन्ते ॥

113. साढ्यै, साढ्वा and साढा are irregularly formed in the Vedas.

Thus साढ्यै समन्तान्, साढ्वा शब्दान् ॥ The latter is formed by त्त्वा affix, the औ substitution not taking place. In the other alternative त्त्वा is changed to औ ॥ साढा is formed by हृच् affix. In the secular literature सोढा and सोढ्वा are the proper forms.

संहितायाम् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायामित्ययमधिकारः । यदित ऊर्द्धमनुकामिष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

114. In the following sūtras upto the end of the pāda, are to be supplied the following words :—“ In an un-interrupted flow of speech ”.

Thus sūtra VI. 3. 135 declares “अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns”. Thus विद्माहिस्वा सत्पति शूर गोनाम् The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sūtra to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have पिघ, हि, स्वा, सत्पति, शूर, गोनाम् ॥

कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टाष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रस्रुवस्वस्तिकस्य ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णे, लक्षणस्य, अविष्ट, अष्ट, पञ्च, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रुव, स्वस्तिकस्य (दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णशब्दे उत्तरपदे लक्षणवाचिनी दीर्घो भवति विष्ट अष्टम् पञ्चन् मणि भिन्न छिन्न छिद्र स्रुव स्वस्तिक इत्येतान्वर्जायिष्या ॥

115. Before कर्णे, there is the substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark or the ears of cattle, but not when the words are विष्ट, अष्टन्, पञ्चन्, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रुव and स्वस्तिक ॥

Thus दात्राकर्णः, द्विगुणाकर्णः, त्रिगुणाकर्णः, द्वाङ्गुलाकर्णः, अङ्गुलाकर्णः ॥ The word लक्षण here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals. Why do we say when it denotes such a mark ?

Observe शोभनकर्णः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of विट &c'? Observe विटकर्णः ॥ भटकर्णः, पठ्यकर्णः, भिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, स्रवकर्णः, स्वस्तिककर्णः and मणिकर्णः ॥

नदिवृत्तिवृषिष्यधिरुधिसहितमिषु कौ ॥११६॥ पदानि ॥ नदि, वृत्ति, वृषि, व्यधि, रुधि, सहि, तमिषु, कौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदि वृत्ति वृषि व्यधि रुधि सहि तमि इत्येतेषु क्विप्रत्ययान्तपुत्रपरेषु पूर्वपरस्य दीर्घो भवति संहितायां विषये ॥

116. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नद्, वृत्, वृष्, व्यद्, रुच्, सह and तन्, when these roots take the affix क्ति ॥

Thus उपानद् (उपानद् Nom. S.), so also, परीणद्, नीवृद्, उपावृद्, (with वृत्) प्रावृद्, उपावृद्, (with वृश्) ममावृद्, इव्यावृद्, श्वावृद्, (with व्यध्) नीवृक्, भभीदक्, (with रुच्) कर्तावद्, (with सह) तरीतद् (with तन्). The nasal is elided after गच् before क्ति (VI. 4 40), by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तच् also. Why do we say when क्ति follows? Observe परिणहनम् ॥

वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिशुलकादीनाम् ॥११७॥ पदानि ॥ वन, गिर्योः, संज्ञायाम्, कोटर, किशुलकादीनाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन गिरि इत्येतयोस्तत्परयोर्धयासंख्यं कोटरादीनां किशुलकादीनां च दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

117. For the final vowel of कोटर &c. a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किशुलक &c. before गिरि, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटरावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिन्नकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किशुलकागिरिः, भञ्जनगिरिः, &c.

The न is changed to ञ in वन by VIII. 4. 4. But भसिपञ्चवनम् and कृष्णगिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक, 3 सिन्नक, 4 पुरक (पुरक), 5 शारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किशुलक (किशुलक), 2 शाल्व (शाल्वक), 3 नड*, 4 भञ्जन, 5 भञ्जन, 6 लोहित, 7 कृष्णक ॥

वले ॥११८॥ पदानि ॥ वले, (पूर्वस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वले परतः पूर्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुस्साहभ्रातृपितृणमिति ॥

118. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix वल ॥

Thus आमुत्तीवलः, कृषीवलः, दन्तावलः ॥ These are formed by the affix वल् (V. 2. 112).

Vart:—Not so, of उस्साह, भ्रातृ and पितृ : as उस्साहवलः, भ्रातृवलः and पितृवलः ॥

मतौ बह्वचो ऽनजिरादीनाम् ॥११९॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ, बह्वचः, अनजिरादीनाम्, (संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतौ परतौ बह्वचो ऽकिरादिवर्जितस्य दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

119. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मन्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c.

Thus उदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मनुप् (IV. 2. 85) The मन् is changed to वन्, by VIII. 2. 11. Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables? Observe त्रीहिमती ॥ Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c'. Observe अजिरवती, खदिरवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकारण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening, as वलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खदिर, 3 पुलिन, 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक.

शरादीनां च ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ शरादीनाम, च, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरादीनां च मतो दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

120. The final vowel of शर &c. is lengthened before मन् when it is a Name.

As शरावती, वंशावती ॥ The म् of मन् is changed to व् because it is a Name (VIII. 2. 11). But not so after त्रीहि &c as these belong to यवादि class (VIII. 2. 9).

1 शर, 2 वंश, 3 धूम, 4 अहि, 5 कपि 6 मणि, 7 घुनि, 8 शुचि, 9 हनु.

इको वहे ऽपीलोः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, वहे, अपीलोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य पीलुवर्जितस्य वहुत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपील्व्वादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

121. The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह ॥

Thus ऋषीवहम्, कपीवहम्, घुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Vart:—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As शरुवहम् ॥

उपसर्गस्य घञ्घमनुष्ये बहुलम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, घञि, अमनुष्ये, बहुलम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्य घञन्तउत्तरपदे ऽमनुष्येभिधेये बहुलं दीर्घो भवति ॥

122. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the कृत-affix घञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus नीक्रेदः, वीमार्गः, अपामार्गः ॥ It does not take place, as प्रतिचः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before साद् and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासाद्: and प्राकारः, otherwise द्रसाद्: and प्रकारः ॥ Optionally in वेश &c. as प्रतिवेशः or प्रतीवेशः, प्रतिरोधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥ When human beings are meant, there is no lengthening, as निपाशो मनुष्यः ॥

इकः काशे ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, काशे, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्थोपसर्गस्य काशशब्दउत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

123. A Preposition ending in इ, or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As नीकाशः, वीकाशः, अनुकाशः ॥ काश is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इक् ॥

दस्ति ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, ति, (दीर्घः इकः उपसर्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हा इत्येतस्य यस्तकारादिरादेशस्तस्मिन्परत इगन्तस्थोपसर्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

124. A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final vowel, before the verb दा, when the latter is changed to त ॥

Thus नीत्तम्, वीत्तम्, परीत्तम् ॥ See VII. 4. 47 for the change of हा to त ॥ But प्रत्तम्, अवत्तम्, where the prepositions do not end in इ or उ ॥ Why do we say 'हा is changed to त'? Observe वितीर्णम् नितीर्णम् ॥ Why do we say ति 'a substitute of हा, beginning with a त'? Observe सुदत्तम्, here द्द is the substitute of हा (VII. 4. 46).

अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनित्येतस्योत्तरपदे संज्ञायां दीर्घो भवति ॥

125. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अष्टावक्रः, अष्टावन्धुरः अष्टापद्म् ॥ But अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः where the compounds are not names.

छन्दसि च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, च, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऽष्टन उत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गवि च युक्ते भाषायामष्टनो दीर्घो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

126. In the Veda also, the long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a second member.

Thus आग्नेयमष्टाकपाले निर्वपेत्, अष्टाहिरण्या वक्षिणा, अष्टापत्नी देवता सुमती ॥ The form अष्टापत्नी is the feminine in डीप् (IV. 1. 8) of अष्टपात् (V. 4. 138 the अ of पाद् being elided in a Bahuvrihi), पद् being substituted for पात् by VI. 4. 130.

Vārt.—The final of अष्टन् is lengthened before गो even in the vernacular, when yoking is meant. Thus अष्टागवं शकटम् ॥

चित्तेः कपि ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्तेः, कपि, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्तिशब्दस्य कपि परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

127. The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकचितीकः, द्विचितीकः, त्रिचितीकः ॥

विश्वस्य वसुराटोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विश्वस्य, वसु, राटोः, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विश्वशब्दस्य वसु राडित्येत्तयोरुत्तरपदयोर्दीर्घ आदेशो भवति ॥

128. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राट् (the form assumed by राज्).

Thus विश्वावसुः, विश्वाराट् ॥ The rule applies to the राट् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form: as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

नरे संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नरे, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नरशब्दउत्तरपदे संज्ञायां विषये विश्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

129. The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a Name.

Thus विश्वानरः, वैश्वानरिः (the son of Vishvánara). But विश्वनरः = विश्वे नरा यस्य when it is not a name.

मित्रे चर्यौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्रे, च, ऋषौ, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मित्रे चोत्तरपदे ऋषावभिधेये विश्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

130. The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvāmītra'. But विश्वमित्रः 'a boy called Viśvamītra'.

मन्त्रे सोमाश्वेन्द्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय, विश्वदेव्यस्य, मतौ, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये सोम अश्व इन्द्रिय विश्वदेव्य इत्येतेषां मनुष्प्रत्यये परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

131. In a Mantra, the final vowels of सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय and विश्वदेव्य are lengthened when the affix मनुष् follows.

Thus सोमावती, अश्वावती, इन्द्रियावती, विश्वदेव्यावती ॥

ओषधेश्च विभक्तावप्रथमायाम् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओषधेः, च, विभक्तौ, अप्रथमायाम्, (मन्त्रे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिशब्दस्य विभक्तावप्रथमायां परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

132. In a Mantra, the final of ओषधि is lengthened before the case-endings, but not in the Nominative.

Thus ओषधीभिरपीपत्तु, नमः पृथिव्ये नमः ओषधीभ्यः ॥ Why do we say 'before case-endings'? Observe ओषधिपत्ते ॥ Why do we say 'but not in the Nominative'? Observe स्थिरेयमस्त्वौषधिः ॥

ऋचि तुनुघमश्रुतङ्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचि, तु, नु, घ, मश्रु, तङ्, कुत्र, उरुष्याणाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचि विषये तु नु घ मश्रु तङ् कु त्र उरुष्य इत्येषां दीर्घो भवति ॥

133. In the Rig-Veda the finals of the particles **तु, तु, घ, मधु**, the tense-affix **तड्, कु**, the ending **त्र** and the word **उरुष्य** are lengthened.

Thus तु :—आ तू न इन्द्र वृत्रहन् (Rig IV. 32. 1) तु—तू करणे ॥ घ :—उत वाषा स्यालात् ॥ मधु :—मक्षु गोमन्तमीमहे ॥ तड् :—भरता जातवदसम् (Rig X. 176. 2). तड् is the त substitute of या, when it is treated as ङित्, therefore it does not apply here, शृणोत प्रावाणः (I. 2. 4). कु—कूमनस् ; त्र—अत्रा गौः ; उरुष्या णोत्रेः ॥

इकः सुञि ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, सुञि, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुञ् निपातो गृह्यते । इगन्तस्य सुञि परतो मन्त्रविषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

134. In a Mantra, the finals of the preceding member ending in **इ** or **उ** are lengthened before the particle **सु ॥**

Thus अभी सु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) उर्ध्वं ऊ णुण उत्तये (Rig I. 36. 13). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 107: and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

द्व्यचोतस्तितडः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यचः, अतः, तितडः, (ऋचि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचस्तितडन्तस्यात ऋग्विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

135. A tense affix ending in **अ** is lengthened in the Rig-veda, when the Verb consists of two syllables.

Thus विष्वा हि त्वा सत्पतिं शूर गोनाम् &c. See Rig III. 42. 6, विष्वा हि तस्य पितरम् &c. But not here देवा भवत वाजिनः, as the verb consists of more than two syllables: not also here आ देवान् वाक्षि याक्षि च, as the verbs do not end in अ ॥

निपातस्य च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातस्य, च, (ऋचि) (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निपातस्य च ऋग्विषये दीर्घ आदेशो भवति ॥

136. In the Rig Veda the final of a particle is lengthened.

Thus एवा ते, अच्छाते, अच्छा जरितारः (R. I. 2. 2).

अन्येषामपि दृश्यते ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषाम्, अपि, दृश्यते, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येषामपि दीर्घो दृश्यते स शिष्टप्रयोगाद्गुणान्तव्यः ॥ यस्य दीर्घत्वं न विहितं दृश्यते च प्रयोगे तदनेन कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शुनो दन्तदंष्ट्राकर्णकुन्द्वराहपुच्छपदेषु ॥

137. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

Here we must follow the usage of the Śiṣṭhas. Where the lengthening is not ordained by any of the rules of Grammar, but occurs in the writing of standard authors, there we should accept such lengthening as valid. Thus केशाकोशि, कचाकचि, जलासाद्, नारकः, पूरुषः ॥

Vart.—The final of अन् is lengthened before the following दन्त, दद्रा, कर्ण कुन्द, वराह, पुच्छ, and पद:—as श्वादन्तः श्वादंष्ट्रः, श्वाकर्णः, श्वाकुन्दः, श्वावराहः, श्वापुच्छः, श्वापदः ॥

चौ ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ, (पूर्वस्यदीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चौ परतः पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥ चावित्यञ्चातिर्लुप्तनकाराकारो गृह्यते ॥

138. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च, having lost its nasal and the vowel.

Thus दधीचः पञ्च, दधीचा, दधीचे, मधूचः पञ्च, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The nasal of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 24, and the अ by VI. 4. 138. In दधि+अच् the इ is not changed to its semivowel, though that is an antaranga rule, because the present sūtra ordains specifically long ई, and so also दधी+अच् and मधू+अच् ॥ See also VI. 3. 92.

संप्रसारणस्य ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संप्रसारणस्य, (उत्तरपदे दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणान्तस्य पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

139. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कारीषगन्धीपुत्रः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः, कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥ See. VI. 1. 13. कारीषस्यैव गन्धोऽस्य=करीषगन्धिः (इ being added as samâsânta by V. 4. 136 and 137). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61. does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option; moreover, on the maxim of परस्व, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI. 3. 61 is superseded by VI. 3. 139; and the rule VI. 3. 61 can not be revived by the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानं "occasional ly the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule." For here the following maxim will prevent the revival सकृद्गता, विप्रतिषेधेयज्ञाधितं तद्वाधितमेव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect."

ओम् ३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH

अङ्गस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयमाऽऽसप्तमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित उर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽङ्गस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an •adhikâra sūtra. Thus in VI. 4. 2 is taught the lengthening of the vowel of a samprasâraṇa : as हूतः, जीतः, संवीतः ॥ That means that the vowel preceded by a consonant belonging to the stem is lengthened. Therefore in निर्+वेज्ञ+क्त=निरुतम्, the vocalised vowel उ is not lengthened, as निर् is upasarga and not stem. So दुरुतम् ॥ Similarly VI. 4. 3, teaches the lengthening of the final before नाम्, as अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् ॥ But क्रिमिणाम् पद्म, पामनां पद्म, as मि and न are not the end-portions of a stem. The stem is क्रिमिणा and पामना 'a female having क्रिमि or पामन्', formed by न affix (V. 2. 100). The forms क्रिमिणाम् and पामनाम् are Accusative Singular. Similarly VII. 1. 9 teaches that after अ, भिस् is changed into ऐस् ॥ As वृक्षैः, प्लक्षैः ॥ There also, the अ must be the अ final in an aṅga or stem : hence not here ब्राह्मणभिस्ता, षोडनभिस्ता, the भिस् does not follow an aṅga. भिस्त means boiled rice and भिस्तश्च means दधिः ॥

The maxim of अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य does not apply here ; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of making this sūtra. For example, in the sūtra नामि (VI. 4. 3), the affix नाम् having a meaning would have been meant, and not any other नाम् ॥

The word अङ्गस्य must be read in the following sūtras, otherwise there would arise incongruity : first, sūtras teaching the lengthening of the vowel when सन् or Samprasaraṇa follows, thus : VI. 4. 16 ordains the lengthening of vowel before सन्, as विवीषति ; but not here दधि सनोति for इ of दधि is not that of aṅga. So also in Samprasaraṇa, but not in निरुत &c as shown above.

2ndly—For the purposes of एत्वं in sūtra VI. 4. 68. The optional change of आ into ए must refer to anga,, as ग्लेयान् or ग्लायान्, but not here निय्यान् or निर्वायान्, for here र् is not part of the aṅga, and so र्य cannot be considered a conjunct part of anga.

3rdly—For the change of तु to तान् in VII. 1. 35. There also तु must be portion of the aṅga, and not the particle तु, therefore, जीवतु or जीवतान्, but not here जीव तु स्वम् ॥

4thly—For the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in VI. 4. 77. Therefore not here इयर्थम् and उवर्थम् ॥

5thly—For the sake of नुद् augment in VII. 1. 54. But not here कुमारी आमिति आह ॥

6thly—For the sake of shortening of vowels. Thus VII. 4. 13 ordains the shortening of अण् vowels before क ॥ It refers to the aṅga-vowel, as कुमारिका ॥ But not here, कुमारी कस्मै स्पृहयति or कुमारीः कं सुखं = कुमारीकं ॥

And lastly for तत्व or त substitution. Thus VII. 4. 48 ordains the change of प् into त् in the case of अप् before भ ॥ It refers to aṅga, as अङ्गिः ॥ But not here अङ्गभारः, for अप् here is not aṅga.

To sum up in Sanskrit : सन् सम्प्रसारण दीर्घस्वैत्वताताईयडुवङ्नुद द्वस्वत्व तत्वे च अङ्गस्यैत्यधिकार प्रयोजनं ॥

The word अङ्गस्य is in the Genitive case. But the force of Genitive is here not only that taught in I. 1. 49 (स्थाने योगः), but of mere relation-ship. Or अङ्गस्य may be considered as a mere prâtipadika, without any case-affix. In the subsequent aphorisms, it should be read with proper case-affixes as the exigencies of each sūtra may require. Thus in अतो भिस ऐस् (VII. 1. 9) अङ्ग should be read in the ablative case : अकारान्ताद् अङ्गाद् भिसः ऐस् ॥ The Genitive case has force of स्थानषष्ठी in sūtras like हन्तेर्ज, where the whole of हन् is replaced (VI. 4. 36). It has the force of अवयवषष्ठी in sūtras like ऊदुपधाया गोहः (VI. 4. 89). It has the force of निमित्तनिमित्ति सम्बन्धः in युवेरनाकौ (VII. 1. 1). Or the Genitive case in अङ्गस्य may be changed into any other case, as already shown.

हलः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, (अङ्गस्य सम्प्रसारणम् दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गावयवाद्ग्लो यदुत्तरं संप्रसारणं तदन्तस्थाङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

2. The long vowel is substituted for a vocalised half-vowel अ, इ and उ at the end of a stem, when it is preceded by a consonant which is a portion of the stem.

Both the words दीर्घ and अण् from VI. 3. 111, and संप्रसारण from VI. 3. 139 are understood here. Thus हूतः from ह्वा, जीनः from ज्या, संवीतः from व्या ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe उतः and उतवान् from वज् ॥ Why do we say that the preceding consonant should be a portion of the stem?

Observe निरुतम्, here र is not an integral part of the stem, but a portion of the upasarga निर् and therefore उ is not lengthened. Why do we say 'at the end of a stem'? Observe विद्मः, विषितः from व्यध् and व्यच्; here the vowel इ is in the middle of the stem. Why do we say 'अ, इ and उ substitutes of semivowels'? Observe तृतीयः ॥ Here चि has been vocalised into वृ, ऋ being substituted for र before the affix तीय (V. 2. 55). The ऋ will not be lengthened. Or the absence of lengthening in तृतीय is an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini himself in sūtras like II. 1. 30 &c. The word अङ्ग should be repeated in this sūtra, first to qualify the word हल, and then to qualify the letters अ, इ and उ ॥

नामि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नामि, (अङ्गस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामीत्येतस्वीत्रहुवचनम् आगतनुदकं गृह्यते ॥ तस्मिन्परतोङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

Kārikā—नामि दीर्घ आमि चत्स्यात्कृते दीर्घे न नुत् भवेत् ।

वचनाद्यत्र तत्रास्ति, नोपधायाश्च चम्भणाम् ॥

3. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment नुद्).

Thus अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम्, कर्तृनाम्, हर्षुणाम् ॥ The anuvritti of अण् (VI. 3. 111) ceases. The augment नुद् (VII. 1. 54) in नाम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra; like VI.4.7. and the lengthening takes place after the addition of नुद् to the genitive affix आम् ॥ For if the lengthening took place before the addition of नुद्, there would be no occasion for नुद् which comes only after short stems.

न तिसृचतसृ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तिसृ, चतसृ, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतयोर्नामि दीर्घो न भवति ॥

4. The finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

As तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम् ॥ The very fact of this prohibition proves by implication that the final ऋ of these words is not changed to र before a genitive plural, VII. 2. 100 notwithstanding. In fact नुद् is added before scope is given to that rule, and thus the preceding rule VII. 1. 54 prevents the application of the subsequent rule VII. 2. 100.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये तिसृचतस्रोर्नामि परत उभयथा दृश्यते, दीर्घश्चादीर्घश्च ॥

5. In the Veda, the finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are found in both ways, before the Genitive plural नाम् ॥

In some places they are seen as lengthened, in others not. As तिसृणाम् मध्यंदिने or तिसृणाम् मध्यंदिने ॥ So also चतसृणाम् and चतसृणाम् ॥

नृ च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्य नामि परयुभयथा भवति ॥

6. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally.

As त्वं नृणां नृपते, and त्वं नृणां नृपते ॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others, it extends to secular literature also.

नोपधायाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उपधायाः, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तस्याङ्गस्योपधाया नामि परतो हीर्षो भवति ॥

7. In a stem ending in नृ, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चनृ + नाम् (VII. 1. 55) = पञ्चानृ + नाम् (VI. 4. 7) = पञ्चानाम् (VIII. 2. 7); सप्तानाम्, नवानाम्, दशानाम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in नृ'? Observe चतुर्णाम् ॥ But not in चर्मणाम् where the affix is not नाम् but ञाम् without नृद् ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने, च, असंबुद्धौ (नोपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने च परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ नोपधाया हीर्षो भवति ॥

8. In a stem ending in नृ, the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

As राजा, राजानौ, राजानः, राजानम्, राजानौ ॥ So also सामानि तिष्ठन्ति ॥ राजा was राजान्स्, the स् was elided by VI. 1. 68, and नृ by VIII. 2. 7. Why do we say 'in strong cases'? Observe राजानि (Loc-Sing); सामनि (Loc. Sing). Why do we say 'but not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे राजन् ! हे तक्षन् !

वा षपूर्वस्य निगमे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ष, पूर्वस्व, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षपूर्वस्याचो नोपधाया निगमविषये सर्वनामस्थानेऽपरतो ऽसंबुद्धौ वा हीर्षो भवति ॥

9. The lengthening of the penultimate vowel of a stem ending in नृ, before the affixes of the strong-case, is optional in the Veda, when ष precedes such a vowel.

Thus स तक्षाणं or तक्षणं, तिष्ठन्तमब्रवीत् । ऋषुक्षाणं or ऋषुक्षणमिन्द्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'in the Veda'? In the secular literature we have तक्षा, तक्षाणौ तक्षाणः always.

सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ सान्त, महतः, संयोगस्य, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य संयोगस्य यो नकारः महत्तश्च तस्योपधाया हीर्षो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ ॥

10. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत् ॥

That is, a stemending in the conjunct consonant स्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases. Thus अयन्, अयांसौ, अयांसः, अयांसि, पर्यांसि, यशांसि ॥ महन्—महान्, महान्तौ, महान्तः ॥ But हे अयन्, हे महन् in Vocative Singular. The Nasal is inserted by VII. 1. 70.

अप्तन्तृच्चस्वस्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृक्षत्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्त्रृणाम् ॥११॥ पदानि ॥ अप्, तृन्, तृच्, स्वस्तृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ, प्रशास्त्रृणाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्येतस्य तृञ्जन्तस्य स्वस्तृ नप्तृ नष्टृ त्वष्टृ क्षत्तृ होतृ पोतृ प्रशास्तृ इत्येतेषां चाज्ञानाद्युपधाया दीर्घो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ ॥

11. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative Singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अप्, in stems formed by तृन् and तृच् affixes, and in स्वस्तृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ and प्रशास्तृ ॥

Thus आपः तिष्ठन्ति ॥ Some would have it even in compounds; as बह्नाम्भि तडागानि ॥ The Samâsânta rule is not applied here, because it is *anitya*. If it be considered *nitya*, then also there is lengthening, but without the addition of the nasal. तत्र समासान्तो विधिरनित्य इति समासान्तो न क्रियते । नित्यमपि च नुममकृत्वा दीर्घत्वमिष्यते । तृन् । कर्त्तारौ कृत्तारः । शंसितारौ जनापवादान् । कर्त्तारः । तृच् । कर्त्तारौ कृत्तस्य । कर्त्तारः । हर्त्तारौ भारस्य, हर्त्तारः । स्वस्तृ । स्वसा । स्वसारौ । स्वसारः । नप्तृ । नप्ता । नप्तारौ । नप्तारः । नेष्टृ । नेष्टारौ । नेष्टारः । त्वष्टृ । त्वष्टारौ । त्वष्टारः । क्षत्तृ । क्षत्तारौ । क्षत्तारः । होतृ । होतारौ । होतारः । पोतृ । पोतारौ । पोतारः । प्रशास्तृ । प्रशास्तारौ । प्रशास्तारः । नप्त्रादीनां ग्रहणमव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे विध्यर्थम् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम् । एवंभूतानामन्येषां संज्ञा-वाञ्छानां दीर्घो मा भूदिति । पितरौ । पितरः । मातरौ । मातरः । असंबुद्धाविति किम् । हेकर्त्तः । हेस्वसः ॥

If the words नप्तृ &c. be considered as रूढि, not derived from any root, then their enumeration is here for the sake of Vidhi (injunction); if they be considered as derivative words formed by Uṇadi affixes, then their enumeration is for the sake of niyama (restriction), so that other words formed similarly are not to be governed by this rule. As पितरौ, पितरः, मातरौ, मातरः ॥ Why do we say 'not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे कर्त्तः, हे स्वसः ॥ In the above examples अर् is substituted for ऋ by VII. 3. 110.

इन्हन्पूर्वार्यम्णां शौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, हन्, पूष अर्यम्णां, शौ, (दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ इन् हन् पूषन् इत्येवमन्तानामज्ञानां शौ परत उपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

12. The penultimate vowel is lengthened before the affix शि (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in इन्, or एन्, or पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥

According to the maxim (See VI. 4. 14 also) that "अन्, इन्, अस्, मन् ग्रहणान्यर्थयत्वा चानर्थकेन च तदन्तं विधिं प्रयोजयन्ति", the employment of इन् in this sūtra includes and means "words ending in the syllable इन्" ॥ As regards the rest (हन् &c.), the affix शि (Neuter Pl.) is never added to them alone, but when they are parts of a compound. Thus इन् is a noun formed by the addition of

the affix क्विप् to the root हन् ; and the affix Kvip is added to it only then, when it is preceded by another word like "Brahma" &c. See III. 2. 87. Similarly the words पूषन् and अर्थमन् are masculine and cannot take the Neuter Plural affix शि in their original state. They must be parts of a neuter compound, to admit this affix. Hence we have used words "when the stem ends in हन् &c."

Thus बहुदण्डीनि and बहुच्छत्रीणि । बहुवृत्रहाणि । बहुभ्रूणहाणि । बहुपूषाणि । बह्वर्थमाणि ॥ सिद्धे सत्यात्मो नियमार्थः । इन्ह स्पूर्वार्थम्प्राप्तुपधायः दावेव रीर्षो भवति नान्यत्र । दण्डिनौ । छत्रिणौ । वृत्रहणौ । पूषणौ । अर्थमणौ ॥

Though this result could have been obtained by VI. 4. 8, the special mention of these words shows that except in Accusative and Nom. Pl. the lengthening does not take place in other strong cases. As दण्डिनौ, छत्रिणौ, वृत्रहणौ, पूषणौ, अर्थमणौ ॥

Kārikā :—Regarding the rule of lengthening taught about हन् &c here, let the wise reader, after making a restrictive rule with regard to सुद् (sarvanâmas thâna) affixes in general, make again another rule regarding the affix शि in particular, (i. e., make a yoga-bibhâga). By so doing, the form भ्रूणहनि (Loc. sin.) of the Achârya, will not be found fault with.

2. (But if yoga-vibhaga be not made) then I rule that the anuvritti of सुद् being dropped, let the rule be made with regard to शि affix in general (without regarding it as a Sarvanâmasthâna affix). And as the rule of lengthening applies to penultimates, there would arise no fault, if the vowel of हन् is lengthened before the demonstrative affix य (in words like वृत्रहायते = वृत्रहा इव आचरते, This refers to VII, 4. 25).

3. Or if the anuvṛitti of सुद् (Sarvanamasthana) be taken into this Sûtra, because of the context, then the mention of शि in this Sûtra, (would be redundant, because the word Sarvanâmasthâna includes it, so far as the strong cases are concerned) but it would find scope and utility in preventing the lengthening in those cases to which the context of Sarvanâmasthâna does not apply. That is, the Sarvanâmasthâna will be restricted with regard to हन् &c to the affix शि and not to सुद् affixes generally.

Note :—शि is the affix of the Nom. and Acc. Pl. in Neuter (VII. 1. 20.) It is a Sarvanamasthana by I. 1. 42. But the word Sarvanamasthana may be read into this sutra from the preceding VI. 4. 8. What is then the necessity of employing शि in this ? The above karika answers this.

In the case of हन् ending words, the subsequent rule VI. 4. 15, which required the lengthening of the penultimate vowel before an affix having an indicative क् or इ, is however debarred by the present restrictive rule. Thus the Locative Singular (ङि) is वृत्रहनि, and भ्रूणहनि ॥ How do you make this ? By splitting up the present sutra into two parts, the first part being इन् हन् पूर्वार्थम्प्राप्तु, and the second being शौ ॥ It would then mean :—

(1) The penultimate vowel is lengthened, in strong cases only and no where else, when the stem ends in इन् or हन् or in पुषन् or अर्यमन् ॥ (2) So also it is lengthened before the strong case शि and no where else. These two restrictive rules therefore, would debar all other rules of penultimate lengthening which would otherwise have been applicable. But a rule which does not relate to *penultimate* vowel, is not debarred by this restriction, but does take effect. Thus वृत्रहायते, भृणहायते denominative verbs in क्यङ् ॥

Or even though the Sarvanâmasthâna may be read into the sūtra by anuvṛitti, yet this may be considered a Restrictive Rule in general, and not only with regard to शि considered a Sarvanâmasthâna or a Neuter affix शि is the Sarvanâmasthâna affix of the Neuter: which has no other Sarvanâmasthâna, therefore, it is a general Niyama and not only a Sarvanâmasthâna or a Neuter niyama. Therefore in this niyama the word “नपुंसकस्य”—“of the Neuter”—is not to be taken.

For if it be taken, then the Sūtra would mean, the neuter stems in इन् &c are lengthened in शि only and no where else. The result would be that in examples like भृणहनि ब्राह्मणकुले (loc. sin), there would be no lengthening at all (i.e. we shall never have the form भृणहानि in loc. sin. by force of VI. 4. 15); moreover, by so doing, there would arise this anomaly also, that words other than Neuter would also not be lengthened.

The force of the definition of Sarvanâmasthâna applies to Neuter also in certain cases, therefore, any rule (niyama) made with regard to Sarvanâmasthâna would apply to Neuter also.

सौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, च, (उपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सावसंबुद्धौ परत इन्ह्रस्पूर्वार्थम्गाद्युपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

13. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पुषन् or अर्यमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus इण्डी, वृत्रहा, पूषा, अर्यमा ॥ The न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7, and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. In the Vocative singular we have हे इण्डिन्, हे पूषन्, हे वृत्रहन् हे अर्यमन् ॥

अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतु, असन्तस्य, च, अधातोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अतु अस इत्येवमन्तस्य अधातोःरुपधायाः सावसंबुद्धौ परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

14. In the Nominative Singular (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the consonant (अस्) does not belong to a root.

Thus भवान् (with डवतुर् Uṇ I. 63 from भा to shine), कृतवान् (with क्तवतु); गोमान् and यवमान् (with मतुर्) ॥ The नुम् (न्) is added to the above by VII. 1. 70, after the elongation has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the

vowel no longer being *penultimate*, will not be lengthened at all. अस्:—as सुपयाः, सुयशाः, सुश्रोताः ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging to a dhātu'? Observe पिण्डमः where स् belongs to the root मस् (पिण्डं मसते), so also चर्मवः (चर्म वस्ते) ॥ The अस् having no significance as an affix &c is also included here, on the strength of the maxim "whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, there they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning". (अनिनस्मन् ग्रहानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति) ॥ The word अन्त in the sūtra indicates whatever ends in अतु whether when first enunciated (उपदेश), such as डवतु, क्तवतु &c, or which assumes the form अतु in grammatical inflection, such as मतुप् which in upadeśa ends in अतुप्, but becomes अतु in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गोमन्, हे सुपयः this rule not applying there.

अनुनासिकस्य क्झल्लोः क्ङिति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकस्य, कि, झलोः, क्ङिति, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्य उपधाया दीर्घो भवति क्विप्रत्यये परतो झलादौ च क्ङिति ॥

15. The penultimate vowel of a stem, ending in a nasal, is lengthened before the affix कि, and before an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ्, which begins with a consonant other than a semivowel or a nasal.

Thus प्रशान् and प्रतान् from the roots शम् and तम् by VIII. 2. 64. So also before an affix beginning with a झल् consonant (any consonant but a nasal and a semivowel). As शान्तः (with क्त), शान्तवान् (with क्तवतु), शान्त्वा (with क्त्वा), and शान्तिः (with क्तिन्). These are all formed with क्तिन् affixes. As to ङिन् affixes we have शंशान्तः and तन्तान्तः formed by तस् 3rd Person Dual added to the Intensive roots शम् and तम् ॥ तस् is ङिन् by I. 2. 4. Why do we say 'ending in a Nasal'? Observe ओद्गन्पक्, पङ्कः, पङ्कवान् ॥ Why do we say 'before क्ङि and jhalâdi affix'? Observe गम्यते, रम्यते ॥ Why do we say a ङिन् or a क्तिन् affix? Observe गन्ता and रन्ता ॥

अञ्जनगमां सनि ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, हन्, गमाम्. सनि, (वा दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तानामङ्गानां हनिगम्योश्च सनि झलादौ परे वा दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गमेरिङादिशस्यति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16, The lengthening of the vowel takes place in the case of a stem ending in a vowel, as well as of हन् and गम्, when the Desiderative affix सन् being jhalâdi (i. e. not taking the augment इट्) follows.

Thus of roots ending in vowel we have :—वित्रीषति, तुष्टूपति, चिकीर्षति, जिहीर्षति (VII. 1. 100); of हन् and गम्, जिघांसति, and अधिजिगांसते ॥

Vārt:—The rule applies to that गम् which is the substitute of इङ् (II. 4. 48) 'to study'. Therefore, not here, संजिगंसते वस्सो मात्रा (cf. VII. 2. 58) ; In the Veda we read स्वर्गं लोकं समजिगंसन्, where though गम् means 'to go' and is not, therefore, the substitute of इङ्, the lengthening takes place by the rule VI. 3, 137. Or the word अञ् should not be added in the sūtra at all : which should be read as हनगमां सनि meaning "There is lengthening of the stem when the Desiderative सन् follows". This would apply of course, to vowel-ending stems, because the sentence would mean that, for there cannot be lengthening of a consonant. This will apply to गम् also, in this way:—"A stem ending in a vowel is lengthened in the Desiderative, and so also of गम् which is a substitute of the vowel-stem इ" ॥ In this way, we may see, that there is no necessity of the Vārtika.

तनोतेर्विभाषा ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनोतेरङ्गस्य सनि झलादौ विभाषा दीर्घो भवति ॥

17. The lengthening of the stem of तन् is optional, before the Desiderative सन्, when it does not take the augment इट् ॥

Thus तितांसति or तितंसति ॥ But in तितनिषति no alternative is allowed, as इट् is added to सन् by VII. 2. 49 Vārt: optionally.

क्रमश्च क्ति ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, च, क्ति, (झलि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम उपधाया विभाषा दीर्घो भवति त्त्वाप्रत्यये झलादौ परतः ॥

18. The penultimate of क्रम् is optionally lengthened, before the affix क्ता, when it is without the augment इट् ॥

Thus क्रन्त्वा or क्रान्त्वा ; but क्रमिन्त्वा only, with इट् augment. But when क्त्वा is replaced by ल्यप्, the rule does not apply : as प्रक्रम्य, उपक्रम्य ॥ This is on the maxim अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गान्त्यप् बाधते 'a bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supercedes even antaranga rule'.

चङ्घोः शूडनुनासिके च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङ्घोः, शूट्, अनुनासिके, च, (क्विझलोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छ इत्येतस्य सतुक्स्य वकारस्य च स्थाने यथासंख्यं श ऊट् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः, अनुनासिकादौ प्रत्यये परतः क्वौ झलादौ च कृडितिः ॥

19. For चङ्घ (including the augment तुक्) is substituted श्, and for व is substituted ऊट्, before an affix beginning with a Nasal, as well as before क्वि and jhalâdiङित् and कित् affixes (VI. 4. 15).

Thus प्रश्नः, विद्मः from प्रच्छ and विच्छ, with the affix नङ् (III. 3. 90) the चङ्घ being replaced by श् ॥ Similarly from the root सिञ् we have स्योनः thus: सिञ् + न (Un III. 9). = सि + ऊ + न = स्यु + न = स्योनः (VII. 3. 84). Here the ऊ is added to the stem prior to the scope being given to the guṇa rule of VII. 3. 86, otherwise the form would be सिञ् + न = सेट् + न = से + ऊ + न ॥ Having thus added ऊ,

before scope could be given to the guṇa rule VII. 3. 86, we make sandhi of सि+ऊ=स्यु, because semivowel substitution is antaranga operation and of wider scope than guṇa, and the maxim of वार्णादाङ्ग बलीयो भवति has no scope here. "An operation which is taught in the Argâdhikâra, and affects the anga or stem, possesses greater force than an operation which concerns a combination of letters (i. e. is taught in a sandhi rule)".

With क्व we have शब्दप्राश् formed with क्विप् (Uṇ II. 57) added to प्रच्छ, there is no vocalisation of the semivowel र, and there is lengthening of क्, and च्छ changed to श्. So also गोविश् ॥

Of the change of व into ऊ we have the following:—अक्षयूः, हिरण्ययूः (दिव्+क्विप्=दि+ऊ=यूः) ॥ Here the ऊ substitution is Bahiranga, and दि+ऊ=यू, the change of इ into य is antaranga, therefore on the maxim of अक्षिद्धं बहिरङ्ग-मन्तरङ्गे (a bahiranga is non-existent for the purposes of an antaranga), there should be no change of इ into य, for ऊ is non-existent. That maxim is however set aside by नाजानन्तर्ये बहिरङ्ग प्रकल्पितः "A bahiranga operation is not regarded as bahiranga, and consequently asiddha, when an antaranga operation is to take effect, which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else".

So also before a jhalâdi affix; as प्रच्छ+क्त=पृष्टः, पृष्टवान् (क्तवत्), पृष्ट्वा (क्त्वा); here च्छ is changed to श्, there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, and श् changed to ष by VIII. 2. 36.

So also व is changed to ऊ as, वृतः, वृतवान्, वृत्वा ॥

When the affixes are not डित् or कित्, the rule does not apply: as सुभ्याम्, सुभिः ॥ Some do not read the anuvritti of कित् and डित् into this sūtra, and explain सुभ्याम् and सुभिः by VI. 1. 131 : उ short being substituted for व of दिव् ॥

In "छशां ष" (VIII. 2. 36) the letter छ should not be taken, because by the force of the present sūtra, श् is ordained to come every where in the place of छ ॥

The indicatory इ in ऊइ is for the sake of distinguishing this ऊ in sūtras like एते धस्युद् सु (VI. 1. 89). In the sutra वाह ऊइ (VI. 4. 132) there is also indicatory इ ॥

ज्वरत्वरश्रिव्यविमवामुपध्यायाश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्वर, त्वर, श्रिवि, अवि, मवाम्, उपध्यायाः, च, (किञ्चलोः वस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्वर त्वर श्रिवि अव मव इत्येतेषामङ्गानां वकारस्य उपध्यायाश्च स्थाने ऊडित्यमादेशो भवति ष्वौ परतो ऽनुनासिके झलादौ च कृत्ति ॥

20. In ज्वर, त्वर् श्रिव्, अव्, and मव्, before the above-mentioned affixes (क्विप्, a Nasal or a jhalâdi 'कित्' or 'डित्') there is the single substitution of ऊइ for the व् and the vowel preceding the final consonant.

Thus जूः, जूरो, जूरः, जूर्तिः ॥ स्वरः—हूः, तूरो, तूरः, तूर्तिः ॥ श्रिविः—भूः, भुवा, भुवः, भूतः
भूतवान्, भूतिः ॥ अव्—ऊः, उवौ, उवः, ऊतिः ॥ मवः—मूः, मुवौ, मुवः, मूतः, मूतवान्, मूतिः ॥ ङवस्वरो-
रुपधा वकारात् परा, श्रिव्य वमवां पूर्वा ॥

In ङव् and स्वर the ऊ replaces व् as well as the अ which follows व्; and in श्रिव्, अव् and मव् it replaces the व् and the vowel इ and अ which precede व् ॥ Another reading is स्त्रिव् ॥

राहोपः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, लोपः, (क्झलोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफादुत्तरयोश्छोर्लोपो भवति क्वौ परतो झलादौ क्झिति च परतः ॥

21. After र there is the elision of छ् and व् before 'क्वि' and jhalâdi 'क्वि' and 'ङित्' affixes.

Thus from मुर्छा—मूर्, मुरौ, मुरः, मूर्तः मूर्तवान्, मूर्तिः, the त् of Nishthâ is not changed into न् by VII. 1. 57. So also from हुर्छा we have हूर्, हुरौ, हुरः, हूर्णः, हूर्णवान्, हूर्तिः ॥ So also the व् is elided, as from तूर्वीः—तूर, तुरौ, तुरः, तूर्णः, तूर्णवान्, तूर्तिः ॥ धूर्वीः—धूर, धुरौ, धुरः, धूर्णः, धूर्णवान्, धूर्तिः ॥

असिद्धवद्भासात् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ असिद्धवत्, अत्र, आभात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असिद्धवदित्ययमधिकारो यदित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिव्याम आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तिस्तद् असिद्धवद्वेदित्ययम् ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ बुग्बुटावुवङ्गयोः सिद्धौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. The change, which a stem will undergo by the application of any of the rules from this sūtra upto VI. 4. 129, is to be considered as not to have taken effect, when we have to apply any other rule of this very section VI. 4. 23 to 129.

This is an adhikâra rule. The above translation is given according to Prof. Bohtlingk. According to Kâsika the असिद्धवत् extends up to the end of the chapter. Dr. Ballantyne translates it thus :—"The rules, reckoning from this one to the end of the chapter, are called Abhiya, because the chapter ends with a series of rules dependant on the aphorism 'bhasya' VI. 4. 129. When that (i. e. one of the âbhiya rules) is to be brought into operation, having the same place for coming into operation as another âbhiya, which has already taken effect, that one which has taken effect, shall be regarded as not having taken effect".

The word आभात् means 'up to अ' i. e. upto VI. 4. 129. in which last sūtra the word अ occurs: i. e. in applying the rules taught upto VI. 4. 129. The word अत्र shows that the two rules must have the same आश्रय or place of operation, where their places of operation are different, they are not asiddha to each other. The word असिद्ध shows that an utsarga or general rule must take effect, as if existing in spite of a special rule, and that an 'âcēsa' or substitution taught by another rule should not be considered to have taken effect in applying the special rule. Thus in forming एधि and ज्ञाधि (Imperative 2nd person)

ए is first substituted for अस् 'to be' by VI. 4. 119 : and शा for शास् by VI. 4. 35 and then is धि added by VI. 4. 101. The latter rule says that धि is added in the Imperative, only after those roots which end in a consonant of झल् class. Now अस् and शास् end in a *jhal* consonant, and can take धि, but their substitute ए and शा end in a vowel and not a consonant and should not take धि ॥ The present rule helps us here, and for the application of धि (VI. 4. 101) the substitution of ए for अस् or शा for शास् should be considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect. Similarly in आगहि (Vedic Imperative, हाप् being elided by II. 4. 73) and जाहि from गम् and हन्, the nasal being elided in the case of गम्, VI. 4. 36 and ज being substituted for हन् (VI. 2. 36) we have the stems आग and ज, which ending in अ would require the elision of हि by VI. 4. 105. But since the change of ज &c is not regarded as having been accomplished, the elision of हि does not take place.

Why do we say आभात् 'up to VI. 4. 129'? In applying any other rule the changes ordained by abhiya rules would not be considered as asiddha. Thus अभाञि and रागः from भञ्ज् and रञ्ज् ॥ Here the nasals of rañj and bhañj have been elided by VI. 4. 27-28 and 33 before the affixes चम् and चिण् respectively, and we have the stems रञ्, and भञ् to which rule VII. 2. 116 applies and we have Vṛiddhi of अ preceding the final consonant. Had the elision of the nasal been considered as non-effective for the purposes of VII. 2. 116, then अ could not have taken Vṛiddhi, as it would not then be उपधा or penultimate.

Why do we use the word अन्न in the aphorism? The rules are asiddha to each other with regard to a common place of operation and not otherwise. Thus पा+वस् (क्वसु)+अस् (शास् Acc. Pl.) = पपा+उस्+अस् (VI. 4. 131 vocalisation of व). If this उ substitute be considered as asiddha for the purposes of sūtra VI. 4. 64, then we cannot elide the आ of पा, because आ is not then followed by a vowel (उ being non-existent). उ however is not considered as asiddha, and आ being thus elided, we have पपुषः in पपुषः पदय ॥ Similarly चि+वस्+अस् = चिचि +उस्+अस् ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we apply rule VI. 4. 82, and substitute य for उ as चिच्युषः पदय ॥ Similarly लू+वस्+अस् लूलू+उस्+अस् = लूलुषः ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we change the ऊ of लू into उव् by VI. 4. 77. In all the above three cases, the elision of आ, or change of इ to य, or of ऊ to उव्, takes place in reference to वस्, while the samprasāraṇa of व takes place with reference to the Accusative plural case-ending अस् which makes the stem Bha. So they have not the same आश्रय ॥ Nor does the maxim of असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे apply here, because the special maxim of Abhiya governs the sūtras of this section, so there cannot be the relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga among these sūtras, simultaneously with their being asiddha to each other.

Vārt.—The substitute बुक् (VI. 4. 88), and युद् (VI. 4. 63) should however be considered as not asiddha, and rule VI. 4. 77 teaching उवङ् and VI. 4. 82, teaching य् substitution should not be applied simultaneously with them. Thus भू—बभूव, बभूवतुः बभूवः with बुक्, and उपदिशीये, उपदिशीयाते, उपदिशीयिरे with युद् of VI. 4. 63. In the case of भू, when बुक् is added, there is not the addition of उवङ्, and in the case of शीङ्, when युद् is added, there is not यणदेश ॥

The आ in आभात् has the force of limit inclusive, so that, the asiddha rule applies to the sūtras governed by भ ॥

श्रात्रलोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रात्, न लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रादिति भ्रमयसृष्टमकारो गृह्यते तत उत्तरस्य नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. After न, which is added to the roots of the seventh class as a characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa श्रम्), there is the elision of the following न ॥

Thus अनक्ति and भनक्ति from अञ्ज 'to anoint', and भञ्ज 'to break'. Thus अञ्ज् + श्रम् + तिप् = अनञ्ज् + ति (I. 1. 47) = अनञ् + ति (VI. 4. 23) = अनक्ति ॥ So also हिनस्ति from हिसि (हिन्स्) 'to injure'. Why do we say 'after श्र' and not merely 'after न', without the indicatory श्? Observe यज्ञानाम्, यज्ञानाम्, where the न of नाम् is not elided after the न of यज्ञ and यज्ञ, the lengthening of अ by VII. 3. 102 being sthānivat would not have prevented the elision. In the case of विभ्रानाम् and प्रभ्रानाम् (formed by विश्र + नाम् and प्रश्र + नाम्) also; the न of नाम् is not elided after श्र of विश्र ॥ For the श्र of the sūtra is the *technical* श्र the vikaraṇa, and not any combination of the letters श् and न ॥ The prati-padokta maxim applies here. लक्षणप्रतिपक्षोक्तयोः पतिपक्षोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् ॥

अनिदितां हल उपधायाः क्ङिति ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनदिताम्, हलः, उपधायाः, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनदितामङ्गानां हलन्तानामुपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनदितां नलोप लङ्गिकम्प्योरुपतापशरीरविकारयोरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ रञ्जेणौ घृगरमणउपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ घिनुणि च रञ्जेरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ रजकरजनरजः सूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

24. In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न्,—this न् not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory इ (VII. 1. 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ् follows.

Thus from स्रन्स् and ध्वन्स् are formed स्रस्तः and ध्वस्तः with क्, स्रस्यते, ध्वस्यते with य्क्, सनीस्रस्यते, हनीध्वस्यते with यङ् the नी being added by VII. 4. 84. But नन्यते and नानन्यते, the न् is not elided, the root being written in the Dhātupāṭha as ढुणदि संघृजौ, and न being added by VII. 1. 58. Why do we say ending in a consonant? Observe नीयते, ननीयते from नी which has a penulti-

mate nasal, but ends in a vowel. Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe नह्यते, नानह्यते ॥ Why do we say having an indicatory क or ड? Observe संसनं, ध्वंसनं with ह्युद् ॥

Vårt:—The roots लङ्ग (लङ्गि) and कम्प् (काम्पि) are exceptions, where meaning 'to feel pain or difficulty' and 'a disease of the body'. These, though exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with an indicatory ह्, are treated as exceptions to the rule of अनिदित्: thus विलङ्गितः and विकम्पितः, when not having the above meanings, we have विलङ्कितं and विकम्पितं ॥

Vårt:—The causative of the root रञ्ज, loses its nasal when meaning 'to hunt deer': as, रजयति घृगान् 'he hunts the deer', but रञ्जयति वस्त्राणि 'he colors the clothes'.

Vårt:—रञ्ज loses its nasal before the affix चिनुण्, as रागी ॥

Vårt:—The words रजकः, रजनम्, and रजः are formed from रञ्ज by the elision of the nasal.

दंशसञ्जस्वञ्जां शपि ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दंश, सञ्ज, स्वञ्जाम्, शपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दंश सञ्ज ष्वञ्ज इत्येतेषामङ्गानां शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

25. The nasal of दंश, संज् and स्वञ्ज् is elided before the vikaraṇa शप् of the roots of the 1st class.

Thus दशति, सजति and परिव्वजते for the change of the स् of स्वञ्ज् to ष see

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रञ्जश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रञ्जः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रञ्जश्च शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

26. The nasal of रञ्ज is also elided before शप् ॥

As रजति, रजतः, रजन्ति ॥ The separation of this from the preceding is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛiti of rañj only runs and not of dañs &c.

घञि च भावकरणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञि, च, भावकरणयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकरणवाचिनि घञि परतो रञ्जरूपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

27. The penultimate nasal of रञ्ज् is elided before घञ्, when the word formed with it expresses a state or an instrument.

Thus रागः 'passion, color, or the coloring stuff'. Thus आश्रयो रागः, विचित्र रागः denote भाव, while रञ्ज्यतेऽनेनिति रागः denotes instrument. The घञ् is added by III. 3. 121; and च् changed to क् by VII. 3. 52. But रङ्गः = रजन्ति तस्मिन् 'a theatre;

स्यदो जवे ॥ २८ ॥ स्यदः, जवे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जवे ऽभिधेये स्यद इति घञि निपात्यते । स्यदेर्नलोपो वृद्धयभावश्च ॥

28. The word स्यद is formed by घञ् in the sense of 'speed'.

This word is derived from **स्यन्द्**, the nasal is elided, and the Vriiddhi prohibited irregularly. Though the *ārdhadhātuka* affix **घञ्** causes here the elision of a portion of the root, viz of **न्** of **स्यन्द्**, yet rule I. 1. 4 does not apply here. That rule prohibits *Guṇa* and Vriiddhi, only in case of **इक्** vowels, here the Vriiddhi is prevented with regard to **ञ** ॥ The prevention of this Vriiddhi is irregular and not governed by I. 1. 4. Thus **गोस्यद्**: 'अश्वस्यद्' meaning "cow-speed," "horse-speed." but **तैलस्यन्द्**; and **घृतस्यन्द्** meaning "dripping of oil or ghee".

अवोदैधौघ्नप्रथथहिमश्रथाः ॥२९॥ पदानि ॥ अवोद्, एध, ओघ्न, प्रथथ, हिमश्रथाः
वृत्तिः ॥ अवोद् एध ओघ्नप्रथथ हिमश्रथ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ।

29. **अवोद्, एध, ओघ्न, प्रथथ, and हिमश्रथ** are irregularly formed by the elision of **न** ॥

Thus **उन्द्**—**अव**+**उन्द्**+**घञ्**=**अवोद्**; **इन्ध्**+**घञ्**=**एध**; the *guṇa* is irregular, for I. 1. 4 applied here, and prevented *guṇa*. **उन्द्**+**मन्**=**ओघ्न** (*Uṇadi मन्*). **प्र**+**थन्य**+**घञ्**=**प्रथथ**: (The want of Vriiddhi is the irregularity). So also **हिमश्रथ**: ॥

नाञ्चेः पूजायाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अञ्चेः, पूजायाम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः पूजायामर्थे नकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

30. The nasal of **अञ्च** is not elided when the meaning is to honor.

Thus **अञ्चित्ता** अस्य **शुर्वः**; **अञ्चितमिव शिरो वहति** ॥ The **इद्** augment is added by VII. 2. 53. When the sense is not that of 'honoring', we have **उदक्तधुक्** कुपात् "the water was *drawn* from the well." Here the **इद्** is prohibited by VII. 2. 15.

क्लि स्कान्दिस्यन्दोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लि, स्कान्दि, स्यन्दोः, (न लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतः स्कान्द् स्यन्द् इत्येतयोर्नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

31. **स्कान्द्** and **स्यन्द्** retain their nasal before the affix **क्त्वा** ॥

Thus **स्कान्त्वा**, and **स्यन्दिस्त्वा** or **स्यन्त्वा**, the **इद्** being added when **स्यन्द्** is considered as having an indicatory **ऊ** in the *dhatupātha*. When **इद्** is added, **क्त्वा** is no longer **क्त्वा** by virtue of the rule I. 2. 18, and elision would not take place, for no rule of elision would apply in that case.

जान्तनशां विभाषा ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जान्त, नशाम्, विभाषा (न लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जान्तानामङ्गानां नशेश्च क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

32. The nasal may be optionally elided before **क्त्वा** in a root ending in **जू** and in **नश्** ॥

Thus **इद्वत्त्वा** or **रत्त्वा**, **भद्वत्त्वा** or **भत्त्वा**, **नष्ट्वा** or **नष्ट्वा** See ॥ VII. 1. 60 for the augment **न्** in **नश्** ॥ When **इद्** comes, we have **नशिस्त्वा** ॥

भञ्जेश्च चिणि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्जेः, च, चिणि, (विभाषा न लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्जेश्च चिणि परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो भवति ॥

33. The nasal may be optionally elided in भञ्ज before the third person Passive of the Aorist in चिण् (इँ)

Thus अभञ्जि or अभञ्जि ॥ This is an aprāpta vibhāshā, and teaches for the first time the elision of न in a certain contingency.

शास् इद्ङ्हलोः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शास्ः, इत्, अङ्, हलोः, (कृडिति) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शास् उपधाया इकारदेशो भवति अङि परतो हलादौ च कृडिति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋवौ च शास् इत्वं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्विप् प्रत्यये तस्यापि भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. Before the Aorist in अङ् and before an affix beginning with a consonant having an indicatory क् or ङ्, there is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास् ॥

Thus अन्वशिषत्, अन्वशिषताम् and अन्वशिषन्; so also शिष्टः (with क्त), शिष्टवान् (with क्तवत्), तौ शिष्टः वयं शिष्मः (with the tense-affixes तः and मः which are डित् by I. 2. 4). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 60. Why do we say 'before the affixes of अ Aorist and consonant affixes'? Observe शासति, शशासतु, शशासुः ॥

Vart:—There is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास् before the affix क्वि ॥ As आर्यशीः = आर्यान् शास्ति ॥ So also मित्रशीः ॥ The form is thus evolved, शास् + क्वि = शिस् + ० = शिर + ० = शीः (the short इ being lengthened by VIII. 2. 76.

The root शास् is that root which takes अङ् aorist; namely the second Adādi शास् (शासु अनुशिष्टौ), and not the Bhvādi and the first Adādi शास् (आङ् शासु इच्छायाम्) ॥ Therefore not here आशास्ते, आशास्यमानः ॥

Vart:—But before क्विप्, this शास् also is changed, as आशीः, आशिषौ, आशिषः ॥ Or this is an irregular form indicated by the author in the word शियाशीः used in VIII. 2. 104.

शा हौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, हौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शासो हौ परतः शा इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

35. Before the Imperative affix हि, शा is substituted for शास् ॥

Thus अनुशाधि, प्रशाधि ॥ The हि is changed to धि by VI. 4. 101. See VI 4. 22. The anuvritti of उपधायाः is not here; so शा is substituted in the room of the full word शास् and not only for the penultimate vowel of शास् ॥ The anuvritti of कित् and डित् also is not here. Therefore, when this हि is treated as पित् (III. 4. 88), then too the substitution takes place, though a पित् Sārvadhātuka is not डित् (I. 2. 4). Thus शाधि is also found in the Vedas as having acute on the first syllable, which can only be when धि is पित् and consequently anudātta (III. 1. 4)

हन्तेर्जः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, जः, (हौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्द्धातोर्ज इत्ययमादेशो भवति हौ परतः ॥

36. ज is substituted for ह्न् before हि ॥

Thus जहि जहृन् ॥

अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि कृडिति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥
अनुदात्तोपदेश, वनति, तनोत्यादीनाम्, अनुनासिक लोपः, झलि, कृडिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तोपदेशानामङ्गानां वनतेस्तनोत्यादीनां चानुनासिकलोपो भवति झलादौ कृडिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

37. The final nasal of those roots which in the Dhâtupâtha have an unaccented root-vowel, as well as of वन and तन &c, is elided before an affix beginning with a consonant (except a semi-vowel or nasal), when these have an indicative क् or ड् ॥

Thus यद् gives us यत्वा (with त्त्वा), यतः (with क्त), यतवान् (with क्तवत्), यतिः (with क्तिन्), Similarly रद् gives us रत्वा, रतः, रतवान्, रतिः ॥ यम्, रम्, नम्, गम्, ह्न् and मन् which end in a nasal are to be considered as unaccented roots, though taught as accented in the Dhâtupâtha. So also of वन्: i. e. वतिः with क्तिन्; with क्तिच् the nasal is not elided as वन्ति; (VI. 4. 39): and before other jhalâdi affixes व, retains न् as all those affixes take the augment इद् ॥ The तनादि roots belong to the eighth class. Thus ततः, ततवान्. The Tanâdi roots are ten in number, तन् सन्, क्षण्, क्षिण्, ऋण्, तृण्, घृण्, वन्, मन् and कृञ् ॥ Of these सन् takes long आ also (VI. 4. 45). क्षण्—क्षतः, क्षतवान्, ऋण्—ऋतः, ऋतवान्; तृण्—तृतः, तृतवान्; घृण्—घृतः घृतवान्; वन्—वतः, वतवान्; मन्—मतः, मतवान् ॥

Why do we say before a डिन् affix? Observe अतत, अतथाः (I. 2. 11 these affixes are डिन्) So also not in शान्तः, शान्तवान्, तान्तः, तान्तवान्, दान्तः, दान्तवान्, not being anudâta in the Dhâtupâtha. If the root does not end in a nasal, the rule does not apply, as in पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥ If the affix does not begin with a jhal consonant, the rule does not apply: as गम्यते, रम्यते ॥ If the affix is not क्तिन् or डिन् the rule does not apply: as यन्ता, यन्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say "anudâta by upadesa"? So that the rule may apply to गम् root, as गतिः, but not to शम्, as शान्तः शान्तवान् ॥ For गतिः is formed by क्तिन् affix and is accented with udâta on the first, but it is a secondary udâta and not of upadesa or dhâtupâtha, and does not prevent the elision of म् of गम् ॥ Similarly शम् is udâta-upadesa though in शान्त it has become अनुदात्तः ॥ The former though taught in the Dhâtupâtha as udâta, has been specifically mentioned above as anudâta, and शम् is taught as udâta in the Dhâtupâtha, and no where else taught as anudâta.

वा ल्यपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ल्यपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि परतोऽनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो वा भवति ॥

38. The nasal of the above roots (i. e. anudâta ending in a nasal, and वन and तनादि) is optionally elided before the Absolute affix ल्यप् ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhâshâ. The option applies to roots ending in म्. In the case of roots ending in other nasals, the elision is compulsory. Thus प्रयत्य or प्रयम्य, प्रत्यल्य or प्ररम्य, प्रणत्य or प्रणम्य, आगत्य आगम्य, but no option in आहत्य, प्रमत्य, प्रवत्य, प्रक्षत्य ॥

न क्तिचि दीर्घश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्तिचि, दीर्घः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तिचि परतो ऽनुदात्तोपदेशीनामनुनासिकलोपो दीर्घश्च न भवति ।

39. Before the affix क्तिच्, the above roots neither drop their nasal nor lengthen their root-vowel.

The above roots i. e. anudâttopadeśa, ending in a nasal, and वन and तनादि, do not lose their nasal before क्तिच्. Thus वर्न्ति, तन्ति, वन्ति ॥ The lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 15, when the nasal was not elided : that also is prohibited.

गमः क्वौ ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, क्वौ, (अनुनासिकलोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकलोप इति वर्तते । गमः क्वौ परतो ऽनुनासिकलोपो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ऊङ् च गमादीनामितिवक्तव्यम् ॥

40. The nasal of गम् is always elided before क्वि ॥

Thus अङ्गत्, कलिङ्गत्, अध्वगतो हरयः ॥ The त् is added by VI. 1. 71.

Vart :—It should be stated of गम् and the rest. The elision takes place here also संयत्, परीतत् ॥

Vart :—The nasal of गम् &c. is elided before ऊङ् : as, अग्नेगूः, अग्नेभूः ॥

विडुनोरनुनासिकस्यात् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विट्-वनोः, अनुनासिकस्य आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विटि वनो च प्रत्यये परतो ऽनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्याकार आदेशो भवति ॥

41. A stem ending in a nasal, and followed by the affix विट् or वन्, always substitutes long आ for its nasal.

Thus अब्जाः, गोजाः, ऋतजाः, अद्रिजाः, गोषाः (e. g. गोषा इन्द्रोत्पा असि Rig V.), कूपखाः, शतखाः, सहस्रखाः, दधिक्राः, अग्नेगा उन्नेत्णाम् ॥ The affix विट् (which is totally elided) is added under III. 2. 67. The स of सन् is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 108. in गोषा ॥ With the affix वन् we have the following :—विजावा, अग्नेजावा (III. 2. 75). The repetition of the word अनुनासिक in this sūtra shows that the limitation of anudâttopadeśa &c. which applied to the अनुनासिक of sūtra VI. 4. 37 does not apply here.

जनसनखनां सन्झलोः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खनाम् सन्-झलोः, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन सन खन इत्येतेषामङ्गानां सनि झलादौ द्विति झलादौ प्रत्यय परत आकार आदेशो भवति ।

42. The long आ is substituted for the final of जन्, सन् and खन् before the consonant beginning Desiderative affix सन्, and before any other affix beginning with a jhal consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus जातः, जातवान्, जातिः, सातः, सातवान्, सातिः, सिषासति; खातः, खातवान्, खातिः॥ In जन् and खन् the Desiderative does not begin with a consonant, but takes the augment इद्, the न् is not therefore elided, as जिजनिषति, चिखातिषति ॥ In the case of the root सन्, the Desiderative takes इ, so we have two forms सिषासति and सिसनिषति (VII. 2. 49). The Desiderative has, therefore, been mentioned in the aphorism, only for the sake of the root सन् ॥

If the phrase सन्ह्रलोः be taken to mean 'the Desiderative beginning with a consonant', then we should read the anuvṛitti of झलि क्वाडिति from the preceding sūtras, to complete the sense of this; and if the phrase means "when the Desiderative of a jhalâdi affix follows", then we should qualify the word Desiderative by the word jhal from the preceding sūtras. Or we may divide the sūtra into two (1) Before a कित् or डित् jhalâdi affix long आ is the substitute of the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan'. (2) And so is the case, when the Desiderative affix follows, not having the augment इ, for then also the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan' is replaced by long आ ॥

The न् of the root सन् would have required elision by VI. 4. 37, because this verb belongs to Tanâdi class, still the आ substitution taught in this sūtra takes place, by preference, on the maxim of विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् (I. 4. 2). In fact, though in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22) one rule is considered as asiddha for the purposes of the operations of another rule, yet one rule *supersedes* another by the maxim of vipratishedha. That that maxim applies in this section also, is to be inferred from the employment of the term ह्र् in VI. 4. 66, which supersedes the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64, and substitutes instead the long ई ॥

ये विभाषा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, विभाषा, (जनसनखनाम आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ द्विति प्रत्यये परतो जनसनखनामाकार आदेशो भवति विभाषा ।

43. There is optionally the substitution of long आ for the finals of जन्, सन् and खन् before an affix beginning with य and marked with an indicatory क् or ड् ॥

Thus जायते or जन्यते (with यक्) जाजायते or जज्जन्यते (with यङ्) । So also सायते or सन्यते, सासायते, or संसन्यते, खायते, or खन्यते, चाखायते or चङ्खन्यते ॥ Before the vikaraṇa श्यन् of the Fourth class, which is डित् according to I. 2. 4; the जा is *always* substituted for जन् by VII. 3. 79. No option is allowed there.

तनोतेर्यक् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेनोतेः, यक्, (विभाषा आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तेनोतेर्यक् परतो विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ।

44. The long आ may be optionally substituted for the final of तन् before the Passive characteristic यक् ॥

Thus तांयते or तन्यते; but no option is allowed in तन्तन्यते with यङ् ॥

सनः क्तिचि लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनः, क्तिचि, लोपः,
च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरङ्गस्य क्तिचि प्रत्यये परत आकार आदेशो भवति लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ।

45. The long आ is optionally substituted for the final of सन् before the affix क्तिच्; and there is also elision optionally of the Nasal.

Thus we have three forms सतिः, सन्तिः and सतिः ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् 'optionally' has been employed in the sūtra for the sake of clearness only; for the विभाषा of VI. 4. 43 could have been read into it by anuvṛitti. Lest any one should doubt, that the anuvṛitti of विभाषा had ceased with the last aphorism, this word अन्यतरस्याम् is employed here.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातु के ।

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकइत्यधिकारो न ल्यपीति प्रागेतस्माद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आर्द्धधातुकइत्येवं तत्रे-
दित्यम् ।

46. From this upto VI. 4. 68 inclusive, is always to be supplied "before an affix called ārdhadhātuka (III. 4. 114 &c)."

This is an adhikāra sūtra and extends upto VI. 4. 69 (exclusive). In all the sūtras upto VI. 4. 68 should be supplied the phrase "before an affix called ārdhadhātuka". Thus VI. 4. 48 teaches "the अ standing at the end of a verbal stem is elided". To complete the sense we should add: "before an ardhadhātuka affix". Thus the final अ of the verbal stem चिकीर्षि is elided before the ārdhātuka affix हृ, as चिकीर्षिहृ, जिहीर्षिहृ, but the final अ is not elided before a sāravadhātuka affix, as the अ of भव in भवति, भवतः ॥ The *luk*-elision of हाप् after roots of भवति class, implies that there is never *lopa* of हाप् ॥

The following purposes are served by this sūtra, i. e. an ārdhātuka affix causes the following special changes (1) अतोलोपः— The elision of अ of a stem, as shown above, in चिकीर्षिता, चिकीर्षितुम्, (2) यलोपश्च, The elision of य by VI. 4. 49, 50: as बेभिरिता, बेभिरितुन्, बेभिरितव्यम् from बेभिरि the Intensive stem. Before Sāravadhātuka, we have बेभिरिते, चेच्छिरिते ॥ (3) णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम्, The elision of णि by VI. 4. 51, as कारणा हारणा पाच्यते (पाचि + यक् + ते = पाच् + य + ते), याज्यते ॥ In Sāravadhātuka, पाचयति, याजयति, कारयति, हारयति ॥ (4) आलोपः, the elision of आ, VI. 4. 64— as पपतुः, पपुः, ववतुः, ववुः, In Sāravadhātuka, यान्ति, वान्ति (5) ईत्वम्— The substitution of long ई for आ in some roots, VI. 4. 65 as धीयते, हीयते; in Sāravadhātuka अधाताम्, भधाताम् (6) एत्वम्— The substitution of ए for आ, VI. 4. 68; as स्नेयात्, ग्लेयात्; in Sāravadhātuka, स्नायात्, ग्लयात् ॥ This is confined to the Precative (āsrilin). (7) चिष्वद्भावश्च सीयुदि, the treatment of the Precative like Aorist Passive in चिष्, by VI. 4. 62. as कारिषीष्ट, हारिषीष्ट ॥ In Sāravadhātuka, क्रियत, द्वियत ॥

Kāśikā:—अतो लोपो यलोपश्च णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम् ।

आलोप ईत्वमेत्वं च चिष्वद्भावश्च सीयुदि ॥

भ्रस्जो रोपश्चयोरमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि । भ्रस्जः, र-उपधयोः, रम्,
अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रस्जो रेफस्योपधायाश्च रमन्यतरस्यां भवति ।

47. In the room of the **र** and the penultimate letter **स्** of the root **भ्रस्ज**, there is optionally the substitute **रम्**, when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows.

The **र** and **स्** cease to exist and **र** takes their place. The substitute having an indicatory **म्** comes after the final vowel (I. 1. 49). Thus **भ्रस्ज + त् = भर्ज + त् = भर्जा** the **ज** being changed to **ञ** by VIII. 2. 36, and **त्** to **ट** by VIII. 4. 41. The other form will be **भ्रटा**; so also **भ्रष्टम्** and **भर्ष्टम्**, **भ्रष्टव्यम्** and **भर्ष्टव्यम्**, **भ्रज्जनम्** or **भर्ज्जनम्** ॥ But **भृष्टः** and **भृष्टवान्** by VI. 1. 16, in spite of this rule. The word **उपदेश** (VI. 4. 37). is understood here also. The rule therefore applies to the simple root **bhrasj** as originally taught in the Dhatupāṭha, and not to any Derivative root from it. As the Intensive (**यङ**) is **बरीभृञ्यते** ॥

अतो लोपः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, लोपः, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धिरीर्घ्यामतो लोपः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥

48. The **अ** standing at the end of a stem is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus **चिकीर्षिता**, **चिकीर्षितुम्**, and **चिकीर्षितव्यम्**, from the Desiderative stem **चिकीर्ष** ॥ So also **धिनुतः** and **कृणुतः** from the roots **धिन्** and **कृण्व्** thus, **धिन् + उ** (III. 1. 80) = **धिन् + अ + उ** (III, 1. 80) = **धिन् + उ** (**अ** being elided before the ârdhâtuka **उ**) = **धिनु**, the 3rd Personal dual of it is **धिनुतः** ॥ The addition of **अ** by III. 1. 80 and its subsequent elision by the present sūtra, may appear a redundancy, but the elided **अ** being sthānivat, prevents **गुण** of **धि** ॥ So also **कृणुतः** ॥ See sūtra III. 1. 80. Why do we say "the **अ** is elided"? Observe **चेता**, **सोता** here **इ** and **उ** have not been elided. Why do we say "**अतः** with a **त्**"? The long **आ** will not be elided: as **याता**, **वाता** ॥ Why do we say 'before an Ardhadhâtuka'? Before a Sârvadhâtuka there will be no elision of **अ** nor before a Taddhita: as **वृक्षत्वम्** and **वृक्षता** ॥

Vart:—The elision of such **अ** takes place even to the supersession of the subsequent rules relating to **Vṛiddhi** and lengthening. As **चिकीर्षिकः**, **जिहीर्षिकः**, **चिकीर्ष्य ते** and **जिहीर्ष्यते** ॥

यस्य हलः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, हलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तस्थे यशब्दस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

49. When a consonant precedes the final **य** in a verbal stem, this **य** is elided also before an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus **वेभिरिता**, **वेभिरितुम्**, **वेभिरितव्यम्** from the Intensive stem **वेभिद्य** ॥ In the sūtra **यस्य** is given, which is the Genitive singular of **य** namely of the letters **य् अ** ॥ By the rule of **अलोऽन्यस्य** (I. 1. 52), the **अ** of **य** ought to be elided

and not य् ; but that rule is evidently inapplicable here, since the elision of अ would have taken place by the preceding rule: the present rule therefore teaches the elision of य् (ya). Or the word हलः may be considered as in the ablative case, and then by I. 1. 54, the first letter would be elided namely य् ॥ Why have we taken [the two letters (संचान्) conjointly viz.] य् and not य्? Observe ईर्ष्यता, मन्त्रिता, शुच्यता from the simple roots ईर्ष्य्, मन्त्र्, and शुच्य् ॥ Here य् not being followed by अ, is not elided (see Bhvadi 541—546). Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant?' Observe लोह्यिता, पोष्यिता ॥

क्यस्य विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यस्य, विभाषा, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यस्य हल उत्तरस्य विभाषा लोपो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ।

50. The elision of य् of the Denominative stem (क्य) is optional, when preceded by a consonant and followed by an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

The क्य denotes the affixes क्यच् and क्यङ् ॥ Thus समिधयिता or समिधयित्, कृषयिता or कृषयित् meaning समिधमात्मन इच्छति or समिध इवाचरति &c.

णेनिति ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, अनिति, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिडासवार्द्धधातुके णेलोपो भवति ।

51. The इ of the verbal stem formed with the affix णि, is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix which does not take the augment इद् ॥

This debars इयङ्, the semi-vowel य्, the गुण, Vृद्धि and the long substitutions. Thus अततक्षन्, भररक्षन्, भाषिषन्, भाषिषन्, कारणा, हारणा, कारकः, हारकः, कार्यते, हार्यते and ज्ञीप्सन्ति (see VII. 4. 1 for the shortening of the stem of the Aorists in these). Why do we say 'not having the augment इद्?' Observe कारयिता and हारयिता ॥

निष्ठायां सेटि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्, सेटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायां सेटि परतो णेलोपो भवति ।

52. The affix णि is elided before the affixes क्त and क्तवन्तु when these take the augment इद् ॥

Thus कारितम्, हारितम्, गणितम्, लक्षितम् ॥ Why do we say "before an ârdhadhâtuka affix having the augment इद्"? Observe संज्ञपितः पशुः ॥ This is the part participle of the causative, the इ being the sign of the causative. By VII. 2. 15 read with VII. 2. 49, ज्ञप् is a root which takes no इद् augment in the Nishthâ. It may be objected that VII. 2. 15 preventing इद् augment applies to verbs of one syllable (VII. 2. 10), and the causative ज्ञपि being of two syllables will always have इद् in the Nishthâ, and so it is useless to use the word सेटि in the sūtra. The word सेटि in the sūtra fixes the time when the elision of णि should take place. Namely, first there should be added the

augment इद् and *then*, there should take place the elision of णि ॥ Otherwise we shall have this difficulty कारि + त्, here let us elide the णि *first*: and we get कार् + त्, now we cannot add इद् to त्, for कार् being a verb of one syllable will not take इद् by VII. 2. 10. Therefore, the reverse process must be adopted. We must glide इद् *first*. For ह्रपितः see also VII. 2. 27.

जनिता मन्त्रे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनिता, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनितेति मन्त्रविषये इडादेशे णिलोपो निपात्यन्ते ।

53. In a Mantra, the word जनिता is formed irregularly by the elision of णि before the affix तृ with the augment इद् ॥

Thus यो नः पिता जनिता ॥ Otherwise जनयिता in secular literature. It is an exception to VI. 4. 51.

शमिता यज्ञे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमिता, यज्ञे ॥

वृद्धिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि शमितेति इडादेशे णिलोपो निपात्यन्ते ।

54. शमिता is formed irregularly by the elision of णि before an इद् augmented affix, when meaning a sacrificial act.

Thus शृतं हविः शमितः ॥ It is formed by तृच् and is in the Vocative case. Why do we say 'when referring to a sacrificial act'? See शृतं हविः क्षमयितः ॥ See Śatpatha Br. III. 8. 3, 4 and 5.

अयामन्ताल्वाय्येत्तन्विष्णुषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अय, आम-अन्त-आलु-आय्य-इत्नु-इष्णुषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम अन्त आलु आय्य इत्नु इष्णु इत्येतेषु परतो णेरयादेशो भवति ।

55. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the affixes आम, अन्त, आलु, आय्य, इत्नु, and इष्णु ॥

Thus कारयां चकार, हारयां चकार, गण्डयन्तः, मण्डयन्तः (formed by the Uṇādi affix झच्, झ = अन्त, added to the roots गण्ड and मण्ड) आलु । स्पृहयालुः । आय्य, स्पृहयाय्यः, गृहयाय्यः ॥ इत्नुः—स्तनायत्नुः ॥ इष्णुः—पोषयिष्णुः ॥ Thus sūtra could have been well dispensed with; for the इ of णि would take गुण ए which will be changed to अय् by the rules of Sandhi, before these affixes. This substitution of अय् for इ is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra however, because there इ could not be changed to अय by any sandhi-rules.

व्यपि लघुपूर्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यपि, लघु पूर्वात् (णेः अय ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यपि परतो लघुपूर्वाद्दुत्तरस्य णेरयादेशो भवति ।

56. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the Absolutive affix व्यप्, when the vowel preceding the इ is light.

Thus प्रक्षमय्य गतः, संक्षमय्य गतः, प्रब्रैभिदय्य, प्रगणय्य ॥ But प्रप्रात्य गतः the vowel preceding the इ being long. Here VI. 4. 51 applies. The shortening, the

elision of **य** and the elision of **अ** should not be considered as asiddha, as their place of operation is not the same. Thus **दाप् + णिच् = दामि**; this **आ** is shortened by VI. 4. 92, and we have **दामि** ॥ This shortening is not to be considered as asiddha, for if asiddha, there being no laghu pūrva, the present rule would not apply. Similarly **वेमिद्य** is the Intensive root, its **य** is elided by VI. 4. 49, this elision is not considered as asiddha, if it were asiddha, the **इ** of **मि** would not be laghu. Similarly the elision of **अ** in **गण** which is a root which ends in **अ**, (see Dhâtupāṭha Churadi 309), is not considered as asiddha for similar reasons.

विभाषा, 55पः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप उत्तरस्य णेर्यपि परतो विभाषा ज्यादेशो भवति ॥

57. **अय्** is optionally substituted for the **इ** of **णि** before the affix **ल्यप्**, after the verb **आप्** ॥

Thus **प्राप्य** or **गत्य** ॥ This however does not apply to the **आप्** substitute for **इह्**, as **अध्याप्य गतः** (VI. 1. 48, VII. 3. 36). The maxim of Prati-padokta applies here.

युप्लुवोर्दीर्घदछन्दसि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-प्लुवोः, दीर्घः, छन्दसि, (ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यु प्लुइत्येतयोर्ल्यपि परतश्छन्दसि विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

58. In **यु** and **प्लु**, long is substituted for **उ**, before **ल्यप्** in the Veda.

Thus **दान्यदुपूर्वे वियूय**; **यवा यो रक्षिणा परिप्लूय** ॥ Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe **संयुत्य**, **भाप्लुत्य** in the secular literature.

क्षियः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, (दीर्घः ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियश्च दीर्घो भवति ल्यपि परतः ॥

59. A long is substituted for the **इ** of **क्षि** before **ल्यप्** ॥

As **प्रक्षीय**, **उपक्षीय** ॥

निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्. अ-ण्यदर्थे, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यतः कृत्यस्यायो भावकर्मणी ताभ्यामन्यत्र या निष्ठा तस्यां क्षियो दीर्घो भवति ।

60. A long is substituted for the **इ** of **क्षि** before the Participle in **क्त**, when it has not the sense of the future Passive Participle in **ण्यन्** ॥

The force of **ण्यन्** is to denote condition (Impersonal action) and object (passive). When the Past Participle has not the force of **ण्यन्**, the vowel of **क्षि** is lengthened. Thus **आक्षीणः**, **प्रक्षीणः**, **परिक्षीणः** all used in the active sense. The **क्त** is added to the Intransitive **क्षि** to denote the agent (III. 4. 72). Thus **प्रक्षीणमिदं देवदत्तस्य** 'this is the spot where Devadatta perished'. Here **क्त** is used with a Locative force (III. 4. 76). Why do we say 'not having the force of

प्यत् ?' Observe अक्षितमसिमायेक्षेत्राः ॥ Here त् is added with the force of condition, and akshitam means 'imperishable'. The vowel not being lengthened the त् is not changed to न् (VIII. 2. 46).

वा ऽऽक्रोशदैन्ययोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आक्रोश-दैन्ययोः (क्षियः दीर्घः विभाषा) वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोश गम्यमाने दैन्ये च क्षियो निष्ठायामप्यर्थे वा दीर्घो भवति ॥

61. The long is optionally substituted, for the इ of क्षि, before the Past Participle क्त, not having the sense of the Future Passive Participle प्यत्, when the word means 'imprecation' or 'a miserable plight'.

Thus क्षितायुरेधि or क्षीणायुरेधि, क्षितकः or क्षीणकः, क्षितोयं तपस्वी, क्षीणोऽयं तपस्वी ॥ When not having the sense of cursing or miserable condition, we have one form only, as क्षीणश्मन्त्रः ॥

स्यसिच्सीयुट्तासिषु भावकर्मणोरुपदेश ऽज्ज्ञानग्रहदशां वा चिण्वदिट् च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-सिच्-सीयुट्-तासि, भाव-कर्मणोः, उपदेशे, अच्-हन्-ग्रह-दशाम्, वा, चिण्वत्, इट्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्य सिच् सीयुट् तासि इत्येतेषु भावकर्मविषयेषु परत उपदेशे ऽज्ज्ञानानामङ्गानां हन् ग्रह दृश् इत्येतेषां च चिण्वत्कार्ये भवति वा । यदा चिण्वत् तदा इडागमो भवति ।

62. Before the affixes स्य (First Future and Conditional), सिच् (S-Aorist), सीयुट् (Benedictive) and तासि (the Priphastic Future), when there are used in the Impersonal (भाव) and Passive (कर्म) Voices, (1) the verbal stems ending in a vowel in the Grammatical system of instruction (उपदेश), as well as the verbs (2) हन् (3) ग्रह and (4) दृश् are treated optionally in the same way as in the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिण्वत्, and when so treated, they have the augment इट् ॥

The augment इट् is, of course, added to the affixes स्य, सिच्, सीयुट् and तासि and not to the stem. What are the special objects served by this atideśa aphorism? They are given in the following verse :—

Kārikā चिण्वद् वृद्धिर्युक् च हन्तेश्च घर्त्वं
दीर्घश्चोक्तो यो मितं वा चिणीति ।
इट् चासिद्धस्तेन मे लुप्यते णि-
मित्यश्वायं बलनिमित्तोऽविधाती ॥

First :—The Vṛiddhi takes place as in चिण्वत् (VII. 2. 116, VII. 3. 34), secondly, there is the addition of युक् augment (VII. 3. 33), thirdly च is substituted for the इ of हन् (VII. 3. 54), fourthly, the roots having indicatory म

(Bhuādi 809 to 873) optionally lengthen their vowel (VI. 4. 93), and lastly the addition of the augment इद् being considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect by VI. 4. 22, the rule VI. 4. 51 applies and the causative affix णि is elided : and this इद् is added irrespective of the conditions and limitations of VII. 2. 35 &c.

(1) Roots ending in a vowel in the Dhâtupāṭha with the affix स्य as, चिः—चायिष्यत or चेष्यते, अचायिष्यत or अचेष्यत ॥ So also with इद्, as, दायिष्यते or दास्यते, अदायिष्यत or अदास्यत ॥

In चामि there are three forms, the two चामिष्यते or चामिष्यते, अचामिष्यत and अचामिष्यत being given by the elision of the causative ending by VI. 4. 51, in spite of the इद् augment which is considered as asiddha : and चाम् being a root of मित् class, the अ is lengthened optionally by VI. 4. 93. The forms चामयिष्यते and अचामयिष्यत are given when not treated as चिण्, the causative is retained, the penultimate being shortened by VI. 4. 92. With the affix सिच्—अचायिषाताम् or अचेषाताम्, अदायिषाताम्, or अदािषाताम् and अचामिषाताम् or अचामिषाताम् ॥ With the affix सीयुद्—चायिषीष्ट or चेषीष्ट, दायिषीष्ट or दासीष्ट and चामिषीष्ट or चामिषीष्ट ॥ With the affix तासिः—चायिता or चैता, दायिता or दाता, चामिता or चामिता ॥ The चिण् aorist model of these roots is अचायि, अदायि (VII. 3. 33), and अचामि (VII. 3. 34) or अचामि (VI. 4. 93).

(2) हन् :—Fut. घानिष्यते or हनिष्यते; Con. अघानिष्यत or अहनिष्यत, Aor. अघानिषाताम् or अघाधिषाताम् and अहसाताम् (II. 4. 44); Ben घानिषीष्ट or वधिषीष्ट; Per. Fut. घानिता or हन्ता ॥ The चिण् model is अघानि ॥

(3) ग्रहः—Fut. ग्राहिष्यते or ग्रहीष्यते Con. अग्राहिष्यत or अग्रहीष्यत; Aor. अग्राहिषाताम् or अग्रहीषाताम् (अग्रहीषाताम्) ?; Ben. ग्राहिषीष्ट or (ग्रहीषीष्ट) ? ग्रहीषीष्ट, Per. Fut. ग्राहिता or ग्रहिता ॥ The lengthening of ही takes place by VII. 2. 37. The चिण् model is अग्राहि ॥

(4) वृश्ः—Fut. वृशिष्यते or वृश्यते, Con. अवृशिष्यत or अवृश्यत; Aor. अवृशिषाताम् or अवृक्षाताम्; Ben वृशिषीष्ट or वृक्षीष्ट; Per. Fut. वृशिता or वृष्टा (वृष्टा) ? ॥ The चिण् model is अवृशि ॥

Why do we say before स्य &c ? Observe चेतव्यम्, दातव्यम् ॥ Why in the Impersonal and Passive ? Observe चेष्यते and दास्यते ॥ Why in Upadeśa ? The rule applies to कारिष्यते also, though कार् (after guṇa change) ends in a consonant, but in its original enunciation it ends with a vowel. The atideśa rule being enunciated with regard to stems (aṅga), prevents the substitutions of हन् and इङ् and इण् ॥ Thus हानिष्यते, घानिष्यते, एष्यते or आयिष्यते, अचेष्यते or अध्यायिष्यते ॥ The substitutes वध or गा (II. 4. 42, 43, 45, 50) do not come according to the Kāśikā, when these roots are treated as चिण् ॥

दीङो युडचि कृडिति ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीङः, युट्, अचि, कृडिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीङोयुडामयो भवति अजादौ कृडिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

63. युद् is the augment after दीङ्, of an ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicative क् or ड् ॥

Thus उपदिशिये, उपदिशियाते and उपदिशियिरे ॥ The Personal ending is क्ति by I. 2. 5. दीङ् being in the Ablative case, the augment is applied to the affix. This augment, however, is not to be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of semi-vowel substitution under VI. 4. 82. If that substitution were allowed, the augment would become useless. Why before an affix having क् or ड्? Observe उपसानम् ॥

आतो लोप इटि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, लोपः, इटि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडाशवार्ष्णधातुके कृडिति चाकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य लोपो भवति ॥

64. The final आ of a root is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix with the augment इद् as well as when it begins with a vowel and has an indicative क् or ड् ॥

Thus पपिय and तत्स्थिय ॥ Here the affix has the इद् augment. पपतुः, पपुः, तत्स्थतुः, तत्स्थुः ॥ Here the affixes are क्ति by I. 2. 5 गोदः, कम्बलदः with the affix क (III. 2. 3). So also प्रदा (fem), प्रधा (fem) by अङ् III. 3. 106. Before Sârvadhâtuka affixes, we have यान्ति, वान्ति, व्यत्यरे and व्यत्यले ॥ The two latter are the Imperfect 1st Pers. Sing. Atm. of रा and ला with the affix इ (इद्). When it does not begin with a vowel, we have ग्लायते, दासीय ॥

ईद्यति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकार आदेशो भवति आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य यति परतः ॥

65. The final आ of a stem is changed into ई before the Kṛit-affix यत् ॥

Thus वेयम्, धेयम्, हेयम्, and स्तेयम् ॥ The Guṇa takes place according to VII. 3. 84.

घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ घु, मा, स्था, गा, पा, जहाति साम्, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुञ्जकानामङ्गानां मा स्था गा पा जहाति सा इत्येतेषां हलादौ कृडिति प्रत्यये परत ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

66. For the final of the roots of the form of दा and धा (घु), as well as for that of the roots मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा (जहाति) and सा (सो), there is substituted ई before an ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, which has an indicative क् or ड् ॥

Thus रीयते, धीयते with यक्, देदीयते, देधीयते with यङ् ॥ So also मीयते मेमीयते स्वीयते, तेष्टीयते, गीयते, जंगीयते, अध्यगीष्ट, अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत, पीयते, पेपीयते, हीयते, जहीयते, अत्ररीयते, अत्रससीयते ॥

The पा 'to protect' of Adadi (47) is not meant here. be come the

vikarana षप् is elided in roots of that class. Its form will be पायते. It is Bhvādi पा 'to drink' that is taken here. So also हा-जिहीते is not to be taken here. Its form is हायते ॥

Why do we say 'before a consonant'? Observe इदुः, ददुः ॥ Here had हल् not been used in the sūtra, the आ of हा would be replaced by ई by the present sūtra, even before a vowel-affix अतुः ० उस् ; for the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64 is prevented by this *subsequent* sūtra teaching ई substitution. In fact, the employment of the word हल् in the aphorism is a jñāpaka that the rule of vipratishedha (I.4.2) applies in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22), and the lopa of आ is *superseded* by the present rule substituting ई instead. So also हाता and धाता before non-कित् and non-डित् affixes.

परिडि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पः, लिङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुमास्थागापाजहातिसामङ्गानां लिङि परत एकारदेशो भवति ॥

67. ए is substituted for the आ of the above roots in the Benedictive mood Active.

Thus देयात्, मेयात्, धेयात्, स्येयात्, गेयात्, पेयात् and अवसेयात् ॥ Before non-कित् and non-डित् we have दासीष्ट and धासीष्ट ॥ By the word लिङ् is here meant the आशीर्लिङ् or the Precative mood ; the Personal endings of which mood are ārdhadhātuka by III. 4. 116. More-over by III. 4. 104 the Parasmaipada affixes only of the Benedictive are कित्, so the present rule does not apply to the Atmanepada affixes of the Precative.

वा ऽन्यस्य संयोगादेः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्य-संयोग, आदेः, (लिङि) (आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्वादिभ्यो ऽन्यस्य संयोगादेरकारान्तस्य वा एकारदेशो भवति लिङि परतः ॥

68. For the final आ of any other root than those mentioned in VI. 4. 66, ए may optionally be substituted, in the Benedictive active, when the root begins with a conjunct consonant.

The स्या was the only root of VI. 4. 66, which could have been affected by this rule. It has been, however, specially exempted by the word अन्यस्य ॥ Thus ग्लेयात् or ग्ल्यायात्, म्लेयात् or म्ल्यायात्, but only स्येयात् (VI. 4. 66), and यायात् (not commencing with a double consonant). The phrase क्किङिति is understood here and therefore the rule applies to Parasmaepada affixes (III. 4. 104). Thus ग्ल्यासीष्ट in Atmanepada. The root considered as an āṅga, should consist of a double consonant, therefore in निर्वायात् (from निर्+वा), र्वा is not to be considered as a root having a double consonant, for र is no part of the āṅga, but of the preposition.

न ल्यपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल्यपि, घुमास्थागापाजहातिसाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न्यपि प्रत्यये परतो घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां यदुक्तं तत्र ॥

69. The ई substitution for आ under rule VI. 4. 66, does not apply when the absolutive affix ल्यप् follows घुमा, स्था, गा, पा, हा and सा ॥

Thus प्रदाय, प्रधाय, प्रमाय, प्रस्थाय, प्रगाय, प्रपाय, प्रहाय and अवसाय ॥ The affix ल्यप् as the substitute of क्त्वा, is a क्तिन् affix by I. 1. 56.

मयतेरिद्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ मयतेः, इत्, अन्यतरस्याम्, (ल्यपि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मयतेरिकारदेशो वा भवति ॥

70. इ may optionally be substituted for the आ of मा, (मयति) before ल्यप् ॥

Thus अपमित्य or अपमाय ॥

लुङ्लङ्लङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, लङ्, लङ्क्षु, अट्, उदात्तः (अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङ् लङ् लङ् इत्येतेषु परतोङ्गस्याडागमो भवति, उदात्तश्च स भवति ॥

71. अट् acutely accented is the augment of the verbal stem in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus अकार्षीत्, अहर्षीत्, अकरोत्, अहरत् and अकरष्यत्, अहिरष्यत् ॥

आडजादीनाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, अच्-आदीनाम्, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आडागमो भवत्यजादीनां लुङ्लङ्लङ्क्षुषु परत उदात्तश्च स भवति ॥

72. आट् acutely accented is the augment of a verbal stem beginning with a vowel, in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus ऐक्षिट्, ऐक्षत्, ऐक्षिष्यत्; औञ्जीत्, औञ्जत्, औञ्जिष्यत् ॥ ऐहिष्ट, ऐहत् and ऐहिष्य औम्भीत्, औम्भत्, and औम्भिष्यत् ॥ The Vriddhi takes place by VI. 1. 90.

The Passive Imperfect (लङ्) of यञ्, वप् and वह् are ऐज्यत्, औष्यत् and औह्यत् formed by आट् and not अट् ॥ First, the affixes of the Imperfect are added and then the Passive characteristic यक् is added to these roots, which causes the vocalisation of the semi-vowels, and we have इज्यत्, उष्यत्, and उह्यत् stems (VI. 1. 15). The stems having now assumed a form in which they begin with a vowel, take आट् ॥ The addition of tense-affixes being an antaranga operation precedes the addition of augment. After the affixes have been added, the vikaraṇa यक्, being nitya, is added and precedes in order the augment, the latter being so far anitya; after यक् addition the roots assume a form in which we can add आट् ॥ Why आट् is considered anitya depends on the following maxim:—शब्दान्तरस्य प्रार्थुवन् विधिरनित्यो भवति “when the word-form in reference to which a rule teaches something; after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously would be different from what it was before that other rule had taken effect, then the former rule is not nitya.”

छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अपि, दृश्यते, आद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये आडागमो दृश्यते । अत्र हि विहितस्ततोन्वयापि दृश्यते ।

73. The आद् augment is found in the Veda also.

It is found there before the roots beginning with a vowel as well as before consonant roots. Thus आवः, आनक्, and आयुनक् ॥ आवः is the Aorist of वृञ्, the affix being elided by II. 4. 80. आनक् from नञ् (II. 4. 80), and आयुनक् is the Imperfect of युञ् ॥

न माङ्योगे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, माङ्, योगे (लुङ् लङ् लृङ्क्षु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्यांगे लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्षु यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

74. In connection with the prohibitive particle मा, the augment अद् or आद् is not added in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus मा भवान् कार्षीत्, मा भवान् हार्षीत्, मा स्म करोत्, मा स्म हरत्, मा भवानीहिष्टमा, भवानीक्षिष्ट, मा स्म भवानीहत, मा स्म भवानीक्षत ॥

बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्योगे ऽपि ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, अ माङ् योगे, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माङ्योगे ऽपि बहुलमडादौ भवतः अमाङ्योगेपि न भवतः ॥

75. There is diversity in the Veda : the augment अद् or आद् is added even with मा, and sometimes not added even when there is no मा ॥

Thus in जानिष्ठा उमः (Rig X. 73. 1), काममूनयीत् (Rig I. 53. 3) and काममईयीत्; the augment is not added though there is no मा ॥ In मा वः क्षेत्रे परब्रजान्यवाप्सुः, मा अभित्याः, मा आवः, the augment is not elided, though the particle मा is added.

इरयो रे ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इरयोः, रे, (बहुलंछन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इरे इत्येतस्य छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रे इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

76. रे is diversely substituted for इरे in the Veda.

Thus कं स्विद्गर्भं प्रथमं वृध्रे आपः (Rig X. 82. 5) या स्य परिवृध्रे ॥ In वृध्रे, the आ of ध्रा is elided before the affix इरे by VI. 4. 64, the रे substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of the elision of आ ॥ Sometimes the substitution does not take place, as परमाया धियोग्निर्मर्षाणि चक्रिरे ॥ Here इद् augment is first added to रे after the सेद् roots and the affix thus becomes इरे, then रे is substituted again for this इरे by this sūtra, thus the affix is brought back to its original condition. To show this repetition—रे—इरे—रे the sūtra has exhibited the word इरयोः in the dual number.

अचि श्नुघातुभ्रुवां खोरियङ्खवङ्गौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, श्नु, घातु, भ्रुवाम्, ख्योः, इयङ्, उवङ्गौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुप्रत्ययान्तस्याङ्गस्य धातोर्विर्णोवर्णान्तस्य भु इत्येतस्य इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशौ भवतो ऽचि परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इयङ् उवङ् प्रकरणे तन्वादीनां छन्दसि बहुलमुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

77. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of नु, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of भू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

Thus आप्नुवन्ति, राध्नुवन्ति, शक्नुवन्ति, from roots of the 5th class. चिक्षियतुः लुलुवतुः, लुलुः, नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, लुवः and भ्रुवौ and भ्रुवः ॥

Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe आप्नुयात्, शक्नुयात्, राध्नुयात् ॥ Why "of नु &c."? Observe लक्ष्ये, लक्ष्याः, वध्वै, वध्वाः ॥ Why "of इ and उ"? Observe चक्रतुः, चक्रुः where the vowel is ऋ ॥

Vart:—The Guṇa (VII. 3. 84) and Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 115) however take place to the supersession of इयङ् and उवङ्: as from चि—चयनम् and चायकः, लू—लवनम् and लावकः, with ल्युट् and ष्वल् ॥

Vart:—In the Chhandas there is deversely the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in the case of तन् &c. Thus तन्वं पुषेम or तनुवं पुषेम ॥ विषुवं पुषेम, स्वर्गो लोकः, सुवर्गो लोकः, त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे, त्रियम्बकं यजामहे ॥

अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे ॥७८॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासस्य, अ, सवर्णे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्येवर्णोवर्णान्तस्यासवर्णे ऽचि परत इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशौ भवतः ॥

78. इयङ् and उवङ् are substituted for the इ and उ of a reduplicate, before a non-homogenous vowel.

Thus इयेष, उवोष, इयत्ति, (VII. 4. 77) but ईषतुः and ईपुः, ऊषतुः and ऊपुः before homogenous vowels and इयाय and उवाय before a non-vowel.

स्त्रियाः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, (अचि इयङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीइत्यतस्याजासौ प्रत्यये परतः इयङ्देशो भवति ॥

79. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्री, स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः; but स्त्रीणाम् the न् being added by a subsequent rule, supersedes this rule. The making this a separate sūtra is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

वा ऽम्रशसोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अम्, शसोः (इयङ् स्त्रियाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमि शसि परतः स्त्रिया वा उयङ्देशो भवति ॥

80. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of स्त्री is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शस् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्री पश्य or स्त्रियं पश्य, स्त्रीः पश्य or स्त्रियः पश्यः ॥

इणो यण् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, यण्, (अङ्स्य अचि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणोङ्स्य यणादेशो भवति अचि परतः ॥

81. For the इ of the root इण् (पति) is substituted a semivowel (य), before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus यन्ति, यन्तु, आयन् ॥ This supersedes इयङ् substitution, and is itself superseded by VII. 2. 115, and VII. 3. 84 which ordain Vṛiddhi and Guṇa : on the maxim मध्ये उपवादाः पूर्वान् विधीन् वाधन्ते, नोत्तरान् ॥ “Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them.” So we have अयनम् and आयकः ॥

एरनेकाचो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अनेकाचः, अ संयोगपूर्वस्य, (धातोः अर्चिं प्रत्यये) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरवयवः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्माद्विवर्णान्न भवति असावसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचोऽधि परतो यणदेशो भवति ॥

82. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

The word धातोः is understood here, and the word संयोग is qualified by that: i. e. the इ or ई which is not preceded by conjunct consonant forming part of the root is called an asamyoga pūrva इ ॥ Thus निन्यतुः, निन्युः, उन्न्यौ, उन्न्यः, ग्रामण्यौ, ग्रामण्यः ॥ All the above examples are of the soot नी preceded by the gati prepositions नि and उत्, or a Kāraka-upapada ग्राम ॥ The rule will not apply however if the preceding word is neither a gati nor a Kāraka, but an adjective, as परमनी, its dual and plural will be परमनियौ and परमनियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say ‘of इ or ई’? Observe ललुवतुः and ललुवः from ललु which ending in ऊ takes उवङ् substitution. This is also shown in the next sūtra. Why do we say the stem should be of more than one syllable? Observe नी; its dual and plural are नियौ and नियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say the इ or ई should not be preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe यवक्री d. यवक्रियौ pl. यवक्रियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say “forming part of the root”? So that the rule may apply to उत्री also. Here though ई is preceded by a conjunct न्, yet the latter is not part of the root, one न् being part of the upasarga उत् ॥ Thus we have उन्न्यौ and उन्न्यः ॥ The phrase असंयोगपूर्व should in fact be taken as qualifying the letter ई, and not as qualifying the word अङ्ग ॥

ओः सुपि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, सुपि, (यण्, धातोः, असंयोगपूर्वस्य, अनेकाचः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्ववयवः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्मादुवर्णान्न भवति तदन्तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचो ऽजासौ सुपि परतो यणदेशो भवति ॥

83. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व् is substituted for the final

ऊ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऊ not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short उ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलू 'a sweeper':—d. खलूवौ, pl. खलूवः; so also शतस्वौ and शतस्वः, and सकृल्लूः dual सकृल्लवौ and सकृल्लवः ॥ But लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः before tense-affixes, (non—सुप्); लू—लुवौ, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only), and कटपू—कटपुवौ, कटपुवः (because ऊ is preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root). The rule does not apply if the first member is not a Gati or a Kâraka word: as परमलूः—परमलुवौ and परमलुवः ॥

वर्षाभ्वश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षा भ्वः, च, अचि सुपि यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाभू इत्येतस्याजादौ सुपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुनर्भ्वश्चेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

84. व् is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभ्वौ, वर्षाभ्वः ॥ वर्षाभू 'what is born in the rains, a kind of herb.' This is an exception to the subsequent rule.

Vart:—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when हृन्, कार and पुनर् precede भू; as हृन्वौ, वृन्वः, पुनर्वौ, पुनर्वः, कारभवौ (काराभवौ), कारभवः (काराभवः) ॥

न भूसुधियोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, सुधियोः, यण्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू सुधी इत्येतयोर्यणादेशो न भवति ॥

85. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभू—प्रतिभुवौ, प्रतिभुवः; सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥ VI. 4. 77.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा, भूसुधियोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये भू सुधी इत्येतयोरुभयथा दृश्यते यण् ॥

86. In the Chhandas, in the case of a stem in भू and सुधी, are found sometimes the इयङ्, उवङ् and sometimes the semivowel substitution.

As विभ्वम्, विभुवम्, सुभ्यः and सुधियः; वनेषु चित्रं विभ्वं विशे, विशे विभुवम्, सुधयो हव्यमग्ने, सुधियो हव्यमग्ने ॥

हुश्रुवोः सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हुश्रु वोः, सार्वधातु के, अङ्गस्य, अने-

काचः, असंयोग, पूर्वस्य, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य श्रुप्रत्ययान्तस्यानेकाचो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्याजादौ सार्वधातुके परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

87. The semi-vowel व् is substituted for the उ of हु, and for that of शु (the characteristic of the fifth class roots),

before a sârvadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 113) beginning with a vowel, when the stem consists of more than one syllable and the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

Thus हु—सुहति, सुहतु; असुहन्, so also with सु—as सुन्वन्ति, सुन्वन्तु, असुन्वन् ॥ Why do we say “of हु and इतु formed stems”? Observe योयुवति, रोस्वति, from Intensive bases, by the elision of the यङ् affix. The यङ् is elided in the secular literature also, by the implication (jñâpaka) of this aphorism, for no counter-example can be formed of a root consisting of more than one syllable and ending in इ, not preceded by a conjunct consonant and followed by a Sârva-dhâtuka affix, unless the Intensive roots with the elision of यङ् be taken. Nor can we get examples from the Chhandas, for the preceding rule applies only to ârdhadhâtuka affixes. Why do we say before a Sârva-dhâtuka? Observe सुहवतुः, सुहवुः (VI. 4. 77). So also not in आप्नुवन्ति and राप्नुवन्ति as the इ is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

भुवो वुग्लुङ्लिटोः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, वुक्, लुङ्, लिटोः, अचि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भुवो वुगगमो भवति लुङि लिटि चाजासौ परतः ॥

88. भू gets the augment व् (वुक्) before the tense-affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect, when beginning with a vowel.

Thus अभूवन्, अभूवम्; बभूवः, बभूवतुः, बभूवुः ॥

ऊतुपधाया गोहः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊत्, उपधायाः, गोहः, अङ्गस्य, अचि, प्रत्यये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोहो ङङ्स्य उपधाया ऊकारादेशो भवति अजासौ प्रत्यये परतः ॥

89. For the penultimate ओ of the gunated stem गोह् (from गुह्), there is substituted ऊ before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus नि गूहति, निगूहकः, साधुनिगूहिन्, निगूहम्, निगूहन्ति, गूहो वर्तते ॥ Why do we say ‘penultimate’? So that the substitution should not apply any where else. The form गोह् is taken in the sūtra to prohibit the application of the rule to cases where गुह् does not assume the form गोह् ॥ Therefore not here, निजुगुह्तुः, निजुगुहः ॥ This change will not take place before the affixes beginning with a consonant; as निगोढा, निगोढम् ॥ Some say, the word is exhibited as गोह् in order to prohibit the अय् substitution of ङि before ल्यप् ॥ As निगोह् + ल्यप् = निगूह (VI. 4. 56 not applied), the ऊ substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) would have brought in अय्, गूह् being considered as a word having a light vowel for its penultimate. According to Kâśikâ the ऊ substitution, however, is not asiddha, as their places of operation are different.

दोषो णौ ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ दोषः, णौ, उदुपधायाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दोष उपधाया ऊकार आदेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

90. The ओ of दोष् is replaced by ऊ before the causative णि ॥

Thus दूषयति, दूषयतः, दूषयन्ति ॥ Similar reasons as in गौह, may be given for the root दूष being exhibited as दोष् in the sūtra. When not followed by णि, we have दोषो वर्त्तते ॥

वा चित्तविरागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, चित्त-विरागे, उदुपधायाः णौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चित्तविकारार्थे दोष् उपधाया वा ऊकारदेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

91. The ऊ substitution for the ओ of दोष् is optional, when the sense is that of the disturbing of the mind.

As चित्तं or प्रज्ञां दूषयति or दोषयति ॥ Otherwise साधनं दूषयति when mental agitation is not meant.

मितां ह्रस्वः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिताम्, ह्रस्वः, णौ, उपधायाः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मितो धातवो घटादयो मित इत्येवमादयो ये प्रतिपादितास्तेषामुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति णौ परतः ॥

92. The roots having an indicatory म्, retain their penultimate short vowel before the causative णि ॥

The मित् roots are घटादि a subdivision of Bhwādi (800 to 873), and all other roots that end in अम् as शम् and तम् of Divādi class. Thus घटयति, व्यथयति, जनयति, रजयति, शमयति, ज्ञपयति ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra into this. This will then be a limited option only (vyavasthita-vibhāshā). The forms उत्क्रामयति and संक्रामयति are thus explained.

93. Optionally a long may be substituted for the penultimate of the causative of मित् roots, before the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिष् (इ), and before the Absolute affix णमुल् (अम्) ॥

चिष्णमुलोर्दीर्घोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिष्ण, णमुलोः, दीर्घः, अन्यतरस्याम्, णौ, मितः उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिष्परं णमुल्परं च णौ परतो मितामङ्गानामुपधाया दीर्घो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Thus अशामि or अशामि, भतमि or भतामि with चिष्ण; and शमंशमम्, and शामंशामं ; तमंतमम् or तामंतामम् with णमुल् ॥ Why have we used the word दीर्घ in the sūtra? The rule does not teach merely the optional shortening. So that in the alternative of short, we have अशामि and in the other alternative we have अशामि, so that there is long. For had दीर्घ not been used, it would have taught optional short only, i. e. it would be a ह्रस्वविकल्पविधि only, and there will be this difficulty:—when the causative of causative is taken, as in शमयन्तं प्रयुङ्क्ते, there would not be lengthening in the alternative. Because the लोपा substitute of णि would be sthānivat: therefore, the णि which would be followed by

चिण् or णमुल्, would not have in it the मित् anga, because the first णि intervenes between the मित् anga and the चिण् and णमुल् affix, and that णि which is preceded by a मित् anga is not followed by चिण् and णमुल्, because the second णि (though elided) intervenes. Therefore, there would not be *optional* short here, but *compulsory* short, by the preceding sūtra and no lengthening. The rule, therefore, teaches the optional substitution of the *long* (दीर्घ). For there arises no such anomaly in this view. For taking this rule to be a दीर्घविधि, the lopa-substitution of णि would *not* be sthānivat, by the express prohibition contained in I. 1. 58, and so we can get forms of double causatives. But if we take it a ह्रस्वविकल्पविधि, then the lopa-adesā of णि being sthānivat, would prevent getting the alternative long form. Therefore the word दीर्घ is used in the sūtra to make this rule a दीर्घविधि, and prevent sthānivat-bhāva. Thus take the causative of शम्, which will be शामि by the last sūtra. Take its Intensive with यङ्, शामि + यङ् which causes doubling by VI. 1. 9 = शामि शामि + यङ् = शशामि + यङ् (VII. 4. 60) = शं शामि + यङ् (बुक् or nasal being added to the abhyāsa by VII. 4. 85) = शंशामि + यङ् = शंशाम् + य (VI. 4. 51) = शंशाम्य. Add णिच् to this i.e. make the causative of the Intensive. शंशाम् + य + इ ॥ Then the अ of य is elided by VI. 4. 48 = शंशाम् + य् + इ. Then य् is elided by VI. 4. 49 = शंशाम् + इ = शंशामि ॥ This शंशामि is the causative root of the Intensive of the causative शम् ॥ Now add चिण् or णमुल् to this root; and we get two forms short and long अशंशामि or अशंशामि with चिण् and शंशामम् or शंशामम् with णमुल् ॥ The long forms could not have been obtained had this not been a दीर्घविधि, for then the lopa-adesā of णिच् being sthānivat would have prevented the application of दीर्घ ॥ The roots शम् and तम् (both Divādi) ending in म् do not ever lengthen the root vowel before चिण् and णमुल् by VII. 3. 34. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to the simple roots. The derivative causative roots of these, namely, शामि - शामयति, तामि - तामयति, optionally lengthen the penultimate before these affixes. Thus शामि + चिण् = शाम् + चिण् (the इ of णि being elided by VI. 4. 51) = शामि or शामि (with the augment अ = अशामि or अशामि) ॥ This rule applies when the Causative of the Causative root takes these affixes. In fact the mention of the word दीर्घ implies as much, otherwise the sūtra could have been made without this word, for the word 'optionally' would have brought in both 'short' and 'long'. Thus in शामयन्तं प्रयुङ्क्ते 'he causes another to make quiet,' we add णि (the Causative sign.), to the Causative root शामि, as शामि + णि = शाम् + इ (VI. 4. 51) = शामि, the lopādesā here is not sthānivat for the purposes of *lengthening* (दीर्घविधि) the अ of शाम् (I. 1. 58) ॥ From this शामि with चिण् we get अशामि, and with णमुल् we get शामम् ॥ But we cannot get the short forms, by taking the other alternative, as the lopādesā will then be sthānivat. Hence the necessity of the word दीर्घ in the sūtra. Thus the चिण् and णमुल् forms of the Causative of the Causative (i. e. the double Causative) of शम् are अशामि or अशामि; शंशामम् or शामंशामम् and from the form शंशामयति, we have अशंशामि or अशंशामि, शंशामंशंशामम् or शंशामंशं-

शामम् ॥ These latter are from the Causative stems of the Intensive root. The sign यङ् of the Intensive has been elided (VI. 4. 49) as shown above.

खचि ह्रस्वः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ खचि, ह्रस्मः, (उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ खचरे णौ परतो ह्रस्वो भवत्यङ्गस्योपधायाः ॥

94. The penultimate of the Causative stem is shortened before the affix खच् ॥

Thus द्विषन्तपः, परंतपः, पुरंदरः ॥ See III. 2. 29 and 41.

ह्लादो निष्ठायाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्लादः, निष्ठायाम्, (ह्रस्वः उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्लादो ऽङ्गस्योपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति निष्ठायां परतः ॥

95. The penultimate of the Causative of हृद् (ह्रादि) is shortened before the Participle affixes क्त and क्तवतु ॥

Thus प्रहृन्नः, प्रहृन्नवान्, but प्रहृन्त्यति before non-nishṭhā. The rule applies also when क्तिन् follows as प्रहृन्तिः ॥ This is done by splitting up the aphorism into two (1) ह्रादः (2) निष्ठायाम् ॥

छादेर्घे ऽह्युपसर्गस्य ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छादेः, घे, अ ह्युपसर्गस्य, (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छादेरङ्गस्याह्युपसर्गस्य घप्रत्यये परत उपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अद्विप्रभृत्पसर्गस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

96. The penultimate of the Churādi छृच् is shortened before the affix घ (III. 3. 118), when not preceded by two prepositions (or more).

As उरइछृदः, प्रच्छृदः, वृन्तच्छृदः ॥ But ससुपच्छृदः with two prepositions. The same when preceded by more than two prepositions, as ससुपातिच्छृदः ॥ The elision of णि of छादि &c., by VI. 4. 51, should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) or sthānivat (I. 1. 57), otherwise there would be no penultimate to be shortened.

Vart.—The prohibition with regard to द्वि should be extended to numbers more than two.

इस्मन्त्रन्किषु च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्, मन्, त्रन्, किषु, च, छादेः (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् मन् त्रन् किन् इत्येतेषु परतइछादेरुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ।

97. The penultimate of छादि is shortened before the affixes इस्, मन्, त्रन् and क्ति ॥

Thus छदिस्, छदमन् (neuter), छदन्, धामच्छन् and उपच्छन् ॥ The first three are Uṇādi affixes.

गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङित्यनङि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम, हन, जन, खन, घसाम्, लोपः, क्ङिति अनङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन जन खन घस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामुपधाया लोपो भवत्यङ्गो प्रत्यये क्ङित्यनङि परतः ॥

98. The root-vowel of गम्, हन्, जन्, खन्, and घस् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicative क् or ङ्; but not before the Aorist affix अङ् ॥

Thus जग्मतुः, जग्भुः जग्भुतुः, जग्भुः, जज्ञे, जज्ञाते, जज्ञिरे, चखन्तुः, चखतुः, जक्षतुः, जक्षुः, अक्षन्नमीमदन्तापितरः, ॥ किङ्कतीकिम्, गमनम्, हननम्, ॥ अनङ्गीतिकिम्, अगनन्, अवसन्, ॥ अचीत्येव, गम्यते, हन्यते ॥

Why 'having indicative क् or ङ्'? See गमनम्, हननम् ॥ Why 'not अङ्, ? See अगमन्, अवसन् ॥ Why 'beginning with a vowel, ? See गम्यते and हन्यते ॥

तनिपत्योश्छन्दसि ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनि, पयोः, छन्दसि, (कङ्किति उपधायाः लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनि पति इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि विषये उपधाया लोपो भवति अत्रासौ किङ्किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

99. In the Chhandas, the root-vowel of तन् and पञ् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicative क् or ङ् ॥

As वितन्त्रिरे कवयः, शकुना इव पत्निमः ॥ In secular language वितेन्निरे, पेनिम् ॥

घसिभसोर्हेलि च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ घसि, भसोः, हलि, च, (अचि कङ्किति) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घसि भस इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि उपधाया लोपो भवति हत्रासावत्रासौ च किङ्किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

100. The root-vowel of घस् and भस् is elided in the Chhandas, before any affix, whether beginning with a vowel or a consonant, which has an indicative क् or ङ् ॥

Thus सग्धिश्चमे सपीतिश्च मे, बद्धांते हरी धानाः ॥ सग्धिः is thus derived: क्तिन् is added to the root अद्; then by II. 4. 39, घस् is substituted for अद्; thus घस् + ति = घस + ति (अ being elided by the present sūtra) = घ् + ति (स् being elided by VIII. 2. 26), then त् is changed to ध, and घ to ग and we have ग्धिः ॥ Then समाना ग्धिः = सग्धिः (समान changed to स VI. 3. 84). The word बद्ध्याम् is the Imperative of भस्, thus भस् + ष्टु + ताम् = भ भस् + ताम् = ब भस् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = ब्भ् + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = ब्भ् + धाम् = ब्भ्ध्याम् ॥ This rule of elision being a nitya and a subsequent rule ought to have operated first, but, as a Vedic anomaly, the reduplication takes place first. See VII. 2. 67

Why do we read "before an affix beginning also with a consonant"? Because the elision takes place before a vowel affix also, as बभूतति = भस् + हुल् + क्षि = ब्भस् + भति (VII. 1. 4) = बभूतति (VIII. 4. 55).

Why having an indicative क् or ङ्? Observe अंगुन्, बभस्ति ॥ The च has been added into the aphorism by the Vārtikakāra.

हुञ्जलभ्यो हेङ्ङिः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु-ञ्जलभ्योः, हेः, धिः, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्माद् झञ्जन्तेभ्यश्चोत्तरस्य हलादेर्हेः स्थाने धिरादेशो भवति ।

101. After हु and after a consonant (with the exception of semi-vowels and nasals), धि is substituted for the

Imperative affix **हि**, when the latter does not take the augment **इट्** ॥

Thus **हु-जुहुधि**; **हल्** consonants; **भिद्-भिन्द्रि**, **छिद्-छिन्द्रि** ॥ But **व्रीणीहि**, **व्रीणीहि** (VI. 4. 113) not ending in consonants. Why 'हि only'? Observe **जुहुताम्** ॥ Why do we read the anuvṛitti of **हलि** into this sūtra? When **हि** does not begin with a consonant, but with a vowel, i. e. when it takes the augment **इट्**, the rule does not apply. As **रुहिहि**, **स्वपिहि** ॥ In the case of **जुहुतात्**, **भिन्तात्**, when **हि** is replaced by **त्तात्** (VII. 1. 35) this substitution does not take place because **त्तात्** is a later rule in the order of *Ashtādhyāyī*, and because **सकृद्भौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमव** "When two rules, while they apply simultaneously mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether". When **अकच्** is added by V. 3. 71, धि substitution takes place, as **भिन्द्रकि**, **छिन्द्रकि** ॥ The maxim **पुनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानात् सिद्धम्** applies here:—"Occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had been previously superseded by a subsequent rule."

शुश्रुणुपृकृवृभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुश्रुणु-पृ-कृ-वृ-भ्यः, छन्दसि, हेन्द्रिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुश्रुणु पृ कृ वृ इत्येभ्य उत्तरस्य हेन्द्रिः (देशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

102. धि is substituted for हि in the Vedas, after **शु, श्रुणु, पृ, कृ** and **वृ** ॥

As **शुधी ह्विमिन्द्र**, **श्रुणुधी**, **गिरः**, **पृधि**, **उरुकुरुगस्कृ धि** and **अवावृधि**, ॥

In **श्रुणुधी**, the **हि** is not elided after the **उ** of **णु**, as it was required by VI. 4. 106, since the present aphorism specifically mentions it. The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. The forms other than **श्रुणुधि** are irregular; **हृप्** being added *diversely* by III. 1. 85, and then elided *diversely* by **बहुलं छन्दसि** II. 4. 73

अङ्गितश्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्-इतः, च, हेन्द्रिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गितश्च हेन्द्रिरादेशो भवति ॥

103. धि is substituted for हि, when the tense-affix is not **ङित्** ॥

Under III. 4. 88 **हि** is also **वित्** in the Vedas: and when it is **वित्**, it is not **ङित्** by I. 2. 4. Thus **रारन्धि**, **यन्धि** and **युयोधि** in the following **सोमपरन्धि** **अस्मभ्यं तद्धयंश्च प्रयन्धि**, **युयोध्यस्मञ्ज जुहुरागमेनः**

Why do we say 'when it is not **ङित्**'? Observe **व्रीणीहि** ॥ **रारन्धि** is irregularly *Parasmaipada* of **रम्**; the **हृप्** being replaced by **इल्ल**, and the reduplicate lengthened as a Vedic form. The **म्** is not elided, by VI. 4. 37 as the affix is not **ङित्** ॥ **प्रयाम्भ** is from **यम्**, the **हृप्** is elided: and **युयोधि** from **यु** (**यौति**), the **हृप्** being replaced by **इल्ल** ॥

चिणो लुक् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिणः, लुक्, प्रत्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण उच्चारस्य प्रत्ययस्य बुग्भवति ॥

104. The personal-endings are elided after चिष्, the third person, singular Passive of the Aorist.

As अहारि, अश्रावि, अकारि, अपाचि ॥ So also अकारितराम्, अश्रावितराम्, here the elision of the personal affix त (III. 1. 60) of the Aorist being considered as *asiddha*, the affixes तरप् and तमप् are not elided: though if the sūtra were to be literally interpreted, every affix after चिष्, ought to be elided. Or the word क्तिङिति is understood here; so that क्तिन् and डित् affixes of चिष् are elided and not every affix.

अतो हे ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हेः, अङ्गस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताङ्गादुत्तरस्य हेर्लुम्भवति ॥

105. The Imperative affix हि is elided after a stem ending in short अ ॥

Thus पच, पठ, गच्छ, धाव ॥ But युहि, रुहि after stems ending in उ. Why do we say "short अ"? Observe लुनीहि, पुनीहि (लुना + हि, the ई substitution by VI. 4. 113, should be considered *asiddha*), here हि is not elided after the long आ ॥

उतश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, च, प्रत्ययात्, असंयोगपूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारो यो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तात्प्रत्ययादुत्तरस्य हेर्लुम्भवति ।
वातिकम् ॥ उतश्च प्रत्ययादित्यत्र छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यं ॥

106 The Imperative हि is elided after the उ of an affix, in the vikaraṇa with which the Present-stem (special conjugation) is made, provided that the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

The affix उ with which the Present-stem is made is उ and इत् ॥ Thus चित्, सुत्, कुरु ॥ Why after 'उ'? Observe लुनीहि, सुनीहि ॥ Why do we say "उ being part of the vikaraṇa or affix"? Observe रुहि, युहि, here उ is part of the root itself, and not of the vikaraṇa. Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant,? Observe प्राप्नुहि, राप्नुहि, तक्ष्णुहि ॥

Vārt:—The elision of हि after the उ of the vikaraṇa उ and इत् is optional in the Vedas; as आत्तनुहि यातुधानान्, धितुहि यज्ञपतिम्, तेन मा भागिने कृणुहि ॥

लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां म्वोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, म्वोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयमुकारो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यान्यतरस्यां लोपो भवति ॥

107. The उ of the vikaraṇa उ and इत्, where not preceded by a conjunct consonant, may be elided optionally before a personal ending beginning with म् or च् ॥

Thus सुन्मः or सुनुवः, सुन्मः, सुनुमः, तन्मः, तनुवः, तन्मः, तनुमः ॥ The उ must be-

long to the affix, and should not be part of the root. Therefore not in युवः, युमः ॥

Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe चाकनुषः, चाकनुमः only. Though the elision word लुक् was understood in this sūtra, the mention of लोप् indicates that the *final* is only to be elided, and not the whole affix नु ॥ It is a general maxim that the words लुक्, इलु and लुप् cause the elision of the *whole* affix, while 'lopa' will cause elision of the final letter only of the affix. If the whole affix be elided, we could not get मुन्नः &c., Moreover, in कुर्व and कुर्म formed by guṇa of कृ, there would have been no guṇa, had the word लुक् been used, for I. 1. 63, would have prevented guṇa; but by using the word लोप we have such guṇa also by I. 1. 62.

नित्यं करोतेः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, करोतेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेरुत्तरस्य उकारप्रत्ययस्य वकारमकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

108. The elision of उ is invariable before घ and म् in the case of कृ (करोति).

Thus कुर्वः and कुर्मः ॥ Thus कृ+उ+वः=कुर्+उ+वः (VI. 4. 110)=कुर्+०+वः (VI. 4. 108). Now the lopa being not sthānivat, when a vowel is to be lengthened (I. 1. 58), उ of कृ should be lengthened by VIII. 2. 77. This contingency is prevented by VIII. 2. 79.

ये च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, लोपः नित्यं करोतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ च प्रत्यये परतः करोतेरुत्तरस्योकारप्रत्ययस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

109. The affix उ of the stem कुरु is always elided before a personal ending beginning with a य ॥

Thus कुर्यान्, कुर्याताम् and कुर्युः ॥ The augment यासुद् is treated here as an affix, and it makes the personal ending to which it is added, as an affix beginning with य ॥

अत उत्सार्वधातुके ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, उत्, सार्वधातु के, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारप्रत्ययान्तस्य करोतेरुत्तरस्य स्थाने उकार आदेशो भवति सार्वधातुके क्ङिति परतः ।

110. Before a Sārvadhātuka affix with an indicative क् or ऊ्, short उ is substituted for the अ of कृ (कृ+उ) when gunated.

Thus कृ+उ+तस्=कृ+उ+तस्(VII. 3. 84)=कुर्+उ+तस्=कुरुतः (VI. 4. 110) The तस् is डित् by I. 2. 4. So also कुर्वन्ति, कह ॥ Why do we say 'before a Sārvadhātukā'? So that the rule may apply to what was once a Sārvadhātuka, though no longer existent. Thus कुरु where the personal ending हि is elided, but it leaves its effect behind. The न् in उन् shows that this उ is not to be gunated by VII. 3. 86. When the affix is not क्रिन् or डित् we have करोति, करोषि and करोमि (I. 2. 4).

इत्सोरलोपः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्-असोः, अत्-लोपः, सार्वधातुके क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः । इत्स्यास्तेष्वाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके क्ङिति परतः ।

111. Before a Sârvaadhâtuka क्विन् or डित् affix, the अ of अ and अस् is elided.

इन is the characteristic of the roots of the Rudhâdi class, while अस् is the root itself. Thus रुन्धः; रुन्धति, भिन्तः, भिन्वन्ति; So also of अस्:—स्तः, सन्ति ॥ But भिनन्ति and अस्ति before non-क्विन् and non-डित् affixes. इन+अस् ought to be इनास्, instead of that we have इनस् in the sūtra: The पररूप single substitution is an irregularity.

इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इना-अभ्यस्तयोः, आतः, लोपः सार्वधातुके कडिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ इत्येतस्याभ्यस्तानां चाङ्गानामाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कडिति परतः ।

112. Before a Sârvaadhâtuka क्विन् or डित् affix beginning with a vowel, the long आ of आ (the vikaraṇa of the 9th class) and of the reduplicate stems is elided.

Thus लुनते, लुनताम्, अलुनत; मिमते, मिमताम्, अमिमत, संजिहते, संजिहताम् and समजिहत ॥ Why do we say 'of इना and the reduplicates'? Observe यान्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why 'of long आ'? Observe विभ्रति ॥ Why 'before क्विन् and डित्'? Observe अलुनात्, अजहात् ॥

ई हृल्यथोः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, हलि, अ-धो (इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः सार्वधातुके कडिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आन्तानामङ्गानामभ्यस्तानां च पुवर्जितानामात ईकारदेशो भवति इलासौ सार्वधातुके कडिति परतः ॥

113. Before a Sârvaadhâtuka क्विन् or डित् affix beginning with a consonant, the आ of आ and of the reduplicate stems is replaced by ई, except when the root is दा or धा (घु) ॥

Thus लुनीतः, पुनीतः, लुनीथः, पुनीथः, लुनीते and पुनीते ॥ Of reduplicates we have मिमीते, मिमीषे, मिमीध्वे, संजिहीते, संजिहीषे, संजिहीध्वे ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe लुनन्ति, मिमते ॥ Why with the exception of घु? Observe इत्तः, धत्तः ॥ So also लुनाति and जहाति before non-क्विन् and non-डित् affixes.

इहरिद्रस्य ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, हरिद्रस्य, (हलिसार्वधातुके कडिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरिद्रतिर्हलासौ सार्वधातुके कडिति परत इकारदेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरिद्रतिरार्धधातुके लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सिद्धश्च प्रत्ययविधौ भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā ॥ न हरिद्रायके लोपो हरिद्राणे च नेष्यते ।

दिहरिद्रासतीत्येके दिहरिद्रिपतीति वा ॥

वा० ॥ अद्यतन्यां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

114. इ is substituted for the आ of हरिद्रा before a Sârvaadhâtuka क्विन् or डित् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus हरिद्रितः, हरिद्रिथः, हरिद्रिवः, हरिद्रिमः ॥ But हरिद्रति before a vowel affix (VI. 4. 112) and हरिद्राति before a non-डित् affix.

Vârt:—The final of हरिद्वा is elided before an Ârdhadhâtuka affix. *Vârt*:—And this elision should be considered as siddha, in applying rules relating to affixes. Thus हरिद्वा by loosing वा becomes हरिद्, and we should apply those affixes which would come after a form like 'daridr', and not what would have come after a form like 'daridrâ'. Thus ण comes after roots ending in long वा (III. 1. 141): but this affix would not be applied here, but the general affix भच् (III. 1. 134). Thus हरिद्वाति = हरिद्: ॥

Kârikâ:—The elision does not take place in the forms हरिद्वायक and हरिद्वाण, and the Desiderative may be either विहरिद्वासति or विहरिद्द्विषति ॥ Sid-dhânta Kaumudi gives the following rule: "वा of हरिद्वा should be considered as elided when applying an ârdhadhâtuka affix, but optionally so before लुङ् (Aorist), and not at all before सन् (Desiderative), ष्वल् and ल्युट्" ॥

Vârt:—Optionally so in the Aorist (adyatana-past) as, अहरिद्गीत् or अवरिद्वासीत् ॥ The latter form is evolved by VII. 2. 73 and elision of सिच् ॥ The form हरिद्स्य in the sûtra is Vedic, the root being shortened from हरिद्वा to हरिद् ॥

भियो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (इतहलि क्ङिति सार्वधातु के) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्याङ्गस्यान्यतरस्यामिकारादेशो भवति हलादेशे क्ङिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

115. इ is optionally substituted for the ई of भी before a Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant and having an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus बिभतः or बिभीतः, बिभियः or बिभीयः, बिभिवः or बिभीवः, बिभिमः or बिभीमः ॥ But बिभ्यति before a vowel-beginning affix and बिभेति before a non-ङित् affix and भीयते before an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

जहातेश्च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, (इ हलि अन्यतरस्याम् क्ङितिसार्वधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेश्च इकारादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां हलादेशे क्ङिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

116. इ is optionally substituted for the आ of हा (जहाति) before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus जहितः or जहीतः (VI. 4. 113) जहियः or जहीयः (VI. 4. 113). But जइति before a vowel affix, and जहात before a non-ङित् affix, and हीयते and जिहीयते before an ârdhadhâtuka. The separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms.

आ च हौ ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, च, हौ, (इ अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेराकारश्चान्तादेशो भवति इकारश्चान्यतरस्यां हौ परतः ॥

117. आ as well as इ may optionally be substituted for the final of the stem of हा before the Imperative ending हि ॥

Thus जहाहि, बहिहि or जहीहि (VI. 4. 113).

लोपो यि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, यि, (जहातेः सार्वधातुके कृडिति) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लोपो भवति जहातेर्यकाराद्यै कृडिति सार्वधातुके परतः ।

118. The final of the stem of हा is elided before an affix beginning with य being a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix.

Thus जह्यान्, जह्याताम् and जह्युः ॥

ध्वसोरेद्वावभ्यासलोपश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ घु-असोः, एत्, हौ, अभ्यास-
लोपः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानामस्तेश्च एकारादेशो भवति ही परतो ऽभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

119. For the final vowel of the roots दा and धा (घु), and for the स् of अस्, is substituted ए before the Imperative ending हि; and thereby the reduplicated syllable of दा and धा is elided.

Thus देहि, and धेहि, of घु, and एधि of अस्, the स being elided by this sūtra, and अ being elided by VI. 4. 111. This लोप of the present sūtra should be considered as having an indicatory श् so that the whole of the reduplicated and not only the final letter of the abhyāsa (I. I. 55) is elided.

अत एकहल्मध्ये ऽनादेशादर्लिति ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, एक-हल्, मध्ये,
अनादेशादेः, लिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृडितीतिवर्तते ॥ लिति परत आदेश आदिर्व्यस्याङ्गस्य नास्ति. तस्य एकहल्मध्ये, असहाययोर्हलोर्मध्ये यो ऽकारस्तस्य एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिति कृडिति परतः ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ इम्भेरेत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ नशिमन्योरलिच्चेत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ छन्दस्यमिपचोरप्यलिति एवं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यजिव्योश्च ॥

120. ए is substituted for the short अ standing between two simple consonants of a verbal stem, before the personal endings of the Perfect which have an indicatory कृ (I. 2. 5), provided that, at the beginning of the root, in the reduplication, no other consonant has been substituted; and when this ए is substituted, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus रेणतुः, रेणुः, येमतुः, येमुः, पेचतुः, पेचुः, वेमतुः, वेमुः ॥ Why 'for अ'? Observe द्विदिवतुः, द्विदिवुः the इ is not replaced. Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe ररासे, ररासाते, ररासिरे ॥ Why do we say 'standing between two simple consonants'? Observe ररक्षतुः, ररक्षुः ॥ Some say this example is not appropriate, for by I. 2. 5, the Perfect affixes are not कित् here, as they come after a conjunct consonant. The following is then more appropriate:—तत्सरतुः and तत्सरुः ॥ Why do we say 'which has no substituted consonant in the reduplicate'? Observe चकणतुः, चकणुः, जगणतुः, जगणुः, बभणतुः, बभणुः ॥

The substitution referred to here must be caused by the affixes of the Perfect, therefore, the rule will apply to नेमत्, नेमुः, सेहे and सेहाते, सेहरे though णम् and षह् are the roots, and ण् and ष् are changed to न and स ॥ The substitution of जश् consonant or a चर् consonant in the reduplicate, should not be here considered asiddha (VIII. 4. 54, read with VIII. 2. 1). That substitution will be considered a substitution for the purposes of this sūtra and will make the stem आदेशादिः, as is indicated by the special exception made in favor of फल् and भज् (VI. 4. 122). If the form of the letter is not changed in the reduplicate, by substitution, then such substitution will not make the stem आदेशादिः ॥ Thus by VIII. 4. 54, a चर् letter (च, ट, त, क, प, श, ष, स) is substituted for a consonant (other than a nasal and a semi-vowel) in the reduplicate.

Thus in पच् the reduplicate is पपच्, the first प is also a *substitute*, for the चर् substitute of प will be प ॥ Such substitutes, however, are not meant here.

This we learn from the implication (jñāpaka) of sūtra VI. 4. 126 where exception is made in case of शस् and इद् ॥ Therefore, where the substitute is a *different* letter, then the reduplicate becomes ādeśādi: otherwise not.

When the affixes are not कित् or डित् the rule does not apply: as अहं पपच, अहं पपठ ॥

Vārt:—ए is substituted for the अ of इम्भ under similar circumstances:—thus देमत्, देमुः ॥ The elision of the nasal by VI. 4. 24, would be considered asiddha by VI. 4. 22, hence this vārtika.

Vārt:—ए is substituted for the अ of नश् and मन before affixes other than those of लिङ् ॥ As अनेशम्, मेनका ॥ अनेशम् is the Aorist in अह् of नश् which belongs to Pushādi roots (III. 1. 55). मेनका is formed by युन् (III. 1. 150). Padamanjari gives अनेशन् (3 rd Pl.), and quotes अनेशन्नस्येषवः ॥

Vārt:—In the Vedas, ए is substituted for the अ of अम् and पच् before affixes other than those of the Perfect, as व्यमानम्, (वि + अम् + चानश्, the augment मुक् being dropped); पचिरन् instead of पचेरन्, the Imperfect of पच् ॥ The shortening is also a Vedic irregularity.

Vārt:—So also of यज् and वष, as आयेजे and आवेषे the Imperfect Vedic forms. The augment आद् being added by VI. 4. 73.

थलि च सेटि ॥१२१॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, (अत एक हल् मध्ये अनादेशादेः) वृत्तः ॥ थलि च सेटि परतो ऽनादेशादेरङ्गस्य एकहल्मध्यगतस्यातः स्थाने एकार आदेशो भवति अभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

121. ए is substituted for अ, of a verbal stem standing between two simple consonants, the stem not having any different letter substituted in the reduplicate, when the ending थल् of the Perfect having the augment इद् follows, and thereby, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus वेचिय, शेकिय ॥ But पपक्य before अणि थ ; द्विविय, the vowel being इ and not अ ; तक्षिय, रक्षिय, the अ not standing between two *simple* consonants ; and चक्रणिय, बभणिय, the reduplicate having the substitutes च and ब different from क and भ ॥ This sūtra applies even when the affix is not कित्; and थल् is read in the sūtra only for the sake of clearness, no non-kit Perfect ending can take इद् except थल् ॥

तृफलभजत्रपश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृ, फल, भज, त्रपः, च, (अत एक हलमध्ये अनादेशादीर्लिटिथलचसेदि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृ फल भज त्रप इत्येतेषामङ्गानामत एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च, लिटि कृडिति परतस्थलि च सेदि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्येभ्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥

122. ए is substituted for the अ of तृ, फल, भज and त्रप, and the reduplicate is elided, when the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ड्) follow, as well as when थल् with the इद् augment follows.

Thus तेरतुः, तेरुः, तेरिय, फेलतुः, फेलुः, फेलिय, भेजतु, भेजुः, भेजिय, त्रेपे, त्रेपाते, त्रेपिरे ॥ In the case of तृ the rule applies to the अ obtained by Guṇa, contrary to VI. 4. 126, in फल and भज् the rule, that no different substitute should be in the reduplicate, is not adhered to, and in त्रप the अ does not stand between two *simple* consonants.

Vārt: It should be stated that the rule applies to अन्य also:-as, श्रेयतुः, श्रेयुः ॥

राधो हिंसायाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधो हिंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधो हिंसायामर्थेऽयर्णस्य एकार आदेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतस्थलि च सेदि ॥

123. ए is substituted for the आ of राध when meaning 'to hurt some one', and the reduplicate is elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ड्), as well as before थल् with the इद् augment.

Thus अपरेधतुः, अपरेधुः, अपरेधिय, but रराधतुः, रराधुः, रराधिय in any other sense than that of 'hurting'. In this sūtra the *long* आ of राध is to be replaced by ए, the anuvṛitti of short अ (अतः VI. 4. 120) is therefore not appropriate here. We should either read the anuvṛitti of आ from VI. 4. 112, or we should read the word एकहलमध्ये in this way "in, राध् whatever stands between two simple consonants is replaced by ए".

वा जृभ्रमुत्रसाम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जृ, भ्रमु, त्रसाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जृ भ्रमु त्रस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतः स्थाने वा एकार आदेशो भवति अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतस्थलि च सेदि ॥

124. ए is optionally substituted for the अ of the stems जर (जू), भ्रम, and त्रस्, and the reduplicate is thereby elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ड्), as well as before the थल् with the augment इट् ॥

Thus जेरतुः, जेरः, जेरिथ, or जजरतुः, जजरः, जजरिथ, भ्रमतुः, भ्रमः, भ्रमिथ, or बभ्र मतुः, बभ्रमुः, बभ्रमिथ, त्रसतुः, त्रसुः, त्रसिथ, or तत्रसतुः, तत्रसुः, तत्रसिथ ॥

फणां च सप्तानाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ फणाम्, च, सप्तानाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फणादीनां सप्तानां धातूनामवर्णस्य स्थाने वा एकार आदेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि क्ङिति परत, स्थलि च सेटि ॥

125. ए is optionally substituted for the अ and आ of the seven roots फण्, राज्, भ्राज्, भ्राश्, भ्लाश्, स्यम् and स्वन् ; and the reduplicate is elided thereby, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ड्) as well as before the थ with the इट् augment.

Thus फेणतुः, फेणुः, फेणिय or पफणतुः, पफणुः, पफणिय; रेजतुः, रेजुः, रेजिय, or रराजतुः, रराजुः, रराजिय; भ्रजे, भ्रजाते, भ्रजिरे, or बभ्राजे, बभ्राजाते, बभ्राजिरे; भ्रसे, भ्रसाते, भ्रसिरे, or बभ्रासे, बभ्रासाते, बभ्रासिरे; भ्लेसे, भ्लेसाते, भ्लेसिरे, or बभ्लासे, बभ्लासाते, बभ्लासिरे; स्यमतुः, स्यमुः, स्यमिय, or सस्वमतुः, सस्वमुः, सस्वमिय; स्वेनतुः, स्वेनुः, स्वेनिय, or सस्वनतुः, सस्वनुः, सस्वनिय, Why of 'seven'? Observe, दध्वनतुः, दध्वनुः, दध्वनिय ॥ The Phaṇādi is a subdivision of Bhuādi (873-879)

न शसद्दद्यादिगुणानाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, शस, दद, वादि, गुणानाम्, (अत एक हल्मध्येऽनादेशादेर्लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शस दद इत्येतयोर्वकारादीनां च धातूनां गुण इत्येवमभिनिर्वृत्तस्य च योकारस्तस्य स्थाने एकारादेशो न भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

126. ए is not substituted for the अ of शस्, दद्, or of roots beginning with a व, or of such verbal stems in which the अ results through the substitution of Guṇa, though the affixes of the Perfect being कित् or ङित् follow, or the सेट् थल्, nor is the reduplicate elided.

Thus विशशसतुः, विशशसुः, विशशसिथे, ददरे, ददराते, ददरिरे, Of roots beginning with व्-ववमतुः, ववमुः, ववमिय, ॥ Of roots where अ is the result of Guṇa, विशशरतुः, विशशरः, विशशरिथ, लुलविथ, पुपविथ ॥ गुणशब्दाभिनिर्वृत्तस्यार्धस्वयौकारस्य चायमकार इति एत्वं प्रतिविध्यते ॥

The अ of Guṇa may result either from the guṇa of क् as क् changed to क् or of ङ changed to ओ again changed to अर् as लु—लव ॥

अर्वणस्त्रसाचनञः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्वणः, तृ, असौ, अनञः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्वणित्येतस्याङ्गस्यन् इत्ययमादेशो भवति, सुश्रुत्तः परो न भवति, स च नञ उत्तरो न भवति ॥

127. **त्** (which is changed to **न्त्** in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in **ई** unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem **अर्वन्**, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is **त्**, the **ऋ** is for the sake of making this affix an **उगिन्**, so that in sarvanāmasthāna cases we have **तुम्** augment VII. 1. 70. Thus **अर्वन्तौ**, **अर्वन्तः**, **अर्वन्तम्**, **अर्वन्तौ**, **अर्वन्तः**, **अर्वन्ता**, **अर्वन्त्याम्**, **अर्वन्तिः**, **अर्वन्ती**, **अर्वन्तम्** ॥ **असाविति** **किम्**, **अर्वा** ॥ **अनम्** इति **किम्**, **अनर्वाणौ**, **अनर्वाणः**, **अनर्वाणं** वृषभं **मन्द्रजिह्वम्** ॥

But **अर्वा** in the Nominative Sing: and **अनर्वाणौ**, **अनर्वाणः**, **अनर्वाणं** वृषभं **मन्द्रजिह्वम्** with the Negative Particle **नञ्** ॥

मघवा बहुलम् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मघवा, बहुलम्, (तृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मघवन्नित्येतस्याङ्गस्य बहुलं तृ इत्ययमदेशो भवति ॥

128. **त्** is diversely substituted for the final of

मघवन् ॥

As **मघवान्**, **मघवन्तौ**, **मघवन्तः**, **मघवन्तम्**, **मघवन्तौ**, **मघवन्तः**, **मघवना**, **मघवन्ती**, **माघवन्तम्**, ॥ **न च भवति**, **मघवा**, **मघवानौ**, **मघवानः**, **मघवानम्**, **मघवानौ**, **मघोन्**, **मघोना**, **मघवभ्याम्**, **मघवभिः** **मघोनी**, **माघवनम्** ॥

भस्य ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्येत्ययमधिकारः, भा अध्यायपरिसमाप्तिः, यदित ऊर्ध्वं मनुक्रमिष्यामो भस्येत्येवं तद्वदितन्वयम् ॥

129. Whatever will be taught in the following upto the end of the Adhyāya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19).

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 130 says 'पद् is the substitute of पाद्' ॥ It means पद् is substituted for पाद् when the latter gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus **द्विपद्**: **पद्य**, **द्विपदा** कृतम् but **द्विपादौ**, **द्विपाद्**: where the affixes are those of Sarvanāmasthāna.

पाद्ः पत् ॥ १३० ॥ पाद्ः, पत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिति पाद्वाच्यो लुप्ताकारो गृह्यते । तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य भस्य पदित्ययमदेशो भवति । स च पाच्छब्दस्यैव भवति ॥

130. For **पाद्** is substituted **पद्** when the former is Bha.

The substitute replaces the whole form **पाद्** and not only the final, on the maxim निर्दिश्यमानस्यदेशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule." ॥ Thus **द्विपद्**: **पद्य**, **द्विपदा**, **द्विपदै**, **द्विपदिकां** ददाति (V. 4. 1), **त्रिपदिकां** ददाति, **वैयाघ्रपद्यः** ॥

वसोः संप्रसारणम् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वस्वन्तस्य भस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

131. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वंस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विदुषः पठ्य, विदुषा, विदुषे, पेषुषः पठ्य, पेषुषा, पेषुषे, ययुषः पठ्य ॥ For the purposes of the elision of आ (VI. 4. 64), vocalisation under the present sūtra should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22). Thus पा + वस् (III. 2. 107) = पपा + वस् = पपा + उस् + वस् (VI. 4. 131, VI. 1. 108). Now if उ were to be considered as asiddha, then the affix does not begin with a vowel, and we can not apply VI. 4. 64, which requires the elision of आ, but the samprasāraṇa is not considered asiddha, and we have पप् + उस् + अस् = पपुषः पठ्य ॥ In the nominative, where the stem is not भ, we have पपा + वस् + स् = पपी + वस् + स् (VI. 4. 66) = पपीवान् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 4. 10, VI. 1. 68 and VIII. 2. 23). The affix वस् is included in वसु for the purposes of samprasāraṇa.

वाह ऊर् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, ऊर् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाह इत्येवमन्तस्य भस्य ऊर् इत्येतत्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

132. The व् in वाह is vocalised to ऊ (ऊर्), when the compound stem is Bha.

The word वाह is a ण्वि formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada: hence we have used the word "compound." Thus प्रद्यौहः, प्रद्यौहा, प्रद्यौहे, दिल्यौहः, दिल्यौहा, दिल्यौहे ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + आ (of वा) = ऊ; and then प्रद्य + ऊर् = प्रद्यौर्; the Vṛiddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus: प्रद्य + वह + वस् = प्रद्य + उर् + अस् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रद्य + ओर् + अस् (the affix ण्वि III. 2. 64, will produce guṇa) = प्रद्यौर् (VI. 1. 88). In fact ण्वि is never added to वह (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in अ and that अ + ओ of वा will always produce औ ॥ The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऊर्, indicates the existence of following maxim: असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaranga operation: therefore, we can never get the form ओह ॥

श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्व, युव, मघोनाम्, अतद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वन् युवन् मघवन् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतद्धिते प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

133. The व् of श्वन्, युवन् and मघवन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus श्वन्: श्वना, श्वने, श्वन्; श्वना, श्वने, मघोन्; मघोना, मघोने ॥ But शौवनं मांसम् शौवनं वर्तते, माघवन्: स्थालीपाकः with Taddhita affixes. शौवन is formed by अस् affix (IV. 3. 154) and औ being added by VII. 3. 4 as श्वन् belongs dvārādi class.

This vocalisation takes place of the nouns ending in न्, but not when they become feminine or do not end in न्, as युवती: पठ्य, मघवतः, मघवते, मघवता ॥ The word अनः of the next sūtra, in a way, qualifies this sūtra also.

अह्लोपोऽनः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्, लोपः, अनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्येवमन्तस्य भस्य अकारलोपो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनो नकारान्तस्यायं लोप इत्यते ॥

134. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

As राज्ञः पश्य, राज्ञा, राज्ञे, तक्षणः पश्य, तक्षणा and तक्षणे ॥ *Vart.*—The elision takes place of a stem which actually ends in न्, therefore, it does not take place here, राजकीयम् ॥

पपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प पूर्व, हन्, धृतराज्ञाम्, अणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पकारपूर्वो यो ऽन् हनो धृतराज्ञश्च तस्याकारलोपो भवति ॥

135. Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding प, as well as of हन् and धृतराजन्, the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus औक्षणः, ताक्षणः, औनघ्नः, धार्तराज्ञः ॥ But सामनः, वैमन ॥ Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्षण्यः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a प'? Observe सामनः and वैमनः from सामन् and विमन् formed with the affix अण्; here neither the अ of मन् nor the final syllable अन् is elided, since VI. 4. 167 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

विभाषा ङिश्योः ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ङि, श्योः (अह्लोपोऽनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङौ परतः शीशब्दे च अनो विभाषा अकारलोपो भवति ॥

136. In a stem ending in अन्, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending शी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As राज्ञि or राजनि, साम्नि or सामनि, साम्नी or सामनी (VII. 1. 19).

न संयोगाद्धमन्तात् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संयोगात्, व्, म्, अन्तात्, (अह्लोपोऽनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारमकारान्तात्संयोगादुत्तरस्थानो ऽकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

137. The अ in अन् is not elided when the Bha stem ends in वन् or मन् with a consonant preceding व् or म् ॥

Thus पूर्वणा, पर्वण, अथर्वणा, अथर्वणे, चर्मण and चर्मणे ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe प्रतिशीव्ना, प्रातशीव्ने, साम्ना, साम्ने ॥ Why do we say 'stems in वन् and मन्'? Observe तक्षणा, and तक्षणे ॥

अचः ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, (भस्य अह्लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच इत्ययमञ्चतिर्लुप्तनकारोऽगृह्यते । तदन्तस्य भस्य अकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

138. The अ of अच् (अञ्च्) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

Thus वधीचः पइय, वधीचा, वधीचे, मधूचः पइय, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138: and च् of अञ्च् is elided by VI. 4. 24.

उद् ईत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्ः, ईत्, (अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् उत्तरस्थाच्च ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

139. Long ई is substituted for the अ of अच् (अञ्च्), after the word उत् when the stem is Bha.

As उदीचः, उदीचा, उदीचे ॥

आतो धातोः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, धातोः, (भस्य लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्य धातोर्भस्य लोपो भवति ॥

140. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

Thus कीलालपः पइय, कीलालपा, कीलालपे, शुभंयः पइय, शुभंया, and शुभंये from कीलालपा and शुभंया ॥ Why do we say 'the आ of a root'? Observe खट्वाः पइय, मालाः पइय ॥ This sūtra should be divided into two (1) आतः (2) धातोः; so that the long आ in general may be elided. For Pāṇini himself has declined त्त्वा and इना by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37, (त्त्वा ल्यप्) and III. 1. 83, (ःनः शानच्) ॥

मन्त्रेष्व्वाङ्ग्याद्देरात्मनः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रेषु, आङ्गि, आदेः, आत्मनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रेषु आङ्गि परत आत्मन आदिलोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाङ्गान्यत्रापि छन्दसि लोपो दृश्यते ॥

141. In the Mantras, the beginning of आत्मन् is elided, when the affix of the Instrumental Singular follows.

आङ् is the name of the Instrumental singular affix, given by ancient Grammarians. Thus स्मना द्वेषेभ्यः, स्मना सोमेषु ॥ Why in the Mantras? Observe आत्मनो कृतम् ॥ Why in the Instrumental Singular? यद्वात्मन स्तत्रो वरिष्ठा ॥

Vārt:—The elision of आ of 'ātman' is found in other cases also, but not so frequently as in the Instrumental, as त्वन्यासमुञ्जत मह्यम् ॥

ति विशतेर्दिङिति ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, विशतेः, डिङिति, (भस्य, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य विशतेर्दिङिति प्रत्यये परतो लोपो भवति ॥

142. Of the Bha stem विशति, before an affix having an indicative ड, the ति is elided.

Thus विशकः = विशक्या क्रीतः (with ड्बुच् V. 1. 24), विशं सतम्, (विशतेः पूरणो विशः, with डट् affix V. 2. 48), एकविशः ॥ Why do we say 'having an indicative ड'? Observe विशत्या ॥

टेः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ टेः, (ङिति, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टिसंज्ञकस्य ङिति प्रत्ययेपरतो लोपो भवति ॥

143. Before an affix having an indicatory इ, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided.

Thus कुमुदन्, नड्डन् and वतस्वन् with इमरुप (IV. 2. 87). So also त्रिंशता क्रांतः = त्रिंशकः with इवुन् of V. 1. 24. The rule applies even to non-bha bases, for effect must be given to the indicatory इ ॥ Thus उपतरजः, मन्दुरजः (III. 2. 97 with the kṛit affix इ) ॥

नस्तद्धिते ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, तद्धिते, (भस्य, टेः, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य भस्य टेलोपो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सन्नद्धचारिपीठसंष्पिकलापिकुथुमित्तैतिलिजाजलिलाङ्गलिशिलालिशिखण्डिसूकरसद्युपर्वणासुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अइमनो विकार उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ चर्मणः कोश उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ शुनः संकोच उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अन्ययानां च सायंप्राप्तिकाद्यर्थसुपसंख्यानम् ॥

144. Of the stem bha, the final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is elided, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus आग्निशर्मिः, औडुलोमिः, सारलोमिः from अग्निशमन्, उडुलोमन्, and सारलोमन् with the Taddhita affix इञ् (IV. 1. 96). Why do we say 'ending in न्'? Observe सावत्तः ॥ Why 'before a Taddhita affix'? Observe शर्मणा, शर्मणे ॥

Vārt :—The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following : 1. सन्नद्धचारिन्—सन्नद्धचाराः (IV. 3. 120), 2. पीठसर्पिन्—पैठसर्पाः (IV. 3. 120), 3. कलापिन्—कालपाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59), 4. कुथुमिन्—कौथुमाः (IV. 3. 101), 5. तैतिलिन्—तैतिलाः (IV. 3. 116), 6. जाजलिन्—जाजलाः (IV. 2. 59), 7. लाङ्गलिन्—लाङ्गलाः, 8. शिलालिन्—शैलालाः, 9. शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डाः, 10. सूकरसद्यन्—सौकर सद्याः, 11. सुपर्वन्—सौपर्वाः ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI, 4. 164, and those in अन् contradict VI. 4. 167.

Vārt :—अइमन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with' : as, आइमः, otherwise आइमनः ॥

Vārt :—Of चर्मन्, the अन् is elided when meaning 'a sheath or purse' : as, चार्मः कोशः (IV. 3. 134), otherwise चार्मणः ॥

Vārt :—The अन् of श्वन् is elided when the sense is 'to contract', as शौवः संकोचः (IV. 3. 120), otherwise शौवनः ॥

Vārt :—The Indeclinables like सायंप्राप्तिकः &c are formed by the टि elision : as सायंप्राप्तिकः, पौनः पुनिकः, बाह्यः, कौतक्षुकुतः (formed by टञ् IV. 3. 11). But not before the affixes ष्यु and ष्यल्, as आरातीयः, शाश्वतिकः ॥ Pāṇini himself has shown the exception, in the case of श्वाश्वतिक, by using it in II. 4. 9. So also शाश्वतम् ॥

अह्वष्टखोरेव ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अह्वः, ट, खोः, एव ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अह्वद्विखेतस्य टखोरेव परतटिलोपो भवति ।

वाचक ॥ अह्वः समूहे खो वक्तव्यः ॥

145. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes ट and ख ॥

Thus हे अहनी समाहूते = ब्रह्मः, इयहः (V. 4. 91 with टच्). हे अहनी अधीष्टा भूतो भूतो भावी वा = ब्रह्मीनः, इयहीनः (with ख V. 1. 87).

Vart.—ख is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्नां समूहः क्रतुः = अहीनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes ट and ख, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule : अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम् (with डच् V. 1. 79). The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before ट and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of ātman and adhvan, before ख, in VI. 4. 169.

ओर्गुणः ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुणो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥

146. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाभ्रव्यः from बभ्रू, माण्डव्यः from मण्डू, शङ्खव्यं सारु (from शङ्कु), पिचव्यः कार्पासः, (from पिचु) कमण्डलव्या मृत्तिका (from कमण्डलू), परराव्यमयः, औपगवः, कापटवः &c. Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओरोत् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुणः in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sūtra is, therefore, anitya, and we have forms like स्वायंभुवः from स्वयंभू without guṇa. See VII. 4. 30 also.

ढे लोपो ऽकट्वाः ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढे, लोपः, अ, कट्वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढे परत उवर्णान्तस्य भस्याकट्वा लोपो भवति ॥

147. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (ढे), but not of the stem 'Kaṭṛū'.

Thus कामण्डलेयः, शैतिवाह्येयः, जाम्बेयः, माह्रवाह्येयः, Lut काट्द्वयो मन्त्रमपश्यत् ॥

यस्येति च ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, ईति, च, (भस्य, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्तस्यावर्णान्तस्य च भस्य ईकारे पर तद्धिते च लोपो भवति ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ यस्यैयोऽः इयां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ इयङ् उवङ्भ्यां लोपो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

148. The final इ' and अ (both long and short), of a bha stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus दाक्षी, हाक्षी, सखी from दाक्षि, हाक्षि and सखि with the feminine affix ई

(IV. 1. 65) The above forms could also have been evolved by the simple rules of sandhi, as वाक्षि + ई = वाक्षी ॥ It might be asked, where was then the necessity of eliding इ ? There would arise difficulty in the forms like अति सखि ॥ From the word सखी formed by डीष् under IV. 1. 62, we form the compound सखीप्रतिक्रान्तः = अतिसखि, the final becoming short by I. 2. 48 (the samāsānta affix टच् is not added here as required by V. 4. 91, that rule applying to the masculine form सखि and not to the feminine सखी). Now if in forming सखि + ई = सखी, had we not elided the letter इ of खि, then the long ई being the single substitute for both इ + ई, would be considered as like the final इ of सखि by VI. 1. 85. That being so, the word अतिसखि would be considered a non-चि word by I. 4. 7, for सखि has been specifically excluded from चि class. Not being a चि, we cannot have the form अतिसखे: in the Ablative and Genitive singular. Hence the necessity of eliding इ before the feminine ई, so that the ekādeśa rule VI. 1. 85, should not apply.

The short इ is elided before Taddhita affixes:—दुलि-दौलेयः, बलि-बालेयः, अत्रि-आत्रेयः ॥ अ is elided before ई as:—कुमार-कुमारी, गौर-गौरी, शार्ङ्गरव-शार्ङ्गरी ॥ अ and आ are elided before the Taddhita:—पक्ष-प्राक्षिः, द्वक्ष-द्वाक्षिः, चूड-चौडिः, बालाका-बालाकिः, मुमिन्ना-सौमिनिः ॥

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (स्त्री), when it is the substitute of औ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter, and of certain feminine in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and अ are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus काण्ड + ई = काण्डे; कुड्ये ॥ सौर्य + ई = सौर्ये (the य would have been elided by VI. 4. 149). It is owing to this Vārtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sūtra. This may also be done by reading the anuvṛitti of श्यां (VI. 4. 136); and न (VI. 4. 137) into this sūtra.

Vart:—इयङ् and उवङ् are superseded, when they would apply simultaneously with this lopa. Thus इयङ् and उवङ् have unimpeded scope in श्री or भू + औ or अस् (जस्), as श्रियौ, श्रियः, भ्रुवौ, भ्रुवः ॥ Lopa has unimpeded scope in कामण्डलू-कामण्डलेयः (with टञ् IV. 1. 135), and भाद्रवाह्येयः ॥ But in वस्तप्री + टञ् (IV. 1. 135), both the rules VI. 4. 77 and VI. 4. 148, present themselves. The former is superseded, and we have वास्तप्रेयः (वस्त् = प्रीणाति = वस्तप्रीः, तस्यापत्यं); so also लेखाधुः-लेखाध्रेयः with the ट्क् affix, this word belonging to Subhrādi class (IV. 1. 123).

सूर्यतिथ्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूर्य, तिथ्य, अगस्त्य, मत्स्यानाम, यः, उपधायाः, (ईति, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूर्य तिथ्य अगस्त्य मत्स्य इत्येतेषां यकारस्य उपधाया अस्य लोपो भवति ईति परतस्तद्धिते च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मत्स्यस्य डघामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सूर्यागस्त्ययोश्छे च डघां च ॥

वा० ॥ तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नक्षत्राणि ॥

वा० ॥ अन्तिकशब्दस्य तसिप्रत्यये परतः ककारादिशब्दस्य लोपो वक्तव्य, आगुवात्तं च ॥

वा० ॥ तमे तादेश्च ॥ वा० ॥ कादिलोपे बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ये च ॥

149. Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य and मत्स्य, (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate य् is also elided before the long ई and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येणैकार्क् = सौरी (सूर्य + अण् under IV. 3, 112 = सौर्य, then ई of डीप् = सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य—तेषमहः, तैषी रात्रिः ॥ So also अगस्त्यस्यापत्यं स्त्री = आगस्ती (IV. 1. 114), आगस्तीयः ; So also मत्स्य—मत्सी with डीप् as it belongs to Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 40). If the words सूर्य &c, were to be qualified by the word भ, then the sūtra would mean सूर्यादानां भसंज्ञानां “of सूर्य &c, when they get the designation of भ”; and the result of this interpretation would be, that the rule would apply to cases like सूर्यस्य स्त्री = सौरी, आगस्त्यस्य स्त्री = आगस्ती, &c, only, where the forms सूर्य &c, are Bha, and not to their derivatives, as सौर्य &c: and there would not have been the forms like सौरी बलाका ; because, here the word सूर्य is not Bha before the affix ई, but the word सौर्य is Bha. Hence we have introduced the words “and their derivatives” in the translation, so as to cover the cases like सौरी बलाका ॥

In the last example, we again have an illustration, of the rule VI. 4, 22, which says that for purposes of asiddha the आश्रय must be the same. Thus सौर्य + ई = सौर्य् + अ lopa + ई = सौरी ॥ But सौर्य itself was formed by the elision of अ of सूर्ये before the affix अण्, thus, सूर्य + अण् = सौर्य् + ० + अण् (last sūtra) = साय् ॥ But if this lopa be considered as asiddha by VI. 4, 22, then we have the following equation सौर्य् + ० + अ (of अण्) + ई = सौर्य् + ० + ० (अ of अण् being elided by VI. 4. 148) + ई ॥ Here य् cannot be elided, as it is not upadhā or penultimate: because the first lopa is considered asiddha. But it is not to be so considered, as their scopes (आश्रय) are different. Hence we have the elision of य् by this sūtra. It should not be objected that the य् here is not penultimate, but ultimate: as सौर्य + ई = सौर्य् + ० + ई (अ elided by the last sūtra), and thus य् is ultimate. Here, however, rule VI. 4, 22, applies. This elision of अ will be considered asiddha for the purposes of the elision of य्, their scope being the same. So being considered asiddha, य् still retains its designation of upadhā and is elided by the present sūtra. It should be remembered here, that we could not take help of the rule of sthanīvat-bhāva, because for purposes of यलोप, that rule is set aside. See I. 1. 58.

Why do we say the penultimate य्? Observe मत्स्यचरी ॥ This word is thus formed. The affix चरद् is added to मत्सी by V. 3, 53, in the sense of मत्सी भूतपूर्वा ॥ Then the मत्सी becomes masculine मत्स्य by VI. 4, 35, and we

have मस्यचर ॥ This word takes डीप् by IV. 1. 15, because it is formed by an affix having an indicatory ङ् ॥ Thus मस्यचर+ई, and the word is म, but the य is not elided, because it is not penultimate. The य has been read for the sake of the subsequent sūtras : उपधायाः alone would have been enough for the purposes of this aphorism. The rule contained in this sūtra is rather too general ; it is limited by the following vārtikas, which enumerate the conditions under which the elision takes place.

Vart :—The य of मस्य is elided before the feminine ई only : therefore not here मस्यस्येव मांसं=मास्यम् ॥

Vart :—Of सूर्य and अगस्य before the affixes छ, and ई (of the feminine) : as सौरियः, सौरी, भागस्तीयः, भागस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्यं चरं निर्वपेत्, भागस्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV. 1. 114)

Vart :—Of तिस्य and पुष्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिव्येण नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः=तैषः, पौषः (IV. 2. 3).

Vart :—Of अन्तिक before the affix तसि, the क is elided, and the word has acute on the first syllable : as, अन्तित् in अन्तितो न दूरान् (V. 4. 45).

Vart :—Before the affix त्तम, it loses the syllable तिक as well as क, as अन्तमः or अन्तित्तमः, in अन्ते खं नो अन्तित्तमः अन्तित्तमे अवरोहति ॥

Vart :—The elision of क of अन्तिक takes place diversely, before the second member also, as अन्तिके सीदति=अन्तिषन् (स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106)

Vart :—The elision takes place also before the affix य, as अन्तियः, this is found in the Atharva-Veda, (अन्तिके भवः, with the affix यन् IV. 4. 110).

हलस्तद्धितस्य ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, तद्धितस्य, (य उपधायाः लोपः इति) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य तद्धितकारस्य उपधाया इति परतो लोपो भवति ॥

150. The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

The anuvritti of "taddhita" ceases, because of its mention in the next sūtra. Hence this sūtra applies to feminine ई only. As गार्गी, वास्वी from गार्ग्य and वास्य ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant'? Observe कारिकेयी ॥ Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'. Observe वैद्यस्य भार्या=वैद्यी ॥

आपत्यस्य च तद्धिते ऽनाति ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपत्यस्य, च, तद्धिते, अनाति (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य तद्धिते अनाकारादौ लोपो भवति ॥

151. The य, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an अ ॥

Thus गर्गीणां समूहः = गर्गीकम् from गर्ग्यं, वात्सकम् from वात्स्य (IV. 2. 37-40). Why do we say 'a Patronymic य'? Observe सांकाश्यकः, काम्बिल्यकः (IV. 2. 80).

The repetition of the word Taddhita indicates that the elision takes place some-times of the non-patronymic य also, as सौमी इष्टिः ॥

Why do we say 'not beginning with a long आ'? Observe गार्ग्यायणः, वात्स्यायनः ॥ The य should be preceded by a consonant, otherwise we have कारिकेयस्यापत्यं = कारिकेयिः ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Taddhita affix'? Observe गार्ग्ययोः, वात्स्ययोः (before the Genitive and Locative dual affixes).

क्यच्चयोश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्य, च्योः, च, (हलः, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्य च्चि इत्येतयोश्च परत आपत्यकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य लोपो भवति ॥

152. The य् belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य, and the adverbial affix च्चि ॥

Thus वात्सीयति or वात्सीयते गर्गीयति, or गर्गीयते ॥ So also गार्गीभूतः, वात्सीभूतः ॥ But सांकाश्यायते (where य is not Patronymic) and so also सांकाश्याभूतः ; and not also in कारिकेयीयति, कारिकेयीभूतः, the य not being preceded by a consonant.

बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक् ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वक-आदिभ्यः, छस्य, लुक् (भस्य तद्धिते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडादिषु बिल्वार्यः पठ्यन्ते ॥ नडादीनां कुक् च इति कृतकुगागमा बिल्वकार्यो भवन्ति तेभ्य उत्तरस्य छस्य भस्य तद्धिते परतो लुग् भवति ॥

153. The affix छ of the bha stems बिल्वक &c is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The बिल्व &c are a subdivision of Naḍādi class (IV. 2. 91), and the augment क is added to them by IV. 2. 91. After these words, with the augment क, the affix छ is elided. Thus बिल्वा यस्यां सन्ति = बिल्वकीयाः ; तस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = वैल्वकाः ॥ Similarly वेणुकीयाः—वैणुकाः, वैत्रकीयाः, वैत्रकाः, वेतसकीयाः, वैतसकाः, वृणकीयाः, तार्णकाः इक्षुकीयाः, ऐक्षुकाः, काष्ठकीयाः, काष्ठकाः, कपोतकीयाः, कापोतकाः ॥ There is shortening of the final of कृच्चा by the Vārtika कृञ्चा ह्रस्वत्वं च ॥ कृञ्चकीयाः, क्रौञ्चकाः ॥ छप्रहणं किम्, छमात्रस्य लुग्यथा स्यात् कुको निवृत्तिर्मा भूति, ॥ अन्यथा हि संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये उभयोरप्यभाव इति कुगापि निवर्त्तते ॥ लुगप्रहणं सर्वलोपो यथा स्याद् यकारमात्रस्य मा भूत् ॥

The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the affix only should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim:—संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये (or अभावे) उभयोरप्यभावः (or अपायः), "When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise". The लुक् indicates the elision of the whole affix ईय, and not merely of य ॥

तुरिष्टेभ्यस्सु ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुः, इष्ट, इम, ईयस्सु, (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टन् इमनिच् ईयसुन् इत्येतेषु परतः तृशब्दस्य लोपो भवति ॥

154. The affix **त्** is elided before the affixes **इष्टन्**, **इमनिच्** and **ईयसुन्** ॥

Thus करिष्टः, विजयिष्टः, वैशिष्टः, वाहीयसी धेनुः ॥ The whole affix **त्** is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (टि) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules. The anuvṛitti of लृक् of the last aphorism should not be read into this, for had the elision taken place by लृक्, then the mark of the affix would also have disappeared likewise (I. 1. 63), and there would have remained no guṇa in विजयिष्ट and करिष्ट ॥ See V. 1. 122, and V. 3. 59; for these affixes. The affix **इमन्** has been read into this aphorism for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, there being no example of **त्** followed by **इमन्**; **त्** is followed by **इष्ट** and **ईयस्** by V. 3-59.

टेः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ टेः, (भस्य लोपः इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य टेलोपो भवति इष्टमेयस्सु परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ णाविष्टवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य कार्यं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ णाविष्टवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य पुंवङ्गावरभावटिलोपयणादिपरविन्मतेर्लृक्कनर्थमिति ॥

155. The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes **इष्ट**, **इमन्** and **ईयस्** follow.

Thus पटिष्टः, पटिमा, and पटीयान् from पट्, and लचिष्टः, लचिमा and लचीयान् from लच् ॥

Vart:—The Prātipadika followed by the causative णि, undergoes all the changes, as it would have undergone, had the affix **इष्ट** followed it. Those changes are (1) पुंवङ्गावः the feminine noun becomes masculine: as, एनीमाचष्टे = एतयति, इत्येतयति ॥ **इष्ट** belongs to तसिलादि affixes and causes masculation by VI. 3. 35, (2) रभावः—the change of ऋ to र, as पृथुमाचष्टे = प्रथयति, स्रद्यति, see VI. 4. 161. (3) टिलोपः—as, पटुमाचष्टे = पटयति, लघयति by this sūtra, (4) यणादिपरम् i.e. the application of Rule VI. 4. 156, as, स्थूलमाचष्टे = स्थवयति ॥ According to the school of Bhāradvāja, three more purposes are served: (5) विन् मतेर्लृक्—as सविण्माचष्टे = सजयति, वसुमन्तमाचष्टे = वसयति, see V. 3. 65. (6) कन्विधिः—the substitution of कन् for युवन् and अल्प (V. 3. 64)—as युवानमाचष्टे or अल्पमाचष्टे = कनयति ॥ (7) प्रादि substitution, as required by VI. 4. 157: as, प्रियमाचष्टे = प्रापयति ॥

स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थूल, दूर, युव, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, क्षुद्राणाम, यण, आदिपरम्, पूर्वस्य, च गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थूल दूर युव ह्रस्व क्षिप्र क्षुद्र इत्येतेषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते इष्टे मेयस्सु परतः, पूर्वस्य च गुणो भवति ॥

156. Before the affixes **इष्ट**, **इमन्** and **ईयस्**, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guṇa is substituted, in **स्थूल**, **दूर**, **युवन्**, **ह्रस्व**, **क्षिप्र** and **क्षुद्र** ॥

That is ल, र, वन्, ष, र, and र are elided. Thus स्थविष्ठः, स्थवीयान्; वविष्ठः ववीयान्; यविष्ठ, यवीयान्; ह्रांसिष्ठः, ह्रसीयान्, ह्रसिमा; क्षेपिष्ठः, क्षेपीयान्, क्षेपिमा ॥ The words ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, and क्षुद्र are read in Prithvâdi class and take 'iman' affix (V. I. 122). क्षोदिष्ठः, क्षोदायान्, क्षोदिमा ॥ Why do we say परं in यणादिपरं i. e. 'the last semi-vowel'? The first semi-vowel of युवन् and ह्रस्व i. e. य of यु and र of ह्र should not be elided. The word पूर्व is employed for the sake of distinctness.

प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्बंहिगर्बधिन्नवद्राघि-
वृन्दाः ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय, स्थिर, स्फिर, उरु, बहुल, गुरु, वृद्ध, तृप्र, दीर्घ,
वृन्दारकाणाम्, प्र, स्थ, स्फ, वर्, बंहि, गर्, बधि, त्रप्, द्राघि, वृन्दाः, (इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय स्थिर स्फिर उरु बहुल गुरु वृद्ध तृप्र दीर्घ वृन्दारका इत्येतेषां प्र स्थ स्फ वर् बंहि गर् बधि त्रप् द्राघि वृन्द् इत्येते यथासंख्यमादेशा भवन्ति इष्टमेयस्सुपरतः ॥

157. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस् the following substitutions take place :—प्र for प्रिय; स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, वर् for उरु, बंह for बहुल, गर् for गुरु, वर्ष् for वृद्ध, त्रप् for तृप्र, द्राघ for दीर्घ, and वृन्द् for वृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रेष्ठः, प्रेमा, प्रेयान्; स्थिर, स्थेष्ठः, स्थेयान्, स्थेमा; स्फिर, स्फेष्ठः, स्फेयान्; उरु, वरिष्ठः, वरिमा, वरीयान्; बहुल, बंहिष्ठः, बंहीयान्, बंहिमा; गुरु, गरिष्ठः, गरीयान्, गरिमा; वृद्ध, वर्धिष्ठः, वर्धीयान्; तृप्र, त्रपिष्ठः, त्रपीयान्; दीर्घ, द्राघिष्ठः, द्राघीयान्, द्राघिमा; वृन्दारक, वृन्दिष्ठः, वृन्दीयान्; मियोरुगुरु-बहुलदीर्घाः पृथ्वादिषु पठ्यन्ते, तेनान्येषामिमानिञ् न भवतीति नोदाह्रियते ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in Prithvâdi class and take इमन् (V. I. 122), others do not.

बहोर्लोपो भू च बहोः ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, लोपः, भू, च, बहोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहोरुत्तरेषामिष्टमेयसां लोपो भवति तस्य च बहोः स्थाने भू इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

158. The इ and ई of these affixes (इमन् and ईयस्) are elided after बहु, and for बहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूमा ॥ In the case of इष्ट, the following rule 159 will apply. Under I. I. 54 and 67, बहोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz. इ or ई; in this case. ॥ बहु belongs to Prithvâdi class and takes इमन् affix. (V. I. 122) The repetition of बहोः is for the sake of pointing out the sthâni, for which the word भू is to be substituted: otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

इष्टस्य यिद् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्टस्य, यिद्, च, (बहोः भू च बहोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहोरुत्तरस्य इष्टस्य यिडागमो भवति बहोश्च भूरादेशो भवति ॥

159. After बहु, the augment यिद् is added to इष्ट, and भू replaces बहु ॥

As भूयिष्ठः ॥ This augment यिद् debarb the lopa substitution, of the last sūtra, in the case of इष्ट ॥ The इ in यिद् is for the sake of pronunciation, the

augment being य् ॥ Or इष्ठ may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sūtra, and to the ष्ट, the augment यि may be added.

ज्यादादीयसः ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यान्, आत्, ईयसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्यादुत्तरस्य ईयस आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

160. आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस्, after ज्य ॥

As ज्यायान् ॥ ज्य is substituted for प्रशस्य by V. 3. 61. 'Lopa' being shut out by the intervening चिद् VI. 4. 159, the भान् is read in this sūtra. If the anuvṛitti of 'lopa' were present here, then the अ of ज्य would be lengthened before यस् by VII. 4. 25, and we would get the form ज्यायान् ॥ The peculiar construction of this sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधिः 'when an operation which is taught in the aṅgādhi-kāra (VI. 4, end—VII. 4, end) has taken place, and another operation of the aṅgādhi-kāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place.' In VII. 4. 25, however, क्तिङ् is understood, and lengthening could not have taken place by that rule.

र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ र, ऋतः, हल, आदेः, लघोः, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रशाब्द आदेशो भवति ऋकारस्य हलादेर्लघोरिष्टेमेयस्सु परतः ॥

Kārikā पृथुं घृदुं भृशं चैव कृशं च दृढमेव च ।

परिपूर्वं वृढं चैव पडेतान् रविधौ स्मरेत् ॥

161. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, र is substituted for the ऋ in a stem, when this ऋ is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodially long (on account of being followed by a double consonant).

Thus प्रथिष्ठः, प्रथीयान् and प्रथिमा from पृथु (V. 1. 122), प्रदिष्टः, प्रदीयान् and प्रदिमा ॥ Why do we say 'the ऋ'? Observe पठिष्ठः &c. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe ऋजिष्ठः, ऋजीयान् ॥ Why do we say 'when prosodially short'? Observe कृष्णिष्ठः, कृष्णीयान्, कृष्णिमा ॥ The following are the six words to which this rule applies and to none else:—पृथु, घृदु, भृश, कृश, दृढ, परिवृढ ॥ It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत, मान्, भान्, &c, as कृतमाचष्टे = कृतयति, मातरमाचष्टे = मातरयति, भ्रातरमाचष्टे = भ्रातरयति ॥

विभाषर्जोऽञ्छन्दसि ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऋजोः, छन्दसि, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋजु इत्येतस्य ऋतः स्थाने विभाषा रेफ आदेशो भवति इष्टेमेयस्सु परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥

162. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, the ऋ of ऋजु may optionally be changed to र, in the Chhandas.

As रजिष्ठः and ऋजिष्ठः, in रजिष्ठमेति पन्थानम्, स्वशृजिष्ठः ॥

प्रकृत्यैकाच् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, एक-अच्, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाञ् यद्भ्रसत्तकं तद्विष्टमेयस्सु परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रकृत्या ऽके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवानः ॥

163. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ट, इमन्, and ईयस् ॥

Thus स्रजिष्ठः, स्रजीयान्, स्रजयति from स्रग्निन्, the विन् being elided by V. 3. 65, the stem thus becoming monosyllabic. स्रजयति is the causative, formed on the model of इष्ट by the Vārtika under VI. 4. 155. So also लुचिष्टः, लुचीयान् and लुचयति from लुचन्, the मनुप् being elided as before. Why do we say 'a monosyllabic stem'? Observe वसिष्ठः from वसुमन् ॥ This rule is an exception to VI. 4. 155.

Vārt:—राजन्य, मनुष्य and युवन् retain their original form unchanged, before the affix अक् ॥ As, राजन्यानां समूहः=राजन्यकम्, मनुष्यकम् ॥ This debar the elision of य् required by VI. 4. 151. So दूनो भावः=यौवनिकः with वुम् affix (V. 1. 133), in supersession of VI. 4. 144.

इनष्यनपत्ये ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, अणि, अ नपत्ये, (प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्नन्तमनपत्यार्थेण परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

164. The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Thus साङ्कुटिनम्, सांराविणम्, सांमार्जिनम् (III. 3. 44 and V. 4. 15). These are formed by the Kṛit-affix इनुण् (III. 3. 44), and then अण् is added in स्वार्यं by V. 4. 15. So also स्रग्विणम् from स्रग्निन् ॥ Why 'when अण् follows'? Observe शण्डिनां समूहः=शण्डम् ॥ It is formed by अञ् (IV. 2. 44). Why do we say 'non-Patronymic'? Observe मेधाविनोऽपत्यं=मेधावः ॥

गाथिविदथिकेशिगणपणिनश्च ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाथि, विदथि, केशि, गणि, पणिनः, च, (अणिप्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाथिन् विदथिन् केशिन् गणिन् पणिन् इत्येते चाणि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

165. गाथिन्, विदथिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus गाथिनोऽपत्यं=गाथिनः, वैदथिनः, केशिनः, गणिनः, and पणिनः ॥ This sūtra applies to Patronymics.

संयोगादिश्च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग-अदिः, च, (इन् अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादिश्च इनणि प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

166. The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अण्, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus शाङ्कनेऽपत्यं=शाङ्किनः, याद्विणः, वार्जिणः ॥

अन्, ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, (अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नन्तमणि प्रकृत्या भवति अपत्ये चानपत्ये च ॥

167. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन् remains unchanged, before अण् affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As सामानः, वेमनः, सौत्वनः, जैत्वनः, from सामन्, वेमन्, सुत्वन् and जित्वन् ॥

ये चाभावकर्मणोः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, अभाव, कर्मणोः, (तद्धिते अन् प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकाराद्यौ च तद्धिते ऽभावकर्मणोरर्थयोरन् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

168. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन्, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus सामसु सायुः=सामन्यः, ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ But राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा=राज्यम् ॥ राजन् belongs to Purohitâdi class and takes यक् (V. I. 128).

आत्माध्वानौ खे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्म, अध्वानौ, खे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन् अध्वन् इत्येतौ खे परतः प्रकृत्या भवतः ॥

169. The finals of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ख् ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं=आत्मनीनः (V. I. 9), अध्वानमलङ्कामी (V. 2. 16)=अध्वनीनः ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samâsanta affix टच् added to the avyayîbhâva (V. 4. 108), and the latter by अच् (V. 4. 85).

न मपूर्वो ऽपत्ये ऽवर्मणः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, म, पूर्वः, अपत्ये, अवर्मणः, (अणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मपूर्वो ऽन् अवर्मणोणि परतो ऽपत्येर्धे न प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मपूर्वप्रतिषेधे वा हितनाम्न इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

170. In a stem in अन् with a preceding म्, with the exception of वर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अण् ॥

Thus सुषाम्णोऽपत्यं=सौषामः, चान्द्रसामः from चन्द्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म्'? Observe सौन्वनः, preceded by व् ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चमर्णा परिवृतो रथः=चामर्णः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 4. 167. Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन्'? Observe चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं=चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

Vârti:—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं=हेतनामः or हेतनामनः ॥

ब्राह्मो जातौ ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मः, अजातौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्म इत्येतदपत्याधिकारेपि सामर्थ्या ऽपत्यादन्यत्राणि देलोपार्थं निपात्यते ततोऽजातौ अपत्यइत्येव अपत्ये जातावणि ब्रह्मणदित्येपो न भवति ॥

171. ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a kind or jāti.'

This sūtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्मः, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अण् affix with the force of the Patronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्मो गर्भः, ब्राह्मं हविः, ब्राह्ममस्त्रम् ; ब्राह्मो नारदः ॥ (2) अजातौ, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jāti ; for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix : as ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं = ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana'. When jāti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥

कार्मस्तच्छील्ये ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्मः, ताच्छील्ये, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कार्म इति ताच्छील्ये टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

172. कार्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or prompt therein'.

This is formed by ण affix (IV. 4. 62). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144. the form कार्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ण् and अण् affixes, in the sense of tâchchhīlika are considered as one, and therefore VI. 4. 167, would have prevented the elision of the final अन् syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim:—ताच्छीलिके णेऽण् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ "The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix अण्, take place, whenever the affix ण is added in the sense of one accustomed to that." Thus though डीप् is added, to अण्-formed words, it is also added to ण-formed words, in the feminine: as चौरी; तापसी &c. The ण taught in V. 2. 101, and III. 1. 140, is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that? Observe कर्मणः इरम् = कार्मणम् ॥

औक्षमनपत्ये ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ औक्षम्, अ नपत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ औक्षमित्यनपत्येणि टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

173. From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant.

As औक्षं पदम् but औक्षणः = उक्षणो ऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided in the latter example by VI. 4. 135.

दाण्डिनायनहास्तिनायनार्थवर्णिकजैह्वाशिनेयवासिनायनिभ्रौणहत्यधैवत्यसारवै-
श्वकामैत्रेयहिरण्मंथानि ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाण्डिनायन, हास्तिनायन, आर्थवर्णिक,
जैह्वाशिनेय, वासिनायनि, भ्रौणहत्य, धैवत्य, सारव, ऐश्वक, मैत्रेय, हिरण्मथानि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाण्डिनायन हास्तिनायन आर्थवर्णिक जैह्वाशिनेय वासिनायनि भ्रौणहत्य धैवत्य सारव ऐश्वक
मैत्रेय हिरण्मथ इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते ॥

174. The following are irregularly formed ; 1.

Dāṇḍināyana, 2. Hāstināyana, 3. Âtharvaṇika, 4. Jaihmâsineya, 5. Vâsināyani, 6. Bhraṇahatya, 7. Dhaivatya. 8. Sârava, 9. Aikshvâka, 10. Maitreya and 11. Hiraṇmaya.

These words are thus derived (1 and 2) दाण्डिनायन and हास्तिनायन from दाण्डिन् and हस्तिन् belonging to नडादि class. The affix is फक् (IV. 2. 91). If they do not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly : दाण्डिनोऽपत्यं = दाण्डिनायनः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantâdi class (IV. 2. 63). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvaṇika : the final is not elided before the इक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्मायान् and वासिन् are Jaihmâsineya and Vâsināyani, the former with the affix ढक् of the Subhrâdi class (IV. 1. 123), and the latter with the affix फिञ् of IV. 1. 157. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from भ्रूणहन् and धीवन् with the affix व्यञ्, and न् being replaced by त = भ्रूणह्नो भावः, धीव्नो भावः ॥ हन् takes त before affixes having an indicatory ण् or ञ् by VII. 3. 32 : it might be said त would be added to भ्रूणहन् before व्यञ् by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like ध्रौण्नी, वार्त्तनः ॥ The त in Bhraṇahatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) सारव is from सरयू with the affix अण्, the final अयू being elided, सरयवो भवः = सारवमुत्कं ॥ (9) The son of ईक्ष्वाकु, with अञ् affix (IV. 1. 168), the final उ is elided, or ईक्ष्वाकसु जनपदेषु भवः = ऐक्ष्वाकः with अण् affix (IV. 2. 132). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final उ ॥ As one word is ऐक्ष्वाकः and the other ऐक्ष्वाकः, the sūtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sūtra gives ऐक्ष्वाक without any accent (eka-śruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Grīṣṭyâdi class IV. 1. 136, and takes ढञ् as मित्रयु + एय, here VI. 4. 146, requires गुण, but VI. 4. 146, prevents it, and requires ङोपा of उ, but VII. 3. 2, required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेय, the अ of मित्र cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, before एय, as the ङोपा of यु is considered asiddha VI. 4. 22 ; however the result is the same, for अ + ए = ए by VI. 1. 97 ; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The plural of मैत्रेय will be मित्रयवः (the plural of मित्रयु) ; as it belongs of Yaskâdi class and loses, the affix in the plural (II. 4. 63). Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII. 3. 2. It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bidâdi class (IV. 1. 104), it would have taken the affix अञ्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved regularly : as मित्रयु + अञ् = मित्र + इय (VII. 3. 2) + अ = मैत्रेयः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskâdi class (II. 4.

63), for then by II. 4. 63, भञ् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मित्रयवः in the plural. So far it would have been all right, but if मैत्रेय were to be formed with भञ् affix, as proposed, then the संघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with भण् affix under IV. 3. 127, and not with बुञ् under IV. 3. 126; but we require बुञ्, as मैत्रेयकः संघः ॥ (11) हिरण्मय from हिरण्य with मयद् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकारः = हिरण्मयः ॥

ऋत्त्यवास्त्व्यवास्त्वमाध्वीहिरण्ययानिच्छन्दसि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्त्य, वास्त्व्य, वास्त्व, माध्वी, हिरण्ययानि, छन्दसि, ॥

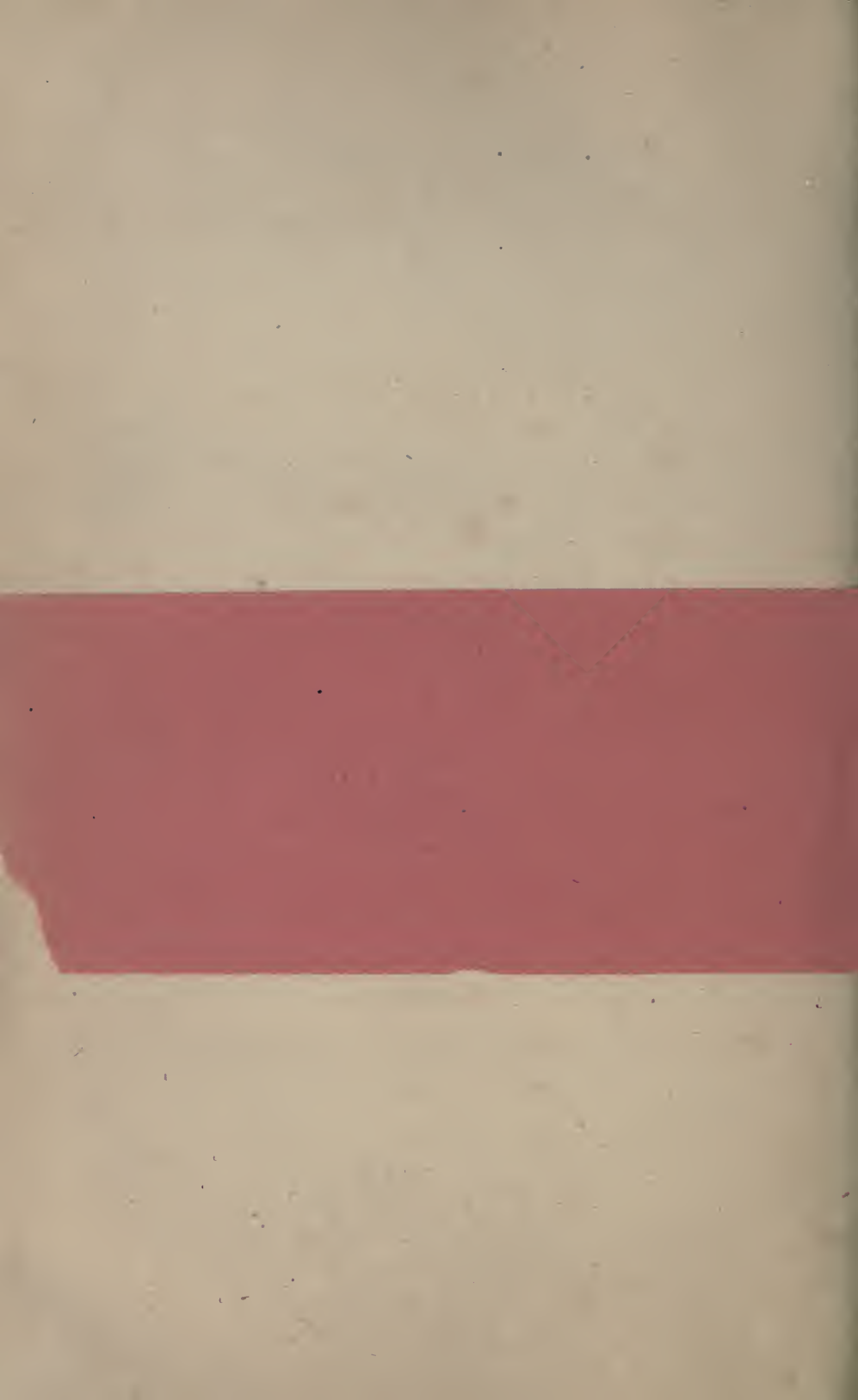
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्त्य वास्त्व्य वास्त्व माध्वी हिरण्यय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

175. In the Veda the following are irregularly formed : R̥itvya, Vastvya Vâstva, Mâdhvî, and Hiranyaya.

The word ऋत्त्य is derived from ऋत्, and वास्त्व्य from वास्तु with the affix वत्, उ being changed to व ॥ ऋत्तौ भवम् = ऋत्त्यम्, वास्तौ भवम् = वास्त्व्यम् ॥ वास्त्व is from वस्तु, as वस्तुनि भवः = वास्त्वः with the affix भण् ॥ माध्वी from मधु with the affix भण् in the feminine, as माध्वीर्नः सन्त्वोषधीः ॥ हिरण्यय is from हिरण्य with the affix मयद्, the म being elided.



The following is a list of the names of the
persons who have been admitted to the
membership of the Society since the
last meeting of the Council. The names
are arranged in alphabetical order of
surnames. The names of those who
have been admitted to the membership
of the Society since the last meeting
of the Council are given in italics.



BOOK VII.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.



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TO
Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Bt. Q. C.,

LATE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

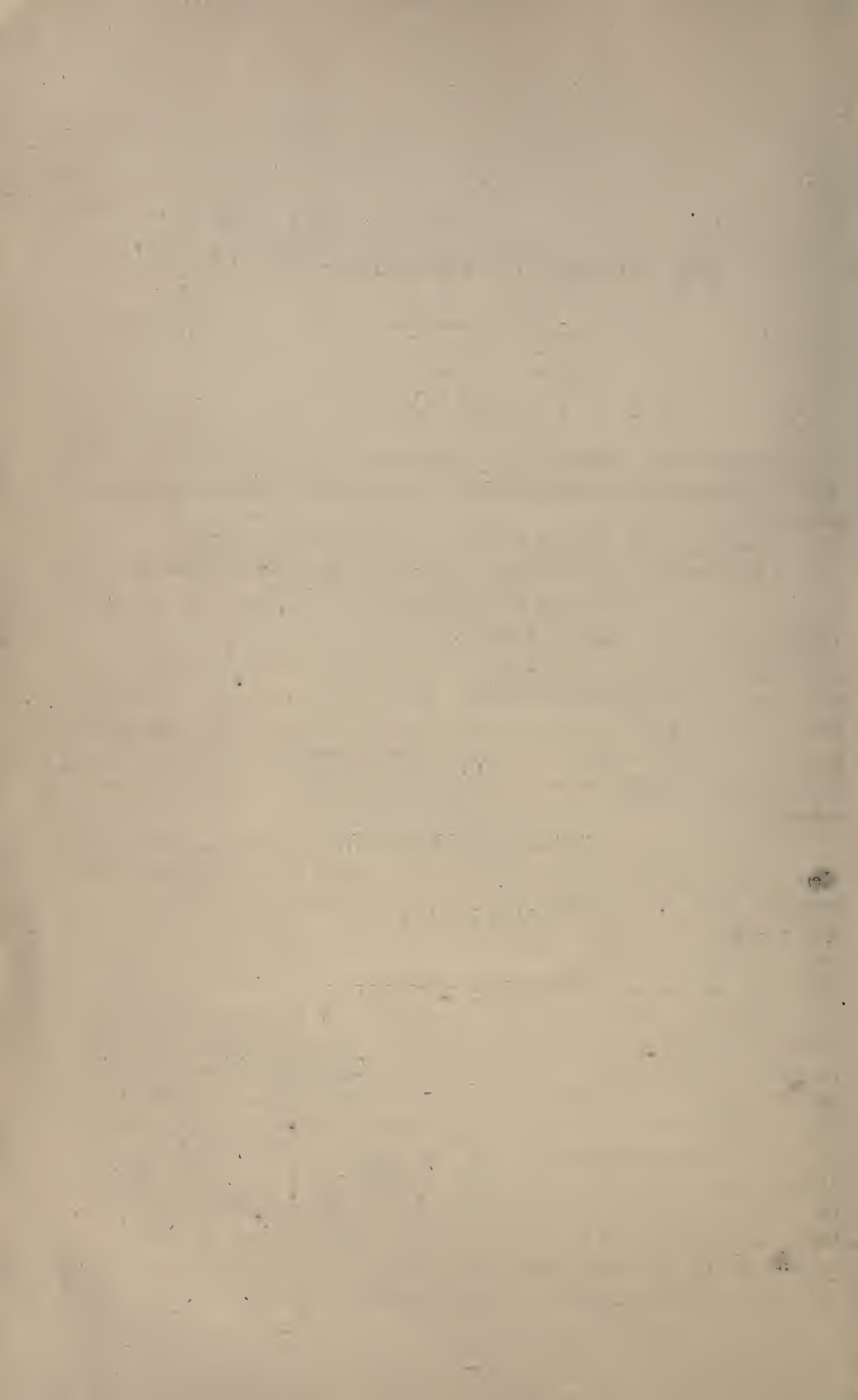
IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.



अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

युवोरनाकौ ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-वोः, अन-अकौ ।

वृत्तिः ॥ यु वु इत्येतयोस्त्वष्टविशेषणयोरनूनासिकयणोः प्रत्यययोर्महणं तयोः स्थाने यथासङ्ख्य मन अक इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ।

Kārikā युवोश्चेद् द्वित्वनिर्देशो द्वित्वे यण्तु प्रसज्यते । अथ चेदेकवद्भावः कथं पुंनङ्गवेदयम् ॥

द्वित्वे नैगमिको लोप एकत्वे नुमनित्यता । आशिष्यत्वाद्धि लिङ्गस्य पुंस्त्वे वेहि समाश्रितम् ।

1. For यु and वु (nasalised) in an affix, are substituted respectively अन and अक ॥

यु and वु are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi-vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised. The अन replaces यु, and अक replaces वु ॥ Thus ल्यु (III. 1. 134) = अन, as नन्द + ल्यु = नन्दनः स्मरणः ॥ So also व्यु and व्युल् (IV. 3. 23), as सायंतनः, चिरंतनः ॥ वु we find in ण्वुल् (III. 1. 133), as कृ + ण्वुल् = कारकः, हारकः ॥ So also वुर् (IV. 3. 98) as वासुदेवकः, भार्जुनकः ॥

Why do we say nasalised यु and वु? Observe ऊर्णाया युम् (V. 2. 123) Here the यु is not replaced by अन, and we have ऊर्णायाः ॥ So also in भुजिमृद्भ्यां युक्ल्युको ॥ Here the यु of युक् and ल्युक् (Uṇ III. 21) are not replaced by अन; as भुज्युः and मृल्युः ॥ In the affixes above mentioned, the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal. There are no visible marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥

The word युवोः is the Genitive Singular of युवु considered as a single word, i. e. a Samāhāra Dvandva compound in the singular, and such compounds are always neuter (II. 4. 17), The Genitive Singular of युवु is therefore युवुनः the augment being added by VII. 1. 73. The anomalous form युवोः shows the existence of the maxim that a rule ordaining an augment is not universally valid (अनित्यमागमशासनम्) ॥ Or the युवु may be considered as masculine Dvandva, and then it proves the maxim that the gender need not be taught, the usage of the people settles the gender of a word (लिङ्गमशिष्यं, लोकाभ्यत्वान्-लिङ्गस्य) ॥ If, however, युवु be considered an itaretara-yoga Dvandva compound, then its Genitive dual will be युवोः, one व् is elided as a Chhandas irregularity, or the ऊ is elided, and we have the युव् + ओः = युवोः an anomalous dual.

Kārikā :—If युव् is taken as a *dual*, then there ought to be a semi-vowel (i.e. युवोः); if it is considered as Aggregate Singular, then it ought to be neuter, how is then युवोः masculine? (To this we answer), if it be taken as dual युव्, then there is elision of the यणदिश्च (i.e. व्); if it be taken as singular युवु, then the augment नुम् which comes in the Genitive Singular of Neuters, does not come here, proving that the rule of नुम् augment is Anitya (not of universal application). Or the word युवु is taken as masculine, because the Gender depends upon usage.

आयनेयीनीयियः फढखच्छवां प्रत्ययादीनाम् ॥ २ ॥ णदानि ॥ आयन्-एय्-ईन् ईय्-इयः, फ-ढ-ख-छ-ग्राम्, प्रत्यय-आदीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयन् एय् ईन् ईय् इय् इत्येते आदिशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यं फ ढ ख छ घ इत्येतेषां प्रत्ययादीनाम् ।

2. आयन्, for फ्, एय् for ढ्, ईन् for ख्, ईय् for छ्, and इय् for घ्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix.

Thus फक् (IV. 1. 99) = आयन्, as नड् + फक् = नाडायन्ः, चारायणः ॥ ढक् (IV. 1. 120) = एय् as सौपर्णयः, वैनतेयः ॥ ख (IV. 1. 139) ईन्, as आख्यकुलीनः, भ्रान्त्रियकुलीनः ॥ छ (IV. 2. 114) = ईय्, as गार्गीयः, वास्वीयः ॥ घ (IV. 1. 138) = इय्, as क्षत्रियः ॥

Why do we say 'of an affix'? Observe फक्कति, ढौकते, खनति, छिनति and घूर्णते, where these consonants are in the beginning of a *root*. Why do we say 'in the beginning'? Observe उरुदन्नम् जानुदन्नम्, where घ is in the *middle* of the affix; and remains consequently unchanged.

These आयन् &c, substitutions should be understood to have taken place at the very time the affixes फक् &c, are taught, and these substitutions being made, the rule of accent, which makes an affix acute on the first syllable, applies. Thus ख is not acute, but ई of ईन् substituted for it. Similarly in IV. 4. 117, the affix taught is घच् with an indicatory च्, showing that the final of the affix इय्ये will be acute (VI. 1. 163), and not of घ, for घ would have been acute by the general rule affix.

In शमे ढः (Uṇ I. 99), शमेः ख (Uṇ I: 102), the affixes ढ and ख remain unchanged, and we have शण्डः, and शंखः ॥ This is explained on the maxim of उणादयो बहुलम् (III. 3. 1). In the sūtra ऋतेरीयङ् (III. 1. 29), the affix ईयङ् has been taught and not छङ्, this shows that the rule of substitution herein taught does not apply to the affixes to be added to the verbal roots. Thus एजेः खञ् (III. 2. 28), परुरुजविशस्पृशो घञ् (III. 3. 16). Here the ख and घ are not to be replaced by ईन् and इय् ॥ In fact, they cannot be regarded as affixes, but only as इन् or servile letters. By I. 3. 8, the gutturals are इन् except in Taddhita: therefore, the substitutions take place in Taddhita affixes, where the ख and घ are not इन् ॥

The final न् in आयन् and इन् should not, however, be considered as servile (इन्) though they be final consonants. This we infer from the sūtra

प्राचामवृद्धान् किन् बहुवचम् ॥ Here the *न्* of *किन्* is indicatory, showing the position of the accent. But *फ* is replaced by *आयन्*, so if the *न्* of *आयन्* were also to be indicatory (*इन्*) there would have been no necessity of adding *न्* in *किन्* ॥ Hence the fact of this *न्* in *किन्* shows that the *न्* in *आयन्* and *इन्* are not *इन्* ॥

ज्ञो ऽन्तः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झः, अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययावयवस्य झस्य अन्त इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

3 अन्त् is substituted for the झ of an affix.

The word *प्रत्यय* is understood here, but not so the word *आदिः* ॥ Thus *झि* becomes *अन्ति* and *झ* becomes *अन्त* (III. 4. 78). As *कुर्वन्ति*, *सुन्वन्ति* and *चिन्वन्ति*, so also *शयान्ते*, the *लेट्* of *शीङ्* ॥ Thus *शी + लेट् = शी + शप् + आट् + झ* (III. 4. 54) = *शी + शप् + आ + झे* (III. 4. 79) = *शी + शप् + आ + झे* (III. 4. 96) = *शी + शप् + आ + अन्ते* (VII. 1. 3) = *शी + आ + अन्ते = शयान्ते* (after *guna*): as *अद्य द्वौ विजिगिष्यमाणाः पतिभिः सह शयान्ते* ॥ So also in the *Uṇ* affix *झच्* (*Uṇ* III. 126): as *जृ + झच् = जरन्तेः*, *वेशन्तः* ॥ This substitution does not take place when *झ* is not part of an affix: as *उञ्झिता*, *उञ्झितुम्*, *उञ्झितव्यम्* ॥ Here also the accent falls on the substitute, according as it is *चिन्* or otherwise. Thus the substitute *अन्त* of *झ* is first-acute by the rule III. 1. 3; but the substitute *अन्ते* of *झच्* is final acute because of the indicatory *च* (VI. 1. 763) ॥

अद्भ्यस्तात् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, अद्भ्यस्तान्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद्भ्यस्ताद्ङादुत्तरस्य झकारस्य अद्वित्यमादेशो भवति ॥

4. अत् is substitute for झ after a reduplicated verbal stem.

As *द्वंसति*, *द्वन्दु*, *द्वधति*, *द्वधतु*; *जक्षति*, *जक्षतु*; *जाग्रति*, *जाग्रतु* ॥ This *अत्* is replaced by *जुत्*, as *अद्भुः*, *अद्भुः* ॥ Here also the accent will be on the first syllable of the substitute. Thus *अति*, *अत*, *अते*, *अतु*, *अताम्* in the subsequent *sūtras*. The accent of the reduplicates, however, is governed by VI. 1. 189, (*अद्भ्यस्तानामादिः*) ॥

आत्मनेपदेष्वनतः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अ नतः, (अत्) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यो झकारस्तस्यानकारान्ताद्ङादुत्तरस्याद्वित्यमादेशो भवति ॥

5. अत् is always substituted for the झ in the *Atm-*anepada, when it is not preceded by a verbal stem ending in *अ* ॥

Thus *चिन्वते*, *चिन्वताम्*, *अचिन्वत*; *लुनते*, *लुनताम्*, *अलुनत* ॥ Why in the *Atm-*anepada? Observe *चिन्वन्ति*, *लुनन्ति* ॥ Why "when not preceded by an *अ*"? Observe *च्यवन्ते*, *प्लवन्ते*, in which, though the roots are *च्यु* and *प्लु*, they assume the form *च्यव* and *प्लव* when the *Vikarana*, *शप्* is added; the *vikarāṇa* is added *first*, because it is *nitya*; and then the substitution of *अन्त* or *अत* for *झ*, as the case may be. The word *अनतः* qualifies *झ*, the *झ* should be *immediately* preceded by a stem ending in a non-*अ*; if some other letter intervenes, the rule will not apply. Thus from *शी*—*शयान्ते*, here between *शी* and *झ*, intervenes the augment *आट्*, therefore *झ* is not preceded by a stem ending in non-*अ*, but by *आट्* ॥

शीङो रुट् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीङः, रुट् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीङोङ्गादुत्तरस्य ह्रादेशस्यातो रुडागमो भवति ॥

6. The अत् substitute of झ्, gets the augment रुट्, after the root शी ॥

Thus शेरते, शेरताम्, अशेरत ॥ The augment र् is added at the beginning of the affix, making अन्=रन् ॥ Had this र् been an augment of झ्, then like the आट् augment in शयान्ते, it would have intervened between the शी and झ्, and झ् not immediately following a non-अ stem, अन् would not have been substituted for झ् at all. Therefore रुट् is made the augment of the substitute अत्, and not of झ् ॥ The root शी is read in the sūtra with its anubandha ह् in order to indicate, that there is no रुट् augment when there is elision of the Intensive affix यङ्, nor any Guṇa. As व्यति शेडयते ॥

It is a general rule that an operation applying to a root which is exhibited with an anubandha, will not apply to the same root in its Intensive-yañ-luk form. The following verse shows when operations applying to simple roots will not apply to their Intensive forms :—

द्विपा शपातुबन्धेन निर्विष्टं यङ्गणेन च ।
यत्रैकाञ् ग्रहणं चैव पंचैतानि न यङ्गुकि ॥

“These five sorts of operations will not apply to Intensive-yañ-luk forms : 1. When the simple root is exhibited in the sūtra with द्वित्प् as भू in VII. 4. 73 is shown as भवति ॥ In Intensive, the perfect will be बोभवाञ्चकार and not बभवाञ्चकार ॥ 2. Where the root is exhibited with शप्, as the root भृ in VII. 2. 49 is shown as भर ॥ There is इट् after the Desiderative of simple root but not in Intensive. 3. When a simple root is exhibited with an anubandha, as शीङ् here. 4. Where a gaṇa is mentioned in a rule, as ड्यन् is taught after Divādi-roots (III. 1. 69). It will apply to simple roots of Divādi gaṇa, and not to their Intensive. 5. Lastly, where the word एकाञ् is used in a sūtra. As VII. 2. 10. That rule will apply to एकाञ् simple roots and not to their Intensives.

वेत्तेर्विभाषा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेत्तेः, विभाषा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्तेरङ्गादुत्तरस्य ह्रादेशस्यातो विभाषा रुडागमो भवति ॥

7. The अत् substitute of झ् optionally gets the augment रुट् after the verbal stem विद् (वेत्ति) ॥

As संविदते or संविदन्ते ; संविदताम् or संविदन्ताम् ; समविदत or समविदन्त ॥ The विद् is the Adādi root here, and does not apply to विन्ते, विन्सते, विन्दते, which belongs to the Rudhādi class (विद् विचारणे) ॥

There is no augment in यङ्गुक् here also, as व्यतिवेदिते ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (रुट्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रुडागमो भवति ॥

8. The augment **इ** is diversely applied in the Veda.

Thus देवा अदुह् ; गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदुह् ॥ Here अदुह् is the Imperfect (लृट्) plural of दुह् ॥ Thus दुह् + झ = दुह् + रत् = अदुह्, the **त्** being elided by VII. 1. 41. Sometimes, the augment does not take place, as अदुहत् ॥ Owing to the word बहुल, 'diversely', the augment **र** is added to other affixes also, than झ ॥ As अदभ्रम् in अदभ्रमस्य केतवः ॥ This is the aorist in अद् of the root दृश by III. 1. 57, the गुण ordained by VII. 4. 16, does not 'diversely' take place.

अतो भिस ऐस् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, भिसः, ऐस् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताद्ग्रादुत्तरस्य भिस ऐसित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā ॥ एवं भिसि परत्वाच्चेदत् ऐस्त्रव भविष्यति । कृतेप्येत्वे भौतपूर्वार्द्वैस्तु नित्यस्ता सति ॥

9. After a nominal stem ending in **अ**, ऐस् is substituted for the case-ending भिस् ॥

As वृक्षैः, वृक्षैः, अतिजरसैः ॥ Why do we say ending in अ? Observe अग्निभिः, वायुभिः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe खट्वाभिः, मालाभिः ॥ The adhi-kāra of "अतः" ("after a short अ"), extends up to VII. 1. 17.

The form अतिजरसैः illustrates some important principles of grammar. अति + जरा = (जरामतिक्रान्तः) अतिजर (अ being shortened by I. 2. 48). The word अतिजर ends in अ, and there fore forms its Ins. pl. by ऐस् ॥ Thus अतिजर + ऐस् ॥ Now we apply VII. 2. 101, which says for जरा is substituted जरस् before vowel-beginning case-endings. It should not be objected, that the substitution is ordained for जरा and not जर; for the maxim एकदेशाविकृतमनन्यवद् भवति (a tail-less dog is still a dog) applies here. Having made this substitution, we get अतिजरसैः ॥ Nor should you object that it was the अ of जर which had given occasion to the existence of ऐस्, and that अ should not be destroyed, on the maxim संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद् विघातस्य, for this maxim is not universal, as Pāṇini himself shows in employing the form कष्टाय (III. 1. 14), in which ए of the Dative is changed into य by VII. 1. 13, and then this very य causes the destruction of अ and makes it आ (See VII. 1. 13 also).

Kārikā :—If there be substitution of ए for the final अ before the affix भिस् by the subsequent sūtra VII. 3. 103, where will then the present sūtra, causing the substitution of ऐस् for भिस् after stems ending in अ, find its scope, (because there will be no stem left ending in अ)? If even after changing अ into ए, you change the भिस् into ऐस्, because the ए was once अ (भौतपूर्व्यात्); then the rule of changing भिस् into ऐस् becomes a nitya rule, because it takes effect even after the application of rule VII. 3. 103, and being nitya it debars that rule. Thus वृक्ष + भिस् ॥ Here the subsequent rule VII. 3. 103, requires the अ to be changed into ए ॥ Thus वृक्ष + भिः Now the present rule cannot apply because there is no अदन्त stem. However, if considering that वृक्षे once

was अदन्त, we change भिः to ऐस् then the rule becomes a *nitya* rule. In fact, it is a *nitya* rule and debars the application of VII. 3. 103, within its jurisdiction, VII. 3. 103, finds its scope in वृक्ष + सु = वृक्षेषु ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (ऐस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमसादेशो भवति ॥

10. In the Veda the substitution takes place diversely.

That is ऐस् is substituted for भिस् even after stems which do not end in short अ; as नद्येः; and some times the substitution does not take place even after stems ending in short अ, as, देवोभिः सर्वेभिः प्रोक्तम् ॥ देवो देवोभिरागमत् (Rig Veda I. 1. 4).

नेदमदसोरकोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इदम्, अदसोः, अ, कोः, (भिस् ऐस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदम् अदस् इत्येतयोरककारयोर्भिस ऐस् भवति ॥

11. This substitution of ऐस् does not take place after इदम् and अदस्, except when they end in क ॥

As एभिः, अमीभिः, but इमकैः, अमुकैः ॥ By VII. 2. 102, अ is substituted for the final of इदम्, as इद + अ = इद (VI. 1. 97). By VII. 2. 113, the इद् is elided before भिस्, and the only portion left is अ, which becomes ए according to VII. 3. 103. For the final of अदस् is similarly by VII. 2. 102, अ substituted, and अद् + अ = अद (VI. 1. 97), and according to our present sūtra, the form in Ins.pl. would be अदेभिः, but इ् is changed to म् by VIII. 2. 80, and ए to ई by VIII. 2. 81.

The exception made with regard to these forms ending in क, shows the existence of the following maxim : तद्मध्यपतितस्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते " Any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it."

The sūtra has not been made as इदमदसोः कान्, for had it been so constructed the rule would have applied to the क ending इदम् and अदस् and to no other क ending pronoun, and we could not get the forms सर्वकैः, विश्वकैः ॥ Moreover such a construction would have made ऐस् applicable to इदम् and अदस् also in their simple states : i. e. we could not have got the forms एभिः or अमीभिः ॥ Therefore the negative construction न अकोः is used in sūtra in order to prevent the rule of contrariety.

टाडसिङ्गसामिनात्स्याः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ टा, ङसि, ङसाम्, इन, आत्, स्याः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताद्गङ्गादुत्तरेषां टाडसिङ्गसाम् इन आत् स्य इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥

12. After a stem ending in अ, are substituted इन for the Instrumental ending; आ आत् for the Ablative ending अस्, and स्य for the Genitive ending अस् ॥

Thus वृक्षेण and वृक्षण; वृक्षान् and वृक्षान्; and वृक्षस्य and वृक्षस्य ॥ After stems not ending in अ we have the original ending, as पत्या, सख्या ॥ Some

would have the forms अतिजरसिन and अतिजरसान् from अतिजर ॥ This is on the analogy of अतिजरसैः [See Sûtra 9 ante]. Thus अति + जरा = अतिजर (I. 2. 48). Then by VII. 2. 101, जरस् is substituted for जर before the vowel-affixes. These forms are not supported however by Patanjali. According to him the forms will be either अतिजरण, अतिजरात्, or अतिजरसा and अतिजरसः but never अतिजरसिन and अतिजरसान् ॥

डेर्यः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ डेः, यः, (अतः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डेरिति चतुर्थ्येकवचनस्य महणम् अकारान्तावद्गादुत्तरस्य डे इत्येतस्य य इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

13. After a stem ending in अ, there is substituted य for the Dative ending ए ॥

Thus वृक्षाय, वृक्षाय, the अ is lengthened by VII. 3. 102, in spite of the maxim संनिपातलक्षणो विधि रनिमित्तम् तद्विधातस्य ॥ "That which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". Thus य is substituted here, because the preceding word ends in a short अ, thus this short अ occasioned the existence of य, therefore this य cannot occasion the destruction of अ ॥ But that however it does, for it is on account of this य, that the preceding अ is replaced by आ ॥

The डेः is the anomalous genitive case of the Dative ending डे; this affix is exhibited without any vibhakti in VII. 1. 28. The डेः should not be taken as the Genitive singular of ङि the affix of the Locative singular.

सर्वनाम्नः स्मै ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः, स्मै, (अतः डे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्य डेः स्मै इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

14. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मै is substituted for the ए of the Dative.

As सर्वस्मै, विश्वस्मै, यस्मै, कस्मै, तस्मै ॥ But भवते where the Pronoun does not end in अ ॥ When अश् is substituted for इश् (II. 4. 32) in anvâdeśa sentences, then we have the form अस्मै ॥ But in अत्र इश् + डे = अत्र अ + ए = अत्रा + ए, here the preceding word ends in आ and we could not have ए replaced by स्मै ॥ Therefore we infer that स्मै being an antaranga operation should be substituted first, and the sandhi afterward and we get अत्रास्मै ॥ (See VII. 2. 102 for the change of यद्, तद् &c into य, त &c). The change of ए into स्मै is antaranga as it depends upon one word, while the एकादेश long आ is bahiranga because it is an operation depending upon two words. .

ङसिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङसि, ङ्योः, स्मात्, स्मिनौ, (अतः सर्वनाम्नः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङसि ङि इत्येतयोरकारान्तात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरयोः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

15. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मात्

is substituted for the Ablative ending अस् and स्मिन् for the Locative ending इ ॥

Thus सर्वस्मात्, विश्वस्मात्, यस्मात्, तस्मात् and कस्मात् ॥ सर्वस्मिन्, विश्वस्मिन् यस्मिन्, तस्मिन् and अन्यस्मिन् ॥ But भवतः and भवति from भवत् ending in a non-अ, and वृक्षात् and वृक्षे in non-pronouns. See VII. 2. 102 for यद् तद् &c.

पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यो वा ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-आदिभ्यः, नवभ्यः, वा, (सर्वनाम्नः ङसिङ्योः स्मात् स्मिनौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यः सर्वनाम्न उत्तरयोर्ङसिङ्योः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्येतावदिशौ वा भवतः ॥

16. स्मात् and स्मिन् are optionally substituted for the Ablative and Locative endings, after पूर्व and the eight that follow it (I. 1. 34).

Thus पूर्वस्मात् or पूर्वात्, पूर्वस्मिन् or पूर्वे, परस्मात् or परात्, परस्मिन् or परे, भवरस्मात्, or भवरात्, भवरस्मिन् or भवरे, दक्षिणस्मात् or दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणस्मिन् or दक्षिणे, उत्तरस्मात्, or उत्तरात्, उत्तरस्मिन्, or उत्तरे, अपरस्मात्, or अपरात्, अपरस्मिन्, or अपरे, अधरस्मात्, or अधरात्, अधरस्मिन्, or अधरे, स्वस्मात्, or स्वात्, स्वस्मिन् or स्वे, अन्तरस्मात् or अन्तरात्, अन्तरस्मिन् or अन्तरे ॥ नवभ्य इति क्रिष्, त्यस्मात्, त्यस्मिन् ॥

Why do we say 'nine only'? Observe त्यस्मात् and त्यस्मिन्, no option is allowed here.

जसः शी ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसः, शी, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रान्तात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्य जसः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

17. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, ई is substituted for the nominative plural अस् ॥

Thus सर्वे (सर्व+ई), विश्वे, ये, के, ते ॥ Though सर्व+इ would have also given सर्वे, the long ई is taken for the sake of subsequent sūtras, in forming न्नपुणी, जतुनी ॥

औङ आपः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औङः, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबन्ताद्गुत्तरस्यौङः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā—औकारोयं शीविधौ ङिद्गृहीतो ङिच्चास्माकं नास्ति कोयं प्रकारः ।

सामान्यार्थस्तस्य चासंजनस्मिङ्ङकार्यं ते द्यां प्रसक्तं स दोषः ॥

ङित्त्वे विद्याहर्णनिर्देशमात्रं वर्णे यत्स्यात्तच्च विद्यात्तदादौ ।

वर्णभ्रायं तेन ङित्त्वप्यदोषो निर्देशोयं पूर्वसूत्रेण वा स्यात् ॥

18. After a stem ending in the feminine affix आ, ई is substituted for the dual endings औ of the Nominative and Accusative.

Thus खट्वे तिष्ठतः, खट्वे पश्य, बहुराजे (IV. 1. 13), कारीषगन्धे ॥ The इ in औङ् is for the purposes of included औद् also. There is, in fact, no such affix as औङ् taught by Pāṇini any where. The following Karika raises this question and certain doubts in the first verse and then answers them in the second.

Kārikā.—In this rule about शी, the letter औ has been enunciated with an indicatory इ; but we have no आ with a इ, taught any where. What sort of sūtra construction is this? If you say, the use of इ is to form a common term for the two affixes औ and औइ, then by so doing, डित् operations must be performed with regard to this शी of yours, and this is an error. [शी replacing डित् औइ will be considered as डित्, and being डित्, it will take the augment याद् by VII. 3, 113: and the form will be खद्वाये and not खद्वे] ॥

Ans.—The इ should be considered here as merely indicating the letter औ, and as not an इत्, so that whatever will apply to the letter औ will apply to any form beginning with it, by the maxim यस्मिन् विधि तदादावल् ग्रहणे ॥ Or औइ may be considered as merely the letter औ and not any particular affix, and इ is added only for the sake of facility of pronounciation, like इ in क्दोरप् औ being merely a letter, will include all affixes having the letter औ as their significant part: and thus the औइ not being a डित् affix the rule VII. 3. 113, will not apply: and so there is no anomaly. Or the form औइ may be considered as the affix of the dual, for Nominative and Accusative in the terminology of Ancient Grammarians, and will not produce डित् effects, because the anubandhas of the Ancients do not produce their effects in this Grammar of Pāṇini: i.e. the rules regarding anubandhas made by Pāṇini refer to the anubandhas made by him and not by older authors.

नपुंसकाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकात्, च (औः शी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकाद्ग्रादुत्तरस्य औः शी इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

19. After a neutral stem, ई is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual औ ॥

Thus कुण्डेः तिष्ठतः, कुण्डे पश्य ॥ कुण्ड + ई = कुण्डे, the अ of कुण्ड required to be elided by VI. 4. 148. This is, however, not done by the following

Vart.—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the affix शी ॥ Therefore the अ is not elided.

Similarly इधीनी, मधुनी, ब्रपुणी, जतुनी ॥ The augment न् is added by VII. 1. 73.

जश्शसोः शिः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ जस्, शसोः, शिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकाद्ग्रादुत्तरयोर्जश्शसोः शि इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

20. After a neutral stem, इ is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural (जस् and शस्) ॥

Thus कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, कुण्डानि पश्य, इधीनि, मधूनि, ब्रपूणि, जतूनि ॥ The augment न् is by VII. 1. 72, The word शस् in the sūtra being read along with जस्

denotes the Accusative Plural ending शस् and not the Taddhita affix शस् (V. 4. 43); as कुण्डशो ददाति, वनशः प्रविशति ॥

अष्टाभ्य औश् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टाभ्यः, औश्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टाभ्य इति कृताकारोऽष्टाब्धे शृण्वते तस्मादुत्तरयोर्जिह्वाशसोरोक्षित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

21. After the stem अष्टा (the form assumed by अष्टन् VII. 2. 84), औश् is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural.

As अष्टौ तिष्ठन्ति, अष्टौ पश्य ॥ Why have we taken the form अष्टा and not अष्ट? Observe अष्ट तिष्ठन्ति, अष्ट पश्य ॥ This peculiar construction of the present sūtra (अष्टाभ्यः instead of अष्टनः) indicates, that the आ substitution for the न् of अष्टन् is optional. This sūtra is, moreover, an exception by anticipation, to the following sūtra, by which the plural Nom. and Acc. endings are elided after the numerals called षष् ॥ The elision of case-endings taught by II. 4. 71, is not, however, barred by this rule; the elision taught therein will take place, whether this rule applies or not. Thus अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः ॥

The present rule applies even when अष्ट is at the end of a compound, as परमाष्टौ, उत्तमाष्टौ ॥ But in प्रियाष्टानः, औ does not come, as अष्टन् has not assumed the form अष्टा here i. e. it has not lost its न् ॥

षड्भ्यो लुक् ॥ २२ ॥ षड्भ्यः, लुक्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षड्संज्ञकेभ्य उत्तरयोर्जिह्वाशसोर्लुग्भवति ॥

22. The Nom. and Acc. Plural endings are elided after the Numerals called षष् (I. 1. 24).

As षट् तिष्ठन्ति, षट् पश्य, षट्च, सप्त, नव, दश ॥ The rule applies even to compounds ending with 'shash' words: as परमषट्, उत्तमषट्, but the 'shash' should be the principal; if it is only a secondary member of the compound, the rule will not apply: as प्रियषषः, प्रियषष्चानः ॥ For the elision of न् see VIII. 2. 7,

स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, अमोः, नपुंसकात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु अम् इत्येतयोर्नपुंसकादुत्तरयोर्लुग्भवति ॥

23. The nom. and acc. singular case-endings सु and अम् are elided after a Neutral stem.

As इधि तिष्ठति, इधि पश्य, मधु तिष्ठति, मधु पश्य ॥ So also व्रपु and जतु ॥ In तद् ब्राह्मणकुलम् the word तद् has lost its nom. sing. ending by this rule, which has thus superseded the subsequent rule VII. 2. 102, by anticipation, by which अ replaces the final द् of तद् ॥ Or this लुक् rule of the present sūtra is a Nitya rule compared with VII. 2. 102. How can this be a nitya rule when it is set aside by the next rule अनोऽम् ॥ We still call this rule nitya, on the maxim

यस्य च लक्षणान्तरं निमित्तं (वहन्यते न तर्हिनित्यम्) "(an operation) the cause of which would, (after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously), be removed by another (third rule), is not, (on that account regarded as) not nitya". For here the cause which is luk-elision, is removed by the following aphorism अतोऽम् which ordains an अम् instead of *luk*, and not by VII. 2. 102. For the application of rule VII. 2. 102, the necessary condition is that a case-affix should follow तद् &c. But when the case-affix itself is luk-elided, the substitution taught in that sūtra cannot take place.

अतोऽम् ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, अम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताद्गुणसकादुत्तरयोः स्वमोरमित्यमादेशो भवति ॥

24. After a Neutral stem in अ, अम् is substituted for सु and अम् the endings of the nom. and acc. sing.

As कुण्डं तिष्ठति, कुण्डं पश्य ॥ So also वनम्, पीठम् ॥ Why do we not say 'म् is substituted'? कुण्ड+म=कुण्डाम्, thus there would be lengthening if only म् was taught (VII. 3. 101), while कुण्ड+अम्=कुण्डम् (the single substitution of the form of the antecedent by VI. 1. 107).

अद्ङ् उत्तरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्ङ्, उत्तरा दिभ्यः, पञ्चभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरादिभ्यः परयोः स्वमोरद्ङ् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā अपृक्तश्चेदमो षोषो निवृत्ते उत्तरादिषु । अद्ङित्त्वाद्भुतरादीनां न लोपो नापि वीर्यता ॥

25. अद्ङ् is substituted for the Nom. and Acc. singular endings सु and अम् after the five Pronouns उत्तर &c. (i. e. the stems formed with the affixes 1. उत्तर, and 2. उत्तम्, and the stems 3. इतर, 4. अन्य and 5. अन्यतर).

These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Sarvanāmans are read together (See I. 1. 27):—उत्तर, उत्तम्, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर+अद्ङ्=कतरन् (the अ of katarā elided by ङ्): as कतरन् तिष्ठन्ति, कतरन् पश्य ॥ So also कतमन्, इतरन्, अन्यतरन् and अन्यत् ॥ Why after these five only? Observe नेमं तिष्ठन्ति, नेमं पश्य ॥ Why do we make the affix have an indicative ङ्? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular: as कतर+अन्=कतरान् by VI. 1. 102. In the case of the accusative, अन् being the substitute of अम् will be sthānivat, and give us कतरन् by VI. 1. 107 even without ङ् ॥ Why not make the affix merely न् and not अद्ङ्; it would give कतरन् &c without the application of any rule of Sandhi? The simple न् would not give us the Vocative हे कतरन्, The final would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an aprīkta. See however VI. 1. 69.

Kārikā:—If in the sūtra VI. 1. 69, there is the anuvṛtti of the word 'aprīkta', then there is fault with regard to अम् (i. e. the vocative of members in अम् will not be elided, हे कुण्डम् will be the form required and not हे कुण्ड); if

however, the anuvṛitti of apṛkta ceases, there will be anomaly with regard to pronouns कतरन्् &c (i. e. we shall not have the form हे कतरन्् but हे कतर) Therefore, by reading the affix अन् with an indicatory इ i. e. reading it as अद्इ, we get out of this dilemma, and so there is not the elision of अन् in कतरन्् &c in the vocative; nor is there lengthening of the vowel (कतरान्, which would have been the form had there been no इ).

नेतराच्छन्दसि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इतरात्, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरशब्दादुत्तरयोः स्वमोच्छन्दसि विषये अद्डादेशो न भवति ॥

26. In the Veda, अत् (or अद्) is not the substitute of सु and अम् Nom. and Acc. Sg. endings, after इतर ॥

As इतरमितरमण्डमजायत; वार्त्तनमितरम् ॥ Why in the Vedas? See इतरन् काष्ठम्, इतरन् कुड्यम् ॥ Had this sūtra been placed immediately after अतोऽम् (VII. 1. 24), we could have made it simpler by saying इतराच्छन्दसि; the present position of the sūtra indicates that we should divide it into two, to include other cases. In the case of एकतर, the अद्इ substitution does not take place, either in the Veda or in the Common Language. As एकतरं तिष्ठति, एकतरं पश्य ॥

युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां ङसो ऽश् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदस्मद्भ्याम्, ङसः, अश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदित्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य ङसो ऽशित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

27. अश् (I. 1. 55), is substituted for the Genitive ending अस्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Thus तव and मम ॥ The indicatory श् of अश् shows that by I. 1. 55, the whole of the affix अस् is to be replaced: otherwise it would have replaced only the first letter of the affix; and the affix not being a substitute-affix, rule VII. 2. 89, would not be applicable to it. The तव is substituted for युष्मद्, and मम for अस्मद् by VII. 2. 96; and तव+अ (अश्), and मम+अ=तव and मम by VI. 1. 97.

ङे प्रथमयोरम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङे, प्रथमयोः, अम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङे इत्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः ङे इत्येतस्य प्रथमयोश्च विभक्तयोः प्रथमाद्वितीययोर्दुष्मदस्मद्भ्यामुत्तरयोः रमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. अम् is substituted for the Dative ending ए and for the endings of the nom. and acc. in all numbers, after the stems युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The ङे the ending of the Dative is exhibited anomalously in the sūtra without any case ending (compare VII. 1. 13, ङेः) प्रथमयोः means 'of the first and second cases.' Thus युष्मद्+ङे=तुभ्यद्+ङे (VII. 2. 95)=तुभ्य+ङे (VII. 1. 102)=तुभ्य+अम् (VII. 1. 28)=तुभ्यम् (VI. 1. 107 or 97); similarly मह्यम् ॥ So also युष्मद्+सु=त्वद्+सु (VII. 2. 94)=त्व+सु (VII. 2. 94)=त्व+सु (VII. 2. 102)=त्व+अम्

(VII. 1. 28)=त्वम् (VI. 1. 97 or 107). Similarly अहम् ॥ So also युवाम् and आवाम् by VII. 2. 92 and VI. 2. 88; यूयम् and वयम् by VII. 2. 93 and VI. 1. 97 or 107, त्वाम् and माम् by VII. 2. 97 and VII. 2. 87; and युवाम् and आवाम् as before.

शसो न ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शसः, न, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद्ग्राधुत्तरस्य शसो नकारदेशो भवति ॥

29. न् is substituted for the स् of अस् the affix of the Accusative Plural after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मान् and अस्मान् (द् elided by VII. 2. 90, and lengthening by VII. 2. 87). युष्मान् ब्राह्मणान् । अस्मान् ब्राह्मणान् । युष्मान् ब्राह्मणीः । अस्मान् ब्राह्मणीः । युष्मान् कुलानि । अस्मान् कुलानि ॥

भ्यसो भ्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्यसः, भ्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद्ग्राधुत्तरस्य भ्यसो भ्यमित्ययमदेशो भवतिः ॥

30. अभ्यम् is substituted for the Dative भ्यस् after 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

As युष्मभ्यम् and अस्मभ्यम् ॥ As the sūtra is constructed (भ्यसो भ्यम्) it is not easy to say whether the substitute is भ्यम् or अभ्यम् ॥ If it is भ्यम्, then we have two cases, (1) eliding the final द् of yushmad and asmad, by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् (2) eliding अद् of yushmad and asmad by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् ॥ It will be shown hereafter that VII. 2. 90, is capable of two explanations, one by which yushmad and asmad lose their द् only, and by another अद् ॥ Similarly with अभ्यम् we have also two cases: Thus we have four cases. as (1) yushma + bhyam, (2) yushm + bhyam, (3) yushma + abhyam, (4) yushm + abhyam. In the case of the first (yushma + bhyam) we can get the proper form, though it may be objected that yushma + bhyam should be equal to युष्मेभ्यम् by VII. 3. 103: this ए substitution will not take place, however, by force of the maxim अङ्गवृत्त पुनर्वृत्तावविधि निर्दिष्टितस्य "when an operation which is taught in the āngādhikāra has taken place, and another operation of the āngādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place."

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm + bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma + abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मभ्यम् (अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मेभ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udātta अ of yushma being elided by the anudātta अ of अभ्यम्, the acute will be on the anudātta अ ॥ It should not be objected that in VI. 1. 161, the word अन्त of VI. 1. 159 is understood, and the accent will be on the final. We have shown in that sūtra, that the udātta will fall on the आदि (beginning) of the anudātta term which causes the elision. The fourth alternative yushm + abhyam is free from all objections.

पञ्चम्या अत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्या, अत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या भ्यसो युष्मदस्मद्भाषुत्तरस्व अदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

31. अत् is substituted for the Ablative भ्यस्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मन्, अस्मत् ॥ The द् is elided by VII. 2. 95, before the case ending भ्यस्, and युष्म + अत् = युष्मन् by VI. 1. 97.

एकवचनस्य च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या एकवचनस्य युष्मदस्मद्भाषुत्तरस्यादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

32. This substitution of अत् is made in the singular number also of the ablative, after yushmad and asmad.

As त्वद् and मद् ॥ For the substitution of स्व and म see VII. 2. 97 ; and त्व and म + अत् = त्वन् and मत् by VI. 1. 97.

साम आकम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामः आकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साम इति षष्ठीबहुवचनमागतसुद्धं गृह्यते, तस्य युष्मदस्मद्भाषुत्तरस्याकमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

33. आकम् is substituted for the Genitive plural affix साम् (VII. 1. 52), after yushmad, and asmad.

साम् is the affix साम् of the Genitive plural with the augment स् ॥ Thus युष्माकम् and अस्माकम् ॥ Why is it read साम् and not साम्, when there is no स् at the time when the substitution is ordained? It is read as साम् in order to indicate that आकम् will not get the augment स्, for otherwise 'yushma' and 'asma' having lost their 'd' by VII. 2. 90, end in अ, and so by VII. 1. 52, would cause the genitive affix to get the augment स; the present sūtra removes that also. The substitute is exhibited with a long आ, in order to make अ + आ = आ in युष्म + आकम्, had it been short अ, then there would have been no lengthening but अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97. If you say 'the very fact that अकम् was taught and not कम्, would prevent para-rūpa and cause lengthening'; we reply, that the अ of अकम् would find its scope in preventing ए substitution. For without अ, we should have युष्म + कम् = युष्मेकम् (VII. 3. 103).

आत औ णल् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, औ, णल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्ताद्भाषुत्तरस्य णल् औकारादेशो भवति ॥

34. औ is substituted for णल्, the affix of the first and third person singular of the perfect, after roots ending in long आ ॥

Thus पवौ, तस्थौ, जग्लौ, मग्लौ, from पा, स्था, ग्ले (ग्ला) and ग्लै (ग्ला) ॥ The form पवौ is thus evolved, पा + णल् = पा + अ ॥ Here three operations simultaneously present themselves for application, namely ; 1. Reduplication, 2. Leng-

thening ; by the single substitution of one long vowel आ, for आ + अ ; and 3. The substitution of औ for आ by the present sūtra. In what order should these operations be then performed? First the affix अ should be replaced by औ. then the single substitution of औ for आ + औ ; and then treating it as sthānivat, and then reduplication. For if the single substitution of आ for आ + अ had taken place first, then there would be no scope for औ substitution, therefore the औ substitution, should take place first. Thus we have पा + औ = पै ; this vṛiddhi-ekādeśa, is treated as sthānivat by I. 1. 59, and it causes reduplication. The vṛiddhi-ekādeśa should first take place (i.e. आ + औ = औ) and then the reduplication, because the former rule is subsequent to the latter.

तुह्योस्तातडाशिष्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, ह्योः, तातड्, आशिषि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु हि इत्येतयोरशिषि विषये तातड्देशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

35. तातड् is optionally substituted for the affixes तु and हि of the Imperative, when benediction is meant.

As जीवताद् भवान्, जीवतान् त्वम्, जीवतु भवान्, जीव त्वम् ॥ The ड् prevents Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, (I. 1. 4), and the substitute replaces the whole affix (I. 1. 53 notwithstanding). The substitute is not sthānivat पित्, though it replaces a पित् affix, because it has its own indicatory letter ड्, and ङित् does not become पित् ; and consequently in ब्रूतात् ई is not added to the affix, by VII. 3. 93, ई being added only to पित् affixes after ह्रू ॥ When not denoting benediction, we have not this substitution : as ग्रामं गच्छतु भवान् or गच्छ ग्रामम् ॥

The affix तातड् being a substitute of हि, is like हि, and, therefore, rules propounded with regard to हि, will apply to तातड् also. Thus VI. 4. 105 says that after stems ending in short अ, the हि is elided: therefore, after such words तातड् should also be elided. Therefore we cannot get the form जीवतान् त्वम् for जावत्वम् ॥ This objection, however, is futile ; for, in the sūtra अतो हे (VI. 4. 105), there is the anuvṛitti of हि from sūtra VI. 4. 101 (हु झल्यो हे ङिः) ॥ So that अतो हे should be construed as meaning "there is the elision of हि when it is of the form हि, and not when it assumes the form तातड्" ॥

The object of ड् in तातड् is, as we have said above, for the sake of preventing Guṇa and Vṛiddhi. It should not be said that the object of ड् in तातड् is for the sake of अन्यविधिः by the application of sūtra ङिच्च (I. 1. 53), just as the substitutes अनड् &c (VII. 1. 93 and 94) apply to the finals. For by so doing, तातड् would replace only the ड् of तु and the इ, of हि, which is not desired. And the case of तातड् is to be distinguished from अनड्, for in अनड् the ड् has no other object but to prevent sarvādeśa; but in तातड् we see that ड् has another object, namely, the prevention of Guṇa and Vṛiddhi; and ड् having thus found scope, the तातड् substitute will be governed by the general rule अनेकान् शित् सर्वस्य (I. 1. 55).

The Kārikā given below raises these points.

Kārikā:—तातडि डित्त्वं संक्रमकृत्याङ्गन्यविधिश्चेत्तच्च तथा न ।
 हेरधिकारे हेरधिकारो लोपविधौ तु ज्ञापकमाह ॥
 तातडौ डित्त्वासामर्थ्यान्नायमन्यविधिः स्मृतः ।
 न तद्धदनडादीनां तेन ते ऽन्यविकारजाः ॥

Kārikā:—In तातड् the ड् is for the sake of preventing Guṇa and Vṛiddhi (संक्रम = गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधः) ॥ If it be said, it is for the sake of अन्यविधि by I. 1. 53; we say it is not so. (If you say that after roots ending in short अ, तात् should be elided, by VI. 4. 105 read with I. 1. 56, we reply): when the anuvṛtti or adhikāra of हि was already existent in the sūtra VI. 4. 105 from sūtra VI. 4. 101, the express employment of हि in VI. 4. 105, indicates that the lopa rule does not apply to तातड् ॥ (The lopa-rule not applying to तातड्, it follows that it replaces the whole of हि and not only its final). The ड् in तातड् finds its scope in preventing Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, therefore, it is not for the sake of antya-vidhi (I. 1. 53). The डित्त्वं in अनड् &c has no other scope, therefore, these substitutes replace the final only.

विदेः शतुर्वसुः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदेः, शतुः, वसुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद् ज्ञानइत्येतस्माद्धातोरुत्तरस्य शतुर्वसुर्वादेशो भवति ॥

36. वसु is substituted for the Present Participle affix शतृ after the root विद् 'to know'.

Thus विद्स्य (n. s. विद्मान्), विद्वांसौ, विद्वांसः ॥ The words formed with affixes having an indicatory उ or ऋ (उगित्) add a न् in their strong cases (VII. 1. 70), and form their feminine with unaccented ई ॥ शतृ is an affix having an indicatory ऋ, therefore its substitute would also be considered as having an indicatory ऋ, the उ of वसु therefore is not absolutely necessary for the purposes of उगित् operations. वसु is so written, in order that in the sūtra वसो संप्रसारणं (VI. 4. 131.), both क्वसु and वसु should be included. Nor can we object that in the above mentioned sūtra, वसु with one indicatory letter being taken, cannot include an affix like क्वसु having two indicatory letters,—on the maxim एकानुबन्धकग्रहणे न द्वयुबन्धकस्य—for if that were so, there was no necessity of उ in वसु ॥ Some read the anuvṛtti of the word optionally into this: and we have विदन्, विदन्तौ, विदन्तः formed with शतृ (see V. 4. 38).

समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्तो ल्यप् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अनञ्, पूर्वे, क्तः ल्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वा इत्येतस्य ल्यब्रिययमादेशो भवति ॥

37. In a compound, the first member of which is an Indeclinable but not नञ्; ल्यप् is substituted for क्त्वा ॥

Thus प्रकृत्य, महृत्य ॥ The tvā is added by III. 4. 21, the compounding is by II. 2. 18, and तुक् by VI. 1. 71. पार्श्वतःकृत्य, The tvā is added by III. 4. 61. and compounding is by II. 2. 22. नानाकृत्य; द्विधाकृत्य The tvā is added by III. 4. 62. Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe कृत्वा हृत्वा. Here the counter exam-

ple is इत्वा, which is preceded by an Indeclinable कृत्वा, but as it is not compound-ed, there is no substitution. Why do we say 'not preceded by नञ्'? Observe अकृत्वा, अहृत्वा, परमकृत्वा, उत्तमकृत्वा ॥ The word अनञ् means 'other than नञ्', and means words of the same class as नञ्, i. e. Indeclinables : and does not mean words which are not Indeclinables. The compounds like स्नात्वाकालक contained in the class of मयूरुच्यंसक &c (II. 1. 72.), do not take ल्यप् anomalously. Or the word समासे is in the Locative with the force of specification : and means those compounds which are specifically formed with क्त्वा and not any compound in general.

Now by the rule I. 1. 72, क्त्वा would denote a form ending with क्त्वा; and would include the case of a compound ending in क्त्वा. But this general rule is modified by the maxim प्रत्यय ग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तवादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." But the affix क्त्वा is never ordained after a compound. Therefore, the case of compounds ending in क्त्वा, would not be covered by the mere employment of क्त्वा. Then comes the maxim कृद् ग्रहणे गति कारक पूर्वस्थापि ग्रहणं 'a कृत् affix denotes whenever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that कृत् affix has been added and which ends with the कृत् affix, but moreover should a gati, or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the कृत् affix must denote the same word-form together with the gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it." By this a compound also may end in क्त्वा. This maxim will cover cases like प्रकृत्य, पार्श्वतः कृत्य but not उच्चैः कृत्य &c because उच्चैः is neither a gati nor a kâraka. Hence the employment of the word समासे in the sûtâ, and also of the word अनञ्पूर्वे, for नञ् is neither a Gati nor a Kâraka.

In the case of प्रधाय and प्रस्थाय this maxim applies:—अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गो ल्यप् बाधते "a Bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaranga rule". What are these antaranga rules superseded by the substitute ल्यप्? (1) हित्वं—the substitution of हि for धा (VII. 4. 42). Thus हित्वा but प्रधाय and not प्रहित्वा ॥ (2) इत्वं—the substitution of इद् for हो (VII. 4. 46)—as इत्वा, but प्रधाय and not प्रइत्वा ॥ (3) आत्वं as required by VI. 4. 42: as खात्वा, प्रस्थाय and प्रखन्य ॥ (4) इत्वं—as स्थित्वा but प्रस्थाय ॥ (5) ईत्वं by VI. 4. 66, as पीत्वा but प्रप्राय ॥ (6) दीर्घत्वं by VI. 4. 15, as शान्त्वा but प्रशाम्य ॥ (7) शुद् by VI. 4. 19, as पृष्ट्वा but आपृच्छय ॥ (8) ऊद्—as व्युत्वा ॥ (9) इद् (VII. 2. 56)—वेवित्वा but प्रवीच्य ॥

क्वापि छन्दसि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा, अपि, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वा इत्येतस्य क्त्वा इत्ययमादिशो भवति अपिशब्दाल्ल्यपि भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

38. In the Veda the क्त्वा also, as well as ल्यप्, is substituted for क्त्वा, after an Indeclinable compound, other than one preceded by the Negative तञ् ॥

Thus कृष्णं वासो यजमानं परिधापयित्वा, प्रत्यञ्चर्मकं प्रत्यर्थयित्वा ॥ So also we have ल्यप्, as उद्दृत्य जुहोति ॥ The sūtra could have been made shorter by saying merely वा छन्दसि; not doing so indicates that conditions and limitations are set aside in the Vedas in applying this affix. Therefore ल्यप् is applied even when there is no compound, as, अर्च्यं तान् देवान् गतः ॥ The word छन्दसि governs the following sūtras upto VII. 1. 50, inclusive.

सुपां सुलुक्पूर्वसवर्णाच्छेयाडाड्यायाजालः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपाम्, सु, लुक्, पूर्वसवर्ण, आ, आत्, शे, या, डा, ड्या, याच्, आलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छान्दसि विषये सुपां स्थानि सु लुक् पूर्वसवर्ण आ आत् शे या डाड्या याच् आल इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुपां सुपो भवन्ति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तिडां तिडो भवन्तीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयाडियाजोकाराणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आड्याजयारासुपसंख्यानम् ॥

39. The following irregular endings are substituted for the various case endings in the Veda : (1) स् of the Nom. Sg. for अस् of the Plural, (2) the *luk*-elision of the case-endings, (3) the single substitution of the homogeneous long vowel for the end vowel of the stem, (4) आ, (5) आत्, (6) ए (शे) for the ending of the Nom. Plural, (7) या, (8) आ (डा), with the elision of the last vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it in the stem, (9) या (ड्या) with the similar shortening of the stem (10) याँ (याच्) and आ (accent of ल) ॥

Thus (1) अनृक्षरा ऋजवः सन्तु पन्थाः (for पन्थानः) Rig Veda X. 85. 23.

Vārt:—It should be stated that case-endings replace case-endings promiscuously, as, धुरि दक्षिणायाः (for दक्षिणायाम् Rig I. 164. 9).

Vārt:—One personal ending replaces another personal ending in the Vedas चषालं वै अन्धयूपाय तक्षति (for तक्षन्ति) Rig I. 162. 6.

(2) लुक्-elision:—As आद्रे चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् for चर्मणि; हविर्धाने यत् सुन्वन्ति, तत् सामिधेनोस्त्वाह (यद् for यस्मिन् and तद् for तस्मिन्) ॥

(3) Lengthening:—धीती, मती, सुष्टुती for धीत्या, मत्या and सुष्टुत्या ॥

(4) आ—उभय यन्तारौ (for उभौ) ॥

(5) आत्—न ताद् ब्राह्मणाद् निन्दामि for तान् ब्राह्मणान् ॥

(6) शे—न युष्मे (for यूयम्) वाजबन्धवः, Rig VIII. 68. 19. अस्मे (for वयं) इन्द्राब्-हृस्पती; Rig IV. 49. 4, the यूय and वय substitution has not taken place as a Vedic usage.

(7) या—उरुया, धृष्णुया for उरुणा and धृष्णुणा ॥

(8) डा—नाभा (for नाभौ) पृथेच्याः Rig I. 143. 4.

(9) ड्या—अनुड्या च्यावयतात् for अनुष्टुभा Ait Br. II. 6. 15.

(10) याच्—साधुयाँ for साधु, there was required the elision of सु ॥

(11) आह—वसन्ता यजेत for वसन्ते ॥

Vart:—The following substitutes should also be enumerated, (a) इया, (b) ड्रियाच् with elision of the final vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it, and (c) long ई ॥ As (a) उर्विया परिधानम्, for उरुणा, so also इर्विया for इरुणा ॥ (b) सुक्षेत्रिया for सुक्षेत्रिणा, and सुगान्रिया for सुगान्रिणा ॥ (c) इति न शुष्क सरसी शयानम् for सरसि ॥

Vart:—So also (a) आह्, (b) अयाच् and (c) अयार्: as प्रबाहवा for प्रबाहुना, (b) स्वमर्या सच सेवनम् for स्वमेन, (c) सिन्धुमिव नावैया for नावा ॥

The word आच्छे in the sūtra is compounded of three words आ + आत् + शे, the word आत् = आ + आत् ॥

अमो मश् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमः, मश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम् इति मिवादेशो गृह्यते । तस्य छन्दसि विषये मशादेशो भवति ॥

40. For the Personal ending अम् of the First Person Singular (in the Aorist) म (I. 1. 55) is substituted in the Veda.

The अम् here is the substitution of म्प्, and not the accusative singular affix. As वर्धी वृत्रम् (for अवधिषम्) Rig I. 165. 8: क्रमीम् वृक्षस्य शाखाम् ॥ The अद् augment is diversely elided (VI. 4. 75). The indicatory श् of मश् shows that the whole of the affix अम् is to be replaced. The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the change of म् into anusvāra as in VIII. 3. 25.

लोपस्त आत्मनेपदेषु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, त, आत्मनेपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यस्तकारस्तस्य छन्दसि विषये लोपो भवति ॥

41. In the Veda the त of the Atmanepada Personal ending is elided.

As देवा अदुह् and गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदुह् for अदुहन् (see VII. 1. 8) ; दुहाम् (for दुग्धाम्) अश्विभ्यां पयो अघ्न्येयम् ॥ Rig I. 164. 27. इक्षिनतः शये for शेते ॥ Owing to the anuṣṭi of अपि from VII. 1. 38, this substitution sometimes does not take place; as: आत्मानमनृतंकुहते ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe वस्तं दुहन्ति कलशं चतुर्विलम् ॥

ध्वमो ध्वात् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वमः, ध्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ध्वमो ध्वादेश्यमादेशो भवति ॥

42. In the Veda, ध्वात् is substituted for the Personal ending ध्वम् ॥

As अन्तेरवोष्माणं वारयध्वात् for वारयध्वम् ॥ Ait Br. II. 6. 14.

यजध्वैनमिति च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजध्वैनम्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजध्वमित्येतस्य एनमित्येतस्मिन्परतो मकारलोपो निपात्यते वकारस्य च यकारच्छन्दसि विषये ॥

43. यजध्वैनम् is irregularly formed in the Veda for यजध्वमेनम् ॥

The word यजध्वम् followed by एनम् loses its final म् in the Veda. As यजध्वैनं प्रियमेधाः (Rig VIII. 2. 37). The Kāśīka adds "that व्, is also irregularly

changed into य” : the form would then be यज्जघ्येनम् ॥ This is, however, a mistake as pointed out by Bhattoji Dikshit.

तस्य तात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तशब्दस्य लोपमध्यमपुरुषबहुवचनस्य स्थाने तादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

44. For the ending त of the 2nd Pers. Pl. Imperative is substituted तात् in the Veda.

As गात्रं गात्रमस्या दूतं कृणुतात् (for कृणुत), and ऊवध्ये गोहं पार्थिवं खनतात् (for खनत) Ait Br. II. 6. 15, 16. अस्मारक्ष संसृजतात् (= संसृजत), सूर्ये चक्षुर्गमयतात् (= गमयत).

तप्तनप्तनथनाश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तप्, तनप्, तन, थनाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति वर्त्तते । छन्सि विषये तस्य स्थाने तप् तनप् तन थन इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

45. Also त् and तन् (before both, on account of the indicatory प् the preceding vowel of the verbal stem is strengthened, or if weak not shortened), तन and थन are substituted for the त् of the 2nd Pers. Pl. Imperative in the Veda.

This शृणोत द्रावाणः (for शृणुत), सुनोत (= सुनुत), संवरत्रा दधातन (for धत्त), जुजु-एन (for जुषत) the ślu vikaraṇa being added as a Vedic irregularity ; यद्विष्टन for यद्विच्छत ॥ The indicatory प् makes तप् and तनप् non-ङित् affixes (I. 2. 4).

इदन्तो मसि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदन्तः, मसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्सि विषये मसित्वयं शब्द इकारान्तो भवति । मसः सकारान्तस्य इकारागमो भवति स च तस्यान्तो भवति ॥

46. The Personal ending मस् becomes in the Veda मसि ending with an इ ॥

Thus पुनस्त्वां वीपयामसि (for वीपयामः) शलभं भञ्जयामसि (for भञ्जयामः), त्वयि रात्रिं वासयामसि for वासयामः ॥

क्तोयक् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तः, यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वा इत्येतस्य यगागमो भवति छन्सि विषये ॥

47. In the Veda, the Absolutive affix क्त्वा gets at the end, the augment य ॥

Thus इत्वाय सविता धिवः (for इत्वा). This sūtra is not read immediately after VII. 1. 38, as in that sūtra, the anuvṛitti of samāsa is understood, while there is no such anuvṛitti here.

इष्टीनमिति च ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्टीनम्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टीनमित्यय शब्दो निपात्यते छन्सि विषये । यजेः क्त्वाप्रत्ययान्तस्य ईनमादेशोऽन्यस्य निपात्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पीत्वीनमित्यपीष्यते ॥

48. In the Veda, the Absolutive इष्टीनम् is irregularly formed for इष्ट्वा ॥

To the root यञ् is added क्त्वा, and the final आ is replaced by ईनम् ॥ As इष्टीनम् देवान् for इष्ट्वा देवान् ॥ The च in the sūtra indicates that there are other forms like this, as पीत्वीनम् for पीत्वा ॥

स्नात्व्यादयश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नात्वी-आदयः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नात्वी इत्येवमादयः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

49. स्नात्वो &c. are irregularly formed in the Veda.

Thus स्नात्वी मलादिव, for स्नात्वा; पीत्वी सोमस्य वावृधे for पीत्वा ॥ The word आवि 'et cetera' means "of the form of", namely words having form like स्नात्वी, as पीत्वी &c.

आज्जसेरसुक ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, जसेः, असुक ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णान्ताद्ग्रादुत्तरस्य जसेरसुगागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

50. After a stem ending in अ or आ, the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl. gets, in the Veda, the augment अस् (असुक) at the end.

Thus ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः for ब्राह्मणाः and सोम्याः ॥ Rig VI. 75. 10. ये पूर्वासो य उपरासः (Rig X. 15. 2) for पूर्वे and उपरे ॥ So also पुतासः (R. I. 3. 4) Why is not, after the adding of the augment असुक, the जस् changed to शी in the last example, as required by VII. 1. 17, and on the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गः विज्ञानात्? No, the maxim that applies here is सकृद् गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं, तद्वाधितमेव ॥

अश्वक्षीरवृषलवणानामात्मप्रीतौ क्यचि ॥ ५१ ॥ अश्व, क्षीर, वृष, लवणानाम्, आत्मा प्रीतौ, क्यचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीत्यतः प्रथति निवृत्तम् । अश्व क्षीर वृष लवण इत्येतेषामङ्गानामात्मप्रीतिविषये क्यचि परतो ऽसुगागमो भवति ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ अश्ववृषयोर्मैथुनेच्छायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्षीरलवणयोर्लासयामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्यो लालासायामसुग्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

51. The same augment असुक is added after the words अश्व, क्षीर, वृष and लवण before the Denominative affix क्यच्, when the delight of the subject in these things is to be expressed.

The anuvṛtti of छन्दसि does not extend to this sūtra or any further. Thus अश्वस्यति वडवा, क्षीरस्यति माणवकः, वृषस्यति गौः, लवणस्यत्युष्ट्रः ॥ अश्व + अस् + य + ति = अश्वस्यति (VI. 1. 97). Why 'when the delight of the subject is meant'? Observe अश्वीयति, क्षीरीयति, वृषीयति and लवणीयति ॥

Vārt :—After अश्व and वृष, the force of the augment is that of desiring sexual connection. *Vārt* :—After क्षीर and लवण it has the force of ardently wishing for, i. e. an intense thirsting after the thing. The augment is not added, though the sense may be that of delight, if it has not the above meanings. Others say *Vārt* :—असुक should be added after every nominal stem when the sense is that of intense yearning after that thing : as दध्यस्यति, मध्वस्यति &c. Others say *Vārt* :—That the augment सुक् should be added, as दधि-स्यति, मधुस्यति &c.

आमिं सर्वनाम्नः सुट् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमि, सर्वनाम्नः, सुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिति वर्त्तते अवर्णस्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्यामः सुडागमो भवति ॥

52. After a Pronominal stem ending in **अ** or **आ**, the affix **आम्** of the Genitive Plural gets the augment **स्** at the beginning.

The word **आत्** of the last sūtra is understood here. Thus **सर्वेषाम्, विश्वेषाम्, येषाम्, तेषाम्, सर्वासाम्, यासाम्, तासाम्** ॥ But **भवताम्** of **भवन्** ॥ The **आम्** of the sūtra is the Genitive Plural ending **आम्**, and not the **आम्** of the Locative Singular ordained by VII. 3. 116; for that **आम्** takes the augments **याद्, आद्** or **स्याद्** (VII. 3. 112-114), while the present **आम्** takes **सुद्** or **तुद्** ॥ Nor the **आम्** of the Perfect Tense (III. I. 35 &c), because that refers to verb and Sarvanāma nor the **आम्** of V. 4. 11, for the same reason. The word **आमि** is exhibited in the sūtra in the locative case, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. I. 53. For the purposes of the present sūtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (**आमः सर्वानाम्: सुद्**), because **सर्वानाम्** being in the Ablative case, the augment **सुद्** will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim **तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य** ॥

त्रेस्त्रयः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिल्लेतस्य आमि परे त्रय इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

53. **त्रय** is substituted for **त्रि** before the Genitive Pl. affix.

As **त्रयाणाम्** ॥ **त्रीणाम्** however appears in the Veda: as **त्रीणामपि सधुद्राणाम्** ॥

ह्रस्वनद्यापो तुद् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्व, न दी, आपः, तुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वान्तात्प्रचन्ताद्वाचन्ताच्चोत्तरस्यामो बुडागमो भवति ॥

54. The augment **न्** is added before the Genitive Pl. ending **आम्**, after stems ending in a short vowel, after stems called **Nadi** (I. 4. 3 &c), and after the stems ending in the Feminine affix **आ** ॥

As **वृक्षाणाम्, पृक्षाणाम्, अग्नीणाम्, वायूनाम्, कर्तृणाम्** ॥ **नद्यन्तात्**—**कुमारीणाम्, किशोरीणाम्, गौरीणाम्, शार्ङ्गरीणाम्, लक्ष्मीणाम्, ब्रह्मबन्धूनाम्, वीरबन्धूनाम्** ॥ **आवन्तात्**—**खट्वानाम्, मालानाम्, बहुराजानाम्, कारीषगन्ध्याणाम्** ॥

The lengthening of the short final vowel takes place by VI. 4. 3.

षट्चतुर्भ्यश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, चतुर्भ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्संज्ञकेभ्यश्चतुर्भ्यश्चशब्दाच्चोत्तरस्यामो बुडागमो भवति ॥

55. The augment **न्** is added before the Genitive pl. ending **आम्** after the Numerals called 'shash', and after **चतुर** ॥

As **षण्णाम्, पञ्चानाम्, (VI. 4. 7), सप्तानाम्, नवानाम्, दशानाम्, चतुर्णाम्** ॥ A numeral ending in **न्** is not 'shash', hence the specific mention of **चतुर** ॥

This rule applies to compounds ending with these numerals, when these latter are the principal member, as परमषण्णाम्, परमपञ्चानाम्, परमचतुर्णाम्, but प्रियपशाम्, प्रियपञ्चाम्, प्रियचतुराम् where the Numerals are secondary (upasarjana).

श्रीग्रामण्योऽछन्दसि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, ग्रामण्योः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्री ग्रामणी इत्येतयोऽछन्दसि विषये आमा तुडागमो भवति ॥

56. In the Veda after the words श्री and ग्रामणी, the Gen. Pl. आमम् gets the augment न् ॥

As श्रीणासुदारो धरुणो रयीणाम्, अन्यत्र सूतग्रामणीनाम् ॥ This sūtra could be well dispensed with: by I. 4. 5. श्री is optionally a Nadi in the Genitive plural. We make the option of that sūtra a vyavasthita-vibhāshā, by saying श्री is *always* Nadi in the Veda, and *optionally* every where else. As regards सूतग्रामणीनाम्, we have सूतश्च ग्रामणीश्च = सूतग्रामणि, the Genitive Pl. of which by VII. 1. 54 will be सूतग्रामणीनाम् ॥

The necessity of this sūtra will, however, arise if the compound be सूताश्च ते ग्रामण्यश्च सूतग्रामण्यः ॥

गोः पादान्ते ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, पादान्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो इत्येतस्माद्रूपादान्ते वर्त्तमानादुत्तरस्यामो तुडागमो भवति ॥

57. After गो, when standing at the end of a Rik verse, the augment न comes before the Gen. Pl. आमम् ॥

As विद्महि त्वा सत्पतिं शूरगोनाम्; but गवां गोत्रसुदसृजा यदङ्गिरः in the beginning of a Pāda. "All rules have exceptions in the Vedas" is an established maxim, so at the end of a Pāda, sometimes this rule does not apply, as हन्तारं शत्रूणां कृधि विराजं गोपतिं गत्राम् ॥

इदितो नुम् धातोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदितः, नुम्, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदितो धातोर्नुमागमो भवति ॥

58. न् is added after the vowel of the root, in a root which has an indicatory इ in the Dhātupāṭha.

Thus from कुडि—कुण्डित्, कुण्डितुम्, कुण्डितव्यम्; from हुडि—हुण्डित्, हुण्डितुम्, हुण्डितव्यम् &c. But पचति, पठति where इ is not इत् ॥ The न् is added to the root from its very inception, and they must be considered to have got a न्, for the purposes of the application of the grammatical rules. Thus III. 3. 103 says that आ is added in the feminine to a root which ends in a consonant and has a prosodially long vowel. The root कुडि must be considered to be such a root and कुण्डा, हुण्डा are thus formed. Similarly though the roots in the Dhātupāṭha are धिवि and कृवि, in applying affixes we must consider them as धिन्व् and कृन्व्, as the author himself has indicated in III. 1. 80. In short, in adding affixes, these roots should be considered as having a न् ॥ Moreover the root (dhātu) should have इ, and not the stem (aṅga). The affixes तासि (Future) and सिच् (Aorist) when added to roots, will not make those roots

इदिन्; for the इ in तासि and सिच् is merely for the sake of pronunciation, and is not to be considered as इन् in the strict sense of the word: in fact it should be considered as non-nasalised. If you say that “the इ in सिच् should be considered as इन्, for because of its being इन्, the न् of मन् is not elided by VI. 4. 24 in अमंस्ता”, we reply, “not so, the न् is not elided, because sūtra हन्ः सिच् I. 2. 14 makes सिच् a किन् after हन् only, the result of which is that हन् only loses its न् by VI. 4. 37, and no other root”. In मन्ता = मन् + तासि + डा = मन् + त् + आ (the आस् is elided VI. 4. 143). For the purposes of the elision of न्, the elided आस् would be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22), for both VI. 4. 143, and VI. 4. 37, requiring the elision of न् are âbhiya sūtras. In नेत्ता, छेत्ता from भिद्दिर् and छिद्दिर् the whole combination इर् is इत्, and not इ and र separately, and hence तुम् is not added. But even if these roots be considered as इदिन्, the syllable इर् having an इ, yet they will not get the तुम् augment, because the word अन्त of पादान्ते (VII. 1. 57) is understood here in this sūtra also, so that the roots must have a final इ as इत् for the application of this rule.

शे मुचादीनाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, मुचादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शे प्रत्यये परतो मुचादीनां तुमागमो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शेतुम्फादीनामुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

59. In मुच् &c, before the characteristic श of the Tudâdi class, the न् is placed after the vowel of the root.

Thus मुच्—मुञ्चति, लुम्पति, विन्दति, लिम्पति, सिञ्चति, कृन्ताति, खिन्दति, पिंशति ॥ Why “before श”? Observe मोक्ता, मोक्तुम्, मोक्तव्यम् ॥ Why “of मुच् &c”? Observe तुदांत, तुदति ॥

Vâri:—The तुम्फ &c should be also enumerated. These are the following roots of Tudâdi class: 24. तुप् (तृफ), 25. तृन्फ तत्रौ, 26. तुप् तुम्प, 27. तुफ तुम्फ, हिंसायाम्, 28. टफ (टप), 29. टम्फ उम्फ्लेशं, 30. ऋफ (रिफ), ऋम्फ (रिम्फ), हिंसायाम्, 31. युफ, युम्फ ग्रन्थे, 32. उभ उन्भ पूरणे, 33. शुभ, शुम्भ शोभायै ॥ Of these, those which have a nasal, lose it by VI. 4. 24, and then get the तुम् augment by the present rule, which being specifically ordained, cannot be again dropped. Thus तृम्फति, तुम्फति, तुम्पाति, टम्फति &c. Those which have no nasal, are conjugated as टृफति, तुफति, टफति युफति, उभति and शुभति ॥

मस्जिनशोर्झलि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्जि, नशोः, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्जि नशि इत्येतयोरङ्गयोर्झलादौ प्रत्यये तुमागमो भवति ॥

60. The augment तुम् is added after the vowel of the root in मस्ज् and नश, before an affix, beginning with any consonant, other than a semi-vowel or a nasal.

As मङ्क्ता, मस्ज् + तृच् (no इद् by VII. 2. 10), add न् = मस् न् ज् + तृ, elide स् by VIII. 2. 29, change ज् to क्, and न् to anusvâra, which then becomes ङ् ॥ मङ्क्तुम्, मङ्क्त्वयम्, नंष्टा, नंष्टुम् and नंष्टव्यम् ॥ But मज्जनम् and नशिता, and मग्र (VI. 4. 32). In मग्रः and मग्रवान्, the तुम् is supposed to be placed the last consonant in मस्ज्, in order that it may get elided.

रधिजभोरचि ॥ ६१ ॥ रधि, जभोः, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रधि जभि इत्येतयोरजादौ प्रत्यये नुमागमो भवति ॥

61. The augment नुम् is added after the root-vowel in रध् and जम्, before affixes beginning with a consonant.

Thus रन्धयति, रन्धकः, साधुरन्धी, रन्धो वर्तते ॥ जम्भयति, जम्भकः, साधुजम्भी, जम्भं-जम्भम्, जम्भो वर्तते ॥ Though the वृद्धि rule is subsequent, it is superseded by the augment. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe रद्धा, जभ्यम् ॥

नेत्र्यलिटि रधेः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इटि, अ लिटि, रधेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हडाशवलिटि प्रत्यये परे रधेरुन्मागमो न भवति ॥

62. The augment नुम् is not added to रध्, before an affix beginning with the augment इट्, except in the Perfect.

As रधिता, रधितुम्, रधितव्यम्, but रन्धनम्, रन्धकः before Anit affixes, and रन्धिव, रन्धिम in the Perfect. When नुम् is added रन्ध् becomes a root ending in a conjunct consonant, and therefore the लिट् affixes after it are not कित् (असंयोगात् लिट् कित् I. 2. 5), and therefore the न् is not elided by VI. 4. 24. But when the affix क्वसु of the Perfect is added, we have रधिवस् Nom. Sg. रधिवान् ॥ Here the affix being expressly taught with an indicatory क the न् is elided. The reduplicate is elided, the अ changed into ए, then इट् is added, then नुम्, and then the नुम् is elided by the expressly taught कित् ॥

Why was not the sūtra made as इटि लिटि रधेः when by so doing, the augment नुम् would have been added only in the Perfect when it had इट् and no where else? This form of sūtra would have also meant that नुम् would be added in that Perfect which took इट् and in no other Perfect, while cases other than Perfect might take it. That being so, there would be no नुम् in रन्ध, while रधिता would require नुम् ॥ See, however, the Mahabhâshya for the *contra*.

रभेरशब्लितोः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रभेः, अ शप्, लितोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रभेरङ्गस्य शब्लिङ्गवर्जिते ऽजादौ प्रत्यये परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

63. The augment नुम् is added after the vowel of the root रभ् before an affix beginning with a vowel, but not before the vikaraṇa शप् or the affixes of the Perfect.

Thus आरम्भयति, आरम्भकः, साध्वारम्भी, आरम्भमारम्भम्, आरम्भो वर्तते ॥ But आरम्भते in शप्, and आरम्भे in लिट्, and आरम्भ् before an affix beginning with a consonant.

लभेश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लभेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लभेश्चाजादौ प्रत्यये शब्लिङ्गवर्जिते नुमागमो भवति ॥

64. So also of लम्, before an affix beginning with a vowel, with the exception of शप् and लिट्, there is the augment नुम् ॥

As लम्भयति, लम्भकः, साधुलम्भी, लम्भंलम्भम्, लम्भो वर्तते ॥ But लभते with शप्, and लेभे in the Perfect, and लभ्या before an affix beginning with a consonant. The separation of this from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

आङो यि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ उत्तरस्य लभेर्यकारादिप्रत्ययविषये तुमागमो भवति ॥

65. The augment नुम् is added to लम् preceded by आ, before an affix beginning with य ॥

As आलम्भ्यो गौः ॥ The नुम् is added before the addition of the affix, and by so doing लम् becomes लम्भ् and thus loses its character of having a penultimate अ, and therefore by III. I. 124, we shall have प्यत् affix, and not यत् affix by III. I. 98. Had the नुम् been added *after* the addition of the affix, then यत् would be added by III. I. 98. Though in both cases the form will be आलम्भ्या, the difference will be in the accent: यत् would throw the acute on the first syllable (यतोऽनावः) while the word has svarita on the final; thus instead of आलम्भ्या (by VI. I. 213 and VI. 2. 139), which यत् gives, we have आलम्भ्यां (तित् svar).

Why do we say 'when preceded by आ'? Observe लभ्य ॥ How do you explain अग्निष्टोम आलभ्यः? All rules are optionally applied in the Vedas. Or आलभ्य may be explained by saying that the नुम् having been added, is again dropped.

उपात्प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रशंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरस्य लभेः प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायां यकारादिप्रत्ययविषये तुमागमो भवति ॥

66. The augment नुम् is added to लम् preceded by उप, before य, when the reference is to something praise-worthy.

As उपलम्भ्या भवता विद्या, उपलम्भ्यानि धनानि ॥ These words are formed by प्यत् and have svarita on the final. Why do we say 'when referring to something praise worthy'? Observe उपलभ्यमस्माद् वृषलात् किञ्चित्, this is formed with the यत् affix (III. I. 98).

उपसर्गात्खलघञोः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, खल्, घञोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुत्तरस्य लभेः खलघञोः परतो तुमागमो भवति ॥

67. The augment नुम् is added to लम् preceded by a Preposition, before the affixes खल् (III. 3. 126) and घञ् ॥

Thus ईषन्प्रलम्भः, सुप्रलम्भः, दुष्प्रलम्भः, प्रलम्भः, विप्रलम्भः ॥ This is a Niyama rule, and restricts the scope of VII. I. 64. Before the vowel affixes खल् and घञ्, the root लभ् gets the augment नुम् only then when it is preceded by a Preposition, and not otherwise, as ईषल्लभः, लाभो वर्तते ॥

न सुदुर्भ्यां केवलाभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सु, दुर्भ्याम्, केवलाभ्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सु दुरित्येताभ्यां केवलाभ्यामन्योपसर्गरहिताभ्यामुपसृष्टस्य लभेःखल्वञोः परतो नुमागमो न भवति ॥

68. The augment नुम् is not added to लभ् before खल् and घञ् when सु or दुः alone (without another Preposition along with them) precede the root.

Thus सुलभम्, दुर्लभम्, सुलाभो, दुर्लाभः ॥ But सुप्रलम्भः, दुष्प्रलम्भः ॥ The word केवल is used in the sūtra because सुदुर्भ्यां is in the Instrumental case and not in the Ablative. Had it been in the Ablative, there would have been no necessity of using the word केवल, for the rule would not have applied, when a preposition intervened between these and the root. In अतिसुलभम्, the word अति is not an Upasarga but a Karmapravachanīya; when अति is used as an Upasarga, we have अतिसुलम्भः ॥ If the words सुदुर्भ्याम् be construed as Ablative, then also the use of केवल is for a purpose similar to that as above.

विभाषा चिण्लमुलोः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि भाषा, चिण्, णमुलोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चिण् णमुल् इत्येतयोर्विभाषा लभेर्नुम्भवति ॥

69. The नुम् is optionally added to लभ् not preceded by a Preposition, before the चिण् Aorist and the Absolutive णमुल् ॥

Thus अलाभि or अलम्भि, लाभलाभम् or लम्भलम्भम् ॥ This is a Vyāvasthita-vibhāshā, the option is allowed where there is no Preposition along with the root; and no option is allowed but नुम् must be added, when a Preposition precedes: as प्रालम्भि, प्रलम्भम् ॥

उगिदृचां सर्वनामस्थाने ऽधातोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ उगित्, अ चाम्, सर्वनाम-स्थाने, अ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितामङ्गानां धातुवर्जितानामञ्जतेश्च सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

70. Whatever has an indicatory उ, ऋ and लृ, (with the exception of a root), and the stem अच्, (अञ्चति) get the augment नुम् in the strong cases.

Thus भवतु has an indicatory उ, formed by the Unādi affix डवतुप्, and it is declined as भवान्, भवन्तौ, भवन्तः ॥ Similarly ईयसुन्-श्रेयान्, श्रेयांसौ, श्रेयांसः; शन्-पचन्, पचन्तौ, पचन्तः ॥ अञ्च-प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥

Why do we say 'having an indicatory उक् vowel or the stem अच्'? Observe दृषन्, दृषन्तौ, दृषन्तः ॥

Why do we say in strong cases? Observe भवतः पश्य, श्रेयसः पश्य ॥ अञ्च् root is mentioned for the sake of niyama, i. e. of the roots, only अञ्च् gets नुम् and no other root. Therefore उखासत्, पर्णध्वत् formed from the roots संसु and ध्वंसु having indicatory उ ॥ (See III. 2. 76, IV. 1. 6, VIII. 2. 72). For the lengthening in भवान् &c, see VI. 4. 10, 14: the च् is elided in प्राङ् by-VIII. 2. 23, and न् becomes ङ् by VIII. 2. 62: and त् in सत् by VIII. 2. 72.

Why do we say 'with the exception of a root' when by the mere fact of including *one* root अच् all other roots would have been excluded from the scope of this sūtra? The specific mention of अधातोः shows that the prohibition applies to *original* roots, and not to those roots which are *derived* from nouns. Thus गोमन्तमिच्छति = गोमत्यति formed by क्यच् ॥ Here गोमत्य is a derivative root, in its primitive state it was a noun. The prohibition of अधातोः will not apply to this root and नुम् will be added. Thus गोमत्य + क्तिप् = गोमत्य् + ० (the अ is dropped by VI. 4. 48) = गोमत् + ० (the य् is elided by VI. 4. 50). Now is added नुम् and we have गोमान् ॥

युजेरसमासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युजेः, अ समासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युजेरसमासे सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

71. The nominal stem युज् gets before the strong cases the augment न्, when it does not stand in a compound.

Thus युङ् (VIII. 2. 23, 62) युञ्जौ, युञ्जः; but अश्वयुक्, अश्वयुजौ, अश्वयुजः in a compound. The root युज समाधौ (Divādi 68) is not to be taken here; therefore not here युजमापन्ना ऋषयः ॥ But युजिर् योगे (Rudhādi 7) is to be taken.

नपुंसकस्य झलचः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकस्य, झल्, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकस्य झलन्तस्याजन्तस्य च सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुर्जि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ अन्त्यास्पृश्वं नुममेकइच्छन्ति ॥

72. The augment नुम् is added in the strong cases to a Neuter stem ending in a consonant (other than a nasal or a semivowel), or ending in a vowel.

Thus उहश्चिन्ति, शकृन्ति (VI. 4. 10) यथांसि, पर्यांसि; कुण्डानि, वनानि (VI. 4. 8), त्रपूणि, जतूनि ॥ Why 'of a Neuter'? Observe अग्निचिद् ब्राह्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'not ending in a semivowel or a nasal'? Observe बहुपुरि, बहुपुरि, विमलदिवि, चत्वारि, अहानि (VII. 1. 98). A neuter having an indicatory उक् vowel gets नुम् by this sūtra and not by VII. 1. 70, as that is superseded by this, this being the subsequent. As श्रेयांसि, भूयांसि कुर्वन्ति कृषन्ति ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

Vart :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to बहुर्जि; as बहुर्जि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ Some would have न् added between र् and ज् of this word, as बहुर्जि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ See I. 4. 13.

इको ऽचि विभक्तौ ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, अचि, विभक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य नपुंसकस्याङ्गस्याजादौ विभक्तौ नुमागमो भवति ॥

Kārikā—इकोचि व्यञ्जनं मा भूदस्तु लोपः स्वरः कथम् ।
 स्वरो वै श्रूयमाणोऽपि लुप्ते किं न भविष्यति ॥
 रायात्वं तिसृभावश्च व्यवधानान्नुमा अपि ।
 तुङ् वाच्य उत्तरार्थं तु इह किं चित्रपो इति ॥

73. The augment **नुम्** is added to a Neuter-stem ending in a simple vowel, except **अ**, before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus **त्रपुणी**, **जतुनी**, **तुम्बुरुणी**, **त्रपुणे**, **जतुने**, **तुम्बुरुणे** ॥ Why “with the exception of **अ**”? Observe **कुण्डे**, **पीठे** ॥ The phrase “before an affix beginning with a vowel” is employed here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 1. 75. Here we could have dispensed with it : for before affixes beginning with a consonant, **नुम्** would be elided by VIII. 2. 7. The only object that it serves here is that we can form **हे त्रपो!** or **हे त्रपु!** in the Vocative singular. For had we **त्रपुन्+स** in the vocative, the form would have been **हे त्रपुन्** like **हे राजन्**, for **न्** would not be elided here, see VIII. 2. 8.

If it be objected that by the sūtra **न लुमताङ्गस्य** (I. 1. 63) when the affix **स्** is elided in the Vocative, it will leave no trace behind, and there being no affix at all, **नुम्** will not be added in the Vocative. We reply : that this very employment of the word **अच्** in this sūtra indicates (jñāpaka) that the rule prohibiting the effect of an affix (I. 1. 63) does not apply here. Therefore, though the affix is elided, it produces its effect in spite of I. 1. 63, and we have the guṇa of the vowel in the Vocative, as **हे त्रपो** by VII. 3. 108.

Why have we used the word **विभक्तौ** ‘when a case-affix follows’? Observe **तुम्बुरवं चूर्णम्**, where the *taddhita* affix **अञ्** is added to **तुम्बुरु** by IV. 3. 139.

Kārikā :—The employment of the words **इकः आचि** in the sūtra shows that **नुम्** will not come when the affix begins with a consonant, as **त्रपुभ्यां**, **त्रपुभिः** ॥ An objector says, the employment of **आचि** in the sūtra is useless for **नुम्** may be added even before an affix beginning with a consonant, for having added it, it will be elided by **न लोपःप्रतिपदिकान्तस्य** (VIII. 2. 7). We reply, yes it can be so done, but how will you then manage the accent? For in **पँञ्चत्रपुभ्यां**, **पँञ्चत्रपुभिः**, the accent is regulated by the rule VI. 2. 29 which says that in a Dvigu compound, the first member preserves its original accent if the second member ends in an **इक्** vowel. But if there was a **नुम्**, then the second member would not end in **इक्** but in **न्** : and the elision of this **न्** by VII. 2. 7. is asidhha for the purposes of accent. To this the objector answers, that even where **न्** is not elided the accent is governed by VI. 2. 29, namely the accent of **पँञ्चत्रपुणे** or **पञ्चत्रपुणः** is by VI. 2. 29, why should it not be so when **न्** is elided. So the objection about accent has no strength.

Well if नुम् be added even before consonant-affix, then there will arise this anomaly: अतिरि + भ्यां = अतिरिन् + भ्यां (by adding नुम्). Here rule VII. 2. 85 cannot apply: because न् intervenes between रि and भ्यां, therefore इ of रि is not changed to आ, and therefore we cannot get the proper form अतिराभ्यां ॥ Moreover in प्रियात्रि + भ्यां, the त्रि cannot be changed to तिसृ if there be नुम्, and so we cannot get the form प्रियतिसृभ्यां ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

To this it is answered, the change of इ into आ in the case of रि, and the substitution of तिसृ for त्रि will take place even when the नुम् intervenes, on the maxim विभक्तिविधानदशायां यदानन्तर्ये तत् तत्राश्रीयते न त्वद्विशविधानदशायाम् ॥ And this is done in this way: अतिरि + भ्यां, and प्रियात्रि + भ्यां, here नुम् is superseded by the subsequent rule requiring आ and तिसृ respectively.

If this be so, then the employment of अच् in the sūtra is for the sake of the supersession of नुम् by नुद् (VII. 1. 54). Thus नुद् has unrestricted scope in अग्नीनां, वायूनां, and नुम् has unrestricted scope in त्रपुणे and जतुने ॥ But in त्रपूणां and जतुनां, both नुद् and नुम् present themselves. Here however नुम् is superseded by नुद् by purva-vipratishedha and so there is lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 3. This supersession is indicated by the employment of अच्, for नुद् and नुम् being both *anitya* and of equal force, had there been no अच्, नुम् would have come and not नुद् ॥

But this is also not valid, for नुद् would have to be added, even if there had been no अच् in the sūtra.

The employment of अच् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 75. The only object that अच् serves in this sūtra, is in forming the vocative हे त्रपो as shown above.

तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्कं पुंवद्गालवस्य ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीयदिषु, भाषितपुंस्कम्, पुंस्वत्, गालवस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिष्वजादिषु भाषितपुंस्कं नपुंसकलिङ्गमिगन्तं गालवस्याचार्यस्य मतेन पुंवद्भवति । यथा पुंसि ह्रस्वनमौ न भवतस्तद्वदत्रापि न भवत इत्यर्थः ।

74. A neuter stem ending in a vowel, except अ, of which there exists an equivalent, uniform masculine, is treated like the masculine, in the opinion of Gālava, before the vowel beginning affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As in the Masculine there is no shortening, nor the addition of नुम्, so here also. As ग्रामणी is the equivalent, uniform masculine of the neuter form ग्रामणि, we have either Ins. ग्रामणिना or ग्रामण्या ब्राह्मणकुलेन, the Ins. Sg. of ग्रामणि n. Similarly Dat. ग्रामणिने or ग्रामण्ये ब्राह्मणकुलाय; Abl. ग्रामणिनो or ग्रामण्यो ब्राह्मणकुलान्, Gen. Sg. ग्रामणिनो or ग्रामण्यो ब्राह्मणकुलस्य, Gen. Du. ग्रामणिनो ब्राह्मणकुलयोः or ग्रामण्योः; Gen. Pl. ग्रामणीनां or ग्रामण्यां ब्राह्मणकुलानां ॥ Loc. ग्रामणिनि or ग्रामण्यां ब्राह्मणकुले ॥ Similarly: Ins. शुचिना (same form in mas. and neu.), Dat. शुचये or शुचिने; Abl. and Gen. शुचेः or शुचिनः Gen. Du. शुच्योः or शुचिनोः Loc. शुचौ or शुचिनि ॥

Why do we say after the 3rd case and the rest? Observe ग्रामणिनी ब्राह्मणकुले, and शुचिनी Nom. dual. Why do we say having an appropriate masculine of the same form and meaning? Observe त्रपुण, जतुने ॥ Why have we only one form पीलुने फलाय, when पीलुवृक्षः and पीलुफलं show that पालु has a masculine form also. The word पीलु is masculine when it applies to 'trees', and पालु is neuter when it refers to 'fruits'; so this word पीलु cannot be said to be भाषितपुंस्कः, the masculine पीलु not having the same meaning as the neuter पीलु ॥ See VI. 3. 34.

Why do we say "ending in a vowel except अ"? Observe कीलालपा ब्राह्मणः and कीलालपं ब्राह्मणकुलं; the Ins. &c of कीलालपा will not be the Ins. &c of कीलालपं ॥ The latter will have only one form कीलालपेन ब्राह्मणकुलेन ॥ &c.

Before case affixes beginning with a consonant we have one form only, as ग्रामणिभ्यां ब्राह्मणकुलाभ्याम् ॥

अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्षणात्मनङ् उदात्तः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्थि, दधि, सक्थि, अक्षणाम्, अनङ्, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थि दधि सक्थि अक्षि इत्येतेषां नृपंसक्रानां तृतीयादिष्वजादियु विभक्तितु परतो ऽनङ् इत्ययमादेशो भवति, स चोदात्तो भवति ॥

75. The acutely accented अन् (अनङ्) is substituted for the finals of asthi, dadhi, sakthi and akshi, before the affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it, which begin with a vowel.

Thus अस्थी, अस्थे, दधी, दधे, सक्थी, सक्थे, अक्षी, अक्षे ॥ The words अस्थि &c have acute on the first syllable, the substitute अनङ् would have been also anudatta, but for this sūtra. The stem getting the designation भ, we elide the अ (VI. 4. 134), the udatta अ being thus elided, the case-ending, which was anudatta before, now becomes udatta (VI. 1. 161). The stems ending with 'asthi &c' and though not neuter, are governed by this rule. As म्रियास्था ब्राह्मणेन, म्रियदध्ना ॥ Why 'before the affixes of the Instrumental and the rest?' Observe अस्थिनी, दधिनी ॥ Before affixes beginning with a consonant, we have अस्थिभ्याम्, दधिभ्याम् ॥

छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दासि, अपि, दृश्यते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्षणात्मनङ् छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते । यत्र विहितस्ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

76. In the Veda also, the stems 'asthi', 'dadhi', 'sakthi' and 'akshi', are found to take the substitute अनङ्, before endings other than those mentioned above.

Thus the substitute is ordained before endings beginning with a vowel. In the Veda it comes before affixes beginning with a consonant. As इन्द्रो दधीचो अस्थेभिः, भद्रं पश्येमाक्षेभिः ॥ The substitute is ordained to come after the Instrumental &c. In the Vedic literature it is found in the Acc. &c. As अस्थानि in अस्थान्युत्कृत्य जुहोति ॥ The substitute comes before case-endings (vi-

bhakti), in the Vedic literature it comes before affixes which are not case-endings, as अक्षण्वता लाङ्गलेन, अस्यन्वन्तं यदनस्था विभक्तिं ॥ See VI. I. 176.

ई च द्विवचने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, द्विवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने परतच्छन्सि विषये ऽस्थ्यादीनामीकारदेशो भवति, सचोदात्तः ॥

77. The acutely accented ई is substituted for the final of asthi, dadhi, sakthi and akshi, in the Veda, when the case-affixes of the dual follow.

As अक्षी ते इन्द्रपिङ्गले कपेरिव ॥ अक्षीभ्यान् ते नासिकाभ्याम् ॥ In अक्षी the augment नुम् is not added to the stem before the vowel-beginning ending, because VII. I. 73, which ordained नुम्, is superseded by the present sūtra, and being once superseded, it is superseded for good. (सकृद् गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेव) ॥

नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अभ्यस्तात्, शतुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुर्मुम्न भवति ॥

78. The Participial-affix शतृ (अत्-अन्त्), does not take the augment नुम् after a reduplicate stem.

Thus ददत्, ददतौ, ददतः, जक्षत्, जक्षतौ, जक्षतः, जाग्रत्, जाग्रतौ, जाग्रतः ॥ This is an exception to VII. I. 70, and applies of course to sarvanāmasthāna or strong cases. The नुम् is to be read into this sūtra from VII. I. 70; for the negation of this sūtra cannot apply to ई taught in the preceding sūtra, for ई is never ordained after śatṛi: therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet नुम् is to be read here.

वा नपुंसकस्य ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, नपुंसकस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तादङ्गादुत्तरो यः शतृप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्य नपुंसकस्य वा नुमागमो भवति ॥

79. The Participial-affix शतृ optionally takes the augment नुम् after a reduplicate stem, in Neuter nouns.

Thus ददाति or ददन्ति, कुलानि; दधति or दधन्ति कुलानि, जक्षति or जक्षन्ति कुलानि, जाग्रति or जाग्रन्ति कुलानि ॥ This of course applies to sarvanāmasthāna or strong cases.

आच्छीनद्योर्नुम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, शी, नद्योः, नुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुर्वा नुमागमो भवति शीनद्योः परतः ॥

80. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in अ or आ, it may optionally take the augment नुम्, before the neutral case-ending शी and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus तुदती कुले or तुदन्ती कुले, तुदन्ती ब्राह्मणी, तुदती ब्राह्मणी, याती कुले, यान्ती कुले याती ब्राह्मणी, यान्ती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यती कुले, करिष्यन्ती कुले, करिष्यती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ अत्रान्तरङ्गत्वादेकादेशे कृते व्यपवर्गाभावाद्द्वर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुरिति न युज्यते वक्तुम्, उभयत आश्रये नान्तादिवदित्यन्तादिवज्ञावोपि नास्ति भूतपूर्वगत्याश्रयणो वा ऽर्द्धो धृतीत्येवमादिष्वन्तिप्रसङ्ग इति, अत्र समाधि

के चिदाहुः, शतुरवयवे शतृशब्दो वर्त्तते, अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरो यः शत्रवयव इति ॥ अपरे पुनराहुः, आदित्येतेन शीनद्यावेव विशेष्यते, अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरे ये शीनद्या तयोः परतः शत्रन्तस्य नुम्भवतीति, तत्र येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेपि वचनप्रमाण्यादिति तकारेणैव व्यवधानमाश्रयिष्यते ॥ आदिरिति किम्, कुर्वती, सुन्वती ॥ शीनद्योरिति किम्, तुस्ताम्, तुस्ताम् ॥

The form तुदती is thus evolved. तुद् + श + शतृ + डीप् ॥ The vikaraṇa श is added by III. 1. 77, & डीप् by IV. 1. 6. This is equal to तुद् + अ + अन् + ई = तुदती the अ + अ becoming अ by the rule of पररूप ekādeśa (VI. 1. 97). This ekādeśa operation being antaranga, now there is no शतृ affix coming after a stem ending in अ, and therefore this sūtra will not apply. If you say the ekādeśa will be considered as the final of तुद् by VI. 1. 85, we reply, that the antāchvaḍbhāva of that sūtra will not apply when simultaneous operations are to be performed, for अ cannot be said at one and the same time as the final of तुद् and the beginning of अन् (शतृ). If you say the maxim सांप्रतिक्रामवे भूतपूर्व गतिः (when a word cannot denote something which actually is what is expressed by the word; it must be understood to denote something which formerly was what is expressed by it), will apply here, and that तुद् will be considered to end in अ because it formerly did end in the affix अ of श; we reply that then the present rule should apply to forms like अदती व्रती &c. For here also we have अद् + शप् लोप + शतृ + डीप्; and अद् should be considered to end in अ, because it had the affix शप् after it, though it was afterwards elided. The maxim quoted, therefore, proves too much.

To solve these objections, some say, that the word शतृ in this sūtra means 'a portion of the affix शतृ, such as तृ' and the sūtra means 'after a stem ending in अ, to the portion तृ of the affix शतृ there is added नुम्.' Others say, the word आन् in the sūtra qualifies शी and नदी and not शतृ; and the sūtra means "नुम् is added to a stem ending in शतृ, when शी or नदी affixes follow after a stem ending in अ." Therefore in तुदती the affix ई is considered to come after the अ of तुद्, the intervening तृ not debarring it.

Why do we say "after अ"? Observe कुर्वती and सुन्वती, no optional नुम् is added here. Why do we say "शी and नदी following"? Observe तुस्ताम् and तुस्ताम्.

शप्श्यनोर्नित्यम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शप्, श्यनोः, नित्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शप् श्यन् इत्येतयोः शतृः शीनद्योः परतो नित्यं नुमागमो भवति ॥

81. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikaraṇas शप् and श्यन्, it invariably takes the augment नुम् before the neutral case-ending शी (ई), and the feminine ending ई (Nadi).

Thus पचन्ती कुले, पचन्ती ब्राह्मणी, दीव्यन्ती कुले, दीव्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी, सीव्यन्ती कुले, सीव्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ The word नित्य stops the anuvṛitti of वा (VII. 1. 79).

सावनडुहः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, अनडुहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सौ परतो ऽनडुहोऽङ्गस्य नुमागमो भवति ॥

82. अनडुह् gets the augment नुम् before the ending सु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By VII. 1. 98 अनडुह् gets the augment आ after उ in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1. 99). It thus becomes अनडुह् and अनडुह् ॥ By the present sūtra न् is added after this आ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final ह् by VIII. 2. 23. Thus we have अनडुह् Nominative Singular; and अनडुह् in the Vocative Singular. The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede नुम्, nor are they superseded by नुम् ॥

In this sūtra, some read the annvṛitti of आत् from VII. 1. 80; and by so doing they add नुम् to that form of अनडुह् where there is an आ or अ, namely, after the word has taken the augment आम् in the nominative singular by VII. 1. 98, and अम् in the Vocative by VII. 1. 99. Therefore, the नुम् does not debar आम् or अम्, nor is it debarred by आम् or अम् ॥ Others hold that though one is a general rule and the other is a particular rule, yet in this instance, आम् (or अम्) and नुम् are applied simultaneously, one not debaring the other, there is no relationship of बाध्य and बाधक among them, just as in चिचीषति the rule of lengthening (VI. 4. 16) and reduplication are applied simultaneously, one not debaring the other. In बह्वनडुह् ब्राह्मणकुलानि, we add first आम् because it is subsequent, and then we add नुम् by VII. 1. 72 on the maxim of पुनः प्रसङ्गविज्ञान &c ॥

दृक्स्ववस्स्वतवसां छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृक्, स्ववस्, स्वतवसाम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृक् स्ववस् स्वतवसुइत्येतेषां सौ परतो नुमागमो भवति छन्दसिविषये ॥

83. दृग्, स्ववस् and स्वतवस् take the augment नुम् before the affix सु (Nominative and Vocative Singular) in the Veda.

Thus ईदृक्, तादृक्, यादृक्, सद्दृक्, स्ववार्, स्वतवार् ॥ The श् of ईदृग् (formed by III. 2. 60), is elided by VIII. 2. 23; and ङ् substituted for न् by VIII. 2. 62. The lengthening in स्ववार् and स्वतवार् is through VI. 4. 14.

दिव औत् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, औत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवित्येतस्य सौ परतो औदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

84. औ is substituted for the final of दिव् before सु (Nom. Sg. and Voc. Sg).

As औः ॥ There is a nominal-stem दिव् which is taken here. It has no indicatory letters annexed to it. The root दिव् is not to be taken here, as it

has the indicatory letter ङ and is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha as दिवु ॥ The nominal-stem derived from दिवु, does not take औ, but ऊ, the Nom. Sg. of which is वुः as अक्षवुः (See VI. 4. 19, and VI. I. 131).

पथिमथ्यृभुक्षाम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथि, ऋभुक्षाम्, आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् मथिन् ऋभुक्षिन् इत्येतेषामङ्गानां सौ परत आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

85. आत् (आ) is substituted for the final of 'pathin' 'mathin' and 'ṛbhukshin', before the ending सु (of the Nom. Sg).

As पन्थाः, मन्थाः, ऋभुक्षाः ॥ Though the sthânin here is a nasal (i.e. न्), yet the substitute आ is not to be nasalised, but to be pronounced purely. For न्य see VII. I. 87. The nasal आ is not to be taken on the maxim भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न भवति ॥ "A letter which is taught in a rule does not denote the letters homogeneous with it."

इतोत्सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, अत्, सर्वनामस्थाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनामिकारस्य स्थाने आकारादेशो भवति ॥

86. अ is substituted for the इ of 'pathin, mathin and ṛbhukshin,' in the strong cases.

Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, पन्थानम्, पन्थानौ, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ, मन्थानः, मन्थानम्, मन्थानौ, ऋभुक्षाः, ऋभुक्षानौ, ऋभुक्षणः, ऋभुक्षणम्, ऋभुक्षाणौ, आसिद्धि वर्त्तमाने पुनरङ्गचनं पपूर्वाथम्, ऋभुक्षणमित्यत्र वा अपूर्वस्य निगमइति दीर्घविकल्पः ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of आत् was here, the separate mention of अत् is for the sake of VI. 4. 9: by which in the case of ऋभुक्षिन् we have two forms, ऋभुक्षणम् and ऋभुक्षणम् ॥

थोन्थः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ थः, अन्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिनथोत्थकारस्य स्थाने न्य इत्ययमादेशो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतः ॥

87. न्थ् is substituted for the थ् of pathin and mathin in the strong cases.

As पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ मन्थानः ॥

अस्य डेलोपः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, टेः, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनां असंज्ञकानां डेलोपो भवति ॥

88. The last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, is dropped in pathin, mathin and ṛbhukshin, before a weak case-ending beginning with a vowel (before which the stem is called Bha I. 4. 18).

As पथः, पथा, पथे, मथः, मथा, मथे, ऋभुक्षः, ऋभुक्षा, ऋभुक्षे ॥ The anuvṛitti of sarvanâmasthâriâ, of course, is inappropriate here: though its anuvṛitti is current as will be seen in the next sūtra.

पुं सौ ऽसुङ् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसः, असुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंस इत्येतस्य सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसुङ् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

89. असुङ् (अस्) is substituted for the final of पुंस् in the strong cases.

The word पुंस् is derived from पा (to protect)+डुम्सुन् (Uṇ IV. 178), the स् being changed to anusvāra. So when स् of पुंस् is replaced by अस् we get the form पुमस्, the ड् of असुङ् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after अ (VII. 1. 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसो, पुमांसः ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, (उपदेशिवद्भावः): otherwise the accent will be wrong. The compounds have acute on the final, (VI. 1. 223), therefore, परमपुंस् has acute on पु. and in the Nominative Singular परमपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus परमपुमान् ॥ The simple word पुमान् of course, has accent on पु ॥

गोतो णित् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोतो, णित् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णित्भवति ॥

90. The endings of the strong cases are णित् after गो ॥

That is, these affixes produce all the णित् operations: such as Vṛiddhi &c. As गौः, गावौ, गावः ॥ Why have we added a न् after गो? The rule applies to the form गो, and not when it assumes the form गु, as in चित्रगुः, शबलगुः ॥

How do you explain the forms हे चित्रगो, हे शबलगवः? This is done on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधि निहितस्य, (when an operation which is taught in the Aṅgādhikāra VI. 4.—VII. 4. has taken place, and another operation of the Aṅgādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place). For when Guṇa once takes place before the Vocative and the Nominative Plural affix by VII. 3. 108-109, the णित् operation of this rule will not again take place. Or गोतः in the sūtra may be construed as Sambandha-lakṣhaṇā Saṣṭhī (a Genitive denoting a general relation): and the meaning will be "that sarvanāmasthāna affix, denoting singular, dual, plural, which refers to the meaning of गो or 'cow.' While in चित्रगु, the sarvanāmasthāna affix does not refer to 'cow' but to another *object*, namely to a 'person' who possesses brindled cows. न् in गोत् in this view is for specification only.

Some read the sūtra as ओतः णित्, so that the rule will apply to ओ also: as, ओः, ओवौ, ओवः ॥ If the reading be taken गोतः, then we extend this rule to ओ also, by taking गो as merely illustrative of all words ending in ओ; and this is done by the letter न् in गोतः, for the त्पर rule applies to *letters*, and not to *words*, so that गोतः means and includes गो and words ending in ओ ॥

णलुत्तमो वा ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णल्, उत्तमः, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तमो णत्वा णित् भवति णित्कार्यं तत्र वा भवतीत्यर्थः ॥

91. The ending of the First Pers. Sg. in the Perfect optionally acts as णित् ॥

The Vṛiddhi is optional, as अहं नकर or चकर, अहं पपाच or पपच ॥

सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सख्युः, असम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंबुद्धौ यः सखिशब्दः तस्मात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णिङ्गवति ॥

92. After सखि, the endings of the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, are णित् ॥

That is, they cause Vṛiddhi. As सखायौ, सखायः, but हे सखे ॥

अनङ् सौ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनङ्, सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखिशब्दस्य सौ परतो ऽनङित्ययमादेशो भवति स च्छुशब्दः संबुद्धिर्न भवति ॥

93. अनङ् (अन्) is substituted for the इ of सखि before सु of the Nominative Singular, (but not in the Vocative Singular).

As सखा, but हे सखे ॥

ऋवुशानस्युरुदंशोनेहसां च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्, उशानस्, पुरुदंशः अनेहसाम् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानामज्ञानाद्युशानस्य पुरुदंशत् इत्येतेषां चासंबुद्धौ सौ परतो ऽनङादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उशानसः सम्बुद्धावपिपक्षेऽनङ् इष्यते । न ङिसंबुद्ध्यांसि नलोपप्रतिषेधोपि पक्षइष्यते ॥

Kārikā :—संबोधने तूशानसस्त्रिरूपं सान्तं तथा नान्तमथाप्यदन्तम् ॥

माध्यं शिनिर्वाष्टि गुणं विगन्ते नपुंसके व्याघ्रपदां वरिष्ठः ॥

94. Anañ (अन्) is substituted for the final of the stems ending in ऋ, as well as for the final of uśanas, purudanśas, and aneḥas, in the Nominative Singular (but not in the Vocative Singular).

As कर्ता, हर्ता, माता, पिता, भ्राता, उशाना, पुरुदंशा, अनेहा ॥ In the Voc. Sg. we have हे कर्तः, हे मातः, पितः पुरुदंशः, अनेहः and उशानः ॥

Vārt :—अनङ् is substituted for the final of उशानस् in the Voc. Sg. also, as हे उशानन्, the final न् not being elided (See VIII. 2. 8). Otherwise we have हे उशान ! Thus it has three forms in the Vocative Singular : as हे उशानस्, हे उशानन्, and हे उशान ! ॥

Kārikā :—In the vocative, the word उशानस् has three forms, (1) ending in स् when अनङ् is not added, (2) ending in न्, when न् is not elided, (3) ending in अ when न् is elided. This is the opinion of the Achārya Mādhyandini. So also according to the Achārya Vaiyāghrapadya, (the best of the Vyāghrapadas), there is Guṇa in the Neuter of the stems ending in इक् vowels ; as हे ऋपो ॥

The न् in ऋत् is for the sake of distinctness.

तृज्वत्क्रोष्टुः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्वत्, क्रोष्टुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोष्टुशब्दस्तुप्रत्ययान्तः संज्ञाशब्दः सर्वनामस्थाने ऽसंबुद्धौ परत तृज्वङ्गवति ॥

95. The word क्रोष्टु 'a jackal' is treated in the strong cases (with the exception of Vocative Singular) as if it ended in तुच् (तुँ) ॥

The word क्रोष्टु is declined like क्रोष्ट् in the strong cases. As क्रोष्टौ, क्रोष्टौरौ, क्रोष्टौरः, क्रोष्टौरम्, क्रोष्टौरौ ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in weak cases, and हे क्रोष्टो in the Vocative Singular. The accent in the strong cases is also that of the तुच् affix, i.e. acute on the final. The word क्रोष्टु is formed by the affix तुन् (U॒ सितनिगमि &c, I. 69).

स्त्रियां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियां, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असर्वनामस्थानार्थमारम्भः । स्त्रियां च क्रोष्टुशब्दस्य तुञ्ज्भवति ॥

96. The word क्रोष्टु is treated as if it ended in तुच्, in the feminine, before all case-endings.

This sūtra is commenced for the sake of cases other than strong ones. In strong cases, whether of masculine or feminine, the former sūtra applies; but in the feminine, in other cases also there is trich-treatment. Thus क्रोष्ट्री, क्रोष्ट्रीभ्याम्, क्रोष्ट्रीभिः ॥ Some read the word क्रोष्टु in the Gaurâdi class (IV. 1. 41), and they treat it as a तुच् ending word before the feminine affix डीष्, as क्रोष्ट्री ॥ According to them, in forming the Taddhitârtha compounds like पञ्चभिः क्रोष्ट्रीभिः क्रीतैः = पञ्चक्रोष्ट्रीमी रथैः, we could not get the form पञ्चक्रोष्ट्रीभिः, because when the affix ङक् is elided by V. 1. 28, the feminine is also elided by I. 2. 49, and the डीष् being thus luk-elided, there would be no तुञ्ज्भाव, because the affix leaves no trace behind I. 1. 63. To get out of the difficulty, we can only say, that the form is so, in spite of the apparent inconsistency.

Those who do not read क्रोष्टु in the Gaurâdi class, they explain this sūtra by saying that the word स्त्रियां indicates the sense, namely, क्रोष्टु is treated like a तुच् word, when it denotes a female, wherever it may occur.

And because क्रोष्टु is treated as if it was क्रोष्ट्, the feminine will be formed by the affix डीष् by IV. 1. 5, and the form क्रोष्ट्री^३ will be end-acute by VI. 1. 174. So that whether क्रोष्ट्री be formed by डीष् under Gaurâdi class, or by डीष् under IV. 1. 5, the accent remains the same: while under this second view, we have not to face any such difficulty as in the first.

विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृतीयादिषु, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिष्वजादिषु क्रोष्टुविभाषा तुञ्ज्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तुञ्ज्भावात् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन तुम्तुदौ भवतः ॥

97. क्रोष्टु may optionally be treated as Kroshtṛ, before the endings beginning with a vowel, in the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As क्रोष्ट्री or क्रोष्टुना, क्रोष्ट्री or क्रोष्टवे, क्रोष्टुः or क्रोष्टोः, क्रोष्टरि or क्रोष्टौ, क्रोष्ट्रौः or क्रोष्ट्रैः ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in the Accusative Plural, and क्रोष्टुभ्यां before consonant-beginning affixes.

Vārt:—**नु** and **नुद्** augments come in supersession of the *Trich-vad-bhāva* ordained by the preceding *sūtras*. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun **प्रियक्रोष्टु** will be **प्रियक्रोष्टुने ऽरण्याय**, **हितक्रोष्टुने वृषलकुलाय**, and not **क्रोष्ट्रे** ॥ Similarly with **नुद्**, as **क्रोष्टूनाम्** ॥

चतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्, अनडुहोः, आम्, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर् अनडुह इत्येतयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत आमागमो भवति, स चोदात्तः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनडुहः स्त्रियां देति वक्तव्यम् ॥

98. **चतुर्** and **अनडुह** get the acutely accented augment **आ (आम्)** after the **उ** in the strong cases.

Thus **चत्वारः, अनड्वान्, अनड्वान्हो, अनड्वान्हः, अनड्वान्हम्** ॥ The rule applies to compounds ending with **चत्वार** and **अनडुह**, as **प्रियचत्वार**, **प्रियचत्वारौ, प्रियचत्वारः, प्रियानड्वान्, प्रियानड्वान्हो, प्रियानड्वान्हः** ॥

Vārt:—In the case of **अनडुह** there is option in the feminine, as **अनडुहो**, or **अनडुहो** ॥ This would be so, because it occurs in *Gaurādi* class IV. I. 41.

अम्संबुद्धौ ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धौ परतश्चतुरनडुहोरमागमो भवति ॥

99. **चतुर्** and **अनडुह** get the augment **अ** after the **उ** in the Vocative Singular.

This debarbs the previous rule, as **हे प्रियचत्वरः (a Bahuvrīhi), हे प्रियनड्वान्** ॥

ऋत इद्धातोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, इत्, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्य धातोः ऋस्य इकारदेशो भवति ॥

100. For the final long **ऋ** of a root, there is substituted **इर्** (I. 1. 51).

As **किरति, गिरति** from **कृ** and **गृ** of the *Tudādi* class. **वास्तीर्णम् विस्तीर्णम्** from **स्हृ**, the lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Why do we say of a root? Observe **पितृणाम्, मातृणाम्** ॥

This substitution will apply to Derivative roots also, as **चिकीर्षति** from **कृ** 'to scatter'.

उपधायाश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपधायाश्च ऋकारस्य इकारदेशो भवति ॥

101. **इर्** is also substituted for the penultimate long **ऋ** of a root.

As **कीर्तयति, कीर्तयतः, कर्तयन्ति**; from **कृन्** ॥ Lengthening by VIII. 2. 77.

उदोष्यपूर्वस्य ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, ओष्य, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओष्यः पूर्वो यस्माद् ऋकारादुदोष्यपूर्वस्तदन्तस्य धातोर्ङ्गस्य उकारदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इत्वाभ्यां गुणवृद्धी भवती विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

102. उर् is substituted for the final long ऋ of a root, when it is preceded by a labial consonant belonging to the root.

As पूर्व and पुपूर्वति from पू, so also दुपूर्वति ॥ The lengthening is by VIII. 2. 77. The rule applies when the dento-labial व precedes: as दुपूर्वति ऋत्विजम् from वृ; so also प्रादुर्बति कन्बलम् ॥ The labial consonant must be the consonant of the root. Therefore when ऋ 'to go' is preceded by सम्, the rule will not apply, for स is not part of the root: as समीर्णम् by VII. 1. 100.

Vart:—The Guṇa and Vṛiddhi do take place in supersession of इर् and उर् substitution. Thus आस्तरणम् and आस्तरकः (from स्तृ with ल्युट् and ण्वुल्), निपरणम्, निपारकः from पू, निगरणम्, निगारकः from गृ ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऋकारान्तस्य धातोरङ्गस्य बहुलमुकारादेशो भवति ॥

103. In the Veda, the उर् substitution for ऋ of a root-stem is diverse.

That is, it takes place even when the preceding letter is not labial, and does not take place even when the letter is labial. Thus मित्रा वरुणौ ततुरिः, कूरि ह्यध्वा जगुरिः, पप्रितमम् (no change), and पपुरिः, from नृ, गृ and पू ॥ All these words ततुरि, जगुरि and पप्रि are formed by the affix क्तिन् (III. 1. 171).

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

सिचि वृद्धिः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचि, वृद्धिः, परस्मैपदेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदे परे सिचि परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

1. Before the Aorist-characteristic स् (सिच्), Vṛiddhi is substituted in the Parasmaipada, for the final of a stem ending in इ, उ, ऋ (long or short, I. 1. 3).

The word इक् is to be read into this sūtra by virtue of I. 1. 3. As भक्षेयीत्, अनैषीत्, अलावीत्, अपावीत्, अकार्षीत्, अहार्षीत् (VII. 3. 96 and VIII. 2. 28) The antarāṅga guṇa substitution is superseded by the express mention of Vṛiddhi. If the antarāṅga guṇa is superseded by this vṛiddhi, why is not the antarāṅga उवङ् also superseded in न्यनुवीत्, न्यघुवीत्? The Vṛiddhi does not take place, as these roots belong to कुटादि class, after which this affix is डित् (I. 2. 1). The Vṛiddhi being thus superseded, we have उवङ् substitution. Why do we say in the Parasmaipada? Observe अच्योष्ट, अष्टोष्ट ॥

अतो ल्रान्तस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, ल्रान्तस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफलकारौ यावतः समीपौ तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य अत एव स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

2. Vṛiddhi is substituted for the short अ, when it is immediately followed by the final र् or ल् of a root, before the Parasmaipada s-Aorist.

As क्षर्-अक्षारीत्, त्सर्-अत्सारीत्, ज्वल्-अज्वालीत्, ह्रल्-अह्रालीत् ॥ This debars the option of VII. 2. 7. Why 'short अ'? Observe न्यखारीत् न्यमीलीत् ॥ Why do we say "ending in र् or ल्"? Observe मा भवानशीत्, मा भवानवीत् ॥ The word अन्त means here 'proximity', as in the sentence उदकान्तं गतः = उदकसमीपं गतः ॥ The अ must be in the proximity of the र् and ल् ॥ Therefore the rule does not apply to अवधीत्, अश्वहीत्, for though र् and ल् are here final of the stem, yet are not in the proximity of अ ॥

वद्व्रजहलन्तस्याचः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वद, व्रज, हलन्तस्य, अचः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वद्व्रजोर्हलन्तानां चाङ्गानामचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति सिचि परस्मैपदे परतः ॥

3. In the Parasmaipada s-Aorist there is Vṛiddhi of the अ of वद्, ब्रज्, and of any vowel, without distinction, of the stems ending in a consonant.

As अवर्षीत्, अत्राजीत् ॥ This debars the option in the case of these two roots, which would have otherwise obtained by VII. 2. 7. So also of stems ending in consonants: as अपाक्षीत्, अभैत्सीत्, अच्युत्सीत्, अरौत्सीत् ॥ By the splitting up of the sūtra (yoga-vibhaga) these forms could be evolved without using the word हलन्त in the sūtra. Thus (1) वद्विब्रज्योः “In the room of the अ of वद् and ब्रज् there is Vṛiddhi”. (2) अचः “In the room of the vowel of the stem there is Vṛiddhi”. The word “stem” is understood throughout these chapters. If the vowel be at the end of the stem, there would be Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 1, and if in the middle of the stem, then the verb ends with a consonant, and still there will be Vṛiddhi by our rule. The use of the word हलन्त in the sūtra indicates that the rule applies when more than one consonant even is at the end: as अराड्क्षीत्, अभाङ्क्षीत् ॥

Had the word हलन्तस्य not been used in the sūtra, then the following maxim would have applied “येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात्” ॥ The rule would have applied where only one consonant intervened between the vowel and the affix, but not when more than one consonant intervened. But it is intended that the rule should apply to such cases also.

The form उद्वोढाम् is thus evolved. To the root वद् we add सिच् in the second Person singular. Thus वद्+स्ताम् ॥ Now there appears the Vṛiddhi rule on the one side; and the rule requiring the change of ह् to ढ (VIII. 2. 31) the rule requiring the elision of स् (VIII. 2. 26), the rule requiring the change of त् into ध (VIII. 2. 40), then the rule requiring the change of ध into ढ, and then the elision of one ढ (VIII. 3. 13) on the other. What rule is to be applied first—the Vṛiddhi or the other rules? The Vṛiddhi rule is to be applied first, because the other rules are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1): and after that we apply the other rules: and afterwards on account of the elision of ढ, we change the Vṛiddhi आ into ओ (VI. 3. 112). The equation will be something like this:—वद्+स्ताम्=वाद्+स्ताम् (VII. 2. 3)=वाद्+स्ताम् (VIII. 2. 31)=वाद्+ताम् (VIII. 2. 26)=वाद्+धाम् (VIII. 2. 80)=वाद्+ढाम् (VIII. 4. 41)=वा+ढाम् (VIII. 3. 13)=वोढाम् (VI. 3. 112). This with the upasarga उन् and the augment अ becomes उद्वोढाम् ॥ Similar is the evolution of उद्वोढाम् with स्तम् ॥ Once the अ has been Vṛiddhied into आ, there is no Vṛiddhi of ओ ॥ Had we not first Vṛiddhied the वद् into वाद्, but applied the vṛiddhi rule last, then there would have been vṛiddhi of ओ, as वौढाम् which is wrong. In fact where there has not taken place vṛiddhi first, there ओ is vṛiddhied, as =सौढामिन्नस्यापत्यं =सौढामिन्ः ॥

नेटि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडासो सिचि इदन्तस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

4. The vowel of a stem, ending in a consonant, does not get Vriddhi, when the सिच् takes the augment इट् ॥

As अदेवीत्, असेवीत्, अकोषीत्, अमोषीत्, but अन्दावीत् where the root ends in a vowel. Will not लू by taking Guṇa (which is an antarāṅga operation) and the substitution of अच्, become a root ending in a consonant? No, though Guṇa is antarāṅga, it is superseded by the express Vriddhi.

ह्यधन्तक्षणश्चसजागृणिश्व्येदिताम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्, म्, य्, अन्त, क्षण, श्वस्, जागृ, णि, श्वि, एदिताम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारान्तानां मकारान्तानां यकारान्तानामङ्गानां क्षण श्वस जागृ णि श्वि इत्येतेषामेदितां च इडासो सिचि परस्मैपदे परतो वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

5. The Vriddhi of the vowel of the following stems, does not take place before the इट् augment s-Aorist in the Parasmaipada; namely—the stems ending in ह्, म् or य्, the roots क्षण्, श्वस्, जागृ, a stem formed with णि, the root श्वि, and the roots having an indicatory ए in the Dhâtupâṭha.

Thus ग्रह्, 'to catch' अग्रहीत्, श्वम, 'to sound' अश्वनीत्, ध्यय, 'to expend' अव्ययीत्, टुवम्, 'to vomit' अवमीत्, क्षण 'to hurt' अक्षणीत्, श्वश्, 'to breathe' अश्वसीत्, जागृ 'to be awake' अजागरीत्, णि, ऊन (churâdi) 'to lose' ऊनयीत्, ईल् 'to send' ईलयीत्, श्वि, अश्वयीत् ॥ एदिताम्, रणे 'to cover' अरणीत्. कखे, अकखीत् ॥

ह्यधन्तक्षणश्वसामेदितां च अतो हलादौर्लघोरिति विकल्पे प्राप्ते प्रतिषेधः ॥ जागृणिश्वीनां तु सिचि वृद्धिः प्राप्ता, सा च नेटीति न प्रतिषिध्यते, न वान्तरङ्गस्वाश्च पूर्वं गुणो भवति सिचि वृद्धेरनवकाशत्वात् ॥ यदि पूर्वं गुणः स्यादिहणिश्विमहणमनर्थकं स्यात् ॥ गुणायादेशयोः कृतयोर्यकारान्तत्वादेव प्रतिषेधस्य सिद्धत्वात् ॥ तस्मादिहमेव णिश्विमहणं ज्ञापकं न सिच्यन्तरङ्गमस्तीति ॥ अथ जागृमहणं किमर्थम् ॥ जाग्रो विचिष्णल्लिङ्क्तुं इति जागर्तेर्गुणो वृद्धेरपवासे विधीयते ॥ स यथा अचो ज्जिगीतीति वृद्धिं बाधते, तथा सिचि वृद्धिमपि बाधिष्यते ॥ नैतदस्ति ॥ कृते गुण उतो लान्तस्येति या वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति सा प्रतिषिध्यते, ॥ अथ गुणविधानसामर्थ्यादुत्तरकालभावित्यपि वृद्धिर्बाध्यते, ॥ यथा जागरयतीत्यत्रात् उपधाया इत्यपि वृद्धिर्न भवति, तथा चिष्णलोः प्रतिषेधोर्थवान्भवति इति शक्यमिह जागृमहणमकर्तुम् ॥ नस्तु क्रियते विस्पष्टार्थम् ॥

In the case of roots ऊन and ईल् in the above examples, the चट् is prohibited by III. I. 51. This is an exception to VII. 2. 7 : so far as stems in ह्, य् and म् are concerned. There is no option allowed here. In the case of जागृ, णि-roots, and श्वि, the Vriddhi would have taken place by VII. I. 1 ; and VII. I. 4, could not have debarred Vriddhi, hence the special mention of these roots.

Nor can it be said, in the case of these roots, that "they will take first guṇa, on account of its being an Antarāṅga operation", because, then the rule of Vriddhi ordained by VII. I. 1 will find no scope. Moreover, if the guṇa

took place first and then Vṛiddhi, the mention of णि-roots and द्वि in the sūtra would be redundant. For in ऊनयान् and अश्वयान्, having guṇated the roots ऊनि and श्वि to ऊने and श्वे, and then substituting अय् (which is also antaranga) for ए before ईन्, we have ऊनय् + ईन्, and अश्वय् + ईन् ॥ Now these are roots which end in य् and would be covered by the first portion of the present sūtra, viz, "h-m-y-anta", so the especial mention of णि-roots and श्वि would be superfluous, if guṇa was to take place first. The very mention of णि-roots and श्वि in this sūtra, is a jnāpaka (indicator) of the following maxim न सिचि अन्तरङ्गमस्ति ॥

Why have we used the root जागृ in the sūtra, when the special sūtra VII. 3. 85 will cause guṇa by superseding Vṛiddhi in the case of जागृ? This supersession will take place on the analogy of अचोऽञ्जिति (VII. 2. 115); for as this vṛiddhi rule VII. 2. 115 is superseded by VII. 3. 85, so will the present Vṛiddhi rule VII. 2. 1. *Ans.* No, this is not so. No doubt VII. 3. 85 does supersede the vṛiddhi rule VII. 2. 1 and we have guṇa, as जागृ + ईन् ॥ Then comes in VII. 2. 2, which would cause vṛiddhi, because now it is a root ending in र; this second vṛiddhi is prohibited by the present sūtra. You can say, that by the very fact that the guṇa rule VII. 3. 85 takes effect, will prevent every future Vṛiddhi, as in जागरति there is no penultimate vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 116 [जागृ + णि = जागृ + णि (VII. 3. 85) = जागरि the rule VII. 2. 116 does not apply after guṇa] You can, of course, say so, and there is no answer to this but by saying that the mention of जागृ is only for the sake of distinctness.

In case the reading of जागृ in the sūtra be held necessary, then the operations which it undergoes, are shown below :

जागृ + इस् + ईन् ॥ Now appears (1) the rule VI. 1. 77. requiring the change of कृ into र ॥ (2) This यणादेश is however, debarred by the rule VII. 3. 84 which causes guṇa of the finals of verbal stems before all sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka affixes, because this guṇa rule is an apavâda to यणादेश ॥ (3) But this guṇa in its turn is debarred by the rule VII. 2. 1 requiring the vṛiddhi. (4) But this vṛiddhi is, however, superseded by VII. 3. 85, which causes the guṇa of the final of जागृ ॥ Now having guṇated it, we get this form :—

जागृ + इस् + ईन् ॥ Now appears VII. 2. 3 which requires vṛiddhi, because it is a root ending in a consonant. (2) But that vṛiddhi is superseded by VII. 2. 4 because the affix सिच् has taken the इद् augment. (3) Then appears the rule VII. 2. 7 requiring optional vṛiddhi, (4) But that optional vṛiddhi is superseded by the compulsory vṛiddhi required by VII. 2. 2, because it is a root ending in र ॥ (5) And this last vṛiddhi is prohibited by the present sūtra VII. 2. 5 These nine stages through which the form अजागरीन् is evolved, is abbreviated in the following mnemonic verse :—युणो वृद्धि युणो वृद्धिः प्रतिषेधो विकल्प-नम् ॥ पुन वृद्धिर्निषेधोऽतो यणपूर्वाः प्राप्तयो नव ॥

ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेरिडादौ सिचि परस्मैपदेषु परतो विभाषा वृद्धिर्नभवति ।

6. Before an इद्-beginning s-Aorist of the Parasmaipada, there is optional Vṛiddhi of the vowel of ऊर्णु ॥

As प्रौर्णावीत् or प्रौर्णवीत् ॥ This option applies when the सिच् is not treated as डित् ॥ But after ऊर्णु, सिच् is optionally डित्, (I. 2. 6): when it is डित्, there being neither guṇa nor vṛiddhi; we have उवङ् substitution, as प्रौर्णुवीत् (VI. 4. 77).

अतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हल् आदेः, लघोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादेरङ्गस्य लघोरकारस्य इडादौ सिचि परस्मैपदपरे परतो विभाषा वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

7. Before an इद्-beginning s-Aorist of the Parasmaipada, the short अ of the root gets optionally Vṛiddhi, when the stem begins with a consonant, and the अ is prosodially short by being followed by a simple consonant.

Thus अकणीत् Or अकाणीत्, अरणीत् or अराणीत् ॥ Why do we say 'of अ'? Observe अदेवीत्, असेवीत् ॥ Besides this patent objection, there is another, not so manifest. If we had not taken अतः, the sūtra would have ordained Vṛiddhi of every vowel (अचः VII. 2. 3), the Vṛiddhi so ordained would be an अच् pertaining Vṛiddhi, and not an इक्-pertaining Vṛiddhi. Therefore डित् affixes will not debar such Vṛiddhi, for the विडति च (I. 1. 5), debars only इग्लक्षणा Vṛiddhi. Therefore कुटादि roots after which सिच् is डित् (I. 2. 1), will get Vṛiddhi, which is not desired. Therefore we have only one form of न्यकुटीत्, न्यपुटीत् ॥

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe मा भवानशीत्, मा भवानदीत् from अश् and अद् ॥ Why do we say 'prosodially short'? Observe अतक्षीत्, अरक्षीत् ॥

But why does not vṛiddhi take place in अचकासीत् from the root चकास् (Ad. 65)? The vṛiddhi does not take place on the maxim येन ना व्यवधानं तेन ध्ववहितेऽपि वचनं प्रामाण्यात्; for the rule applies to short अ only when a consonant intervenes between it and the affix, and not when both consonants and vowels intervene. In चकास् not only the consonants क् and स् intervene but also the vowel आ ॥ Hence there is no vṛiddhi. Moreover, the व्यवधान can be by one letter and not by more than one letter. Therefore, applying this maxim, the word लघोः might have been omitted from the sūtra without any detriment. In that case, the form अतक्षीत् from the root तक्ष (Bhu 685) will be explained by saying that rule VII. 2. 7 does not apply to it, because two consonants intervene between अ and the affix. In this view of the case, the employment of the word लघोः in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness only.

The word इद् is understood in this sūtra, so that the rule applies to सेद् aorist. The rule therefore, does not apply to Anit aorist, as अपाक्षीत् ॥

The form अपिपडिषीत् the aorist of the Desiderative root, is explained by saying that the long आ of vṛiddhi is elided by VI. 4. 64.

नेङ्गशि कृति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इट्, वशि, कृति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशादौ कृति प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

8. The augment इट् is not added to a kṛit-affix beginning with a sonant consonant (वश् pratyâhâra).

The वश् pratyâhâra is rather vague. The rule really applies to Kṛit-affixes beginning with व, र (ल) म and न, and no कृन् affix begins with any other letter of वश् class. Thus ईशिता, ईशितुम् non-vaś letters get the augment, but not ईश्वरः, (III. 2. 175) so also दीपिता, दीपितुम् but not दीपम् (III. 2. 167 र) भसिता, भसितुम् but not भस्म, (III. 2. 75. मान्) यतिता, यतितुम् but not यत्नः (III. 3. 90 नङ्)

The Vārtika नेङ् वरमनादौ कृति gives the rule in a more definite form. Of course, in the Uṇādi Kṛit-affixes, there is diversity. There we get the affix ड, for example, which of course does not take the augment, as इम् + ड = इण्डः (Uṇ I. 113). Why do we say कृन् affixes? Observe रुदिव, रुदिम् ॥

Here by VII. 2. 76 the Sārvadhātuka affixes beginning with a वल् consonant take इट् augment after the roots रुद् &c; but this इट् will also be prohibited by the present sūtra, if the word कृति be not read in the sūtra. So that rule VII. 2. 76 would find scope before those वलादि affixes only which do not begin with a वश् letter; as रुदितः ॥ In some texts of Kāsika the counter-example is रुदिम् in the Perfect. This is wrong, according to Padamjari (क्रादिनियमादेव इटः सिद्धत्वान्) because इट् always comes in the Perfect except after the root कृ &c. (VII. 2. 13): so the counter-example from the Perfect Tense is not valid. This sūtra is an exception to VII. 2. 35. The Kṛit-affixes beginning with वश् letters as given by Pāṇini are the following: वन् (वनिष्, कृनिष्, ड्वनिष्), वर (वरच् and क्लृष्), वस् (क्लृष्), रु (क्लृ), लुक् (क्लृकन्), मन् (मनिन्), मर (वमरच्) न (नङ्, नन्), नञ् (नजिङ्), नु (कृनु) ॥ This list will show the truth of the above vārtika.

तितुत्रतथसिसुसरकसेषु च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, तु, त्र, त, थ, सि, सु, सर, क, सेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ति तु त्र त थ सि सु सर क स इत्येतेषु कृत्षु इडागमो न भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्रितुत्रेषु अग्रहारीनाम् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. The इट् augment is not taken by the following Kṛit-affixes :—ति, तु, त्र, त, थ, सि, सु, सर, क and स ॥

Thus (1) क्तिच्—तन्तिः but तनिता, तनितुम्, क्तिन्—दीपिः but दीपिता, दीपितुम् ॥ (2) तुन् (Uṇ I. 70)—सक्तुः but साचिता, साचितुम् ॥ (3) घृन् (III. 2. 182)—पञ्च but पतिता, पतितुम्, so also Uṇādi घृन् (Uṇ IV. 158), as तन्त्रम् from तन् ॥ (4) तन् (Uṇ III. 86)—हस्तः भृत् हसिता, हसितुम् ; so also लीतः, पीतः, धूर्त्तः from लृ, पू, धूर्त्वि forming सेट् लविता, पविता, धूर्विता ॥ The त् affix mentioned in the sūtra refers to this Uṇādi त् (Uṇ III. 86), and not to the त् (क्त) of Nishṭhā, for the Nishṭhā त् takes the augment, as हसितम् ॥ (5) कथन् (Uṇ II. 2)—कुथम् but कोषिता, कोषितुम्, काथम् but काशिता, काशितुम् ॥ (6) क्लि (Uṇ III. 155), as कुक्षिः but कोषिता, कोषितुम् ॥ (7) क्लृ (Uṇ III. 157)—इक्षुः but एषिता, एषितुम् ; (8) सरन् (Uṇ III. 70)—अक्षरम्,

but अक्षिता, अक्षितुम् ॥ (9) क्त् (Uṇ III. 43)—शल्कः but शलिता, शलितुम् ॥ (10) स (Uṇ III. 62)—वत्सः but वक्षिता, वक्षितुम् ॥

Vart:—The affix ति, तु and त्रि take इद् augment after ग्रह् and words of similar formations:—as विगृहीतिः, उपस्निहतिः, निकुञ्चति निपाठतिः ॥

Before non-kṛit ति &c, we have इद्, as रोदिति, स्वपिति ॥

एकाच् उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाच्, उपदेशे, अनुदात्तात्, ॥
वृत्तः ॥ उपदेशे य एकाच् धातुरनुदात्तश्च तस्मादिडागमो न भवति ।

10. The augment इद् is not added to that affix which is joined to a root, which in the Grammatical system of Instruction (i. e. in the Dhâtupâṭha) is of one syllable, and is without accent (anudâṭta).

A list of such roots has been collected by the *Anit—Kârikâ*. They are given below.

Kârikâ:—अनिद्स्वरान्तो भवतीति दृश्यतामिमांस्तु सेटः प्रवृन्ति तद्विद् ।

अवन्तभूवन्तमृतां च वृङ् वृञ्चौ श्विडीङ्निर्वणेष्वथ शीङ्शिञ्चावपि ॥

गणस्थभूवन्तमुतां च रुस्तुवौ क्षुवन्तथाणोतिमथो युण्ङणवः ।

इति स्वरान्ता निपुणैः समुच्चितास्ततो हलन्तानपि सन्निबोधतः ॥

As a general rule all monosyllabic roots ending in a *vowel* except अ, long ऊ and long ऋ are anudâṭta, and do not take इद् augment: as दानु, नेनु, चेतु, स्तोनु, कर्तु, हर्षु ॥ The following are the exceptions:—

(1) All roots ending in short अ are Udâṭta and take इद्; as अवधिष्ट ॥

(2) All roots ending in long ऋ are सेट्, as तृ—तरिता Or तरीता ॥

(3) All roots ending in short ऋ are अनिद् except वृङ् (IX. 38 the references are to the class and number in the Dhâtupâṭha) and वृञ् (V. 8, X. 271): as निर्वरिता or निर्वरीतां, प्रवरिता or प्रवरीता ॥

(4) All roots in short इ are अनिद्, except श्वि (I. 1059), 'to grow' and श्विञ् 'to attend' (I. 945), as श्वयिता, श्वयिता ॥

(5) All roots in long ई are अनिद्, except शीङ् 'to rest' (II. 22), and शीङ् 'to fly' (I. 1017. IV. 27), as शयिता, उड्डयिता ॥

(6) All roots in long ऊ are सेट्, as लविता, पविता from लृ and पू ॥

(7) All monosyllabic roots in short उ are अनिद्, except, रुड् 'to sound' (II. 24, I. 1008), स्तु 'to flow' (II. 29), क्षु 'to sound' (II. 27), यु 'to mix' (II. 23) तु 'to praise' (II. 26), क्षणु 'to sharpen', (II. 28): and ऊर्णुञ् 'to cover' (II. 30, though consisting of more than one syllable, is treated like-नु for the purposes of यद्) ॥ Thus रविता, प्रखविता, क्षयिता, यविता, नविता, क्षणविता and प्रोर्णविता ॥

Of the roots ending in consonants, all are सेट् except the following:—

Kârikâ:—इति स्वरान्ता निपुणैः समुच्चितास्ततो हलन्तानपि सन्निबोधतः ।

शक्तिस्तु कान्तेष्वनिडेक इष्यते घसिश्च सान्तेषु वारः प्रसारणी ॥

रभिस्तु भान्तेष्वथ मैथुने यभिस्ततस्त्वतीयालभिरवन्तरे ॥

यमिथ्यमन्तेश्वनिडेक इष्यते रमिश्च यश्च इयनि पच्यते मनिः ।
 नमिश्चतुर्थो हनिरेव पञ्चमो गमिश्च षष्ठः प्रतिषेधवाचिनाम् ॥
 दिहिर्दुहिर्मेहनिरोरहती वरिर्नहिस्तु षष्ठो दहतस्तथा लिहिः ।
 इमे ऽनिदोऽष्टाविह मुक्तसंशय गणेषु हान्ताः प्रविभज्य क्रीञ्जिताः ॥
 दिशिं कृशिं ईशिमथो घृशिं स्पृशिं रंशिं रुशिं क्रोशतिमटनं विशिम् ।
 लिशं च शान्ताननिटः पुराणगाः पठन्ति पाठेषु दशैव नेतरान् ॥
 रुधिः सराधिर्युधिबन्धिसाधयः क्रुधिशुभी शुध्यतिबुध्यतो व्यधिः ।
 इमे तु धान्ता दश येऽनिदो मनास्ततः परं सिद्धतिरेव नेतरे ॥
 शिधिं पिधिं शुध्यतिपुष्यती त्विधिं विधिं श्लिधिं तुष्यतिदुष्यती द्विधिम् ।
 इमान्दशैवोपदिशन्त्यानिङ्घ्रियौ गणेषु धान्तान्कृषिकर्षती तथा ॥
 तधिं तिधिं चार्पमथो वधिं स्वधिं लिधिं लुधिं तुष्यति कृष्यती स्पृधिम् ।
 स्वरेण नीचेन शधिं लुधिं क्षिधिं प्रतीहि पान्तान्पठितांस्त्रयोदश ॥
 भदिं हदिं स्कन्दिभदिच्छिदिक्षुदीन् शदिं सदिं स्विद्यातेपद्यती खिदिम् ।
 तुदिं तुदिं विद्यातवन्ति इत्यपि प्रतीहि धान्तान्दश पञ्च चानिटः ॥
 पधिं वधिं विचिरिचिरञ्जिपृच्छतीन् निधिं सिधिं मुचिभञ्जिभञ्जिभृज्जतीन् ।
 व्यर्जां यर्जां युजिर्जिसञ्जिमज्जतीन् भुजिं स्वजिंमुजिपृजीं विद्धमनिदस्वरान् ॥

(1.) क—शक् 'to be able' (IV. 78, V. 15). शक्ता, शक्यति

(2.) स्—वस् 'to eat' (I. 747, and also substitute of भद्), as, वस्ता ; वस् 'to dwell' (I. 1054), as वस्ता ॥ The वस् which takes Samprasâraṇa by VI. 1. 15, is meant here, and not वस् 'to cover' (II. 13), which does not vocalise, as वसिता वस्त्राणाम्, but उचितः from वस 'to dwell' (VII. 2. 52).

(3.) भ्—Three roots : रभ् 'to desire' (I. 1023), as, आरब्धा, यभ् coire (I. 1029), यब्धा, लभ् 'to take' (I. 1024), लब्धा ॥

(4.) म्—Four roots, यम् 'to cease' (I. 1033), यन्ता ; रम् 'to play' (I. 906) रन्ता, नम् 'to bow' (I.867, 1030) नन्ता, गम् 'to go' (I. 1031) गन्ता ॥

5. न्—Two roots मन् 'to think' (IV. 67), मन्ता, हन् 'to kill' (II. 2), हन्ता ॥ The Divâdi मन् should be taken, otherwise मनिता from मन्—मनुजे (VIII. 9).

(6.) ह्—Eight roots :—दिह् 'to smear' (II. 5), देग्धा ; दुह् 'to milk' (II. 4), दोग्धा ; मिह् 'to sprinkle' (I. 1041) मीढा, रुह् 'to grow' (I. 912) रोढा ; वह् 'to carry' (I. 1053) वोढा, नह् 'to bind' (IV. 57) नद्धा ; दह् 'to burn' (I. 1041) दग्धा, लिह् 'to lick' (II. 6) लेढा ॥ In other collections संह (I. 905, IV. 20), सुह् (IV. 89), रिह् (VI. 23), लुह् (?), are also enumerated ; of these सह takes इद् optionally before affixes beginning with त, so also सुह् because it belongs to the class of रधादि (VII. 2. 45) the other two are not found (?) in root-collections, hence the Kârîka uses the words मुक्तसंशयः ॥

(7.) श्—Ten roots :—दिश् 'to show' (VI. 3), दृश् 'to see' (I. 1037), दृश् 'to bite' (I. 1038), घृश् 'to rub' (VI. 131), स्पृश् 'to touch' (VI. 128), रिश् (VI. 126), रुश् (VI. 126) both meaning 'to hurt', विश् 'to enter' (VI. 130), लिश् 'to be small' (IV. 70, VI. 127). As दैष्टा, द्रष्टा, दंष्टा, आम्रष्टा or आमर्ष्टा, स्पर्ष्टा or स्पष्टा, The roots with a penultimate क् short, which are anudâtta in the dhâtupâṭha, with the exception of मृच् and दृश्, take optionally the augment र् (VI. 1. 59), ॥ र्ष्टा, रोष्टा, क्रोष्टा, प्रवेष्टा, लेष्टा ॥

(8.) ध्—Ten roots:—रुध् with भनु, 'to love'. रुध् 'to obstruct' (IV.65) राद्धा राध् 'to accomplish' (IV. 71, V. 16) राद्धा; युध् 'to fight' (IV. 64) योद्धा; बन्ध् 'to bind' (I. 1022), बन्धा; साध् 'to accomplish' (V. 17) साद्धा; क्रुध् 'to be angry' (IV. 80) क्रोद्धा, क्षुध् 'to be hungry' (IV. 81) क्षोद्धा; शुध् 'to be pure' (IV. 82) शोद्धा, बुध् 'to be aware' (IV. 63) बोद्धा; व्यध् 'to pierce' (IV. 72) व्यद्धा; सिध् 'to be accomplished' (IV. 83) सोद्धा ॥ The roots बुध् and सिध् are exhibited in the above Kārikā with व्यण् vikarana (बुद्धयति, सिद्धयति); therefore बुध् and सिध् take इद् in other ganas than the Fourth; as बोधिता and सिधिता ॥ There being want of prohibition with regard to निष्ठा, we have बुधितं and सिधितं ॥

(9.) ष्-roots. Ten. शिष् 'to distinguish' (VII, 14) शोष्टा; पिष् 'to pound' (VII. 15) पेष्टा, शुष् 'to become dry' (IV. 74) शोष्टा; पुष् 'to be nourished' (IV. 73), पोष्टा, त्विष् 'to shine' (I. 1050) स्वेष्टा, विष् 'to pervade, to sprinkle' (I. 729, III. 13, IX. 54) वेष्टा, हिल्ष् 'to embrace' (I. 734, IV. 77) ह्लेष्टा; तुष् 'to be satisfied' (IV. 75) तोष्टा, दुष् 'to be sinful' (IV. 76) दोष्टा. दौक्षयति, द्विष् 'to hate' (II. 3) द्वेष्टा, द्वेक्षयति, कृष् 'to draw' (I. 1059, VI. 6 both Bhuâdi and Tudâdi are taken, as the kârikâ uses the two forms), भाकष्टा and भाकर्षा ॥

(10.) ष्—Thirteen roots: तप् 'to burn' (I. 1034, IV. 51) तप्ता, तप्स्यति, तिष् 'to distil' (I. 385) तेषा.भाष् 'to obtain' (V 14, X. 295) भाप्ता; वप् 'to sow' (I. 1052) वप्ता; स्वप् 'to sleep' (II. 59) स्वप्ता; लिष् 'to anoint' (VI. 139) लेप्ता; लुष् 'to break', लोप्ता ॥ The roots तृष् and वृष् optionally take इद्, as they belong to रधादि class (VII. 2. 45, Divâdi 84-91). The special mention of these two roots in the kârikâ, is for the sake of indicating that these roots take षष् augment; as वप्ता or तर्प्ता, or तर्पिता; वृप्ता, or वर्प्ता or वर्षिता ॥ The तृष् and वृष् belonging to Tudâdi class, are Udâtta and सेद् ॥ सृष् (I. 1032) 'to creep' वृप्ता, सप्ता; शप् 'to curse' (I. 1049) शप्ता; छुष् 'to touch' (VI. 125) छोप्ता; क्षिष् 'to throw' (IV. 14) क्षेप्ता ॥

(11.) द्—Fifteen roots. भद् 'to eat' [II. 1] भक्ता; हद् 'to void excrement' (I. 1026) हक्ता; स्कन्द् 'to leap' (I. 1028) स्कन्ता; भिद् 'to break' (VII. 2) भेक्ता, छिद् 'to cut' (VII. 3) छेक्ता; क्षुद् 'to pound' (VII. 6) क्षोक्ता, क्षोक्स्यति, शद् 'to perish' (I. 908, VI. 134) शक्ता, सद् 'to sink' (I. 907, VI. 133) सक्ता, सिवद् 'to sweat' (IV. 79) स्वेक्ता ॥ The root is exhibited as स्विद्यति in the above kârikâ, showing that the Fourth class root is to be taken, and not the Bhuâdi (I. 780), which is udâtta and takes इद् ॥ पद् 'to go' (IV. 60), पक्ता; खिद् 'to be troubled' (IV. 61, VI. 142, VII. 12) खेक्ता, तुद् 'to strike' (VI. 1) तोक्ता; तुद् 'to impel' (VI. 2) नोक्ता; विद् (IV. 62) वेक्ता ॥ The root विद् is exhibited in the kârikâ, as विद्यति and विन्त, therefore, the rule applies to दिवादि and क्रयादि विद् ॥ The Adâdi (वृत्ति) and Tudâdi (विन्वति) विद् is सेद्, as वेदिता विद्यानाम्, वेदिताधनस्य ॥

(12.) च्—six roots:—पच् 'to cook' (I. 187) पक्ता, पक्षयति; वच् 'to speak' (II. 54) वक्ता, विच् 'to separate' (VII. 5) विवेक्ता; रिच् 'to make empty' (VII. 4) रेक्ता; सिच् 'to sprinkle' (VI. 140) सेक्ता; सुच् (VI. 136) 'to loose' मोक्ता ॥

(13.) छ्—One root प्रछ् 'to ask' (VI. 120) प्रष्टा, प्रक्षयति ॥ •

(14.) ज्—Fifteen roots :—रञ्ज् 'to colour' (I. 865. 1048) रङ्क्ता; निज् 'to cleanse' (III. 11) निर्णेक्ता, नेक्षयति; भज् 'to honor' (I. 1047) भक्ता; भञ्ज् 'to break' (VII. 16) भङ्क्ता; भृञ्ज् 'to fry' (I. 181) भ्रष्टा or भर्ष्टा; त्यज् 'to quit' (I. 1035) त्यक्ता; यज् 'to sacrifice' (I. 1051) यष्टा, युज् 'to join' (IV. 68, VII. 7) योक्ता; रुज् 'to break' (VI. 123) रोक्ता; सञ्ज् 'to adhere' (I. 1036) सङ्क्ता, मञ्ज् 'to be immersed' (VI. 122) मङ्क्ता; भुज् 'to bend' (VI. 124) 'to enjoy' (VII. 17). भोक्ता, स्वज् 'to embrace' (I. 1025) परि-ष्वक्ता; सृज् 'to emit' 'to create' (IV. 69, VI. 121) स्रष्टा; मृज् 'to cleanse' (I. 269, II. 57), मार्ष्टा, मर्जिता ॥ The root मृज् is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with a long indicatory ऊ, e-s, मृजू शुद्धौ (II. 57). It, therefore, optionally would take इद् ॥ Nor does this root take अम् augment. The inclusion of this root in the above list is, therefore, questionable. Others read विज् instead of मृज् ॥ The निजादि root विज् is Anit̄ (III. 12) i. e. विज् 'to separate' the विज् of Rudhâdi takes इद् ॥

Why do we say "a monosyllabic root"? Observe अवधीत् ॥ The root is taught as वध् with a final अ (II. 4. 42) in order to prevent वृद्धि. Why do we say "in upadeśa or Dhâtupâṭha" ?

The rule will not apply to roots which have become anudâtta during evolution i. e. when taking affixes. Therefore, we have पचिष्यति and लविष्यति with इद्, but not here, कर्ता कदान्, कर्तुम् ॥

श्रुचकः किति ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, उकः, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रि इत्येतस्योगन्तानां च किति प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

Kârîkâ :—वाच्य ऊर्णोर्नुवज्ञावो यङ्प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनम् । आमश्च प्रतिषेधार्थमेकाचश्वेदुपमहात् ॥

11. The augment इद् is not added to an affix having an indicatory क्, when it comes after the root श्रि, or after a monosyllabic root ending in उ, ऊ, ऋ or ॠ in the Dhâtupâṭha.

As श्रित्वा, श्रितः, श्रितवान् ॥ So also with roots ending in उक् vowels: as युत्वा, युतः, युतवान्; लूत्वा, लूनः, लूनवान्; वृत्वा, वृतः, वृतवान्; तीर्त्वा, तीर्णः, तीर्णवान् ॥

Why 'श्रि and उक् ending roots only'? Observe विहितः ॥ Why having an indicatory क्? Observe श्रियितु, श्रियितुम्, श्रयितव्यम् ॥ Some read two क's in the sūtra and would apply it to the indicatory ग् also, as भूष्णु (III. 2. 139).

This rule applies to those roots, which have not been enumerated above. In the case of शु the Nishṭhâ will not take इद् even by VII. 2. 49 read with VII. 2. 15.

When two क are read in the sūtra, one standing for ग्; there arises a little difficulty of combination. Thus ग् coming after the visarga of उकः would require that the visarga be changed to उ by VI. 1. 114. If ग् be changed to क् (VIII. 4. 55) then also, the visarga required to be changed into upadhmanīya by VIII. 3. 37. If the change of ग् into क् (VIII. 4. 55) be considered asiddha

(VIII. 2. 1.), then also the visarga must be changed to उ (VI. 1. 114), and the sūtra should be अगुकोक्ति ॥ This, however, is not done as an anomaly allowable in sūtra construction. According to Kāsikā, this difficulty would not at all arise, if in the sūtra ग्लाजिस्थश्चक्षुः (III. 2. 139), the स्था+भा be taken as compounded into स्था; so that that rule would apply to that स्था which ends in भा, and not to that स्था whose final is changed to ई; so that the form स्थास्तुः is evolved without anomaly : and the affix will be कित् (इस्तु) and not गित् (गस्तु). The affix being कित्, the above sandhi difficulty will not arise at all.

The word उपदेश is understood here also, so that the rule will apply to roots which end in उक् vowel, in their original states and not to the transformed base before the affix. Thus नृ is a उक्-ending root, which is transformed to नीर् before the Nishṭha त ॥ The rule will apply to it, as तीर्णः ॥ If you object saying, that नृ ends in long ऋ and its Desiderative optionally takes इद् by VII. 2. 41, and therefore, its Nishṭhā will always take no इद् by VII. 2. 15. we reply, that the option taught in VII. 2. 41 applies to roots ending in long ऋ; but when the root vowel is changed to ई, it is no longer a ऋ-ending root. If you say, the rule of sthānivad bhāva will apply : we say, that that rule is not applicable to अल् विधि, and this is an अलविधि ॥ Therefore, the word उपदेश should be read into this sūtra. If this be so, the rule ought to apply to जागृ, and we could not get the forms जागरितः and जागरितवान् ॥ To explain this we should also read the anuvṛitti of एकाच् into this sūtra. The root ऊर्णु, however is an exception and is governed by this rule, in spite of its consisting of more than one vowel. Thus प्रोर्णुतः and प्रोर्णुतवान् ॥

Kārikā :—ऊर्णु is treated as if it was नृ, when the affix यद् is to be applied, भाम् is to be prohibited, or इद् is to be debarred.

सनि ग्रहगुहोश्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, ग्रह, गुहोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह गुह इत्येतयोरुपगन्तानां च सनि प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

12. The Desiderative affix सन् does not get the augment इद्, not only after roots ending in उ, ऊ, ऋ and अद्, but also after ग्रह and गुह ॥

As जिघृक्षति, जुघुक्षति, रूषति, लुषति ॥ The anuvṛitti of श्चि is not drawn into this sūtra, as option is allowed regarding it by VII. 2. 49. ग्रह would always get इद्, यद् (I. 944) being ऊर्णुत् (in the Dhātupāṭha), would have optionally taken इद् (VII. 2. 44)

The forms जिघृक्षति and जुघुक्षति are thus evolved :—ग्रह् + सन् (the affix is कित् by I. 2. 8) = गृह् + सन् (VI. 1. 16) = गृह् + सन् (VIII. 2. 31) = गृक् + सन् (VIII. 2. 41) = जिघृक्षति (VIII. 2. 37). So also with यद् संवरणे, the सन् is कित् here by I. 2. 10.

कृष्टृष्टुस्तुदुस्तुश्रुवो लिटि ॥१३॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, ष्ट, ष्ट, स्तु, दु, लु, श्रुवः, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ सृ भृ वृ स्तु ह्रु लु भु इत्येतेषां लिटि प्रत्यये इडागमो न भवति ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृञोसुट इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The Personal endings of the Perfect do not get the augment इद्, after कृ, सृ, भृ, वृ, स्तु, ह्रु, लु, भु ॥

Thus कृ—चकृव, चकृम; सृ, ससृव, ससृम; भृ, बभृव, बभृम; वृञ्, ववृव, ववृम; वृह्, ववृवहे, ववृमहे; स्तु, तुष्टुव, तुष्टुम; ह्रु, ह्रुह्रव, ह्रुह्रम; लु; लुलुव, लुलुम; भु; भुभुव, भुभुम ॥ सिद्धे सत्यारम्भो नियमार्थः, क्रादय एव लिट्यनितस्ततोन्ये सेट इति ॥

These roots with the exception of वृ are Anīṭ by rule VII. 2. 10; their special mention here is for the sake of niyama, namely, these roots alone are Anīṭ in the Perfect, other roots are all Seṭ in the Perfect. Thus बिभिविष, बिभिविम, लुलुविष, लुलुविम ॥ All anudatta roots of the Dhâtupâṭha are to be understood, by this rule, to get इद् ॥ The affix थ् of the Perfect gets इद् after वृञ्, as the irregular form ववृथ् in VII. 2. 64, indicates that in the Veda, थ् does not get इद् after वृञ्, but in the secular literature it does. By VII. 2. 63, the थ् would have got इद् after स्तु, ह्रु, लु and भु; that इद् is also prohibited by the present sâtra. As तुद्योथ, दुद्रोथ, ह्रुद्योथ, शुभ्रोथ ॥

Vârt:—इद् is added when कृ takes the सुद् augment: as संचस्करिष, संचस्करिम ॥ The rule VII. 2. 63, applies here also, as संचस्करिथ ॥

इचीदितो निष्ठायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव, ईदितः, निष्ठायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वयतेरीदितश्च निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

14. The Participial affixes त् and तवन् (kta and ktavatu), do not get the इद् augment after श्वि, and after the root which has an indicatory ई ॥

As शूनः, शूनवान्; ओलजी (VI. 10),—लम्, लग्रवान्; भोविजी (VI. 9), उद्विम्, उद्विमवान् ॥ The त् is changed to न because of the indicatory ओ (VIII. 2. 45). So also वीपी (IV. 42), वीप्तः, वीप्तवान् ॥ In the Dhâtupâṭha, डीङ् (IV. 27), is classed among ओदिन् roots, and it indicates that the Nishthâ is anīṭ after it: and ओ is for न-change (VIII. 2. 45) as, उड्डीनः, उड्डीनवान् ॥ The word निष्ठायाम् governs the following sâtras upto VII. 2. 35.

यस्य विभाषा ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्ये धातोर्विभाषा ऋचिदिडुक्तस्तस्य निष्ठायां परत इडागमो न भवति ॥

15. The Participial-affixes do not take इद्, after those roots, to which another suffix can optionally be added, with or without this augment इद् ॥

That is, a root which is *optionally* Seṭ before other affixes, is *invariably* anīṭ before Nishthâ. Thus by VII. 2. 44, वल् consonant beginning affixes are optionally सेट् after the roots घृ &c. The Nishthâ after घृ &c, will be invariably anīṭ. Thus विधूतः, विधूतवान्; गूढः, गूढवान् ॥ By VII. 2. 56, the roots having an indicatory उ, *optionally* are followed by Seṭ क्त्वा ॥ The Nishthâ after उदिन् roots will *invariably* be anīṭ: as वृद्धः, वृद्धवान् ॥

By the vārtika तानि पदि वारिद्वाणाद्युपसख्यानम् the roots तन्, पत् and वरिद्वा take optional इट् in the Desiderative (VII. 2. 49). Though पत् is a root which thus *optionally* takes इट् in the Desiderative, yet its Nishṭhā is always सेट्, for Pāṇini himself has employed the word पवित् in Sūtra II. 1. 24, 38. According to Padamanjari this rule of यस्य विभाषा is anitya and not of universal application. Because had this rule been of universal application then the root कृत which is *optionally* aniṭ by VII. 2. 57, would be *universally* aniṭ by the present sūtra : and there would be no necessity of reading it with a long ई in the Dhātupāṭha, as कृती छेदने (VI. 141) to make its nishthā aniṭ under VII. 2. 14.

आदितश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदितश्च धातोर्निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

16. The Participial-affixes do not get इट् augment after a root which has an indicative आ ॥

As अिमिदा — मित्रः, मित्रवान् ; अिश्चिदा — क्षिष्णः, क्षिष्णवान् ; अिष्विदा — स्वन्नः, स्वन्नवान् ॥ The च implies that other roots not enumerated are to be also included, as आश्वस्तः, वान्तः ॥

This and the sūtra following it could have been made into one, as आदितश्च विभाषा भावादिकर्मणोः ॥ The separate making of two sūtras indicates that the rule of यस्य विभाषा (VII. 2. 15), applies with the restrictions and limitations of the rule ordaining 'option', i. e., the prohibition of इट् augment, with regard to the participial-affixes is limited by the same conditions, which apply to the optional employment of इट् before other affixes in the विभाषा rules (यदुपाधेर्विभाषा, तदुपाधेः प्रतिषेधः) ॥ Thus VII. 2. 68 ordains इट् optionally to the affix वसु after the roots गम्, हन्, विद् and विश् ॥ The root विद् there is the Tudādi root meaning 'to acquire'. The rule यस्य विभाषा will apply to this विद् with this meaning : and not to विद् meaning 'to know', the Past Participles of which are विदितः, विदितवान् ॥

विभाषा भावादिकर्मणोः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाव, आदिकर्मणोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे आदिकर्मणि च आदितो धातोर्विभाषा निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

17. The participial affixes after roots having an indicative आ, may optionally take the augment इट्, when the affixes have an Impersonal sense, or denote the beginning of an action.

Thus मित्रमनेन or मेदितमनेन, प्रमित्रः, प्रमेदितः ॥ The Saunāgas optionally make the Nishṭhā seṭ after the root शक्, when the affix has a Passive significance even, as शक्तितो घटः कर्तुम् or शक्तोः घटः कर्तुम् ॥ Not so, when the affix has Impersonal force, as शक्तमनेन् ॥ The root अस् 'to throw' (अस्यति), is followed by सेट् Nishṭhā, when the sense is Impersonal : as असितमनेन ; but not when the beginning of action is meant, as अस्तः काण्डः ॥

शुद्धस्वान्तध्वान्तलभ्मिष्टविरिभ्यफाण्टवाढानि मन्थमनस्तमः स्रक्ताविस्पष्टस्वरा-

नायासभृशेषु ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुब्ध, स्वान्त, ध्वान्त लग्न, म्लिष्ट, विरिब्ध, फाण्ट, वाढानि, मन्थ, मनः, तमः, सक्त, अविस्पष्ट, स्वर, अनायास, भृशेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुब्ध स्वान्त ध्वान्त लग्न म्लिष्ट विरिब्ध फाण्ट बाढ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं मन्थ मनस्तमः सक्ताविस्पष्ट स्वरानायासभृश इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु ॥

18. The following words are made without इद् augment in the senses given against them :—

1. क्षुब्धः 'a churning stick', 2. स्वान्तः 'the mind', 3. ध्वान्तः 'darkness', 4. लग्नः 'attached', 5. म्लिष्टः 'indistinct or unintelligible', 6. विरिब्धः 'a note or tone', 7. फाण्टः 'made without an effort or by an easy process', and 8. वाढः 'excessive'.

When the words have not the above sense, we have 1. क्षुभितं 'disturbed or agitated'. The phrase क्षुब्धो गिरिः or नदी is a metaphorical use of the word. 2. स्वनितः as स्वनितो घृदङ्गः, स्वनितं मनसा ॥ 3. ध्वनितो घृदङ्गः or ध्वनितं मनसा ॥ 4. लगितं, 5. म्लोच्छतं, (= अपभाषितं) 6. विरेभितं from रेध 'to sound', or विरिभितं from रिभि ॥ 7. फाणितं ॥ फाण्ट is a decoction, prepared without much trouble, by simply slightly heating the substance with some water, without powdering or pasting it. (यद्द्यूतमपिष्टं च कषायघृदकसंपर्कमात्राद् विभक्तसमीषदुष्णां) a medicine for any disease may be administered in five forms :—रसः or essence, कल्कः paste or powder, द्यूतः decoction or extract, शीतः cold extract prepared by throwing pounded drugs into cold water, and keeping that all night to soak. This watery extract, to be drunk in the morning, is so called. फाण्ट is a similar hot preparation, but for immediate use, when the drugs are put in boiling water and the decoction after purification is ready for use as a drink. 8. बाहितं from बाह 'to strive'.

धृषिशसी वैयात्ये ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ धृषि, शसी, वैयात्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वियातस्य भावो वैयात्यम् प्रागल्भ्यमविनीतता ॥ तत्र धृष् शस् इत्येतयोर्निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

19. The Participial affix does not get इद् augment, after the roots धृष् and शस्, when meaning 'bold, impudent and arrogant'.

As धृष्टः, विशस्तः ॥ The root धृष् is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha as त्रिधृषा 'to be impudent' (V. 2 2), and as it has an indicatory आ, its past participle would be अनिद् by VII. 2. 16. शस् is शसु in the Dhâtupâṭha (I. 763), and as it has an indicatory उ by VII. 2. 56. read with VII. 2. 15, its Nishṭhâ is also Aniṭ. The special mention of these roots here, is for the sake of making a niyama rule: namely, अनिद् only then when meaning 'impudent', and सद् in other senses: as धर्षितः, विशसितः "धृष् never forms past participle with the force of भाव (Impersonal action) or आदिकर्म (beginning of action), and therefore VII. 2. 17 cannot apply to it"—This is Kâśikâ. According to Bhattoji Dikshit who

quotes Haradatta and Mādhava, धृष्ट forms participles in those senses, when option is allowed, as, धृष्टं or धर्षितं, प्रधृष्टः or प्रधर्षितः not meaning 'impudent'.

दृढः स्थूलबलयोः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दृढः, स्थूल, बलयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दृढ इति निपात्यते स्थूले बलवति चार्थे ॥

20. The irregularly formed Past Participle दृढ means 'stout' and 'strong'.

It is derived from दृह् with क्त affix. In other senses, the forms are दृहितम् or धृहितम् ॥ There are two roots one दृह् (I. 769) without nasal, and the other दृह् (I. 770) with the nasal. दृढ can be derived from any one of these by eliding ह, and the nasal, and changing त् to ढ, and not adding the augment इद् ॥

The difference between स्थूल and बल is that a man may be stout or स्थूल without being strong (बलवान्) and *vice versa*. The word बल in the sūtra is equal to बलवत्; in fact, the word बल is formed by भच् affix. The irregularity in the formation of दृढ consists in the absence of इद् and the elision of ह (and of न्, if the root दृह् be taken) : and the change of त् into ढ ॥ This irregular elision of ह is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule पूर्वचासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1). The form could have been obtained in the regular way by the elision of ढ, thus: दृह् + त् = दृह् + त् (VIII. 2. 31) = दृह् + ध = दृह् + ढ = दृ + ढ (VIII. 3. 13) = दृढ ॥ But then when ढ is elided, the rule पूर्वचासिद्धम् will apply, and the forms द्रढिमा, द्रढीयान्, द्रढयति could not be obtained. For क्त is changed to र् by VI. 4. 161 only when it is *laghu* or light, but ढ-lopa being considered *asiddha*, the क्त would be heavy as standing before a conjunct consonant. So also the form परिदृढय्यागतः could not be obtained: for the णि would not be changed to अय् before ल्यप् when the क्त is not light or *laghu* (VI. 4. 56). So also, परिदृढस्यापत्यं = परिदृढी (the daughter of Paridṛḍha) could not be formed. For क्त being considered *guru* or heavy, the affix ल्यङ् would have come in the feminine (IV. 1. 78).

प्रभौ परिवृढः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभौ, परिवृढः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परिवृढ इति निपात्यते प्रभुश्चेद्भवति ॥

21. The irregularly formed परिवृढ means 'Lord'.

This is formed, like दृढ, from वृह् or वृह् ॥ When not having the sense of 'Lord', we have परिवृहितम् and परिवृहितम् ॥

The ह is elided first as an anomaly. By so doing we can get the forms like परिवृढयति, परिवृढयगतः; परिवृढीकन्या ॥ The form परिवृढय्य is formed by ल्यप् instead of क्तव् ॥ Though the full noun is परिवृढ and णिच् is added to such a noun, yet for the purposes of क्तव् it is considered as a compound verb, having परि as upasarga. In fact, णिच् is added to वृह, and the root becomes व्रढि, and then क्तव् is added to this root, and then there is compounding of परि with this word ending in क्तव्, and then by the regular process the क्तव् is replaced by ल्यप् ॥ The general rule is that Derivative roots formed from nouns, like परिवृढ, उत्पन्नस्, सुमनस् &c which have an upasarga as one of their formative elements,

are treated as if they were compound verbs having those upasargas. The result of this is, that though the full noun is **सुमनस्**, yet in the derivative verb, **सु** will be treated as an upasarga, as in ordinary compound verbs. Thus the augment **अ** in the Imperfect is added after **सु** and not before it, as **स्वमनायत, उन्मनायत** ॥ The rule is **उपसर्गसमानाकारं पूर्वपदं धातुसंज्ञाप्रयोजके प्रत्यये चिकीर्षिते पृथक् कियते** ॥ The Participial form of these words is therefore with **ल्यप्** and not **क्त्वा**, as **सुमनाय्य** and **उन्मनाय्य** ॥ The only exception to this rule is the noun **संप्राम**, in which the upasarga **सम्** is not considered as a separate member in the Derivative verb. This being the general rule, in **परिव्रजयति**, the portion **परि** is treated as an upasarga, and **व्रजयति** as the verb, and its accent is governed by **तिङ् तिङ्** (VIII. 1. 28) i. e. it becomes altogether unaccented and **परि** retains its accent. So also **परिव्रजय्य**, where **परि** is compounded with the Participial form **व्रजित्वा**, and then **स्वा** is changed to **ल्यप्** by VII. 1. 37.

कृच्छ्रगहनयोः कषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृच्छ्र, गहनयोः, कषः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्र गहन इत्येतयोरर्थयोः कषेर्द्धातोर्निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

22. The Participial affix does not take the augment **इट्** after the root **कष**, when the participle means 'difficult' and 'impenetrable'.

As **कष्टो ऽग्निः, कष्टं व्याकरणं, ततोऽपि कष्टतराणिसामानि** ॥ "Difficult is Fire-sacrifice i. e. it is difficult to completely master the ritual connected with the worship of fire; and difficult enough is Grammar, but the Sârnâns are worst of all". **कष्टानि वनानि 'impervious forests.'** **कष्टाः पर्वताः ॥** When not having these senses, we have **कषितं सुवर्णम् ॥**

घुषिरविशब्दने ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घुषिः, अविशब्दने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुषेर्द्धातोर्विशब्दनेर्णे निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

23. The Participial affix does not take the augment **इट्**, after the root **घुष** in any sense other than that of 'proclaimed'.

As **घुषा रज्जुः, घुषो पादौ** but **भवघुषितं वाक्प्रमाह ॥ विशब्दन = प्रतिज्ञानम् 'assertion, affirmation, agreement'**. **घुषिर् अविशब्दने** is **Bhvâdi** (I. 683), and **घुषिर् विशब्दने** is **Churâdi** (X. 187), both of these are referred to in the sûtra. The prohibition of **विशब्दन** in the sûtra, indicates by **jñâpaka** that the **णिच्** added to the root in the **Churâdi** class in the sense of **विशब्दन** is **anitya**. So the following construction becomes valid:-as **महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा जुघुषुः पुष्पमाणवाः** "expressed their opinions in words".

In short the **णिच्** is optionally added to the **घुषिर्** of the **Churâdi** class.

Some say the **Churâdi णिच्** is **anitya** generally and not only after **घुषिर्** (**अनित्यं प्यन्ताञ्चुरादयः**) ॥ This is inferred from the mention of the root **चित्ति** **स्मृत्याम्** (X. 2) in this class. The indicatory **इ** in **चित्ति** shows that the augment

नुम् will be added to the root, which will thus become चिन्त and this न will be retained throughout and never dropped. (VII. I. 48). Now had the णिच् been nitya, then the root ought to have been taught as चिन्त स्मृत्याम्, because no rule would have caused the elision of the न् of चिन्त when णिच् was added. The enunciation of the root as चिति, therefore, indicates that the churādi णिच् is anitya, and thus we get the forms like चिन्तितः, चिन्त्यात्, चिन्त्यते, चिन्तति, चिन्तेत् &c.

अर्हेः सन्निविभ्यः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हेः, सम, नि, विभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सं नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्थार्धेर्निष्ठायाभिडागमो न भवति ॥

24. The Participial affix does not take the इद्, after the root अर्द when it is preceded by सं, नि or वि ॥

As समर्णः, 'plagued' न्यर्णः, व्यर्णः ॥ Why 'of अर्द'? Observe समेधितः ॥ Why 'सम, नि or वि'? Observe अर्दितः ॥

अभेश्चाविदूर्ये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, च, आविदूर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिशब्दादुत्तरस्थार्धेराविदूर्ये निष्ठायाभिडागमो न भवति ॥

25. The Participial affix does not take the इद्, after अर्द preceded by अभि, when the meaning is that of 'near'.

As अभ्यर्णा सेना, अभ्यर्णा शरत् ॥ Why 'when meaning near'? See अभ्यर्दिता वृषलः शीतेन meaning पीडितः ॥ विदूरं means 'remote,' that which is not remote is आविदूरं 'non-remote,' the state of being non-remote is आविदूर्यम् 'non-remote-ness.' The affix यक् is added irregularly, in spite of the prohibition contained in V. I. 121.

गेरध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गेः, अध्ययने, वृत्तम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्यन्तस्य वृत्तेर्निष्ठायामध्ययनार्थे वृत्तमितीडभावो णिल्लक् च निपात्यते ॥

26. The word वृत्त is formed from the causative of वृत्, in the sense of 'studied through or read.'

There is absence of इद् and luk-elision of the causative sign. As वृत्तो गुणो देवदत्तेन 'Devadatta has read or gone through Guṇa.' (गुणः पाठः परक्रमसंहितारूपोऽध्ययनविशेषः) ॥ वृत्तं पारायणं देवदत्तेन ॥ When the sense is not that of 'read', we have वार्त्तितम् ॥ The root वृत् is intransitive, and becomes Transitive when employed in the Causative. The participle is formed from this Transitive causative verb, otherwise it could not have governed an object as shown above. "The affix क्त is added with a Passive force to वृत्, as we find the author himself using this form in निर्वृत्तम् in sūtras IV. 2. 68, and V. 1. 79; on the analogy of निर्वृत्त the word वृत्तः could also have been formed without this sūtra."

वा दान्तशान्तपूर्णदस्तस्पष्टच्छन्नज्ञप्ताः ॥२७॥ पदानि ॥ वा, दान्त, शान्त, पूर्ण, दस्त, स्पष्ट, छन्न, ज्ञप्ताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गेरित्यनुवर्त्तते। वम् वाम् पूरी इस् स्पश् छद् ज्ञप् इत्येतेषां प्यन्तानां धातूनां वा अनिदृश्वं निपात्यते ॥

27. The following irregularly formed Participles, from the causative roots, may optionally take इद्, namely, दान्त, शान्त, पूर्ण, दस्त, स्पष्ट, छन्न, जप्त ॥

These words are formed either from the causative base or from the primary roots दम् &c. The other forms are हमितः, कमितः, पूरितः, हासितः, स्थापितः, छादितः and जपितः ॥ The words दान्त &c. are formed by the luk-elision of णि (Causative), and not taking the इद् Augment. By VII. 2. 49 ङप् optionally is सेद् and, therefore, by VII. 2. 15, its Participle would have been *always* अनिद्, hence, this sūtra makes an option.

रुष्यमत्वरसंघुषास्वनाम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुषि, अम, त्वर, संघुष, आस्वनाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वेति वर्त्तते । रुषि अम त्वर संघुष आस्वन इत्येतेषां निष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥

28. The Participial affix may optionally get इद् augment, after रुष्, अम्, त्वर, संघुष्, and आस्वन् ॥

As हृष्टः or हृषितः ॥ By VII. 2. 48, the affixes after रुष् are *optionally* सेद्, and therefore by VII. 2. 15, the Nishṭhâ after this verb would have been *always* अनि; hence this optional rule. अभ्यान्तः or अभ्यमितः; तूर्णः or त्वरितः ॥ The त्वर् is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha as त्रिस्वरा (I. 812) i. e. with an indicatory long आ, and hence by VII. 2. 16. would have been अनि always, this rule makes it optionally अनि. So also, संघुष्टौ पादौ, or संघुषितौ पादौ, संघुष्टं or संघुषितं वाक्यमाह, संघुष्टौ or संघुषितौ रुष्यौ ॥ घुष preceded by सम् will be optionally अनि, even when having any sense other than that of 'proclaimed', as this *subsequent* sūtra supersedes VII. 2. 23 so far. So also आस्वान्तः or आस्वनिता देवदत्तः, आस्वान्तम् or आस्वनिता मनः ॥ स्वन् when preceded by आ, though denoting 'mind,' is *optionally* अनि, in spite of VII. 2. 18, that rule being superseded so far by this *subsequent* rule.

हृषेलोमसु ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृषेः, लोमसु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोमसु वर्त्तमानस्य हृषेर्निष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्विस्मितप्रतिपातयोश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Participial affix optionally takes इद्, after हृष् when the word लोमन् or its synonym is in construction with it.

As हृष्टानि लोमानि or हृषितानि लोमानि; हृष्टाः केशाः or हृषिताः केशाः; हृष्टं or हृषितं लोमभिः or केशैः ॥ हृष्ु 'to lie' (I. 741) is exhibited with an indicatory उ in the Dhâtupâṭha, and would have been consequently *always* अनि, in the Nishṭhâ (VII. 2. 15) because it was optionally अनि before क्त्वा (VII. 2. 56) hence this rule. हृष् 'to be delighted' (IV. 119) is also included here, this verb is सेद् ॥ The option appertains to both these verbs. The word लोम means the hair of the body as well as of the head: as in the sentence लोमनखं स्पृष्ट्वा शौचं कर्तव्यम् ॥ The sense of हृष् in connection with लोम will be that of bristling up, horipillation. Why do

we say "in connection with लोम?" Observe हृष्टो (bhuadi) देवदत्तः 'the deceived Deva Datta' and हृषितो (Divādi) देवदत्तः 'the delighted Devadatta.

Vart.—The option is allowed also in the senses of 'astonished' and 'beaten back', as हृष्टो or हृषितो देवदत्तः 'the astonished D'. हृष्टाः or हृषिता दन्ताः 'the bent or destroyed teeth'.

अपचितश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपचितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपचित इति वा निपात्यते । अपपूर्वस्य चायतेर्निष्ठायामनिद्वल्वं चिभावश्च निपात्यते ।
धार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्तिनि निव्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

30. And अपचित has also a second form with the augment इ ॥

The word अपचित is formed with the preposition अप added to the root चाय् (I. 929) 'to honor, to fear, to see' and चाय् changed irregularly to चि before क्त ॥ The other form is अपचायितः, as अपचितो or अपचायितो ऽपेनगुरुः 'the teacher is feared by him'. This example is given when the sense is that of 'fear'; when the word means 'honor', then the participle must govern the genitive case, as required by III. 2. 188.

Vart.—Before क्तिन् affix, चाय् is always changed to चि, as अपचितिः 'Loss, destruction, showing reverence'. The affix क्तिन् is added to चाय्, by considering it as belonging to the class of भाप् &c. See III. 3. 94 *Vart.* Otherwise it would take the affix अ by III. 3. 103.

हु हरेदछन्दसि ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु हरेः, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रतेर्जातोर्निष्ठायां छन्दसि हु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

31. हु is substituted for ह्र् (I. 978) in the Veda, before the Participial-affix.

As हुतस्य चाहुतस्य च, अहुतमसि हविर्धानम् (Vaj San. I. 9). But हृतम् in secular literature.

अपरिहृताश्च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिहृताः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिहृता इति निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये । हु इत्येतस्यादेशस्याभावो निपात्यते ।

32. The word 'aparihvritâ' is irregularly formed in the Veda.

The हु substitution required by the last sūtra, does not take place here. As अपरिहृताः सतुयाम वाजम् (Rig I. 100. 19).

सोमे ह्रितः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, ह्रितः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रित इति ह्रतेर्निष्ठायामिडागमो गुणश्च निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये, सोमश्चेद्भवति ।

33. ह्रित is irregularly formed from हु in the Veda, by गुण substitution and इद् augment, when it refers to Soma.

As मा नः सोमो ह्रितो, विह्रितस्त्वम् ॥

ग्रसितस्कभितस्तभितोत्तभितचत्तविकस्ता विशस्तृशंस्तृशास्तृतरुतृरुतृवरुतृव-
रुतृवरुत्रीरुज्ज्वलिति क्षरिति क्षमिति वमित्यमितीति च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रसित,
स्कभित, स्तभित, उत्तभित, चत्त, विकस्त, विशस्तृ, शंस्तृ, शास्तृ, तरुतृ, तरुतृ,
वरुतृ, वरुतृ, वरुत्रीः, उज्ज्वलिति, क्षरिति, क्षमिति, वमिति, अमिति, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रसित स्कभित स्तभित उत्तभित चत्त विकस्त विशस्तृ शंस्तृ शा स्तृ तरुतृ तरुतृ वरुतृ वरुतृ वरुत्रीः
उज्ज्वलिति क्षरिति क्षमिति वमित्यमिति इत्येतानि छन्दसि निपात्यन्ते ।

34. In the Veda, the following irregular forms are found, some with, and some without the augment इट—1 grasita, 2 skabhita, 3 stabhita, 4 uttabhita, 5 chatta, 6 vikasta, 7 viśastri, 8 śanstri, 9 śâstri, 10 tarutri, 11 tarûtri, 12 varutri, 13 varûtri, 14 varûtriḥ, 15 ujjvaliti, 16 kshariti, 17 kshamiti, 18 vamiti and 19 amiti.

Of the above nineteen words, 1, 2, 3, and 4 are from roots ग्रसु, 'to swallow' (I. 661) स्कम्भु 'to stop' (I. 414) and स्तम्भु (I. 413) all having an indicative उ, and therefore by VII. 2. 56 read with VII. 2. 15, their Nishṭhâ would not have taken इट ॥ Thus ग्रसितं (ver. ग्रस्त) वा एतन् सोमस्य ॥ विष्कभिते अजरे (=विष्कभ्यः); येन स्वस्तभितम् (=स्तब्धम्), सत्येनोत्तभिता भूमिः (=उत्तब्धः) ॥ The irregularity is only with the preposition उन्, with other prepositions, the form स्तभित is not employed. Similarly (5) चत्ता (=चतिता) वर्षेण विद्युन् from चते याचने ॥ (6) उत्तानाया हृद्यं यद् विकस्तम् (=विकासितम्) The forms, 7 8, and 9 are from the roots शासु हिंसायाम् and शंसु स्तुतौ, and शासु अनुशिष्टौ with the affix तृच् and no augment; as एकस्वदुरश्वस्याविशस्ता (=विशसिता), उत शंस्ता सुविप्रः (=शंसिता), प्रशास्ता (=प्रशासितम्) ॥ The forms 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 are from the roots तु and वृ (वृङ् and वृङ्), with the affix तृच्, and the augment उद् and ऊद् ॥ As तरुतारं or तरुतारं रथानाम् (=तरितारम् or तरितारम्), वरुतारम् or वरुतारम् रथानाम् (=वरितारम् or वरितारम्); वरुत्रीद्या देवीर्विभ्रदेव्यावती ॥ वरुत्रीः is exhibited in this form of Nom. pl. of the feminine वरुत्री merely for the sake of showing one form in which it is found : another form is अहोरात्राणि वैवरुत्रयः ॥ Here the plural is formed irregularly, by taking the word as वरुत्रि ॥ The feminine form could have been easily obtained from वरुतृ, by adding डीप्, the special mention is explanatory. The rest 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 are from उन्-उवल, क्षर्, क्षम्, वम्, and अम्, formed with the vikaraṇa शप् and the affix of the 3rd Per Sing तिप्, इ being substituted for ष of शप्, or शप् is elided and the augment इट is added ॥ As अग्निरुज्ज्वलिति (=उज्ज्वलति), स्तेमं क्षमिति (=क्षमति), स्तोत्रं क्षरिति (=क्षरति), यः सोमं वमिति (=वमात), अभ्यमिति वरुणः (=अभ्यमति) ॥ Sometimes we have अभ्यमात, as रावमभ्यमीति ॥

आर्द्धधातुकस्येड्गलादेः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदादि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकस्य, इट्, वलादेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीति निवृत्तम् । आर्द्धधातुकस्य वलादेरिडागमो भवति ।

35. An ârdhadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 114 &c) beginning with a consonant (except य), gets the augment इद् (in these rules).

Thus लविता, लवितुम्, लवितव्यम्, पविता, पवितुम्, पवितव्यम् ॥ Why 'ârdhadhâtuka'? Observe आस्ते, वस्ते ॥ The niyama rule of VII. 2. 76 ordaining इद् augment to sârvadhâtuka affixes of Rudâdi verbs, would prevent इद् augment before sârvadhâtuka affixes when coming after other roots. The employment of ârdhadhâtuka here can be dispensed with. Why before affixes beginning with a वल्-consonant? Observe लव्यम्, पव्यम्, लवनीयम्, पवनीयम् ॥ Though the anuvritti of इद् was understood here, its repetition is for the sake of preventing the prohibition of the foregoing sûtras like VII. 2. 8.

स्तुक्रमोरनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, क्रमोः, अनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ नियमार्थमिदम् । स्तुक्रमोर्नाद्धातुकस्य वलद्विरिडागमो भवति, न चेत्स्तुक्रमौ भात्मनेपदस्य निमित्तं भवतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रमस्तु कर्त्तर्यात्मनेपदविषयाइसत्यात्मनेपदे कृति प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The augment इद् is added to ârdhadhâtuka valâdi affixes after स्तु and क्रम्, only then when they do not occasion the taking of the Personal endings of the Âtmanepada.

The roots स्तु and क्रम् are udâtta, and will get इद् augment naturally, the sûtra makes a restriction or niyama. The restriction is that when the roots themselves occasion atmanepada affixes, then they do not take इद्, otherwise they will.

When do roots give occasion to Âtmanepada affixes? The roots occasion atmanepada affixes when employed in the Impersonal, Passive, and Intensive senses. Sûtras I. 3. 38-43, teach us when क्रम् takes Âtmanepada affixes. Thus प्रस्नाविता, प्रस्नावितुम्, प्रस्नावितव्यम्, प्रक्रमिता, प्रक्रमितुम्, प्रक्रमितव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not the occasion of getting the Âtmanepada affixes'? Observe, प्रस्नोषीष्ट, प्रक्रंसीष्ट, प्रस्नोष्यते, प्रक्रंस्यते, प्रस्तुषिष्यते, प्रचिक्रंसिष्यते ॥ In all these examples स्तु and क्रम् have become the causes of taking the Âtmanepada affixes. The Desiderative is also Âtmanepadi because of I. 3. 62.

Why have we used the word निमित्त in the sûtra? Would it not have been simpler to say स्तुक्रमोरनात्मनेपदे? This form of sûtra would have indicated that whenever an âtmanepada affix followed, then there would be no इद् augment. Now the rule is that all words exhibited in the Locative case in this Grammar, have the force of परसप्तमी, i. e. when that word follows. Therefore आत्मनेपद would mean when an âtmanepada affix followed. If then this "âtmanepada" be taken as qualifying स्तु and क्रम्, then it must follow immediately after those roots, as in प्रस्नोषीष्ट and प्रक्रंसीष्ट; but we would not get the forms प्रस्तोष्यते and प्रक्रंस्यते, because स्य intervenes between the atmanepada and the

affix. On the other hand if "âتمانपदा" be taken to qualify the word "ârdhadhâtuka affix" understood, viz, if the sūtra ment स्तुक्रमिभ्यां परस्यार्धधातुकस्यात्मनपदेशन्तर then the forms प्रसोष्यते and प्रकंस्यते would be valid, but we should not get the forms प्रसोषीष्ट and प्रकंसीष्ट, because the augment सीयुद् is a portion of the âتمانपदा affix, and there is no ârdhdhâtuka affix here. If the sūtra be taken to have both the above senses, then we could not get the form प्रचिकंसिष्यते in the Desiderative, because here the âتمانपदा does not follow immediately after the sârvadhâtuka affix that follows क्रम् ॥ Therefore, the word निमित्त should be taken. For by so doing, there takes place prohibition with regard to सायुद् &c, and also with regard to that after which comes the âत्मनपदा, as the स्य in प्राचक्रंसिष्यते, and also with regard to that which precedes the latter, as the सन् affix in the above. In प्रसन्विचीयते (प्रसन्वितेवाचराते), the root स्तु has not occasioned the âत्मनपदा affix, but the affix क्यङ्, hence the prohibition of this sūtra does not apply.

Vart.:—Prohibition of इद् augment should be stated with regard to क्रम् when an Kṛit-affix, with active force, follows not in the âत्मनपदा, though in the Active voice such क्रम् was subject of Atमानपदा. When क्रम् takes no upasargas, we have according to one view two forms क्रन्ता and क्रमिता (I. 3. 43) because the âत्मनपदा here is optional. According to the other view there will be only one form, as क्रामता ॥ But with प्र and उप् we have प्रक्रन्ता and उपक्रन्ता ॥ Why do we say 'the Kṛit-affix should have an active force'? Observe प्रक्रमितव्यम्, उपक्रमितव्यम् ॥ Why do we say "when it was subject of Atमानपदा"? Observe निष्क्रमिता ॥ Here there is इद् augment; for by I. 3. 42, क्रम् is subject of atमानपदा, when the upasargas प्र and उप precede, but not otherwise.

With regard to स्तु, it will take no इद् in the Desiderative, and before a क्ति affix, by virtue of VII. 2. 11 and 12. Therefore, we have the forms प्रस्तुस्तुषति, प्रस्तुतः, प्रस्तुतवान् ॥

ग्रहो ऽलिटि दीर्घः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रहः, अ लिति, दीर्घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उत्तरस्य इदः अलिटि दीर्घो भवति ।

37. The augment इद् added to valâdi ârdhadhâtuka affixes, becomes lengthened, except in the Personal endings of the Perfect, after the root ग्रह ॥

As ग्रहीता, ग्रहीतुर्, ग्रहीतव्यम् ॥ Why not in the Perfect? Observe जगृहिव जगृहिम् ॥ The lengthening takes place of the इद् taught in VII. 2. 35, and does not refer to the चिण्वद् इद् of VI. 4. 62 : as ग्रहिता, ग्रहियते ॥

वृत्तो वा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृतः वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृ इति वृङ्वृत्रोः सामान्येन ग्रहणं तस्मादुत्तरस्य ऋकारान्तेभ्यश्चो वा दीर्घा भवति ।

38. The इद् is optionally lengthened after वृङ्, वृञ् and after roots ending in long ऋ, except in the Perfect.

As वरिता । वरीता । प्रावरिता । प्रावरीता ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यः । तरिता । तरीता । आस्तरिता । आस्तरिता ॥ वृत इति क्रिम् । करिष्यति हरिष्यति । अलिटीत्येव । ववरिय । तेरिय ॥ Why do we say 'after वृ and long ऋ ending roots'? Observe करिष्यति and हरिष्यति ॥ Why do we say except in the Perfect? Observe ववरिय and तेरिय ॥

न लिङि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत उत्तरस्य इदो लिङि दीर्घो न भवति ।

39. The इद् is not lengthened after the same roots वृ, and ऋ ending roots, in the endings of the Benedictive.

As विवारिषीष्ट, प्रावरिषीष्ट, आस्तरिषीष्ट, विस्तरिषीष्ट ॥

सिचि च परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचि, च, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदपरे सिचि वृत उत्तरस्य इदो दीर्घो न भवति ।

40. The इद् is not lengthened after वृ and ऋ ending roots, in the s-Aorist of the Parasmaipada.

As प्रावारिष्टाम्, प्रावारिषुः, अतारिष्टाम्, from नृ घृवनतरणयोः ॥ आस्तारिष्टाम्, आस्तारिषुः, from स्तृम् आच्छादने; but प्रावरिष्ट, प्रावरीष्ट in the Atmanepada.

इद् सनि वा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्, सनि, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृतः सनो वा इडागमो भवति ।

41. The Desiderative स् may optionally take इद् (which is optionally lengthened also) after the said वृ and ऋ ending roots.

As बुवूर्षति । विवरिषते । विवरीषते । प्राबुवूर्षति । प्राविवरिषति । प्राविवरीषति । ऋकारान्तेभ्यः । तितरीषति । तितरिषति । तितरीषति । आतिस्तीरिषति । This Parasmaipada form is not valid, according to Padamanjari. आतिस्तरिषति । आतिस्तरिषति । सनि मह्युहश्चेति इद्प्रतिषेधे प्राप्ते पक्षे इडागमो विधीयते । इटश्च वृतो वेति पक्षेदीर्घः । चिकीरिषति जिहीरिषति इत्यत्रोपदेशोधिकारालाक्ष-णिकत्वाच्च इडागमो न भवति ॥

The इद् was prohibited by VII. 2. 12, in case of the Desideratives, hence this sūtra: when इद् is added, it may be lengthened by VII. 2. 38. The augment इद् however is not added in चिकीरिषति and जिहीरिषति, as they are formed from कृ 'to do' and हृ 'to lose', which do not take इद् at all. Because here, though the short ऋ is lengthened before सम्, by VI. 4. 16, yet such lengthening will not make the roots long ऋ ending roots. Because the anuvṛitti of the word upadeśa is understood here from VII. 2. 10, so that the rule applies to those roots only which in 'upadeśa' or Dhātupāṭha end in long ऋ and not those whose ऋ is lengthened by some Grammatical rule. Moreover, the long ऋ in कृ and हृ is temporary only, as it is replaced by long ई ॥ (See VI. 4. 16, for lengthening). The Desiderative of कृ-चिकरिषति, however, does not lengthen its vowel (VII. 2. 75).

लिङ्सिचोरात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, सिचोः, आत्मनेपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ् सिचि च आत्मनेपदे परे वा इडागमो भवति ।

42. The इद् is optionally added to the endings of the Atmanepada Benedictive and s-Aorist, after the वृ and ऋ ending roots.

As वृषीष्ट or वरिषीष्ट, प्रावृषीष्ट (I. 2. 13 no guṇa) प्रावरिषीष्ट, आस्तरिषीष्ट, आस्तीषीष्ट ॥ सिचिखल्वपि, अवृत, अवरिष्ट, अवरीष्ट, प्रावृत, प्रावरिष्ट, प्रावरीष्ट, आस्तीर्ष, आस्तरिष्ट, आस्तरिष्ट ॥ आत्मनेपदे-ष्विति किम्, ? प्रावारिष्टाम्, प्रावारिषुः ॥ लिङ्: प्रत्युदाहरणं न दर्शितमसंभवादिनां ऽबलादिस्त्वाइति ॥

Why in the Atmanepada? Observe प्रावारिष्टाम्, प्रावारिषुः ॥ No counter-examples of Benedictive Parasmaipadi are given, as the affixes not being बलादि, the इद् can never be added to them.

ऋतश्च संयोगादेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च, संयोगादेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋन्ताद्भातोः संयोगदिरुत्तरयोर्लिङ्सिचोरात्मनेपदेषु वा इडागमो भवति ।

43. The इद् is optionally added to the endings of the Atmanepada Benedictive and S-Aorist, after a root, which ends in short ऋ, which is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

As ध्वृषीष्ट or ध्वरिषीष्ट; स्मृषीष्ट, or स्मरिषीष्ट; अध्वृषाताम्, or अध्वरिषाताम्; अस्मृषाताम्, or अस्मरिषाताम् ॥ ऋत इति किम् । च्योषीष्ट, झोषीष्ट; अच्योष्ट, अझोष्ट ॥ संयोगादेरिति किम् । कृषीष्ट, हृषीष्ट; अकृत, अहत ॥ आत्मनेपदेष्वित्येव । अध्वार्षीत्, अस्मार्षीत् ॥ संस्कृषीष्ट समस्कृतेत्यत्रोपदेशाधिकापदभक्त-त्वाच्च सुद् इडागमो न भवति ॥

Why ending in short ऋ? Observe च्योषीष्ट, अच्योष्ट, झोषीष्ट and अझोष्ट ॥ Why 'beginning with a conjunct consonant'? Observe कृषीष्ट, हृषीष्ट, अकृत and अहत ॥ Why 'in the Atmanepada'? Observe अध्वार्षीत्, अस्मार्षीत् ॥ In संस्कृषीष्ट and समस्कृत there is not इद्, first because स्कृ (the form assumed by कृ with सुद् aug-ment) is not so enunciated in the Dhâtupaṭha; the word upadeśa VII. 2. 10, is understood here; so that the rule applies to those roots only which in the Dhâtupaṭha are ऋ ending and preceded by conjunct consonant; and secondly सुद् augment is considered as not attached to the root (VI. 1. 135), and there-fore स्कृ is not considered a root beginning with a conjunct consonant.

स्वरतिसूतिसूयतिधूञ्जदितो वा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरति, सूति, सूयति, धूञ्ज, ऊदितः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरति सूति सूयति धूञ् इत्येतेभ्य ऊदित्भ्यश्चोत्तरस्य बलादेरार्द्धातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ।

44. A Valâdi-ârdhadhâtuka affix optionally takes इद्, after svri, after the two roots सू (sûti and sūyati), after धूञ्, and after a root which has an indicatory long ऊ ॥

As स्वरिता or स्वर्त्ता ॥ प्रसोता, प्रसविता ॥ सूयति, सोता, सविता ॥ धूञ्, धोता, धविता ॥ ऊदित्भ्यः खल्वपि । गाहू, विगाडा, विगाहिता; गुपू, गोप्ता, गोपिता ॥ वेति वर्त्तमाने पुनर्वाग्रहणं लिङ्सि-चोर्विवृत्त्यर्थम् । सूतिसूयत्योर्विकरणनिर्देशः पू प्रेरणइत्यस्य निवृत्त्यर्थः । धूञ्भिति सातुबन्धकस्य निर्देशो धू

विधूननइत्यस्य निवृत्त्यर्थः । सविता धवितेत्येव नित्यमेतयोर्भवति । स्वरतेरेतस्माद्विकल्पाद्भ्रमोः स्यइत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । स्वरिष्यति । किति तु प्रत्ययं श्रुषकः किति नित्यः प्रतिषेधो भवति पूर्वप्रतिषेधेन ॥ स्वृत्वा, सूत्वा, धृत्वा ॥

Though the anuvṛtti of वा was current, the second employment of वा is to stop the anuvṛtti of the Benedictive and the S-Aorist. The roots सू of Adâdi (21) and Divâdi (24) are to be taken, as the special forms सूति and सूयति indicate, and not the सू of the Tudâdi (115) class. The धृ is exhibited with the anubandha ञ्, in order to exclude धृ विधूनने of Tudâdi (105). In the case of these latter the इद् augment is invariable, as सविता and धविता ॥ The root स्वृ takes invariably इद् in the Future, by virtue of the subsequent superseding rule VII. 2. 70, as स्वरिष्यति ॥ And before कित् affixes, the prior rule VII. 2. 11, invariably debars इद्, as स्वृत्वा, सूत्वा, धृत्वा ॥

रधादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रध-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रध हिंसासंसिद्धारित्येवमादिभ्यो ऽष्टाभ्य उत्तरस्य बलादेरार्द्धधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ॥

45. A valâdi-ârdhadhâtuka affix optionally takes इद् after रध् and the seven roots that follow it (Divâdi. 84 to 91).

As रधिता or रद्धा ; नंथा, (VII. 1. 60 तुम्) नक्षिता ; व्रसा, (VI. 1. 59 अम्) तर्मा, तर्षिता ; व्रसा, रर्मा, रर्षिता ; द्रोग्धा, द्रोढा, (VIII. 2. 33) द्रोहिता ; माग्धा, मोढा, मोहिता ; श्लोढा, श्लोहिता, श्लोग्धा, श्लेग्धा, श्लेढा, श्लेहिता ॥

Some hold that the रधादि roots *optionally* take इद् in the Perfect Tense also, because the present sūtra being subsequent to VII. 2. 13, debars that sūtra so far. Others hold that the रधादि roots will *always* take इद् in the Perfect, because the former rule VII. 2. 13 is stronger than the present, in as much as that is a prohibitory rule. So they form ररन्धिव and ररन्धिम ॥

निरः कुषः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरः, कुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर इत्येवंपूर्वात् कुष उत्तरस्य बलादेरार्द्धधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ।

46. A valâdi-ârdhadhâtuka affix gets optionally the augment इद्, after कुष् when it is preceded by निर् ॥

As निष्क्रोष्टा or निष्क्रोषिता, निष्क्रोष्टम् or निष्क्रोषितुम्, निष्क्रोष्टव्यम् or निष्क्रोषितव्यम् ॥ But only क्रोषिता, क्रोषितुं, क्रोषितव्यम् without निर् ॥ The exhibition of निर् instead of निस् indicates the existence of a separate and distinct preposition निर्, besides निस् ॥ It is the र् of this निर् which is changed to ल् by VIII. 2. 19, in निलयनम्; for the र् of निस् being asiddha could not be changed to ल् ॥

इणिष्टायाम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्, निष्टायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरः कुषो निष्टायामिडागमो भवति ।

47. The augment इद् is added to the Participial affixes त् and तवत्, after कुष् preceded by निर् ॥

As निष्कुषितवान्, निष्कुषितः ॥ The special mention of इद् in the sūtra is for the sake of making its addition invariable, otherwise it would have been

optional, or debarred by VII. 2. 15. In the subsequent sūtra, the addition becomes again optional.

तीपसहलुभरुपरिपः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, इष्, सह, लुभ, रुष्, रिष्ः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादावाद्धातुके इष् सह लुभ रुष् रिष् इत्येतैश्चा वा इडागमो भवति ।

48. An ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a त may optionally take the इद्, after the roots इष्, सह्, लुभ्, रुष् and रिष् ॥

As एषा or एषिता ॥ The इष् 'to wish' (VI. 59) is taken here, and not the इष् (IV. 19. IX. 53) of the Divâdi and Kryâdi class. Of the Divâdi इष् 'to send, to go' we have invariably प्रेषिता, प्रेषितुं, प्रेषितव्यं; and the इष् 'to repeat' of the Kryâdi is governed also by this rule and has the same forms. Therefore some read the anuvṛitti of उदिन् into this sūtra. सह। सोढ। सहिता। लुभ। लाम्बिता। लोढा। रुष्। रोष। रोषिता। रिष्। रेष। रोषिता ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a त'? Observe एषिष्यति ॥

सनीवन्तर्द्धभ्रस्जदम्भुश्रिस्वयूर्णु भरज्ञपिसनाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, इवन्त,
ऋध, भ्रस्ज, दम्भ, श्रि, स्वृ, यु, ऊर्णु, भर, ज्ञपि, सनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवान्तानाम धातूनाम् । ऋधु भ्रस्ज दम्भु श्रि स्वृ यु ऊर्णु भर ज्ञपि सन् इत्येतेषां च सनि वा इडागमो भवति ।

49. The desiderative स् may optionally take इद्, after a root ending in इच्, and after ऋधु, भ्रस्ज, दम्भु, श्रि, स्वृ, यु, ऊर्णु, भृ, ज्ञप्, and सन् ॥

Thus दिदेविषति or दुद्यूषति, सिसेविषति, सुस्यूषति ॥ ऋध्, अर्द्धिषति, ईर्त्सति ॥ भ्रस्ज, विभ्रज्जिषति, (VI. 4. 47) विभ्रक्षति, (VIII. 2. 36 and 41) विभ्रज्जिषति, विभक्षति ॥ दम्भु, दिद्भिषति, धिप्सति, (VII. 4. 56) धीप्सति, श्रि, उच्छिष्यति, उच्छिष्यति ॥ स्वृ, सिस्वारिषति, सुस्वृषति ॥ यु, यियविषति, (VII. 4. 80) युयूषति, ऊर्णु, प्राणुनविषति, प्राणुनुविषति, प्राणुनूषति, ॥ The root भृच् of the Bhuâdi class is to be taken, as the form भर with ज्ञप् in the sūtra indicates. विभ्रिषति, बुभूर्षति, ॥ ज्ञपि, जिज्ञपयिषति, ज्ञीप्सति ॥ सन्, सिसानिषति, सिषासति ॥ केचिद्भ्रभ्रज्ञपिसनितनितनितिरिद्राणामिति पठन्ति, ॥ तितनिषति, तितंसति, तितांसति, पिपतिषति, पिप्सति, दिदरिद्रिषति, दिदरिद्रासति ॥ सनीति क्रिप्, देविता, भ्रटा ॥

Some add तन्, पन् and हरिद्रा also, as तितनिषति or तितंसति or तितांसति, (VI. 4. 17) पिपतिषति or पिप्सति (VII. 4. 54, VIII. 2. 29. VII. 4. 58) दिदरिद्रिषति or दिदरिद्रासति ॥ Why do we say 'Desiderative'? Observe देविता, भ्रटा ॥ The form अर्द्धिषति is thus evolved. The Desiderative root is अर्द्धिस्, the ऋ being guṇated by VII. 3. 86 before सन् ॥ Now we reduplicate it, and the second syllable धिस् will be reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. and the रेफ is not duplicated by VI. 1. 3: so we get धिस् to reduplicate, and ध is changed to द ॥ The form ईर्त्सति is thus evolved. By VII. 4. 55, the ऋ is changed to long ई, which is followed by र् by I. 1. 57. Thus we have ईर्त्स as root, and प्त is reduplicated, and the reduplicate is elided (VII. 4. 58). The forms धिप्सति and धीप्सति are similarly formed.

क्लिशः क्लानिष्ठयोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लिशः, क्का, निष्ठयोः ॥ ५० ॥

वृत्तिः । क्लिशः क्लानिष्ठयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

50. The affixes *ktivâ*, क्क and क्कवतु, may optionally take इद् after क्लिश् ॥

As क्लिष्ट्वा or क्लिशित्वा, क्लिष्टः or क्लिशितः, क्लिष्टवान् or क्लिशितवान् ॥ क्लिश् (IX. 50) having an indicatory ऊ would have optionally taken इद् before *ktivâ* by VII. 2. 44, but then the Nishṭhâ affixes by VII. 2. 15 would never have taken the augment. क्लिश् (Divâdi 52) उपतापे, being anudâtta would *always* have taken इद् before *ktivâ* and Nishṭhâ. Hence this rule ordains option with regard to *ktivâ*.

पूडश्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूडः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूडश्च क्लानिष्ठयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

51. The affixes *ktivâ*, क्क and क्कवतु optionally get इद् after पू ॥

As पूत्वा or पवित्वा, सोमोत्तिपूतः, सोमोत्तिपवितः पूतवान् or पवितवान् ॥ This allows option where by VII. 2. 11 there would have been prohibition. See I. 2. 22.

वसतिश्चुधोरिद् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसति, शुधोः, इद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसतेः शुधेश्च क्लानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

52. The affix *ktivâ*, kta and ktavatu always receive the augment इद् after वस् (वसति) and शुध् ॥

As उषित्वा, उषितः and उषितवान्, क्षुधित्वा, क्षुधितः, क्षुधितवान् ॥ The वस् of the Adâdi class will get इद् as it is enumerated in the list of सेद् roots. The repetition of इद् shows that the rule is invariable, the 'optionally' of the preceding sūtra does not affect it.

अञ्जेः पूजायाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्जेः, पूजायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जेः पूजायामर्थे क्लानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

53. The affixes *ktivâ*, kta and ktavatu take the augment इद् after the root अञ्च्, when meaning 'to honor or do something to show honor'.

As अञ्चित्वा जानु जुहोति, अञ्चित्ता अस्य गुरवः (III. 2. 188, VI. 4. 30, II. 3. 67) By VII. 2. 56 अञ्चु would optionally have caused इद् to come before *ktivâ*, and hence by VII. 2. 15 never before the Nishṭhâ. This sūtra ordains invariable addition of this augment. Why do we say when meaning 'to honor'? Observe उदक्तपुत्रकं कूपान्, 'the water is raised from the well'.

लुभो विमोहने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुभः, विमोहने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुभो विमोहनेर्थे वर्तमानात् क्लानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

54. The affixes *ktivâ*, kta and ktavatu take इद् after the root लुम् (Tud. 22) when meaning 'entangled or confused'.

As लुभित्वा and लोभित्वा, विलुभिताः केशाः, विलुभितः सीमन्तः, विलुभितानि पशानि ॥ विमोहनं = आकुलीकरणं ॥ By VII. 2. 48 लुभ would have optionally caused इट् to come before क्त्वâ, and then by VII. 2. 15 the Nishthâ would never have been सेट् ॥ Hence this sūtra. Why do we say when meaning 'to entangle'? See लुब्धः वृषलः = शीतेन पीडितः, ॥ लुभ् 'to be greedy' (Div. 128) is not governed by this rule, but by VII. 2. 48. As लुब्ध्वा or लोभित्वा and लुभित्वा (I. 2. 26) ॥

जूषश्चोः क्ति ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जू, व्रश्चोः, क्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जू व्रश्चि इत्येतयोः क्ताप्रत्यये इडागमो भवति ।

55. The affix क्त्वâ takes the augment इट्, after जू and व्रश्च् ॥

As जरित्वा or जरीत्वा, (VII. 2. 38) and व्रश्चित्वा ॥ जू was prohibited by VII. 2. 11. and व्रश्च would have been optionally सेट्, as it has an indicatory long ऊ, by VII. 2. 44. Hence this rule. The special mention of क्त्वâ, stops the anuvṛitti of क्ता and क्तावatu.

उदितो वा ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदितः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदितो धातोः क्ताप्रत्यये परतो वा इडागमो भवति ।

56. The इट् is optionally the augment of क्त्वâ, after a root which has an indicatory short उ ॥

As शसु—शमित्वा or शान्त्वा; तसु—तमित्वा or तान्त्वा; रसु—रमित्वा or रान्त्वा ॥

से असिचि कृतचृतच्छृदत्तृदृत्तः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ से, असिचि, कृत, चृत, छृद, तृद, नृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकाराश्रवसिच्यार्द्धधातुके कृत चृत छृद तृद नृत् इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा इडागमो भवति ।

57. An ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a स् (except सिच् the characteristic of the s-Aorist) may optionally take the augment इट्, after the verbs कृत्, (Tud 141, Rudh. 11) चृत, (Tud. 35) छृद् (Rudh. 8) तृद् (Tud. 9) and नृत् (Div. 9).

As कर्त्स्यति, अकर्त्स्यन्, चिकृत्सति कर्त्सिष्यति, अकर्त्सिष्यन् चिकर्त्सिषति । चृत, चर्त्स्यति अचर्त्स्यन्, चिचृत्सति, चात्सिष्यति, अचिचिष्यन्, चिचिषिषति । छृद्, छर्त्स्यति । अछृत्स्यन्, अचिचृत्सति । छर्त्सिष्यति, अछृत्सिष्यन् । चिच्छर्त्सिषति । तृद्, तर्त्स्यति, अतर्त्स्यन्, तितृत्सति, तर्त्सिष्यति । अतर्त्सिष्यन् । तितर्त्सिषति । नृत्, नर्त्स्यति, अनर्त्स्यन्, नितृत्सति, नर्त्सिष्यति । अनर्त्सिष्यन् । निनर्त्सिषति ।

Why do we say 'beginning with a स्'? Observe कर्त्सिता ॥ Why असिचि? Observe अकर्त्सित् ॥

गमेरिद् परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमेः, इट्, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्द्धातोः सकारादिरार्द्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेष्विडागमो भवति ।

इष्टिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेन समानपदस्थस्य गमेरयमिडागमोनेष्यते ॥

58. An ârdhadhatuka affix beginning with a स् gets the इट् augment, after गम् in the Parasmaipada.

As गमिष्यति, अगमिष्यन्, जिगमिषति ॥ Why of गम्? Observe चेष्यति ॥ The repetition of इट् shows that the rule is invariable. Why 'in the Parasmaipada'? Observe संगसीष्ट, संगसीष्ट, संगस्यते, संजिगंसते, संजिगंसिष्यते, अधिजिगांसते, अधिजिगांसिष्यते ॥

The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 16 when **गम्** is the substitute of the root इङ् (II. 4. 48) Why before **स्**? Observe **गन्तास्मि, गन्तास्वः, गन्तास्मः** ॥

Ishii: This इङ् augment is not desired of the root **गम्** standing in the same pada with an atmanepada affix. But it occurs every where else. As जिगमिषिता इव आचरति = जिगमिषिचरयते, here there is इङ् augment, because atmanepada affix is not in the same pada with **गम्**, but is bahiranga. Compare VII. 2. 36 *var.* It occurs before kṛit affixes, and even where is luk-elision of Parasmaipada affix, and where therefore the affix generally would have left no trace behind by I. 1. 63. As संजिगमिषिता and अधिजिगमिषिता व्याकरणस्थ ॥ So also जिगमिषत्वम्, here there is luk-elision of the Imperative affix हि ॥ The opinion of the author of Padaśeshakāra is that the employment of the term Parasmaipada in the sūtra is illustrative. He explains it by saying:—परस्मैपदेषु यो गमिरुपलक्षितस्तस्मान् सकारादेशार्धधातुकस्य इङ् भवति ॥ According to him we have the forms संजिगमिसिता and अधिजिगमिसिता व्याकरणस्थ ॥

न वृद्धयश्चतुर्भ्यः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वृद्धयः, चतुर्भ्यः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृतादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्य उत्तरस्य सकारादेशार्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ॥

59. The Parasmaipada ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with **स्** do not get the augment इङ् after वृत् and the three roots that follow it.

Thus वृत्—वृत्स्यति, अवृत्स्यन्, विवृत्सति । वृध् वृत्स्यति । अवृत्स्यन् । विवृत्सति । शृध् । शृत्स्यति । अशृत्स्यन् शिशृत्सति । स्यन् । स्यन्सति । अस्यन्स्यन् ।

The वृतादि roots are four वृत्, वृध्, शृध् and स्यन् (Bhu. 795-798). In the examples, the Parasmaipada forms are shown, because these roots are optionally Parasmaipadi by I. 3. 92 before **स्य** and **सन्** ॥

Obj:—The word चतुर्भ्यः may conveniently have been omitted from the sūtra. A reference to the Dhātupāṭha will show that the वृतादि roots form a subdivision of श्रुतादि roots, and stand at the end of Dyutādi class. So that the sūtra न वृद्धयः would have been enough, and there would have been no uncertainty or vagueness about it, for the word वृतादि would mean 'the roots वृत् &c. with which the Dyutādi class ends'. Thus we shall get the *five* roots 795 वृत् वर्तने 796 वृध् वृद्धौ, 797 शृध् शब्दकुत्सायाम्; 798 स्यन् प्रसवणे and कृप् सामर्थ्ये ॥ As regards the last root कृप्, we shall find from the next sūtra, that the present sūtra applies to this root also. Or we can change the order of the roots, putting कृप् first, and वृत् &c after it; so that वृतादि will mean *four* roots only. Whether वृतादि be taken to mean the *five* or the *four* roots, the word चतुर्भ्यः is redundant.

Ans:—The word चतुर्भ्यः is used in order that the prohibition contained in this sūtra may debar the 'option' which the root स्यन् would have taken, because of its indicatory long ऊ (VII. 2. 44). For this 'option' is an antaranga operation, because it applies to *all* ārdhadhātuka affixes; while the 'prohibition' of the present sūtra is a bahiranga, because it applies to those affixes only which

begin with च् ॥ So that the 'prohibition' of this sūtra would not have debarred the 'option' of VII. 2. 44 : and in the Parasmaipada स्यन्तु would have had two forms; which, however, is not the case because of the word चतुर्थ्यः by which the 'prohibitor' is extended to स्यन्तु also. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have only one form, as, स्यन्त्यति; but in the Atmanepada we have *two* forms स्यन्दिष्यते or स्यन्त्यते ॥

The word 'Parasmaipada' is understood in this sūtra, so that the prohibition does not apply to ātmanepada affixes: as वर्तिषीष्ट, वर्तिष्यते, अवर्तिष्यन्, विवर्तिष्यते, स्यन्दिषीष्ट or स्यन्त्यष्ट ॥ Moreover, with regard to Atmanepada also, the इद् is added to these roots when they stand in the same 'pada' with the affixes. But when the Atmanepada affixes are added not to the *roots* 'vṛit &c', but to the *roots* which are derived from the *nominal* bases formed from 'vṛit &c', then the 'root' is not in the same pada with the affix, and the prohibition of this sūtra will apply. As विवृत्सित्रीयते ॥ Moreover, the rule applies, as we have said, to the affixes standing in the same 'pada' with the 'roots'; therefore it will apply to Desiderative roots, as विवृत्सति, though शप् here intervenes between the ārdhadhatuka affix सन् and the Parasmaipada तिप्; so also, an ekādeśa though śhānivāt and therefore an intervention, will not be considered so for the purposes of this rule, as विवृत्सिष्यति; so also in विवृत्सयति ॥ The prohibition, moreover, applies to कृन् affixes, and where there is luk-elision of Parasmaipada affixes. As विवृत्सिता; and विवृत्स स्वम् where the Imperative हि is luk-elided, and being so elided, the force of Parasmaipada does not here remain by न लुमताङ्गस्य (I. 1. 63); hence the above *Ishti*.

तासि च कल्पः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तासि, च, कल्पः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृप उच्यते तासिः सकारदेश्चार्द्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

60. The Parasmaipada ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with स्, and the affix तासि (the sign of the Periphrastic Future) do not get the augment इद्, after the root कल्प् ॥

Thus कल्प्ता, कल्पस्यति, अकल्पस्यन्, चिकल्पस्यति ॥ But कल्पितासे, कल्पिषीष्ट, कल्पिष्यते, अकल्पिष्यते, चिकल्पिष्यते in the Ātmanepada.

In the case of कल्प् also, the इद् is added to the ārdhadhātuka affixes in the Atmanepada, when the root stands in the same pada with the affixes and there is prohibition everywhere else. So also there is prohibition before कृति- affixes, and the luk-elision of Parasmaipada. As चिकल्पिता, चिकल्पस् स्वम् ॥

According to Padamanjari, these two sūtras could have been shortened thus:—(1) न वृद्भ्यः पञ्चभ्यः; (2) तासि च; and "कल्पः" could well have been omitted. The तास् comes only after कल्प and not after other roots of Vṛitādi class, in Parasmaipada [I. 3. 92 and 93]. Therefore, there is no fear that the prohibition तासि च will apply to the other roots of vṛitādi, but only to 'klip', because

the word परस्मैपदेषु is understood here; and as no roots of वृत्ति class take Parasmaipada in the Periphrastic Future except 'kṛip', there is no fear of any ambiguity.

अचस्तास्वत्थल्यनिटो नित्यम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, तास्वत्, थल्, अनिटः, नित्यम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासां ये नित्यानिटो धातवोऽजन्तास्तेभ्यस्तासाविव थलीडागमो न भवति ।

61. After a root, which ends in a vowel, and after which the Peri. Fut. affix *tâsi* is always devoid of the augment इद्; (after such a root) थल् the personal ending of the Perfect, like तास्, does not also get the augment इद् ॥

Those vowel-ending roots in Dhâtupâṭha which are *invariably* anit before the affix तास् (Peri. Future), are also anit before the Perfect ending थल् ॥ As याता (Peri-Fut.), ययाथ (Per), चेता, चिचेथ, नेता, निनेथ; होता जुहोथ ॥ Why 'ending in a vowel'? Observe भत्ता, बिभेदिय ॥ Why 'like तास्'? Observe लुत्वा but लुलाविथ, Why 'थल्'? Observe याता but यायिव, ययिम ॥ The word नित्यं qualifies अनिट्, if therefore तास् be *optionally* anit, then the थल् will be सेद् *always*. As तास्—विधाता or विधविता; the थल् is विदुधविथ ॥

Here इद् is optional before तास् by VII. 2. 44. Similarly चक्रमिथ, for क्रस् is anit in âtmanepada, and सेद् in Parasmaipada. In fact, wherever there is want of इद्, whether by complete prohibition or optional prohibition, all that is regulated by VII. 2. 13: this is the view adopted by the Kâsîkâ. But another view is that the prohibition of this sūtra applies to the इद् of VII. 2. 13 only, but does not debar the option of VII. 2. 44; so they have two forms विदुधोथ and विदुधविथ ॥ This view is applied by them to VII. 2. 46, as सस्वर्थ or सस्वरिथ (VII. 2. 44).

Why have we used the word वन् in तास्वन्? The force of वन् is that the root should have a form in तास् and then be anit; and if a root has no Periphrastic Future form, and thus its तास् is anit, such a root is not governed by this sūtra. As जघसिथ and उवयिथ ॥ Here the roots घस् and वृष् the substitutes of अद् and वेष् respectively have no Periphrastic Future form, and hence this rule does not apply to them.

उपदेशेऽस्वत्तः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशे, अत्वत्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशे यो धातुस्कारवान् तासौ नित्यानिट् तस्मात्तासाविवथलीडागमो न भवति ।

62. After a root which possesses a short अ as its root-vowel in the original enunciation (the Dhâtupâṭha), and after which the Peri-Fut. तास् is always devoid of the augment इद्, थल् the Personal ending of the Perfect, like तास्, does not get the augment इद् ॥

As Fut. पक्ता, Per. पपकथ, यटा, इयट, शक्ता, शशकथ ॥ Why do we say 'in the Original Enunciation'? Observe Fut. कर्ता Per. चकार्षिथ in which the अ of 'karsh' is the result of guṇa substitution. Why do we say 'having an अ'? Observe Fut. भेता Per. बिभेदिथ, here the root-vowel is इ ॥ Why do we say "short अ"? Observe Fut. राक्षा Per. रसाधिथ from राध् the root-vowel being long आ ॥ The word तास्वन् is understood here also. Therefore we have जिघृक्षति, जिग्रहिथ ॥ Here the root ग्रह् is aniṭ before सन् (VII. 2. 12) and not before तास् so it will not be aniṭ before थ ॥ The words नित्यं अनिटः are also understood here. Therefore the rule does not apply to आनञ्जिथ (VII. 4. 71, 72). For the root अञ्जू (VII. 21) takes *optionally* इट् before तास् (VII. 2. 44) as अञ्जिता and अञ्जिता ॥

ऋतो भारद्वाजस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, भारद्वाजस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्ताद्भारतोर्भारद्वाजस्याचार्यस्य मतेन तासाविव नित्यानिटस्यलि इडागमो न भवति ।

63. In the opinion of Bhâradvâja, it is only after a root which ends in short ऋ, and after which the Peri-Fut. तास् is always devoid of the augment इट्, that थल् also, like तास्, does not take the augment इट् ॥

As ससर्त्ता, ससर्थ, ध्वसर्त्ता, इध्वर्थ ॥ The ऋ roots are covered by VII. 2. 61 ; the specification of these roots makes a restriction, so that *all* other roots, are not aniṭ, though the Peri-Fut in तास् be aniṭ. So that according to Bhâradvâja, we have forms like ययिथ, वयिथ, पेचिथ, शेकिथ ॥ Thus this sūtra makes the preceding two sūtras optional, except so far as short ऋ-ending roots are concerned.

As a general rule, all roots ending in long क् are सेट्; therefore, the sūtra mentions *short* क्, in order to debar its application to long क् ending words. Had it not been so, this rule would have been a *vidhi* rule and not a *niyama*: because rule VII. 2. 61 does not apply to long क् ending roots, and so if the present sūtra were to include long क् also, it could not be called a *niyama* (restriction) of VII. 2. 61.

वभुथाततन्थजगृम्भववर्थेति निगमे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वभुथ, आततन्थ, जगृम्भववर्थ, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वभूथ आततन्थ जगृम्भववर्थ इत्वैतानि निपात्यन्ते निगमविषये ।

64. In the Veda are found the irregular forms वभूथ, आततन्थ, जगृम्भव and ववर्थ ॥

As एवं हि होता प्रथमो वभूथ (=वभूविथ); येनान्तरिक्षपूर्वातन्थ (=आतनिथ), जगृम्भान्ते वृक्षिणमिन्द्र हस्तम् (=जगृहिम), ववर्थ एवं हि उवातिषा (=ववरिथ). See VII. 2. 13. This is also a *niyama* rule with regard to वृ for by VII.2.13 the root वृ was already aniṭ, and its Perfect would have been ववर्थ by that rule. The special mention of this form shows that in secular literature this root is always सेट् before थ of the Perfect.

विभाषा सृजिदशोः ॥ ६५ ॥ विभाषा, सृजि-दशोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृजि दशि इत्येतयोस्त्याल विभाषा इडागमो न भवति ।

65. थल् the Personal ending of the Perfect, optionally gets the augment इद् after सृज् and दश् ॥

As सस्रष्ट or सस्रिजिथ, दद्रष्ट or ददरिथ ॥ See VI. 1. 58 for अम् augment.

इडस्यार्त्तिव्ययतीनाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्, अत्ति-आर्त्ति-व्ययतीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्ति अर्त्ति व्ययति इत्येतेषां थलीडागमो भवति ।

66. The affix थल् gets always the augment इद् after अद्, ऋद् and व्यय् ॥

As आदिय, अरिय, and संविद्यिय ॥ The root व्येञ् is not changed to व्या (VI. 1. 46) in the Perfect. By VII. 2. 63, the roots अद् and व्ये would have *optionally* been सेद्, and ऋद् never; therefore, the present sūtra makes the इद् augment compulsory. The इद् is repeated in the aphorism for the sake of clearness, the rule could have stood without it, for the anuvṛitti of 'optionally' could not have run into it from the last sūtra: for if it was an optional sūtra, the enumeration of अद् and व्ये was useless, as they were already provided for by VII. 2. 63. Therefore, this sūtra makes an invariable rule.

वस्वेकाजाद्घसाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, एकाच्-आत्-घसाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतद्विवचनानामेकाच् धातूनाम् आकारान्तानां घसेश्च वसाविडागमो भवति ।

67. The Participial affix वस् (वस्) gets the augment इद् only then when the reduplicated root before it consists of one syllable, or when it comes after a root ending in long आ, and after घस् ॥

Thus आदिवान्, आशिवान्, पेचिवान्, शेक्रिवान् ॥ In the first two of these, the reduplicate stems आद् and आश् become of one syllable by the coalescence of अ अद् and अभश् ॥ In पेच् and शेक् the reduplicate is elided and the vowel अ changed to ए, and thus the reduplicate has become of one syllable. Of roots ending in आ we have, यविवान्, तस्थिवान्, of घस्—जशिवान् ॥ This वस् would have taken the augment by the general rule of इद् increment, the present sūtra makes a niyama, so that the roots which are not monosyllabic in their reduplicate form are anit: as विभिद्वान्, चिच्छिद्वान्, भूभूवान्, शिशिवान् ॥ The niyama is made with regard to the roots which would have taken इद् generally, as not being governed by the prohibition in VII.2.13. The roots ending in long आ may consist of more than one syllable in their reduplicate form, as याया + वस्, hence their separate enumeration: as a matter of fact, however, these reduplicates also become monosyllabic ultimately by losing their आ ॥ The root वस्त्रि is not governed by this rule, for its Perfect will be formed periphrastically by III. 1. 35 Vārt, because

it consists of more than one syllable: as इद्दिवाचकार ॥ And when आस् is not added, there also इद्दिवा loses its final आ before ârdhadhâtuka affixes by the vârtika under VI. 4. 114. So the आ being elided before the adding of any affix, this becomes a root which no longer ends in आ, and so the cause of adding इद् under this sūtra no longer exists, and so no इद् is added. Thus we have इद्दिवान्, for before ârdhadhâtuka affixes इद्दिवा loses its आ (VI. 4. 114 Vârt), and this elision being considered as *siddha*, (VI. 4. 114 Vârt), no occasion remains for the augment इद् ॥ The घस् becomes जश् in its reduplicate form (a stem of one syllable), but had it not been separately mentioned, then by VI. 4. 100, the penultimate अ of घस् would have been elided first, before reduplication, because VI. 4. 100, is subsequent in order to the rule ordaining reduplication (VI. 1. 14 &c). The अ being elided, we should have घ्स् only, which not having any vowel, could not be reduplicated. By its separate enumeration here, the augment इद् being ordained by a subsequent rule (VII. 2. 67), prevents even the rule of elision (VI. 4. 100). Having, therefore, *first* added इद्, we *then* elide the penultimate अ by VI. 4. 98, this elided अ, however, becomes sthânavat for the purposes of reduplication only by I. 1. 59. Thus घस् + इवस् = घ्स् + इवस् (VI. 4. 98) = जश् + इवस् = जश्चिवान् ॥

विभाषा गमहनविद्विशाम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गम-हन-विद्विशाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन विद्व विश इत्येतेषां धातूनां वसौ विभाषा इडागमो भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ दृशश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

68. The affix वस् (वंस्) optionally takes इद् after गम, हन्, विद् and विश् ॥

As गम्—जग्मिवान् or जगन्वान् (म् changed to न् by VIII. 2. 64); हन्—जग्निवान् or जघन्वान्, (VII. 2. 54 and 55) विद्—विविद्विवान् or विविद्वान्, विश्—विविशिवान् or विविश्वान् ॥ The root विद् 'to acquire' belongs to the Tudâdi class, as it is read here with the Tudâdi विश् ॥ The root विद् 'to know' (II. 55. IV. 62), forms *invariably* विविद्वान् because it is âtmanepadi and cannot take इद् augment before वस् affix.

Vârt:—The root दृश् should also be enumerated. As इद्दिवान् and इद्दिवान् ॥

सनिं ससनिवांसम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनिम्-ससनिवांसम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतिः सनन्तर्वा धातोः सनिससनिवांसामिति निपात्यते ।

69. The form ससनिवांसम् with सनिं is irregularly formed.

This is derived from सनोति or सनति root. As अञ्जित्वाग्ने सनिं ससनिवांसम् ॥ The augment इद् is added, there is no change of अ of सन् to ए, nor the elision of the reduplicate before वस् ॥ The other form is सनिवांसम् when not preceded by सनिम् ॥ This form ससनिवांसम् is Vedic, in secular literature we have सनिवांसम् ॥

ऋद्धनोः स्ये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋद्ध-हनोः, स्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानां धातूनां हन्तेश्च स्ये इडागमो भवति ।

70. **स्य** the sign of the Future and Conditional gets the augment इद्, after a root ending in short ऋ and after हन् ॥

As करिष्यति, हनिष्यति, हरिष्यति ॥ The root स्तृ takes always इद् before स्य, though it does so optionally before other affixes (see VII. 2. 44): as स्वरिष्यति ॥ Similarly अकरिष्यन्, अहरिष्यन्, अहनिष्यन् &c ॥

अञ्जेः सिचि ॥ ७१ ॥ अञ्जेः, सिचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जेः सिचि इडागमो भवति ।

71. The **स्** of the s-Aorist always takes the इद् after अञ्ज् (Rudh. 21).

As आञ्जात्, आञ्जिटाम्, आञ्जिषुः ॥ But अञ्जन्ता or अञ्जिता in tenses other than Aorist. The root having an indicatory long ऊ optionally takes इद् (VII. 2. 44.)

स्तुसुधूञ्भ्यः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, सु, धूञ्भ्यः, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तु सु धूञ् इत्येतेभ्यः सिचि परस्मैपदे परत इडागमो भवति ॥

72. The **सिच्** of the s-Aorist gets the इद् in the Parasmaipada after the roots स्तु, सु and धूञ् ॥

As अस्तावीत्, असावीत्, अधावीत् ॥ But अस्तोष्ट, असोष्ट, अधोष्ट or अधाविष्ट in Atmanepada. Exception to VII. 2. 10 and 44.

यमरमनमातां सक्च ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यम, रम, नम, आताम्, सक्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम रम नम इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च सगागमो भवति परस्मैपदे सिचि इडागमश्च ॥

73. The **सिच्** of the Aorist in the Parasmaipada takes the augment कृद् after यम, रम, नम and roots ending in long आ, and स् (सक्) is added at the end of these stems.

Thus अयंसीत्, अयंसिटाम्, अयंसिषुः ॥ व्यंसीत्, व्यंसिटाम्, व्यंसिषुः ॥ The root रम is Parasmaipadi when preceded by वि or आ (I. 3. 83). अनंसीत्, अनंसिटाम्, अनंसिषुः ॥ आकारान्तानाम् । अयासीत् । अयासिटाम् ; अयासिषुः । यमादीनां हलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिः प्राप्ता सा नेदीति प्रतिषिध्यते । परस्मैपदेऽप्येव । आयंस्त । अरंस्त । अनंस्त ॥

The Vṛiddhi in the case of यम् &c. ordained by VII. 2. 3, does not take place by VII. 2. 4. In the Atmanepada we have आयंस्त ॥ The root यम् is Atmanepadi, as it is preceded by आ (I. 3. 75) अरंस्त, अनंस्त (III. 1. 85). Exception to VII. 2. 10, 44.

स्मिपूडरञ्ज्वां सनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मि, पूड्, ऋ अञ्जू, अश् सनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मिड् पूड् ऋ अञ्जू अश् इत्येतेषां धातूनां सनीडागमो भवति ॥

74. The Desiderative **सन्** gets the augment इद् after the roots स्मिड्, पूड्, ऋ, अञ्जू and अश् ॥

Thus सिस्मधिषते, पिपविषते (VII.4.80) अरिषति, अञ्जिषति (VI. 1. 2 and 3) and अशिषते ॥ The root पूञ् is not governed by this rule, as पुपूषति ॥ The अञ् (V. 18) of Suâdi class is taken here, and not अञ् (IX. 51) of Kryâdi class, for the latter *always* has इद्, while the former having an indicatory long ऊ has *optionally* इद् ॥

किरश्च पञ्चभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ किरः, च, पञ्चभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः सनि इडागमो भवति ॥

75. The desiderative सन् takes इद् after कृ and the four roots that follow it (Tud. 116-120)

Thus चिकरिषति, जिगरिषति, दिदरिषते, दिधरिषते, पिप्रच्छिषति (I. 2. 8; VI. 1. 16). But सिस्मृक्षति not included in the five. The roots कृ and गृ would have optionally got इद् in the desiderative by VII. 2. 41, which would have been optionally lengthened by VII. 2. 38. But the इद् here being specifically ordained, does not get lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुके ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुदादिभ्यः, सार्वधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्य उत्तरस्य वलादेः सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

76. A sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant other than a य, gets the augment इद् after the root रुद् and the four that follow it (Ad. 58-62)

Thus रोदति, स्वपिति, श्रसिति, प्राणिति, जक्षति ॥ But जागर्ति which is beyond the five, and स्वप्ता before ârdhadhâtuka affixes, and रुन्ति before a vowel beginning affix.

ईशः से ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईशः, से ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश उत्तरस्य से इत्येतस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

77. The sârvadhâtuka affix से (the ending of the second Person Present and Imperative Atmanepada) gets the augment इद् after ईश् (Ad. 10)

As ईशिषे and हृशिष्व ॥ से becomes स्व by III. 4. 91 and 80. The से is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-ending.

ईडजनोर्ध्वे च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड्, जनोः, ध्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईड जन इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य ध्वे इत्येतस्य स इत्यतस्य च सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

78. The sârvadhâtuka affix से and ध्वे, (the endings of the Present and Imperative Atmanepadi) get the augment इद् after the roots ईड् (Ad. 9) and जन् ॥

Thus ईडिध्वे, ईडिध्वम्, ईडिषे, ईडिष्व, जनिध्वे, जनिध्वम्, जनिषे, जनिष्व ॥ The root जनी (IV. 41) is taken here. The Vikaraṇa इयन् has been elided in this case, as a Vedic irregularity, and so also there is not elision of the penultimate.

In the secular literature the form is जायसे ॥ Here the य would prohibit इद् always. The जन् of the third class (III. 24) is also to be included, thus we have व्यतिजज्ञिषे, व्यतिजज्ञिष्व, व्यतिजज्ञिष्वे, व्यतिजज्ञिष्वम् in karma vyatihâra. Otherwise this root is Parasmaipadi. ध्व takes इद् after ईश् also, as ईशिष्वम् ॥

For this purpose, some read the sūtra as ईडजनोः सध्वे च; and स् stands here for से having its Locative dropped, and therefore the force of च in the sūtra, according to this reading, is to draw in the anuvṛtti of ईश from the previous sūtra. Those who do not follow this reading, draw the whole of the last sūtra by force of च ॥ From these it may be asked, what is then the necessity of two sūtras? Could not one sūtra, like this, ईशटिजनां सध्वयोः, have sufficed, as being shorter and more general? To this there is no better valid answer than this विचित्रा हि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः ॥

The form ध्वे being taken in the sūtra, the rule will not apply to the ध्वम् of लङ् (Imperfect): which will not take इद् ॥ But इद् will apply to the ध्वम् of the Imperative on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वान् ॥

लिङः सलोपो ऽनन्यस्य ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङः, स, लोपः, अनन्यस्य ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुक इति वर्तते, सार्वधातुक यो लिङ् तस्य अनन्यस्य सकारस्थ लोपो भवति ॥

79. In the sârvadhâtuka Liñ (i. e. Potential), the स् which is not final (i. e. the स् of the augments यास् and सीय्), is elided.

What is the स which is not final? The स् of the augments यासुद्, सुद् and सीयुद् ॥ Thus कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, कुर्युः, कुर्वीत, कुर्वीताताम्, कुर्वीरन् ॥ Why 'not the final'? Observe कुर्युः, कुर्याः ॥ Why in the Sârvadhâtuka? Observe क्रियास्ताम्, क्रियासुः, कृषीष्ट, कृषीयास्ताम्, कृषीरन् in the Benedictive.

अतो येयः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, या, इयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताद्ग्रादुत्तरस्य या इत्येतस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इश् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

80. After a Present stem ending in short अ, इय् is substituted for the sârvadhâtuka या (i. e. for the या of the augment यास् of the Potential).

Thus पचेत्, पचेताम् and पचेयुः ॥ The य् of इय् is elided before affixes beginning with a consonant by VI. 1. 66. In the case of पचेयुः, the pararûpa of VI. 1. 96 is prevented. Why 'ending in a short अ'? Observe चितुयात्, सुतुयात् ॥ Why 'short'? Observe यायात् ॥ Why sârvadhâtuka? Observe चिकीर्ष्यात् ॥

The objector may say, the form चिकीर्ष्यात् will be so by the elision of अ under VI. 4. 48, and so there is no necessity of reading the anuvṛtti of sârvadhâtuka in this sūtra; for when अ is elided by अन्तोलोपः VI. 4. 48, in the case of ârdhadhâtuka या the present rule cannot apply, as there is no base left

which ends in अ ॥ To this we reply, this is not a good reason: for then in the case of पचन् and यजेन् also, the rule अतो दीर्घो यञि (VII. 3. 101) would apply, and the अ of पच would require to be lengthened. But that is not so. The fact is that the present sūtra debars rule VII. 3. 101. Therefore, as this इय substitute debars the lengthening of VII. 3. 101, so it would debar the lopa of VI. 4. 48. Therefore, if the anuvṛitti of sârvadhâtuka be not read into this sūtra, the इय substitute would apply to ârdhadhâtuka also, and the lopa-elision VI. 4. 48 would not help, as that would be superseded by this special rule. Therefore the anuvṛitti of "sârvadhâtuka" should be read into this sūtra.

The above is stated on general grounds. But if the maxim मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वात् विधीन् धाधन्ते नोत्तरान् (Apavâdas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them) be applied here, then the present sūtra would supersede only the preceding sūtra VI. 4. 48 and not the following sūtra VII. 3. 101 which would not be superseded by the present sūtra. In this view also, the lopa being superseded at all events, the anuvṛitti of 'Sârvadhâtuka' must be read into this sūtra.

In the दीर्घ rule VII. 3. 101, the word 'sârvadhâtuka' is understood from VII. 3. 95. But according to some, the word तिङि of VII. 3. 88 is also understood there, so that they would lengthen the अ, before a sârvadhâtuka personal termination (तिङ्) only, and not before every sârvadhâtuka affix in general. According to this view, the present sūtra will debar only the दीर्घा rule (VII. 3. 101) and not the lopa rule (VI. 4. 48), on the maxim येन ना प्राप्तं &c.

The word येयः in the sūtra is formed by या + इयः; and या is exhibited without any case-termination. Others say, the word is यः the sixth case of या formed on the analogy of विश्वपः by the elision of आ (VI. 4. 140). Then यः + इयः = य + इयः (VIII. 3. 19) after this elision, there ordinarily would take place no sandhi; as this elision is considered asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of VI. 1. 87. Contrary to this general rule, however, the sandhi takes place here and we have येयः by VI. 1. 87. The अ in इयः is for the sake of pronunciation only. The real substitute is इय ॥

Some read the sūtra as अतो यासियः ॥ So that the sthâni is यास् and not या, and यासियः is a genitive compound.

आतो ङितः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ङितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारस्य ङिद्वयवस्य अकारान्ताद्ङादुत्तरस्य सार्धधातुकस्य इय इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

81. For the आ being a portion of a sârvadhâtuka Personal ending which is ङित् (i.e. आते, आथे, आताम् and आथाम्), coming after a Verbal stem ending in short अ, there is substituted इय ॥

Thus पचने, पचेथे, पचेताम्, पचेथाम्, यजेते, यजेथे, यजेथाम्, दास्यथे, दास्येते ॥ The य् of इय् drops by VI. 1. 66. Why do we say "the long आ"? Observe पचन्ति, यजन्ति, पचन्ते, यजन्ते ॥ Why do we say 'a डित् affix'? Observe पचावहे, पचामहे (I. 2. 4). Why do we say 'ending in short अ'? Observe चिन्वाते, मुन्वाते ॥ Why 'short'? Observe मिमाते, मिमाथे ॥

All sârvadhâtuka affixes which have not an indicatory प् are डित् by I. 2. 4. Now सार्वधातुकमपित् (I. 2. 4) is a sūtra in which the word डित् is understood from I. 2. 1. But the grammatical construction of the word डित् in the two sūtras I. 2. 1 and I. 2. 4 is not the same. In the first sūtra, it means डिति इव = डित्त्वन्, i. e. the roots गा कुद् &c are treated in the same way as they would have been treated, had a डित् affix followed. But in the second sūtra I. 2. 4, the word डित्त्वन् is equal to डित इव "like of डित्" ॥ The sūtra I. 2. 1. is so explained in order to evolve the form उच्चुक्रुटिपति ॥ For when the सन् is added to कुद्, the root कुद् is treated as if the सन् was a डित् affix, and so there is no गुण. But if सन् itself had become डित् then the Desiderative root चुक्रुटिष्, being a डित् root would require âtmanepada affixes by अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् (I. 3. 12). In the case, however, of sârvadhâtuka-apitaffixes, the affixes themselves become like डित्, and are treated as डित् affixes, not only with regard to the stem preceding them, but with regard to their own selves also, as we see in the present sūtra.

आने मुक् ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आने, मुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आने परतोङ्गस्यातो मुगागमो भवति ॥

82. Before the Participial ending आन, a verbal stem ending in short अ, gets the augment मुक् ॥

Thus पचमानः, यचमानः ॥

This मुक् is part and parcel of अ only, and not of the anga. For if मुक् be considered as part of the anga, then it will be an intervention, and make the anga end in a consonant and so there will be anomaly in accent. For by VI. 1. 186, the ळ sârvadhâtuka affix is anudâtta after a stem ending in अ; so if मुक् be considered part of the anga, the stem no longer ends in अ but म्; but if it be considered as a portion of अ only, then the anga still remains अदुपदेश (VI. 1. 186). So the accent of पचमानः and यचमानः is governed by VI. 1. 186.

An objector may say, "if this be so, then the stem पचम् is still considered as ending in अ, and therefore in पचम्+आन, we should apply the previous sūtra VII. 2. 81, and change अ into इय्" ॥ To this we reply, 'no, it cannot be so; for the न् in अन् (VII. 2. 80) shows that the अ consisting of one mâtrâ is to be taken, but when मुक् is added, this अ becomes one mâtrâ and half, so the rule VII. 2. 81 will not apply; because it applies only to अ of one mâtrâ" The objector:—"If this is so, then the anudâtta of VI. 1. 186 will not also hold good, for there also the अन् means the अ of one mâtrâ." This is no valid objection. For there the word उपदेश is taken, so that a stem which at the time

of upadeśa or first enunciation, ends in a short अ of one mâtṛā, is governed by that rule; though after the enunciation, the short अ may be lengthened in its mâtṛā. It is for this reason that the rule VI. 1.186 applies to पचावः and पचामः ; though the short अ is subsequently lengthened before व and न by VII. 3. 101.

Or the sūtra may have been made as आनस्य घृद्, and the augment न् would then be added to आन and not to the verbal stem. All the above difficulties would be removed by this view. But then the final अ of पच् &c would require to be lengthened before मान by VII. 3. 101. This objection, however, is not insuperable, for one view of VII. 3. 101 is that the word तिङि is understood there, so that the lengthening would take place only before a तिङ् affix beginning with a यञ् vowel : and not before any other affix.

ईदासः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, आसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आस उत्तरस्थानस्य ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

83. ई is substituted for the आ of आन, after आस ॥

Thus आसीनो यजते ॥ (See I. 1. 54 by which the first letter of the second term after आसः which is exhibited in the Ablative is taken here). The अनि which is in the 7th case in the last aphorism, should be taken in the 6th case in this.

अष्टन आ विभक्तौ ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, आ, विभक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो विभक्तौ परत आकारदेशो भवति ॥

84. आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a case-ending.

Thus अष्टानिः, अष्टान्यः, अष्टानाम्, अष्टानु ॥ Why 'before a case-ending'? Observe अष्टत्वम्, अष्टता ॥ The rule of this sūtra is an optional one, and we have in the alternative अष्टभिः, अष्टभ्यः ॥ The आ in the sūtra indicates the individual letter आ, and not आ belonging to the general class आ ॥ For the generic आ would include the nasalised आं also, and as the letter replaced (अन्) is a nasal, the substitute would have been also nasal आँ, but it is not so. See VI. 1. 172 and VII. 1. 22. This rule applies also when the word stands at the end of a compound, as प्रियाद्यानः or प्रियाद्यैः (VII. 1. 22). The word विभक्ति governs the subsequent sūtras upto VII. 2. 114.

रायो हलि ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रायः, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रे ह्रस्वस्य हलादेशे विभक्तौ परत आकारदेशो भवति ॥

85. Before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, आ is substituted for the final of रे ॥

As राभ्याम्, राभिः, ॥ But रायौ, रायः before affixes beginning with a vowel. Why 'a case ending'? Observe रैत्वम्, रैता ॥

युष्मद्स्मदोरनादेशो ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अस्मद्दोः, अनादेशो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्स्मदित्येतयोरनादेशे विभक्तौ परत आकारदेशो भवति ॥

86. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, beginning with a consonant, when it is not a substitute.

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27 &c. Thus युष्माभिः अस्माभिः, युष्मासु, अस्मासु ॥ Why do we say 'when it is not a substitute'? Observe युष्मन् and अस्मन् (VII. 1. 31). The anuvṛitti of हलि need not be read into this sūtra from the preceding, for if that were so, the mention of अनदेशे would become redundant, because as a matter of fact no *substitute* case-ending begins with a consonant. However, reading this sūtra with VII. 2. 89, we find that the scope of the present sūtra is before consonant beginning affixes.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयायां च परतो युष्मदस्मदोकारादेशो भवति ॥

87. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the endings of the Accusative.

As त्वाम्, माम्, युवाम्, आवाम्, युष्मान् and अस्मान् ॥ This rule applies to endings which are even substitutes, otherwise the last rule would have been sufficient. See VII. 2. 28, 29, and VII. 2. 92 and 97.

प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमायाः, च, द्विवचने, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने परतो भाषायां विषये युष्मदस्मदोकारादेशो भवति ॥

88. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the ending of the Nom. Du. in the Secular literature.

As युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ Why of the nominative? Observe युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ Why in the Dual? Observe एवं, अहं, यूयं, वयं ॥ Why in the secular literature? Observe युवं वल्गाणि पीवसा वसाये in the Veda, so also आवाम् ॥

योचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ विभक्तावनादेशे युष्मदस्मदोर्यकारादेशो भवति ॥

89. य is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, which is not a substitute, and which begins with a vowel.

Thus स्वया, मया, त्वयि, मयि, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम् ॥ If in the sūtra VII. 2. 86, we read the anuvṛitti of हलि, we need not use अचि in the present sūtra. For then this sūtra will be a general (utsarga) aphorism, ordaining य before *all* non-substitute case-endings; and the sūtra VII. 2. 86, will be considered an exception (apavāda) to this, with regard to those case-endings which begin with a consonant, where आ will be ordained. In this view of the case, the use of अचि here is explanatory. Why 'when the ending is not a substitute'? Observe स्वद् गच्छति, मद् गच्छति ॥

शेषे लोपः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे विभक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्लोपो भवति ॥

90. In the remaining cases where (आ or य is not substituted) there is elision of the final of yushmad and asmad.

This elision finds scope in the Singular and Plural of the Ablative, Dative, Genitive, and the Nominative. Thus त्वम्, अहम्, यूयम्, वयम्, तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, युष्मभ्यम्, अस्मभ्यम्, स्वत्, मत्, युष्मत्, अस्मत्, तव, मम, युष्माकम्, अस्माकम् ॥ The following śloka gives the cases which are included in the word शेषः—

पञ्चम्याश्च चतुर्थ्याश्च षष्ठीप्रथमयोरपि ।

यान्यद्विवचनान्यत्र तेषु लोपो विधीयते ॥

The word शेष is employed in the sūtra for the sake of clearness. For there will be elision *universally* before *all* case-affixes. This is the *general* rule. To this there is the exception that before non-substitute case-affixes there will be य (VII. 2. 89). To this latter, there is an exception that before non-substitute case-endings beginning with a consonant, आ comes. Thus without any confusion, the आ, the य, and the lopa find their respective scopes.

When there is elision, why is not दाप् added in the Feminine; in स्वं ब्राह्मणी; अहं ब्राह्मणी? The दाप् is not added on the maxim सन्निपात लक्षणो विधिरानिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य 'a rule which is occasioned by a certain combination, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination.' Because the ending in अ of युष्मद् and अस्मद् was occasioned by vibhakti combination, if this latter occasion दाप्, then it will destroy its own fruit.

Or the words युष्मद् and अस्मद् may be taken to have no gender, and equally applicable to both masculine and feminine.

In order to avoid all this difficulty about दाप् some would elide the अद् (or दि portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sūtra. They argue that by the next sūtra VII. 2. 91, the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म् of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that *remains* (शेष) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

Why is this 'lopa' taught again, when by VII. 2. 102, all त्यदादि pronouns have अ substituted for their finals before case-endings; and so would yushmad and asmad, lose their finals and become yushma and asma by that rule? That rule does not apply to yushmad and asmad, because by an ishti that rule is restricted to tyadādi pronouns upto द्वि, thus excluding युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु and किम् ॥

मपर्यन्तस्य ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ म पर्यन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मपर्यन्तस्येत्ययमधिकारो, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो मपर्यन्तस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

91. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII.2. 98 take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto म्, i. e. the substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म ॥

Thus VII. 2. 92 teaches that युव and आव are substituted for yushmad and asmad in the dual. The substitutes replace युष्म् and अस्म्. Thus युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ Why 'upto म्'? Observe युवकाम्, आवकाम् ॥ The क (V. 3. 71), is not replaced. Similarly VII. 2. 97 teaches that त्व and म replace 'yushmad' and 'asmad' in the singular; by this sūtra 'yushm' and 'asm' are only replaced. Thus स्वया, मया, the अद् portion remains for which य is substituted by VII. 2. 89. Had the whole been replaced, then the अ of त्व and म would have been replaced by य (VII. 2. 89), and given us undesired forms like स्व्या and म्या ॥ Why is the word पर्यन्त employed in the sūtra and not the word अन्त, as मान्तस्य? In the first place the word अन्त is ambiguous, it may mean ending with म् but excluding म्, or ending with म् and including म् ॥ In the second place, the word पर्यन्त is used to indicate the limit, or portion taken out of the whole. The word मान्त would have meant, that form of yusmad and asmad which ends with म् ॥ Now these words have a form which ends in म्, as युष्मानाचष्टे or अस्मानाचष्टे = युष्मते or अस्मते formed by णिच् (the टि portion अद् is elided by VII. 4. 155, vārtika). Now a noun formed from this derivative root युष्मि and अस्मि by क्तिप् affix will be युष्म and अस्म ॥ These are the two forms of yusmad and asmad which are complete words ending in म् ॥ The present sūtra does not apply to these words.

In declining these nouns युष्म् and अस्म्, we shall apply the rules VII. 2. 89 and 86, thus :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	स्वं	युषां	युयं	Acc.	युषां	युषां	युषान्
Ins.	युष्या	युष्याभ्यां	युषाभिः	Dat.	तुभ्यं	युषाभ्यां	युषभ्यं
Abl.	युषत्	युषाभ्यां	युषत्	Gen.	तव	युष्याः	युषाकं
Loc.	युष्यि	युष्योः	युषासु ॥ (Padamanjari).				

युवावौ द्विवचने ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ युव, आवौ, द्विवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचनइत्यर्थग्रहणम् । द्विवचने ये युष्मदस्मदी द्व्यर्थाभिधानांविषये तयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य स्थाने युव आव इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

92. In the Dual, युव is substituted for युष्म and आव for अस्म ॥

Thus युवाम्, आवाम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ This substitution takes place even in compounds, where the sense of duality is prominent, if some other substitute like VII. 2. 94 &c. does not intervene. As अतिक्रान्तं युवाम् = अतियुवाम्, so also अत्यावाम्; अतियुवान्, अत्यावान् (= अतिक्रान्ताम् युवाम् &c.) अतियुवया and अत्यावया (= अतिक्रान्तेन् युवाम्) Similarly अतियुवाभिः, (अतिक्रान्तेर्बुवां) अत्यावाभिः, अतियुवभ्यम्, (अतिक्रान्तेभ्योयुवां) अत्यावभ्यम्, अतियुवत्, (अतिक्रान्ताद् युवां) अत्यावत्, अतियुवाकम्, (अतिक्रान्तानां युवां) अत्यावाकम्, अतियुवयि, (अतिक्रान्ते बुवां) अत्यावयि, आतयुवासु, अतिक्रान्तेषु युवां अत्यावासु ॥ But where त्व &c are to be substituted, there those will be substituted, as अतिस्वम् (= अतिक्रान्तो युवाम्), अत्यहम्, अतियुष्म, अतिवयम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम्, अतितव, अतिमम ॥ This substitution does not take place when 'yushmad' and 'asmad' denote one or many (more than two), though the compound may denote a duality: as अतिक्रान्तौ त्वाम् = अतिस्वाम्, अतिमाम्, अतियुष्मान्, अत्यस्मान् ॥

If in a compound, the words yushmad and asmad are employed in a dual signification, though the compound as a whole may have a singular or plural number, for the number of a compound does not depend upon the number of the words composing it, yet even in such a compound the युव and आव substitution should be made for the dual-significant yushmad and asmad: unless such substitution is debarred by some other substitutes like त्व and अह (VII. 2. 94 &c). Thus अतिक्रान्तं युवां=अतियुवाम्, similarly अति-आवाम् ॥ The whole declension is given below :—

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom.	अतित्वम्	अतियुयम्	अत्यहम्	अतिवयम्
Acc.	अतियुवाम्	अतियुवाम्	अत्यावाम्	अत्यावान्
Ins.	अतियुवया	अतियुवभिः,	अत्यावया	अत्यावाभिः
Date.	अतितुभ्यं	अतियुवभ्यं	अतिमह्यम्	अत्यावभ्यं
Abl.	अतियुवत्	अतियुवत्	अत्यावत्	अत्यावत्
Gen.	अतित्व	अतियुवाकम्	अतिमम	अत्यावाकम्
Loc.	अतियुवायि	अतियुवास्तु	अत्यावयि	अत्यावास्तु

But when the words yushmad and asmad denote singular or plural, not the compound denotes a dual, then the yuva and âva substitutions do not take place. As अतिक्रान्तौ त्वाम्=अतित्वाम्, so also अतिक्रान्तौ युष्मान्=अतियुष्मान् so also अत्यस्मान् ॥ So on in other cases.

यूयवयौ जसि ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूय, वयौ, जसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्स्मशोर्मपर्यन्तस्य जसि परतो यूव वय इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

93. In the Nom. Pl. यूय is substituted for युष्म, and वय for अस्म ॥

As यूयम्, वयम्, परमयूयम्, परमवयम्, अतियूयम्, अतिवयम् ॥ The Tadanta-vidhi applies here. That rule applies in this angâdhikâra on the maxim अङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च ॥ See also VII. 3. 10. In यूयम् and वयम्, the final इ is elided by VII. 2. 90, and we have यूय and वय + अ + अम् (VII. 1. 28)=यूयम् and वयम् (VI. 1. 97 and 107).

त्वाहौ सौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्व, अहौ, सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्स्मशोर्मपर्यन्तस्य सौ परे त्व अह इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

94. In the Nominative Singular त्व is substituted for युष्म and अह for अस्म ॥

Thus त्वम् and अहम्, परमत्वम्, परमाहम्, अतित्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥ See VII. 1. 28, VI. 1. 97 and 107.

तुभ्यमहौ ङयि ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुभ्य, महौ, ङयि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्स्मशोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तुभ्य मह्य इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो ङयि परतः ॥

95. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for युष्म and मह्य for अस्म ॥

As तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममह्यम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम् ॥

तवममौ ङसि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव, ममौ, ङसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तव मम इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो ङसि परतः ॥

96. In the Genitive Singular तव is substituted for युष्म and मम for अस्म ॥

As तव, मम, परमतव, परममम, अतितव, अतिमम ॥ The इ is elided by VII. 2. 90, and तव and मम + अ + अ (VII. 1. 27) = तव and मम by VI. 1. 97.

त्वमावेकवचने ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वमौ, एक वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यर्थनिर्देशः । एकवचने ये युष्मदस्मदी एकार्थाभिधानविषये तयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य स्थाने एव म इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

97. In the remaining cases of the Singular, त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म ॥

As त्वाम्, माम्, त्वया, मया, त्वन्, मन्, त्वयि, मयि ॥ The compounds also take this substitution according to the sense : as अतिक्रान्तस्त्वाम् = अतिस्त्वम्, अत्यहम्, अतिक्रान्तौ मम = अतिमाम्, अतित्वाम्, अतिक्रान्तान् त्वाम् = अतित्वान्, अतिमान्, अतिक्रान्ताभ्यां त्वां = अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतिमाभ्याम्, अतिक्रान्तेस्त्वाम् = अतित्वाभिः, अतिमाभिः ॥

When in a compound, the words yushmad and asmad denote one, though the compound may denote two or many, thereeven the एव and म substitutions must take place. And as regards different substitutes, like एव and आह before सु &c, those prior taught substitutes debar this latter by the rule of पूर्वविप्रतिषेधः ॥ Some examples have already beengivenabove, others are अतियुष्म, अतितुभ्यम्, अतितव ॥ So also with asmad. Similarly अतित्वां पश्य, अतित्वान्, अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतित्वाभिः, अतिस्त्वभ्यम्, अतिस्त्वन्, अतिस्त्वयोः, अतिस्त्वाकम्, अतिस्त्वयि, अतिस्त्वयोः, अतित्वासु ॥

प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यय, उत्तरपदयोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यनुवर्त्तते । प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च परत एकत्वे वर्त्तमानयोर्युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य एव म इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

98. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म, when they signify a single individual, even when an affix follows, or a word is in composition.

As त्वदीयः, मदीयः, with the affix छ (IV. 2. 114, I. 1. 74) त्वत्तरः (= अतिज्ञयेन एव), मत्तरः, त्वद्यति (= स्वामिच्छति), मद्यति ; त्वद्यते (= स्वमिवाचगते), मद्यते ॥ Similarly when a second member of the compound follows. As तव पुत्रः = त्वन्पुत्रः, मन्पुत्रः ॥ त्वं नाथोऽस्य = त्वन्नाथः, मन्नाथः ॥ When more than one individual is signified, the substitution does not take place, as युष्मदीयं (= युष्माकामिदं), अस्मदीयं ; युष्मन्पुत्रः (= युष्माकं पुत्रः), अस्मन्पुत्रः ॥

The sūtra VII. 2. 97 referred to the vibhaktis or case-endings, as that word from VII. 2. 84 governs these sūtras, the present sūtra refers to other affixes, and to compounds. It might be objected, that even before other affixes and compounds these words had in them vibhaktis, though those vibhaktis were elided when these affixes were added or when the words became part of a compound;

and that having in them suppressed vibhaktis, the substitutions would take place in spite of this sūtra. This objection is not valid, for there the vibhaktis have been elided. But is not elision a Bahiranga and the substitute an antaranga process; and should not, therefore, the substitute come first and then the vibhakti elided? The substitution specially taught in this sūtra is, therefore, a jñāpaka and proves the existence of the following maxim:—**अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गोलुब्धाधते** 'a bahiranga substitution of लुक् supersedes even antaranga rules'. Thus गोमान् प्रियोऽस्य = गोमत्प्रियः, here the antaranga नुस् augment is superseded by the bahiranga लुक् ॥ This sūtra further indicates, that all other substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' which take place in the singular, such as त्व, मम, तुभ्य, मद्, त्व, अह, do not take effect, before general affixes or in compounds, but that त्व and म are the only substitutes there even. As तुभ्यं हितं = त्वद्वितं, मद्वितं ॥ त्व पुत्रः = त्वत्पुत्रः, मत्पुत्रः ॥

त्रिचतुरोस्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रि, चतुरोः, स्त्रियाम्, तिसृ चतसृ वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि चतुर् इत्येतयोः स्त्रियां वर्तमानयोस्तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो विभक्तौ परतः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तिसृभावे सज्ञायां कन्युपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चतस्र्याद्युक्तात् निपातनं कर्तव्यम् ॥

99. तिसृ is substituted for त्रि. and चतसृ for चतुर् in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

Thus तिस्रः, चतस्रः, तिसृभिः, चतसृभिः ॥ Why 'in the Feminine'? Observe वयः, चत्वारः, त्रीणि, चत्वारि ॥ The word स्त्रियाम् qualifies त्रि and चतुर् and not the word अङ्ग 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when त्रि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine; as प्रियास्तिस्रो ब्राह्मण्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य = प्रियतिसा ब्राह्मणः (VII. 1. 94) प्रियतिस्रौ, प्रियतिस्रः ॥ The guṇa of VII. 3. 110 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 ordaining र ॥ प्रियतिसृ ब्राह्मणकुले, प्रियतिसृणी, प्रियतिसृणि ॥ Similarly प्रियचतसा. °चतस्रौ, °चतस्रः, प्रियचतसु, °चतसृणी, °चतसृणि ॥ The samāsānta affix कप् (V. 4. 153) is however not added in the above, because तिसृ &c are bahiranga substitutions. Conversely, the aṅga may be feminine, but if त्रि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as प्रियास्त्वयोऽस्याः or प्रियाणि त्रीणि वा अस्या ब्राह्मण्याः = प्रियत्रिः 'a Brahmanī to whom three are beloved.' dual. प्रियत्रीः, प्रियत्रयः ॥ Similarly प्रियचत्वारः, प्रियचत्वारौ, प्रियचत्वारः ॥

Vārt:—The substitution of तिसृ for त्रि takes place before the affix कन्; as तिसृका नाम ग्रामः ॥

Vārt:—चतसृ has acute on the first, as चतस्रः पश्य ॥ Rule VI. 1. 167 does not apply. But चतसृर्णाम् according to VI. 1. 179: the हलादि debarbs the निपातन accent.

अचि र ऋतः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, र, ऋतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतयोर्ऋतः स्थाने रेफादेशो भवति अजासौ विभक्तौ परतः ।

100. र् is substituted for the ऋ of तिसृ and चतसृ before case-affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus तिन्नः, (in तिन्नस्तिष्ठन्ति, तिन्नः पञ्च) चतस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति, चतस्रः पञ्च ॥ प्रियतिन्न आनय, प्रियचतस्र आनय; प्रियतिन्नः स्वम्, प्रियचतस्रः स्वम् ॥ प्रियतिन्नि निधेहि, प्रियचतस्रि निधेहि ॥ This supersedes VI. I. 102 (ordaining the single long substitution of the form of the first), VI. I. 111 (substitution of उर् for ऋ), and VII. 3. 110 (the substitution of गुण). The last rule VII. 3. 110, though subsequent in order, is however superseded by this rule. Why 'before the affixes beginning with a vowel?' Observe तिस्राभिः, चतस्राभिः ॥ The ऋतः of the sūtra refers to the ऋ of तिस्रु and चतस्रु and not to a ऋ ending stem in general: and had it not been used in the sūtra, the latter would have stood thus अचिरः "र् is substituted for the final of the words above-mentioned before an affix beginning with a vowel." So र् would have been substituted for the final of त्रि and चतुर् also.

जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जरायाः, जरस्र्, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ जरा इत्येतस्य जरसित्यमादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यामजादौ विभक्तौ परतः ।

101. जरस्र् may be substituted for जरा, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

As जराया or जरसा, in जरसा or जरयादन्ताः शीर्यन्ते ॥ जरयै or जरसे (जरसे or जरयै स्वा परिद्व्युः) ॥ But only जराभ्याम्, जराभिः before an affix beginning with a consonant. The जरस्र् substitution takes place in the Neuter plural, when the augment नुम् is added: as अतिजरांसि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ In अतिजरसं ब्राह्मणकुलं पञ्च the affix is not elided. The form is thus evolved: अतिजर+अम् ॥ Here three rules present themselves simultaneously; first, luk-elision of the affix अम् by VII. I. 23, (2) then the अम् substitution by VII. I. 24, (3) and thirdly, जरस् for जर by this rule. Of these लुक्-elision is superseded by अम् of VII. I. 24 which is an exception to VII. I. 23; and in its turn अम् is replaced by the जरस् of this sūtra. जरस् being substituted for जर, we have अतिजरस्, now luk cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with अम् alone, and have अतिजरसं ॥ In the Nom. Sg. and Ins. Pl we have अतिजरं and अतिजरैः according to the opinion of Gonardiya. The reason being सन्निपातलक्षणा विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य 'that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination'. Because अम् was added to अतिजर because it ended in अ (VII. I. 24), and similarly भिः was replaced by ऐस् (VII. I. 9). Now अ has caused the production of अम् and ऐस्, therefore, these latter affixes, though beginning with a vowel will not cause जरस् to be substituted for जर by this rule, for then the produced will cause the destruction of the producer. Others hold that the above maxim is anitya, and we have Nom. Sg. अतिजरसं, and Ins. Pl. अतिजरसैः ॥

The form अतिजरांसि is thus evolved अतिजर+इ ॥ Here if the नुम् augment be added first, it will be a portion of the aṅga, and will not be an intervention to anything which is to be added or operated upon the aṅga. But this

augment will be an intervention with regard to **जर** which is but a portion of the word **अतिजर** ॥ So that an operation applicable to **जर** will not take effect, because of this **नुम्** intervention. And though **tadantavidddhi** applies in these chapters (**पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदन्तस्य च**), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (**निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति**), therefore **जरस्** would not replace **जर** which forms only a portion of a full word **अतिजर** ॥ Even if the substitution does take place, the **नुम्** would be found after the **स्** of **जरस्** ॥ Therefore, the **जरस्** substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule; and having done so, the **नुम्** should be added afterwards under VII. 1. 72.

The form **अतिजरसं** is thus evolved. We have **अतिजर + भम्** ॥ Here on the maxim **एकदेशाधिकृतस्य अनन्यत्वात्**, we substitute **जरस्** for **जर** also, (for **जर** and **जरा** are considered as one). Then appears VII. 1. 23 ordaining the **लुक्** of **भम्** and VII. 1. 24, teaching **भम्** ॥ The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

त्यदादीनामः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यदादीनाम्, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदित्येवमादीनामकारादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

102. For the final of **त्यद्** and the rest, there is substituted **अ**, when an affix, called **vibhakti**, follows.

Thus **त्यद्—स्यः, ल्यौ, ल्ये ॥ तद्—सः, तौ, ते; यद्—यः, यौ, ये; एतद्—एषः, एतौ, एते; इद्—भयम्, इमौ, इमे; अद्स्—असौ, अमू, अमी; द्वि, द्वौ, द्वाभ्याम् ॥** The **tyadādi** words extend upto **द्वि**, in the list of the pronouns, for the purposes of this **अ** substitution. Therefore, the substitution does not take place here in **भवत्** which forms **भवान्** ॥ When the word **त्यद्** & **c** are employed as names, or as a secondary member in a compound, the substitution does not take place, as **त्यद्, त्यदौ, त्यदः, अतित्यद्, अतित्यदौ, अतित्यदः** See also I. 1. 27 commentary. But when they form the principal member of a compound, the substitution takes place, as **परमसः, परमतौ, परमते ॥** For case affix (**vibhakti**) see V. 3. 1. also. Those affixes are also called **vibhakti** and cause these substitutions.

किम्: कः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्:, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किम् इत्येतस्य क इत्ययमादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

103. **क** is substituted for **किम्** before a **vibhakti** affix.

As **कः, कौ, के ॥** The substitution takes place even when the augment **अकच्** is added. Therefore, the substitute is here **क** and not **अ** which latter would have been sufficient for **किम्** ॥ For **म्** of **किम्** being replaced by **अ** (VII. 2. 102), the **इ** would be left, which would be replaced by **अ**, had the **sūtra** been **किमोऽन्** and the forms would have been the same (**क् + अ + अ = क** VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1, 13 & c.

कु तिहोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु, तिहोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ हकारादौ च विभक्तौ परतः किमित्येतस्य कु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

104. कु is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कुतः, कुत्र, कुह (V. 3. 13, 7). The इ in ति means beginning with a त ॥

काति ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, अति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीत्येतस्यां विभक्तौ परतः किमित्येतस्य क इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

105. क is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V, 3. 13).

As क्क गमिष्यसि, क्क भोक्ष्यते ॥ The substitute कु of the last rule, before the affix अ would have become क्क, but that it would have caused guṇa, hence this separate substitute. Had the sūtra been किमाऽङ्गत् it would not have included the अकच् augmented किम् ॥

तदोः सः साचनन्त्ययोः ॥ १०६ पदानि ॥ तदोः, सः, सौ, अनन्त्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनां तकारदकारयोरनन्त्ययोः सकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

106. For the non-final त् and द् of त्यद् &c. there is substituted स् in the Nominative Singular.

As त्यद् + सु = त्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = त्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = त्यः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from तद्, एषः from एतद् as एतद् + सु = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = एषः (VI. 1. 97). So असौ from अस् by the following sūtra. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69.

अदस औ सुलोपश्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, औ, सुलोपश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदसः सौ परतः सकारस्य औकारादेशो भवति सौश्च लोपो भवति ।

यान्तिकम् ॥ औत्वप्रतिषेधः साकच्काद्वा वक्तव्यः सादुत्वं च ॥

वा० ॥ उत्तरपदभूतानां त्यदादीनामकृतसन्धीनामादेशो वक्तव्याः ॥

Kārikā अदसः सोर्भवेदौत्वं किं सुलोपो विधीयते ।

द्वस्वाल्लुप्येत संबुद्धिर्न हलः प्रकृतं हि तत् ॥

आप एत्वं भवेत्तस्मिन्न झलौत्त्यनुवर्तनात् ।

प्रत्ययस्थाश्च कादित्वं शीभावश्च प्रसज्यते ॥

107. For the स् of अदस् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nom. affix सु is elided.

As अदस् + सु = अद् + औ + सु (VII. 2. 107) = अंस + औ (VII. 2. 106) = असौ ॥

Vārt:—When the augment अकच् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative ङ is added after स्, as अङ्कः or असकौ ॥

Vārt:—When त्यद् &c. form second members of a compound, the above mentioned substitutions take place before the application of sandhi: as परमाहम्, परमायम्, परमानेन ॥

The form अङ्कः is thus evolved:—अदकस् + सु, now औ substitution of the present sūtra is prohibited; therefore, the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes

place, and the **इ** is changed to **स्** by VII. 2. 106, and the **अ** of **अकच्** after **स्** is changed to **उ** ॥

The following observations may be made with regard to the forms **परमाहम्** &c. A substitute would be a bahiraṅga with regard to a case-affix that should be added to a compound. Therefore, being an antaraṅga rule, the ekadeśa should be made first, and this ekadeśa being considered as the beginning of the subsequent word, we should get erroneous forms like **परमहम्. परमयं** instead of **परमाहम्** and **परमायम्** &c. Hence the necessity of the above vārtika.

Kārikā:—Let the sūtra be **अदस् औ** without the words **सुलोपश्च** ॥ The word **सौ** is understood here from the preceding aphorism. The word **अदस्** is in the ablative case, the word **सौ** which is in the 7th case, should be changed here into the 6th case **सोः** ॥ The sūtra would then mean **अदस् उत्तरस्य सौरिकारो भवति—** **औ** is substituted for the **सु** after **अदस्** ॥ Then the final **अम्** of **अदस्** is changed to **अ** by VII. 2. 102, and **इ** is changed to **स्** by VII. 2. 106, and we have **असौ** ॥ So where is the necessity of using the words **सुलोपश्च** in the sūtra.

Obj: If **औ** be substituted for **सु**, then in the vocative this **औ** should be elided by VI. 1. 69, as it comes after a short vowel **अ** of VII. 2. 102. Ans. **औ** will not be elided by VI. 1. 69, for that rule refers to the elision of a consonantal affix only, the word **हलः** being understood in that sūtra, from the preceding sūtra VI. 1. 68.

Obj: If this be so, then in the Feminine Vocative we have **असा + औ**, and by the rule VII. 3. 106, the **आ** should be changed to **ए** before this **औ** ॥ Ans. No, this will not be so, for the **ए** substitution takes place only before a **हल्** beginning affix, for the word **हलि** is understood in the sūtra VII. 3. 106 from the sūtra VII. 3. 103.

Obj: If this be so, then in the feminine with **अकच्**, we have, **असका + औ**, and here rule VII. 3. 44 shows itself and requires the **अ** of **स** to be changed to **इ** (**असिका**) before the **क** of an affix. Ans. That rule VII. 3. 44 applies where the feminine affix **आ** is audible and remains unchanged, but here it is changed to **औ** (**Vṛddhi अ + औ = औ**) in **असकौ** ॥

Obj: But then in **असा + औ**, the **औ** would require to be changed to **श्री** by VII. 1. 18. Ans. This objection is partial only, for **औइ** in VII. 1. 18 is explained by some, to be the common name given by ancient grammarians to the **औ** of Dual; and not to this **औ**; moreover, in the masculine no objection can apply. Hence the words **सुलोपश्च** may well be omitted.

इदमो मः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदमः, मः ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमः सौ परतो मकारोन्तादेशो भवति ।

108. **म** is substituted for the final **म** of **इदम्** in the Nominative Singular.

As इयम्, अयम् ॥ The substitution of म् for स् is to prevent the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102. The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and य substituted by VII. 2. 110.

दश्च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमो ङकारस्य स्थाने मकारादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

109. And म् is substituted for the द् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमौ, इमे, इमम्, इमौ, इमान् ॥ Thus इदम् + अम् = इदअ + अम् (VII. 2. 102) = इमअ + अम् (VII. 2. 109) = इमम् (VI. 1. 97, 107).

यः सौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, सौ, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमो मकारस्य यकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

110. य् is substituted for the द् of इदम् in the Nom. Sg. in the feminine.

As इयम् ॥ This is confined to the Feminine, as the following sūtra relates to the masculine; and in the Neuter, the सु is लुक् elided by स्वर्नान्पुसकात् and so leaves no trace behind.

इदोऽय् पुंसि ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदः, अय्, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः । इदम् इद्रूपस्य पुंसि सौ परतो ऽय् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

111. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sg. masculine.

As अयम् ॥ In the Feminine इयम् ॥ As अयं ब्राह्मणः, and इयं ब्राह्मणी ॥

अनाप्यकः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन, आपि, अकः, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमो ङकारस्य इद्रूपस्य स्थाने अन इत्ययमादेशो भवति आपि विभक्तौ परतः ।

112. अन is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say "not when क् is added by V. 3. 71"?

Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sūtra is a pratyāhāra, formed with the आ of दा (Ins. Sg), and प् of सुप् (Loc. Pl).

हलि लोपः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः । हलसौ विभक्तौ परत इदमो ङकारस्य इद्रूपस्य लोपो भवति ।

113. The इद् of इदम् is elided before a case-affix beginning with a consonant.

As आभ्याम्, एभिः, (VII. 1. 11) एभ्यः एषाम्, एषु ॥ For म् is substituted अ by VII. 2. 102, and for अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97. The rule I. 1. 52 by which a substitute replaces only the final letter, does not apply here, on the maxim नानर्थकं अलोऽन्त्यादिभिः ॥ For no purpose is served by eliding merely the final म्

of इद्म् ॥ Hence इद् is elided. Or it may be said that the sūtra does not teach the elision of इद्, but of अद् which was substituted for इद् by the preceding sūtra.

मृजेवृद्धिः ॥११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, वृद्धिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्तविति निवृत्तम् मृजेरङ्गस्य इको वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

114. The Vṛiddhi (अर्) is substituted for the root vowel (ऋ) of the stem मृज् before an affix.

As मार्श, मार्हम्, मार्हव्यम् ॥ The मृज् here is a root, and the affixes before which this Vṛiddhi takes place are those which come after roots, and not which come after Prātipadikas. Therefore, not before the affixes भ्यां &c, as कंसपरिवृद्भ्याम्, वृद्भिः ॥ The anuvṛitti of the word vibhakti has ceased. This sūtra debars guṇa of VII. 3. 84.

अचो ञ्णिति ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, ञ्, णिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताङ्गस्य ञिति णिति च वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

115. Before the affixes having an indicatory ञ् or ण्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus एकस्तण्डुलनिचायः, (III. 3. 20) द्वौ दूर्ध्वनिष्पावौ, कारः and हारः (with धञ्); गौः, गावौ, गावः, सखायौ, सखायः where the case-endings are णित् by VII. 1. 90, 92. जैत्रम्, यौत्रम् with the Uṇādi घृण् from जि and यु ॥ ध्यौन्नः with ण्ण and means 'strength'. It is an obsolete Vedic word.

अत उपधायाः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गोपधाया अकारस्य स्थाने ञिति णिति च प्रत्यय वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

116. In a stem ending in a consonant with an अ immediately preceding it, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for such अ, when an affix having an indicatory ञ् or ण् follows.

As पाकः, त्यागः, यागः with घञ्, पाचि with the causative णि, पाचकः with ण्वुल् ॥ Why do we say 'अ'? Observe भेदयति, भेदकः with guṇa only from भिद् where इ is penultimate and not अ ॥ Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe चकासयति, तक्षकः ॥

तद्धितेष्वचामादेः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितेषु, अचाम्, आदेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धिते ञिति णिति च प्रत्यये परतोङ्गस्याचामादेरचःस्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

117. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory ञ् or ण् follows.

As गार्थः from गर्ग + यञ्, so also वात्स्यः ॥ दाक्षिः (दक्ष + इञ्), द्याक्षिः, औपगवः (with अण् from उपगु), कापठवः &c. This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 and 116. as स्वाङ्गः from स्वङ्, and जागतः from जगत् ॥

किति च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किति, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किति च तद्धिते परतोद्गस्याचामदेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

118. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory क् follows.

As नाडायन् with फक्, so also चारायणः (IV. 1. 99), and आशिकः and शाला-
किकः with ठक् (IV. 4. 1).

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

देविकाशिशपादित्यवाद्दीर्घसत्रश्रेयसामात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ देविका, शिशपा, दित्यवाद्, दीर्घसत्र, श्रेयसाम्, आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देविका शिशपा दित्यवाद् दीर्घसत्र श्रेयस् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचामरेष्वः स्थाने वृद्धिप्रसङ्गे आकारो भवति ञिति णिति किति तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहीनरस्येद्वचनम् ॥

1. When a Taddhita-affix having an indicator अ, ण् or क् follows, आ is substituted instead of वृद्धि for the first vowels of the following: devikâ, simsapâ, dityavât, dîrghasatra, and sreyas.

Thus वाविकम् (= देविकायां भवम्) in वाविकमुदकम् ; वाविकाकूलाः शालयः (= देविकाकूले भवाः), पूर्ववाविकः from पूर्वदेविका 'the name of a village of the Eastern people'. Here the वृद्धि of the second member ordained by VII. 3. 14, becomes आ ॥ Similarly शांशपञ्चमसः (= शिशपायाविकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the Palâsâdi class (IV. 3. 141), and takes अण् or अञ्, the difference being in accent. So also शांशपास्थलाः (= शिशपास्थले भवाः), and पूर्वशांशप from पूर्वशिशपः 'the name of a village' See VII. 3. 14. Similarly शत्यौहम् from दित्यवाद्, (दित्यौह इव) and शार्धसत्रम् (शार्धसत्रे भवं) and श्रायसम् (श्रेयसि भवं) ॥

Vârt:— The वृद्धि of वहीनर under similar circumstances is with an ऐ as if व was वि, as वहीनरस्यापत्यं=वैहीनरिः ॥ Some say the original word itself is विहीनर (विहीनोरः), and so its taddhita derivative is regular.

केकयमित्त्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ केकय, मित्त्रयु, प्रलयानाम्, य-आदेः, इयः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केकय मित्त्रयु प्रलय इत्येतेषां यकारादेशे इत्ययमारेषो भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

2. When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory **ञ्**, **ण्** or **क्** follows, **इय्** is substituted for the **य** and **यु** of **केकय**, **मित्रयु** and **प्रलय** ॥

As **केकयः** (= **केकयस्यापत्यं**), with the affix **अञ्** (IV. 1. 168): similarly **मैत्रेयिका** formed with **इञ्** (V. 1. 134) in the sentence **मैत्रेयिकया श्लाघते** ॥ The word **Gotra** in that *sūtra* V. 1. 134 means a Rishi name, for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called **Gotra**. Similarly **प्रलयम्** (= **प्रलयाज्ञगत**). As **प्रलयमुदकं** ॥

न ध्वाभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वां तु ताभ्यामैच् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ध्वाभ्याम्, पदान्ताभ्याम्, पूर्वां, तु, ताभ्याम्, ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य अचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्न भवति; ताभ्यां तु यकारवकाराभ्यां पूर्वमैचागमौ भवतां त्रिति णिति किति च तद्धिते परतः ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां भमाच्चे विलोपः ॥

3. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory **ञ्**, **ण्** or **क्**, the **Vṛiddhi** is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in **य्** or **व्**, but **ऐ** and **औ** are respectively placed before the semi-vowels.

That is **ऐ** is placed before **यु**, and **औ** before **व्** ॥ As **वैयसनम्** from **व्यसन**; (**व्यसने भवं**) **वैयाकरणः** from **व्याकरणं** (**व्याकरणमधीते**) **सौवश्वः** from **स्वश्वः** (**स्वश्वस्यापत्यं**) ॥ Why after **य्** or **व्** only? Observe **त्रार्थिः** son of **त्रर्थः** ॥ Why do we say 'य् or व् final of a pada or word'? Observe **याष्टीकः** from **याष्टिः**, (**याष्टिः प्रहरणमस्य**) IV. 4. 59 **याता** from **यति** (**यतेभ्योऽजात्राः** or **यत इमे छात्राः**) ॥ The rule does not apply to **दाध्याश्चि** and **माध्वश्चि**, for no rule ordains the **Vṛiddhi** of **ध्य** or **ध्व**, and so no occasion for the prohibition of this rule arises. These are **Patronyms** formed by **इञ्** (IV. 1. 95) from **दध्यश्च** and **मध्वश्च** (**दधि प्रियोऽश्वेयस्य** &c). The present rule applies to that **Vṛiddhi** also which takes place in the second member of the compound by VII. 3. 10 &c. As **पूर्वत्रैयालिन्दः** from **पूर्वत्रयलिन्दः** (**पूर्वत्रयलिन्दे भवः**) ॥ But this prohibition does not apply where the **य्** or **व्** are not the parts of the second member, as **द्वाशीतिकः** (= **द्वे अशीती भूतो, भूतो भावी वा**) ॥

द्वारादीनां च ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वार, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वार इत्येवमादीनां ध्वाभ्याम् उत्तरपरस्याचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्न भवति पूर्वां तु ताभ्यामैचागमौ भवतः ॥

4. Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory **ञ्**, **ण्** or **क्** the **Vṛiddhi** is not substituted for the first vowel after **य्** or **व्**, but **ऐ** and **औ** are respectively placed before these semi-vowels in **द्वार** &c.

As **द्वारे नियुक्तः** = **दौवारिकः**, **दौवारपालम्** from **द्वारपाल** ॥ The **Tadādi** rule applies here. **सौवरः** from **स्वर**, (**स्वरमधिकृत्य कृता भग्नः**) ॥ So also **सौवरोऽध्यायः**, **सौवर्यः सप्तम्यः** ॥ **वैयल्कशः** from **व्यल्कश**, (**व्यल्कशे भवः**) **सौवस्तिकः** from **स्वास्ति**, (**स्वस्तीति आह**) **सौवः** from **स्वर्** (**स्वर्भवः**) ॥

Vart:—The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables: as सौवर्गमिकः (= स्वर्गमनमाह) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary, as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of सु + अध्याय (शो-भनोऽध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व + अध्याय, then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्फैयकृतः from स्फ्यकृत; सौवादुष्टदुम् from स्वादुष्टदु, सौवनम् from श्वन् the prakṛiti-bhāva is by (VI. 4. 167) while सौवम् from श्वन् where there is no prakṛitibhāva (by अञ् IV. 3. 154): सौवा-दंष्ट्रः (श्वदंष्ट्रां भवः). Similarly सौवम् from स्व (= स्वस्येदं); सौवर्गमिकः from स्वर्गाम् with the affix ठञ् (अध्यात्मदिन्वाद् ठञ्). This sūtra is made because the य् and व् here are not finals of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sūtra. The following is a list of Dvārādi words.

1 द्वार, 2 स्वर, 3 स्वाध्याय, 4 व्यल्कश, 5 स्वस्ति, 6 स्वर (स्वर), 7 स्फ्यकृत, 8 स्वादुष्टदु, 9 श्वस्*, 10 श्वन्, 11 स्व ॥

न्यग्रोधस्य च केवलस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्यग्रोधस्य, च, केवलस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न्यग्रोधशब्दस्य केवलस्य यकारादुत्तरस्थाचामादेरथः रथाने वृद्धिर्न भवति तस्माच्च पूर्वमैकार आगमो भवति ॥

5. ऐ is placed before the य् of न्यग्रोध, instead of Vriddhi, when the word stands alone, and is not a member of a compound, and is followed by a Taddhita affix with the indicative ज्, ण् or क् ॥

As नैयग्रोधभ्रमसः (= न्यग्रोधस्य विकारः). Why do we say 'when it is alone'? Observe न्यग्रोधमूले भवाः शालयः = न्यग्रोधमूलाः ॥ If न्यग्रोध is a derivative word (from न्यग्रोहयति = नीचैर्गतौ परोहैर्वधते), then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 3, this separate, sūtra is then for the sake of making a restrictive rule (niyama) with regard to this word. If it is a primary word, then this sūtra makes a Vidhi rule. The word केवल is a jñāpaka that the rule of Tadādi applies in this section. See VII. 3. 8, also.

न कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

6. The prohibition and the augment, ordained by VII. 3. 3, do not apply to a word which expresses the reciprocity of an action.

As व्यावक्रोशी, व्यावेलखी, व्याववर्त्ती, व्यावहासी ॥ See III. 3. 43 and V. 4. 14.

स्वागतादीनां च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वागत, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वागत इत्येवमादीनां यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

7. The prohibition and augment taught in VII. 3. 3 does not apply also to स्वागत &c.

As स्वागतिकः, (= स्वागतमिति आह) स्वाध्वरिकः, (= स्वधरेण चरति) स्वाङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyada). व्यावहारिकः and स्वापंतयः (= स्वपतौ साधुः) ॥ The word व्यवहार does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by the last sūtra. स्वपत being a compound with स्व, would have been governed by VII. 3. 4 as it is included in the Dvārādi list, hence its specific mention here. The following is the list of svāgatādi words.

1 स्वागत, 2 स्वध्वर, 3 स्वङ्ग, 4 व्यङ्ग, 5 व्यङ्ग, 6 व्यवहार, 7 स्वपति ॥

श्वादेरिञि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्व, आदेः, इञि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वादेरङ्गस्य इञि परतो यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इकरादिग्रहणं कर्तव्यं पूर्वगणिकाद्यर्थम् ॥

8. A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इञ्, is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII. 3. 4.

Thus the descendant of श्वभस्त्र is श्वाभस्त्रिः, so also श्वाङ्गिः ॥ The word श्वन् is included in the list of Dvārādi words VII. 3, 4, the present sūtra implies that the rule VII. 3. 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words.

Vart.—This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows; as श्वगणेन चरति = श्वागणिकः, श्वायूथिकः (IV. 4. 11).

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इञ् (an affix beginning with इ): as from श्वाभास्त्रि we have श्वाभस्त्रम् (श्वाभस्त्रेरिदे) ॥

पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वादेरङ्गस्य पदशब्दान्तस्यान्यतरस्यां यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

9. The rule VII. 3. 4. is optionally applied to श्वन् followed by पद् ॥

As श्वापदस्येदे = श्वापदम् or शौवापदम् ॥

उत्तरपदस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर पदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्ययमधिकारः, हनस्ताच्चिण्लोरिति प्रागेतस्मान् । यद्विद ऊर्ध्वमनुकामिष्याम उत्तर-पदस्येत्येवं तद्विदितव्यम् ॥

10. Upto VII. 3. 31 inclusive, the substitution of Vriddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound.

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII. 3. 32 exclusive. The phrase “of the second member of the compound” should

be supplied in all those sūtras, to complete the sense. Thus in VII. 3. 11, the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied. As पूर्ववार्षिकं, अपरवार्षिकम्, पूर्वहेमन्तम्, अपरहेमन्तम् ॥

In those sūtras, where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21, the present sūtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vṛiddhi of the second member. But in those sūtras, where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII. 3. 11 (अवयवात्), there this sūtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vṛiddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vṛiddhi'. This peculiar vṛiddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI. 2. 105. Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sūtras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case.

अवयवाद्गतोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवात्, ऋतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयववाचिन उत्तरस्य ऋतुवाचिन उत्तरपदस्याचामादेश्चो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते त्रिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

11. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part.

As पूर्ववार्षिकम्, पूर्वहेमन्तम्, अपरवार्षिकम्, अपरहेमन्तम् ॥ The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c takes place by II. 2. 1. and then by IV. 3. 18 there is ङ्क् after वर्ष, and अण् after हेमन्त with the elision of त्त by IV. 3. 22. The Tadanta-viddhi, as a general rule, does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word: but tadanta-viddhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vṛiddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion. We draw this rule from the present sūtra, for हेमन्त being formed from हेमन्त by a vṛiddhi-causing affix (IV. 3. 22), the affix अण् will be applied to हेमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound, the first member of which denotes a part. (ऋतोर्वृद्धि माह्विभाववयवात् I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāshya).

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूनासु वर्षासु भवं पौर्ववार्षिकम् with ङ्क् (IV. 3. 11). The tadanta-viddhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion.

सुसर्वाद्धाज्जनपदस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, सर्व, अद्धति, जनपदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु सर्व, अद्ध इत्यन्तेभ्य उत्तरस्य जनपदवाचिन उत्तरपदस्याचामादेश्चो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते त्रिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

12. After सु, सर्व and अध, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vṛiddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ, ण् or क् follows.

As सुपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः and अर्धपाञ्चालकः, formed with वुञ् (IV. 2. 125). This sūtra also gives rise to the following rule सुसर्वाभिदिक् शब्दभ्यो जनपदस्य "The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction-denoting word". As shown in the above examples, and for direction denoting words see the following sūtra. (I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāshya).

दिशो ऽमद्राणाम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिशः, अ मद्राणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिन उत्तरस्य जनपदवाचिनो मद्रवर्जितस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

13. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्र, gets Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatoryञ्, ण्, or क् ॥

As पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरपाञ्चालकः, दक्षिणपाञ्चालकः, उत्तरपाञ्चालकः (IV. 2. 125, 107, 108. VI. 2. 105 accent). The Tadanta-vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sūtra. Why do we say 'denoting direction'? Observe पूर्वः पञ्चालानां = पूर्वपञ्चालः, तत्र भवः = पूर्वपञ्चालकः, आपरपञ्चालकः ॥ With मद्र we have पौर्वमद्रः, आपरमद्रः with अञ् (IV. 2. 108). The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, ग्राम, नगराणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे ग्रामनगराणां दिश उत्तरेषामचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णितिकिति च परतः ॥

14. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a village or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatoryञ्, ण् or क् ॥

Thus पूर्वेषुकामशमः, अपरैषुकामशमः, पूर्वकाष्णशुक्तिः, अपरकाष्णशुक्तिः (IV. 2. 107). These are village names. पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः, अपरपाटलिपुत्रकः पूर्वकान्यकुब्जः, अपरकान्यकुब्जः ॥

The word प्राचां in this sūtra, as well as in VII. 3. 24, does not here mean 'the eastern grammarians', but 'the eastern countries', because of the context. पूर्वेषुकामशमः is thus formed. पूर्वा च असौ इषुकामशमी = पूर्वेषुकामशमी ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. Then the affix ञ् is added to it, in the sense of ततो भवः by IV. 2. 107. In पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः the affix वुञ् is added by IV. 2. 123. Though Pāṭaliputra is the name of one city, Purva-pāṭaliputra means the Eastern portion of the city Pāṭaliputra.

That place is called 'grāma', where people reside, and a 'nagara' is also a 'grāma' in this sense. Therefore, the rules which good men observe with regard to 'grāma', are observed by them in 'nagara' also. Thus the rule is अमद्भ्यो ग्रामकुक्कुटः, therefore, the नागर cock is also not eaten. So also ग्रामे नाध्येयम् is applied to nagara also. In this grammar also, we see that 'grāma' includes

'nagara' also, as in IV. 2. 109, 117, VI. 2. 103. Therefore, where is the necessity of employing the word नगर separately in this aphorism? The two words are separately used, in order to indicate the separate nature and relation of the two kinds of words. The *full* word पूर्वेषुकामशमी is the name of a 'grāma', and not the portion ह्युकामशमी ॥ But in पूर्वपाटलिपुत्र, the word पाटलिपुत्र itself is the name of the 'nagara'. In the present sūtra, there is the adhikāra of अङ्गस्य and of उत्तरपदस्य ॥ We apply these separately to these two classes of words: namely ग्रामवाचिनाम् अङ्गानाम् and नगरवाचिनाम् उत्तरपदानाम् ॥ This we could not have done without employing these words in the sūtra. Therefore, in the case of 'grāma' word, the vṛiddhi takes place in that *portion* of it which follows a direction denoting word (ग्रामवाचिनामङ्गानामवयवस्य दिक्शब्दादुत्तरस्य वृद्धिर्भवति). While a *nagara* word itself gets vṛiddhi when it is preceded by a direction denoting word (दिशः उत्तरिषां नगराणाम्) ॥ In पूर्वेषुकामशमि, the vṛiddhi of ह्युकामशमी takes place first, and then the combination by sandhi. See on this point VII. 3. 22.

संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, संवत्सर, संख्य-
स्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्याया उत्तरपदस्य संवत्सरशब्दस्य संख्यायाश्चाचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति
णिति किति च परतः ॥

15. After a Numeral, the first vowel of संवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita having an indicative अ, ण, or क ॥

Thus द्विसांवत्सरिकः = द्वा संवत्सरावधीष्टो भूतो भूतो or भावी (V. 1. 80), त्रिसांवत्सरिकः, द्विषाष्टिकः = द्वे षटी अधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा ॥ द्विसाम्तिकः ॥ The words द्वि, षटी &c when applied to वर्ष (VII. 3. 16) and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under kâlâdhikāra (V. 1. 78-97). The special mention of संवत्सर here, (though this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the sūtra VII. 3. 17) implies that the word परिमाण in that sūtra does not mean the measure of *time*, but a measure of any other thing than time. Therefore, with other time-words than samvatsara, the Vṛiddhi takes place in the regular way: as द्वैसामिकः, त्रैसामिकः ॥ Similarly in sūtra IV. 1. 22, the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as त्रिवर्षा, द्विवर्षा माणविका ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these sūtras (and elsewhere III. 2. 23, II. 3. 46 &c.) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general.

वर्षस्याभविष्यति ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षस्य, अ-भविष्यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्याया उत्तरस्य वर्षशब्दस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः, स चत्त-
द्धितो भविष्यत्यर्थे न भवति ।

16. After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ, ण or क, when the affix does not refer to a Future time.

As द्विवर्षे अभीष्टो भूतो भूतो वा = द्विवार्षिकः, त्रिवार्षिकः ॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवार्षिकः, त्रैवार्षिकः "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence यस्य त्रैवार्षिकं धान्यं निहितं भृत्यवृत्तये अधिकं वापि विद्येत स सोमं पातुमर्हति ॥ (= त्रीणि वर्षाणि भावी). The word अभविष्यन् does not qualify the words अभीष्ट and भृत (V. 1. 80), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the sentence and not by the taddhita-affix: as द्वे वर्षे अभीष्टो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यति = द्विवार्षिको मनुष्यः ॥

परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः ॥१७॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणान्तस्य, असंज्ञा, शाणयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणान्तस्याङ्गस्य संख्यायाः परं यदुत्तरपदं तस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धितं त्रिति णिति किति च परतः, संज्ञायां विषये शाणे चात्तरपदे न भवति ॥

17. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

As द्वा कुडवौ प्रयोजनमस्य = द्विकौडविकः (V. 1. 109) द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्विसौवर्णिकम् (V. 1. 37), त्रिसौवर्णिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vārtika to V. 1. 29. When the affix is elided there can be no Vṛiddhi, as द्विसुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly द्विनैष्किकम्, त्रिनैष्किकम् (V. 1. 30). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पाञ्चलोहितिकम्, पाञ्चकपालिकम् (= पञ्चलोहित्यः or कपलानि परिमाणमस्य V. 1. 30) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शाण? Observe द्वैशाणम्, त्रैशाणम् formed with अण् (V. 1. 35 and 36). Some read the sūtra as असंज्ञाशाणकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिज is also excepted, as द्वैकुलिजिकः (V. 1. 55 द्वैकुलिजं प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जे, प्रोष्ठपदानाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जइति जातार्थो निर्दिश्यते । तत्र यस्तद्धितो विहितस्त्वस्मिन् त्रिति णिति किति च परतः प्रोष्ठ-पदानामुत्तरस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

18. In प्रोष्ठपद् and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicatory अ, ए or क् ॥

The word ज means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here. प्रोष्ठपद् is the name of an asterism, the time appertaining there to is also called प्रोष्ठपद् (the affix अण् of IV. 3. 3, is elided by IV. 2. 4). प्रोष्ठपदासु जातः = प्रोष्ठपादो माणवकः (with अण् IV. 3. 16). Why do we say 'born in that time'? Observe यदा प्रोष्ठपदोमेघः (= प्रोष्ठपदासु भवः) धरणीमाभिवर्षति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्ठपदानां indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्ठपद् such as भद्रपाद् are also to be included.

हृद्भगसिन्ध्वन्त पूर्वपदस्य च ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ हृद्, भग, सिन्धु, अन्त, पूर्वपदस्य च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हृद् भग सिन्धु इत्येवमन्तेङ्गे पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते त्रिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

19. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण् or क् ॥

As सुहृदस्येदं = सौहार्दम्, सौभाग्यम्, सौभाग्यम् सौभागिनेयः (= सुभगाया अपत्यं), सौभागिनेयः (IV. 1. 126). The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyānādi class (IV. 1. 126), and the affix ढक् and इन् augment are added. सुभग also occurs in Udgātri class (V. 1. 129). That word, however, does not get the Vṛiddhi in the second member, As महते सौभगाय ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly. Similarly from सक्तुसिन्धवः (= सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः) we have सक्तुसैन्धवः (= सक्तुसिन्धुषु भवः) so also पानसिन्धवः ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhādi class, and सैन्धवः is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed there-under.

The words सुहृद् and दुर्हृद् are anomalously formed by V. 4. 150. But the reading adopted by Kāśikā is सुहृदस्येदम्; so the word hṛidaya is changed to hṛid by VI. 3. 50 or VI. 3. 51. The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or 'an ocean'.

अनुशतिकादीनां च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुशतिकादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशतिक इत्येवमादीनां चाङ्गानां पूर्वपदस्य चोत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते प्राति गिति किति वा परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कल्याण्यादीनामिनिङितिनङ् ॥

20. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds अनुशतिक &c.

Thus (1) आनुशातिकम् (= अनुशतिकस्येदम्) V. 1. 21 and IV. 3. 120; (2) आनुहौडिकः (= अनुहोडेन चरात् IV. 4. 8). (3) आनुसांवरणम् (= अनुसंवरणे दीयते V. 1. 96). (4) आनुसांस्वरिकः (IV. 3. 60 formed by टञ् from अनुसम्बन्धरेण दीयते) (5) आंगारवैणवः (son of अङ्गारवेणु). (6) आसिहात्यम् (= असिहत्ये भवं). Some read this word as अस्यहृत्य; this will also take अण् as belonging to विभुक्तादि class. As आस्यहात्यः (= अस्यहृत्यशब्देऽस्मिन्नध्यायेऽस्ति) Others read this as अस्यहेतिः; as आस्यहेतिकः (= अस्यहेतिः प्रयोजनमस्य). The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prātipadika, its case-affix is not elided. (7) वाध्यौगः (= वध्यौगस्य अपत्यं). It belongs to Bidādi class. (8) पुस्करसरोऽपत्यं = पौस्करसादिः ॥ This belongs to Bāhvādi class. (9) आनुहारत from अनुहरत् ॥ The same as above. (10) कुरुकतः belongs to Gargādi class. Its paronymic is कौरुकात्यः (11) कौरुपाञ्चालः (कुरुपञ्चालेषु भवः) ॥ The affix वुञ् is not added here, because जनपदसमुदायौ जनपदग्रहणेन गृह्यते ॥

(12) औदुकशौद्रिः (son of उदकशुद्रिः) ॥ (13, 14) ऐहलौकिकः, पारलौकिकः, from इहलोकः and परलोकः by adding टञ् in the sense of तत्र भवः (लोकौत्तरपदस्य च) ॥ (15) सार्वलौकिकः from सर्वलोकः by टञ् under V. 1, 44. (16) सार्वपौरुषम् from सर्वपुरुषः in the

sense of तस्येदम् ॥ (17) सार्वभौमः (= सर्वभूमिनिर्मितं संयोगो or उत्पातो वा V 1. 41) ॥ (18) प्रयोगः—प्रायोगिकः (तत्र भवः, प्रयोगार्थदेवाधिभूतव्यात्माद्यः) (19) परस्त्री—पारस्त्रेण्यः formed by ईनय (IV. 1. 126).

(20) So also of राजपुरुष before the affix व्यञ्, as राजपौरुष्यम् ॥ Why do we say before व्यञ् only? Observe राजपुरुषस्यापत्यं=राजपुरुषायणिः; formed by क्त्स्न (IV. 1. 157).

(21) शतकुम्भे भवः=शतकौम्भः, (21 a) सौख्यशायनिकः from सुखशयन (21 b) पारहारिकः from परहर ॥ (22) सौत्रनाडि=सूत्रनडस्यापत्यं ॥

This is an Akṛitigaṇa class; therefore, we have forms like these, आभिगामिकः (अभिगममर्हति), आर्धदेविकम् (अर्धदेवेभवः), आधिभौतिकं; चातुर्विध्यम् (चतस्र एव विद्या) ॥ The affix व्यञ् is added in svārtha.

1 अनुशतिक, 2 अनुहोड, 3 अनुसंवरण (अनुसंचरण), 4 अनुसंवत्सर, 5 अङ्गारवेणु, 6 असिहत्य (अस्यहत्य), 7 अस्यहेति, 8 वध्योग, 9 पुष्करसद्, 10 अनुहरन्, 11 कुरुकत्, 12 कुरुपञ्चाल, 13 उदकशुद्ध, 14 इहलोक, 15 परलोक, 16 सर्वलोक, 17 सर्वपुरुष, 18 सर्वभूमि, 19 प्रयोग, 20 परस्त्री, 21 राजपुरुषात् व्यञ्जि; 22 सूत्रनड ॥ आकृतिगण, 23 अभिगम, 24 अधिभूत, 25 अधिदेव 26 चतुर्विद्या, 27 सुखशयन 28 शतकुम्भ 29 परहर ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता-द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवताद्वन्द्वे च पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्य चाचामांहरचः स्थानि वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते ङिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

21. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory झ्, ण् or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members a Dvanda compound of the names of Devas.

As अग्निमासृती in अग्निमासृतीमनुद्धाहीमालभेत् ॥ आग्निमासृते क्रम ॥ The rule applies to Dvandas relating to hymns (सूक्त) and sacrificial offerings (हवि). Therefore, not here, स्कान्दावशाखा देवतेऽस्य=स्कान्दविशाखः (IV. 2. 24). So also ब्राह्मप्रजापत्यम् by प्य from ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ See VI. 3. 26.

The short इ in the आग्नि in आग्निमासृते, आग्निवारुणम् is by VI. 3. 28. A compound relates to a sūkta, which worships a deva through hymns; and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to sacrificial offering.

नेन्द्रस्य परस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्द्रस्य, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्य परस्य यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

22. But the Vriddhi of the first vowel of Indra, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory झ्, ण् or क् ॥

As सोमिन्द्रः, आग्नेन्द्रः ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe ऐन्द्राग्ने मेकादशकपालं चरं निर्वपेत् ॥ There are two vowels in the word इन्द्र, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i. e. the अ or the last vowel is elided by VI. 4. 148, and the other (i. e. the इ, coalesces with the last

vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन्द्र + अण् = सोम + इन्द्र + अ = सोमि + न्द्र + अ ॥ Now, no vowel is left of इन्द्र when it gets the form न्द्र, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim : बहिरङ्गमपि पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पूर्वं कार्यं भवति, पश्चादेकादेशः or in other words पूर्वोत्तरनिमित्तकार्यात् पूर्वमन्तरङ्गोऽप्येकादेशो न ॥ "The substitution of one vowel for the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does, even when it is antarangā, not take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound". It is on this maxim that the forms पूर्वपुक्तामशम (VII. 3. 14) &c are constructed, otherwise उ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इषु having merged in पूर्व), would have been वृद्धied.

दीर्घाच्च वरुणस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, च वरुणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्य वरुणस्य यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

23. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory **ञ्**, **ण्** or **क्**, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the वृद्धि is not substituted for the first vowel of वरुण, when a long vowel precedes it.

As ऐन्द्रावरुणम्, मैत्रावरुणम् from इन्द्रवरुणौ &c. (VI. 3. 26). But आग्निवारुणीम् in आग्निवारुणीमनङ्गाही मालभेत् when a short vowel precedes it. This word is derived from the compound word अग्नीवरुणौ the इ of अग्नि being lengthened by VI. 3. 27. But in forming a Taddhita-derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI. 3. 28, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वरुण ॥

प्राचां नगरान्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, नगरान्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे नगरान्तेङ्गे पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते त्रिति गिति किति च परतः ॥

24. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory **ञ्**, **ण्** or **क्**, the वृद्धि is substituted for the first vowels of both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the word नगर ॥

As सौह्यनागरः (= सुह्यनगरे भवः), पौण्ड्रनागरः ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe मद्रनगरः, from मद्रनगरः the city of the Northern people.

जङ्गलधेनुवलजाः तस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जङ्गल, धेनु, वलज, अन्तस्य, विभाषितम्, उत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जङ्गल धेनु वलज इत्येवमन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति विभाषितमुत्तर सुत्तरपदस्य विभाषितं तद्धिते त्रिति गिति किति वा परतः ।

25. Before a Tahhita affix having an indicatory **ञ्**, **ण्**, or **क्**, the वृद्धि is substituted for the first vowel of-

the compound ending in जङ्गल, धेनु and बलज, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also.

As कौरुजङ्गलम् or कौरुजाङ्गलम्, वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधेनवम्, सौवर्णबलजः or सौवर्णबालजः ॥

अर्द्धात्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धात्, परिमाणस्य, पूर्वस्य, तु, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धशब्दात्परस्य परिमाणवाचिन उत्तरस्याचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति तद्धिते त्रिति णिति किति वा परतः ।

26. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्धे ॥

As अर्धद्वौणिकम् or आर्धद्वौणिकम्, अर्धकौडविकम् or आर्धकौडविकम् with ङस् (V. I. 18). Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe आर्धकौडविकम् only (= अर्ध-कौशः प्रयाजनमस्य) ॥

नातः परस्य ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अतः, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धात्परस्य परिमाणाकारस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति, पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति, तद्धिते त्रिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

27. When the first vowel of the second member, preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण or क्; and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. अर्ध) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिकः or आर्धप्रस्थिकः (V. I. 18) ॥ अर्धकंसिकः or आर्धकंसिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe आर्धकौडविकः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध खार्याम् भवः = अर्धखारी ॥ Here Vṛiddhi is substituted for the आ of खारी, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed. For अर्धखारी being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vṛiddhi, in forming a Bahuvṛihī compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI. 3. 39. as अर्धखारीभार्यः (= अर्धखारीभार्यायस्य) (वृद्धि-निमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्य &c.) Wherever Vṛiddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix, that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvṛihī compound' referring to a male person, वैयाकरणी भार्या अस्य = वैयाकरणभार्यः ॥ The word वैयाकरण is formed by prohibition of Vṛiddhi. See VII. 3. 3.

प्रवाहणस्य ङे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रवाहणस्य, ङे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्य ङे परत उत्तरपत्रस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वपदस्य वा भवति ॥

28. Before the affix ढ (एय), the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः ॥ The affix ढ्क् IV. 1. 123, is added, similarly प्रवाहणेयी भार्याऽस्य = प्रवाहणेयीभार्यः (VI. 3. 39, masculation prohibited). Or we may translate the sūtra as "Before the affix ढ, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vṛiddhi", and omit the rest. The masculation will still be prohibited by VI. 3. 41, (जातं) ॥

तत्प्रत्ययस्य च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्प्रत्ययस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्येति वर्तते, तदिति ढप्रत्ययस्य प्रत्ययमर्षः, ढक् प्रत्ययान्तस्य प्रवाहणशब्दस्य तद्धितेषु परत उत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥

29. Even so in a new derivative from this stem ending in ढ, formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क्, there is vṛiddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, and optionally for the first vowel of the first member, in प्रवाहणेय and प्रावाहणेय ॥

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयिः or प्रवाहणेयिः, प्रा or प्र-वाहणेयकम् ॥

नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल, निपुणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ उत्तरेषां शुचि ईश्वर क्षेत्रज्ञ कुशल निपुण इत्येतेषामचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति, पूर्वपदस्य वा भवति तद्धिते गिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

30. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क्, the Vṛiddhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle.

As अशौचम् or आशौचम्, अनेश्वर्यम् or आनेश्वर्यम्, अक्षेत्रज्ञम् or आक्षेत्रज्ञम्, अक्रौशलम् or आक्रौशलम्, अनैपुणम् or अनैपुणम् ॥ Some say the optional vṛiddhi of the negative particle is an aprâpta-vibhâsha, no other rule would have caused its vṛiddhi had this rule not existed. They argue that by V. 1. 121, all affixes denoting भाव are prohibited after a Tatpurusha compound with the negative particle; therefore, the words शुचि &c, should be first developed by the addition of भाव-affixes, and then they should be compounded with the negative particle, which may be optionally vṛiddhied by this rule, which would apply to it, though it is not an aṅga, because the rule teaches vṛiddhi. Others controvert this opinion, and hold that other affixes causing vṛiddhi than भाव-affixes, also come after negative-Tatpurusha compounds, such as affixes denoting des-

endant &c : and भाव-affixes are added to Bahuvrīhi negative compounds also, therefore, the force of the anuvṛitti of अङ्, which is understood up to the end of the Seventh Adhyāya (VI. I. 1), and *a fortiori* in this sūtra also, should not be set aside as the above interpretation would do. Moreover the full Taddhita compounds अक्षेत्रज्ञ and अनीश्वर are read in the list of Brāhmaṇādi words (V. I. 124), and as such they take the भाव affix व्यञ् which would have *always* caused the vṛiddhi of अ, but for this sūtra which makes it optional. Therefore it is a prāpta-vibhāshā.

यथातथयथापुरयोः पर्यायेण ॥३१॥ पदानि ॥ यथातथ, यथापुरयोः, पर्यायेण ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यथातथ यथापुर इत्येतयोर्नञ् उत्तरयोः पर्यायेणाचामादेशचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ङिति ङिति किति वा परतः ॥

31. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर may have vṛiddhi of the first vowel of their first member, or that of the second member, in alternation.

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vṛiddhi, the words remain unchanged; and when these words are vṛiddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered. As आयथातथ्यम् or अयाथातथ्यम्, आयथापुर्यम् or अयाथापुर्यम् ॥ The words अयथातथ and अयथापुर should be considered to belong, as negative compounds, to Brāhmaṇādi class (V. I. 124): and take व्यञ् ॥ In the sūtra the compounds यथातथ and यथापुर are exhibited and are Avyayībhāvas (II. I. 7), and being neuters, the आ of तथा and पुरा are shortened. According to Patanjali this sūtra is superfluous. When the negative particle takes Vṛiddhi, the compound should be analysed as, न यथातथा = अयथातथा, अयथातथा भावः = आयथातथ्यम् ॥ When the second member gets the vṛiddhi, the compound should be analysed as, यथातथा भावः = याथातथ्यं, न याथातथ्यम् = अयाथातथ्यम् ॥

हनस्तो ऽचिण्णलोः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, तः, अ, चिण् णलोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितेष्विति निवृत्तम् । तस्संबद्धं कितीत्यपि । ङिणीति वर्त्तते । हनस्तकारदेशो भवति ङिति प्रत्यये परतः चिण्णलौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

32. न् is substituted for the न् of the root हन् before an affix with an indicatory ञ् or ण्, which causes also the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ, but the augment is not added before the Aorist-sign चिण्, nor before the Personal ending णल् of the Perfect.

The anuvṛitti of 'Taddhita' ceases, and with it that of क्तिन् also which causes Vṛiddhi in Taddhita only. The ङित् and ङित् do govern still. Thus घातः (with घञ्), घातयति (with ङिञ्), घातकः (with ण्वल्), साधुघातिन् with इञ्; घातंघातम् with ण्वल् ॥ But जघानि and जघान with चिण् and णल् ॥ This sūtra has

reference to roots, and refers to those affixes only which come after roots (धातु-प्रत्यय), therefore not here वार्त्तनः from वृत्तहन् ॥

आतो युक्चिण्कृतोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युक्, चिण्, कृतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य चिणि कृति ङिति युगागमो भवति ।

33. A root-stem ending in आ receives the augment युक् (य्), before the Aorist sign चिण्, and before a kṛit-affix with an indicatory झ् or ण्, which causes also the Vṛiddhi of the root-vowel.

As अदायि, अधायि with चिण्, दायः and दायकः; धायः, धायकः with ण and ष्वल् ॥ Why 'चिण् and kṛit only'? Observe द्यौ, द्यौ in the Perfect, and चौडिः, बालाकिः with इञ् a Taddhita affix (IV. 1. 96). So also ज्ञा देवता अस्य = ज्ञः ॥

नोदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्यानाचमेः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्तोपदेशस्य, मान्तस्य, अनाचमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्याङ्गस्याचमिवाङितस्य चिणि कृति च ङिणाति यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

वा० ॥ अनाचमिकमिबमीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. The Vṛiddhi is not substituted before the Aorist चिण् or a kṛit-affix with indicatory झ् or ण् for the vowel of that root which ends in म and is acutely accented in its original enunciation (Dhâtupâṭha), but not so in चम् after आ ॥

The vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ takes place before णिन् and ङिन् affixes (VII. 2. 116), that vṛiddhi does not take place in the case of udâta roots ending in म् ॥ Thus अशामि, अनामि, and अहमि in चिण् ॥ Compare VI. 4. 92, 93. Similarly with कृन् affixes, as शमकः, तमकः, दमकः; शमः, तमः, दमः ॥ Why do we say 'acutely accented'? Observe, यामकः, रामकः ॥ How do you explain उद्यम and उपरम? These are irregular forms exhibited by Pânini himself in the Dhâtupâṭha अङ्उद्यमे (Bhu. 380), यम उपरमे (Bhu. 1033) Why do we use "in the original enunciation or upadeśa"? So that the rule may apply to शमी ह्मी, तमी, but not to याममः, रामकः ॥ Here to the root शम्, तम् and ह्म् is added the affix चिनुण् (III. 2. 141). The words शमिन् &c. get the affix-accent, namely acute ह्; and thus the root-vowel becomes anudâta. Though the root now becomes anudâta, yet because in its upadeśa it was udâta, the present sūtra will apply and prevent vṛiddhi. The roots यम्, रम् are anudâta in upadeśa, but in यामकः, रामकः they become udâta by लिन् accent. This accent is a secondary accent and not the 'original' accent; and hence the present rule does not apply and there is vṛiddhi. Why do we say ending in म्? Observe चारकः पाठकः ॥ Why with the exception of आचम्? Observe आचामकः ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the roots आचम, कम् and वम्, as वामः, कामः and आचामः ॥ In the case of कम्, the affix घञ् is added

in that alternative, when the root does not take the affix णिच् (III. 1. 31). It thus gets वृद्धि.

The word आमः is formed from the Churādi अम्, which with the affix णिच् gets वृद्धि, because णिच् is not a कृति-affix, and is not therefore governed by this rule. If you say "let there be वृद्धि of णिच्, but this वृद्धि will be shortened by VI. 4. 92 because it is a मित् root", we reply "this root is not मित्" ॥ The मित् roots are those enumerated in Bhuādi class, subdivision घटादिः (800). No doubt, there it is said that the roots ending in अम् are मित् (in अमन्ताश्च). But a root is regarded मित् only with regard to the Causative णिच् affix, and not with regard to that णिच् of the Churādi class where the sense of the causative is not involved in it. Therefore this root is not मित् (VI. 4. 93).

The phrases सूर्यविश्रामा भूमिः and others like it are incorrect. Why do we say 'चिण् and कृति only'? Observe शशाम, दशाम, चक्षाम ॥

जनिवध्योश्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि, चध्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनि वधि इत्येतयोश्चिणि कृति च शणिति यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ।

35. The वृद्धि is not substituted for the vowels of जन् and वच् before the Aorist-sign चिण् and the कृति-affixes with an indicatory अ् and ए ॥

As अजनि and अवधि with चिण्, and जनकः and बधकः (with एवल्), प्रजनः, वधः ॥ This rule refers to the separate and the distinct root वध and not to the substitute of हन् ॥ This we see in the line भक्षकश्च विद्यते वधकोऽपि न विद्यते ॥ The form from हन् will be घातकः ॥ Moreover the substitute वध ends with अ i. e. it is of two syllables 'badha', and as such it also does not admit वृद्धि. (See II. 4. 42). The prohibition refers to चिण् and कृति-affixes, therefore not here, as जजान गर्भं महिमानमिन्द्रम् ॥

अर्त्तिह्रीव्लीरीकनूयीक्ष्माययातां पुङ्णौ ॥ ३६ ॥ अर्त्ति, ह्री, व्ली, री, कनूयी, क्ष्मायी, आताम्, पुक्, णौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वे निवृत्तमङ्गस्येति वर्तन्ते । अर्त्ति ह्री व्ली री कनूयी क्ष्मायी इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च पुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ।

36. The augment पुक् (प्) is added to the roots ऋ, ह्री, व्ली, री, कनूय्, क्ष्माय्, and to a root ending in long आ, when the affix णि (the Causative) follows.

As अर्पयति, ह्रेपयति, व्लेपयति, रेपयति, क्लोपयति, क्ष्मापयति ॥ The anuvṛitti of every word other than अङ्ग (VI. 4. 1.) ceases. The ए of कनूय् and क्ष्माय् drops by VI. 1. 66. The गुण takes place by VII. 3. 86. Of the roots ending in long आ, we have ज्ञापयति, धापयति ॥ The root ऋ (Bhu. 983) गतिप्रापणयोः, and ऋ (Juhotyādi 16) गतौ are both meant here. Similarly री includes रीङ् चवणे (Di-ādi 30). and री गतिरपणयोः (Kryādi 30). The augment is added at the end of

the preceding stem of root, and not to the affix. Being added to the root it becomes part of the root-stem, and in forming the reduplicate Aorist of such stems, the vowel before ए is shortened by VII. 4. 1. If ए were not the part of the stem, that vowel would not be shortened. Thus from दापयति ; we have Aorist अदीवत् ॥

शाच्छासाहाव्यावेपां युक् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छा, सा, हा, व्या, वे पाम्, युक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शा छा सा हा व्या वे पा इत्येतेषामङ्गानां युगागमो भवति णौ परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लुगागमस्तु तस्य वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ धुञ् प्रीञोर्नुवक्तव्यः ॥

37. The augment युक्(य्) is added to the verbal stems शा, छा, सा, हा, वे and पा before the affix णि (Causative).

As निशाययति, अवच्छाययति, अवसाययति, ह्राययति, संख्याययति, वाययति, and पाययति ॥ The word पा includes the root पा 'to drink'. (Bhu 972) प 'to dry' (Bhu 968). but not पा 'to protect' (Ad. 47): because the latter looses the शप् विकारणा.

Vårt:—The root पा 'to protect' takes the augment लुक् before णि, as पालयति ॥

Vårt:—The roots धुञ् and प्रीञ् take the augment लुक् before णि, as धूनयति, प्रीणयति ॥

All these augments are added to the roots, in order that VII. 4. 1. should cause the shortening of the vowel preceding these. Thus the Aorist of the above are: अशीशयत्, अपीपलत्, अदूधुनत्, अपीपिणत् ॥

The roots शा, छा, सा, हा, व्या and पा are exhibited as ending in long आ their Dhâtupâṭha forms are श, शा, छो, सै, सो, हे, व्ये and पै ॥ This indicates that these roots would have taken एक् by the last sūtra, the word भान् 'ending in long आ' means the roots which actually end in long आ, as well as those which get long आ by VI. 1. 45. This also indicates, that in this subdivision or section, the maxim of lakṣhaṇa protipadokta &c does not apply. Therefore when the roots इ with आप, and जि assume the form अधि-आ and जा before the affix णि by VI. 1. 48, the augment एक् is added to them, thus अध्यापयति, जापयति ॥

वो विधूनने लुक् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, विधूनने, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वा इत्येतस्य विधूननेर्धे वर्तमानस्य लुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ।

38. वा gets the augment लुक्(ञ्) before the affix णि when the Causative has the sense of 'shaking'.

As पक्षेणोपवाजयति ॥ But आ वापयति केशान् when the sense is not that of shaking. This form could have been obtained from the root वञ् 'to move', (Bhu 271) with the affix णि in the ordinary way without any augment. The special augment ञ् to वा indicates that this root will not take लुक्, which it would have otherwise done by the last sūtra. The root वा belongs to Bhu. 969 [भौचै शोषणे] ॥

लीलानुग्लुकावन्यतरस्यां स्नेहविपातने ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ली, लोः, लुक्, लुक्, अन्यतरस्याम्, स्नेह विपातने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ली लो इत्येतयोरङ्गयोरन्यतरस्यां लुक् लुक् इत्येतावागमौ भवतो षौ परतः स्नेहविपातनेर्ये ॥

39. The roots ली and ला get optionally लुक् and लृक् augment respectively, before the affix णि, when the causative means 'the melting of a fatty substance'.

As वि लीनयति, वि लालयति, वि लाययति, or वि लापयति घृतम् ॥ The augment लुक् is added to ली when the root ends in long ई, and that also optionally. When the augment is not added, the regular causative लाययति is formed. But when ली gets the form ला by VI. 1. 51, it does not take the augment लुक् ॥ The root ली includes both ली and लीङ् of Kryādi and Divādi The root ला includes ला 'to give' (adādi 49), and ला the form assumed by ली under VI. 1. 51. When लुक् is not added to ला, पुक् is added by VII. 3. 36. Why do we say when meaning 'to melt fat'? Observe only लोहं विलापयति, जदाभिरालापयते (I. 3. 70).

भियो हेतुभये पुक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, हेतुभये, पुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्य हेतुभयेऽर्थे पुगागमो भवति षौ परतः ॥

40. The augment पुक् is added to the root भी before the affix णि, when fear is caused immediately owing to the agent of the Causative.

As बुण्डो भीषयते, जटिलो भीषयते ॥ See I. 3.68. Herealso भी with long ई being employed in the sūtra, indicates that पुक् is added then only, when the root has the form भी, but when it assumes the form भा by VI. 1. 56, the proper augment पुक् will come : as बुण्डो भाषयते ॥ Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is himself the direct cause of fear'? Observe कुञ्चिकयैर्न भाषयति, for here कुञ्चिका causes fear and not the agent of the verb. The ई is vṛiddhi and भाय् substituted.

स्फायो वाः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फाय् इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य वकारादेशो भवति षौ परतः ॥

41. For the final of the stem स्फाय् is substituted व् in the causative.

As स्फावयति ॥

शदेरगतौ तः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः, अ गतौ तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शदे रङ्गस्यागतावर्थे वर्तमानस्य तकारादेशो भवति षौ परतः ॥

42. For the final of the शद् is substituted त्, in the Causative, when it does not mean 'to drive'.

As पुष्पाणि शातयति, फलानि शातयति, but गाः शादयति गोपालकः ॥

रुहः पोन्न्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुहः, पः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रुहेरङ्गस्थान्यतरस्यां पकारादेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

43. प् may optionally be substituted for the final of रुह् in the Causative.

As व्रीहीन् रोपयति or राहयति ॥ According to Padamanjari this sūtra could be dispensed with. The form रोपयति could be obtained from the root र्ष् of Divādi class : which though meaning मोहन may be taken to mean 'grow' also; भनेकार्थत्वाद् धातूनाम् ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्कात्पूर्वस्यात् इदाप्यसुपः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययस्यात्, कात्, पूर्वस्य, अतः, इत्, आपि, असुपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यये तिष्ठतीति प्रत्ययस्थः तस्मात् प्रत्ययस्थात्कारान् पूर्वस्याकारस्य इकारादेशो भवति भापि परतः, स चेश्वासुपः परो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मामकनरकयोरोपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यमप्रत्यस्थत्वात् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रत्ययनिषेधे त्यक्त्यपोभेोपसंख्यानम् ॥

44. इ is substituted for the अ which stands before the क् belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending आ follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i.e. when such a word in अक् does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrīhi).

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्थ, i. e. क् must be the part of the affix. The अक् is changed into इक् in the feminine in आ ॥ As जाटिका, गुण्डिका, गुणिका, वृत्तिका, कारिका, हारिका ॥ So also एतिका from एतद् + अक्च् + आप् एतकद् + आप् ॥ The इ is then replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102). The क् must belong to the affix, therefore, not in शका from शक् शक्ताति ॥ The स्थ in प्रत्ययस्थ is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only क् ॥ The rule applies to क्, therefore, not to नन्ना, रमणा ॥ The इ is substituted for the अ which precedes (पूर्वस्य) क्, and not the अ which follows क्, as पटुका, वृटुका ॥ The क् must be preceded by short अ, therefore, not here षोका, नौका, nor in राका, धाका ॥ The substitution takes place when आ follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word आपि qualifies क् ॥ The क् should be followed by आ ॥ Obj. But in कारिका from कारक + आ, क् is not directly followed by आ, but by अ? Ans. When अ + आ = आ there is ekādeśa, the क् is followed by आ, there being no third letter intervening then. Obj. But an ekādeśa is sthānavat to what it replaces when a pūrva-vidhi is to be applied, therefore there still exists the intervention. Ans. The express text of this sūtra will remove the intervention. Obj. Then इ should be substituted in रथक्या and गङ्गकाम्या ॥ These words are formed by the affixes क्यच् and काम्यच्, as रथानां समूहः, (IV. 2. 51) and गर्गमिच्छति आत्मनः (III. 1. 9) = रथक्या and गर्गकाम्य ॥ Here also before the क् of the affix, the अ should be replaced

by इ, when the feminine affix आ is added: for there is no intervention between क् and आ (the intermediate letters being non-existent, as you say). Ans. We say that intervention is no intervention, when it consists of only *one* letter, which even does not *actually* exist, but only through the fiction of sthānivat. Therefore, the feminine of the above words will not take इ, as क् is not *followed immediately* (in the sense above expressed) by आप्, as रथकव्या and गर्गकाम्या, because in these *actually* many letters are *heard* as intervening between the क् and आप् ॥

Why do we say असुप्: 'provided that the feminine affix आप् does not come after a case-affix'? Observe बहवः परिव्राजका अस्यां मथुगयां = बहुपरिव्राजका मथुगा ॥ Here आप् comes after the noun बहुपरिव्राजक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the अ of ज्ञ is not changed to इ ॥ The case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62. The word असुप्: is a प्रसज्यवतिषेधः (a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified without mentioning what is different from it): and not a पर्थुदासः or exception. Had it been a Paryudāsa, (सुपोऽन्यः = असुप्:) then आप् coming after a full word not having a case-affix, would have caused the इ substitution in the last example. Nor should असुप्: be explained as that in which there exists no case-affix. Had it been so, then in बहूनि चर्माण्यस्यां = बहुचर्मिका no इ ought to be added.

Vārt:—नामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix: as मामिका, नरिका ॥ Here ममक is substituted for मम before the affix अण् (IV. 3. 3), to which is then added टाप् ॥ The word ममक takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30): therefore though नामक ends in अण्, it does not take डीप् (IV. 1. 15) but टाप् (IV. 1. 4), नरान् कायति = नरक formed with the affix क् (अ III. 2. 3).

Vārt:—The rule applies to the words ending in ल्यक् (IV. 2. 98) and ल्यप्, (IV. 2. 104) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. As दाक्षिणात्यिका, इहल्यिका ॥

The word in the sūtra is कान् the fifth case of क् ending in अ ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in ka क् and not in k क्, then the rule will not apply to एतिका ॥ Because here the augment is अकञ् (अक्) with क्; the final अ in अकञ् is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in भिन्धिक, छिन्धिक, रुन्धिक ॥ The word कात् therefore, is construed to mean ending in the *consonant* क् ॥

न यासयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, या, सयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या सा इत्येतयोरिकारादेशो न भवति ॥

शास्त्रिकम् ॥ यत्तद्देशः प्रतिषेधे त्यक्त उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पात्रकादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ आशिषि चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ उत्तरपदलोपे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ शिपकादीनां चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ तारका ज्योतिष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ वर्णका तान्त्र उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वर्तका शकुनौ प्राचाद्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अष्टका पितृदेवले ॥ वा० ॥ वा सूतकापुत्रकावृन्शरकाणाद्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

45. The इ is not substituted for the अ of य and स, with the augment क्, when the feminine आ follows.

As यका. सका ॥ The या and सा simply stand for यद् and तद्, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms या and सा may lead one to think. न यन् तसोः would have been a better sūtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as यकानधीते. तकां पचामहे ॥ Or यकायकामधीमहे (i. e. क्चार्थां च), and तकां तकास्पचामहे (i. e. ओषधीं शाकिनीं वा)

Vårt:—The affix ल्यक् (V. 3. 34) should be enumerated also along with यन् and तद् ॥ As उपत्यका, अधित्यका ॥

Vårt:—The feminine of पावक &c in the Veda does not take इ for अ ॥ As हिरण्यवर्णः शुचयः पावकाः, यासु अ लोमकाः, ऋक्षकाः &c. But पाविकाः, अलोमिकाः in secular literature.

Vårt:—So also in the affix वुन् used in benediction: as जीवताद् जीवका, नन्दताद् नन्दका, भवताद् भवका ॥ See III. 1. 150.

Vårt:—So also when the second member is elided in a compound: as देवका, यज्ञका, the second member इत्त is elided, the fuller forms being देवदत्तिका, यज्ञदत्तिका (अनजाशै च विभाषा लोपो वल्गव्यः) See V. 3. 83 Vårt.

Vårt:—क्षिपक &c should be enumerated in this prohibition: as क्षिपका, ध्रुवका, ध्रुवका, चटका ॥

Vårt:—तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but तारिका 'a maid-servant' from तारयति ॥

Vårt:—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder': as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhāguri is a commentary of Lokāyata'

Vårt:—वर्तिका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वर्त्तिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वर्त्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vårt:—अष्टका when meaning a पितृद्वैतस्य ceremony, but अष्टिका खारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛidevata is called Pitṛidaivatya, the affix is यन् ॥ The former is derived from the root अश् with the affix तकन् (अश्नान्ति ब्राह्मणा आश्नमस्यां), the other is derived from the numeral अष्ट by the affix कन् (V. 1. 22).

Vårt:—Optionally सूतका, पुत्रका and वृन्दारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुत्रिका, and वृन्दारिका ॥

उदीचाम.तः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचाम, आतः, स्थाने, यक, पूर्वायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन यकारपूर्वायाः ककारपूर्वायाश्चातः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्यातः स्थाने इकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यकपूर्वत्वे धात्वन्तप्रतिषेधः ॥

46. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by

shortening the long आ of the feminine (under rule VII. 4. 13 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य् or a क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As इभ्यका or इभ्यिका, क्षत्रियका or क्षत्रियिका, चटकका or चटक्रिका, मूषिकका, मूषिकिका ॥ Why do we say preceded by य् or क्? Observe अभ्वक-अधिका only (from अभ्वा) ॥ The word यकपूर्वायाः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the *feminine* affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here शुभयिका from शुभया (शुभं याति). So also भद्रयिका from भद्रया, where आ is part of the root या (see III. 2. 74).

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the य् and क् being finals of a root. When the य् or क् preceding this अ, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sūtra, does not apply: as सुनायका, सुशायिका, सुपाकिका, and अशोकिका ॥

Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe सांकाभ्ये भवा = सांकादियका ॥ The word संकाभ्य is formed from संकाश by the affix ण्य (संकाशे निर्वृत्ते) ॥ Then is added the affix वुञ्ज (IV. 2. 121). Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed. But in इभ्यका or इभ्यिका the long आ has been shortened. Because this word is thus derived: इभमर्हति = इभ्या (दण्डादिभ्योः V. 1. 66). To this क् is added, and the long आ is shortened.

Why is the word स्थान used in the sūtra, when by the general rule षष्ठी स्थाने योगः this word would be understood here? The special mention is for the sake of pointing out that the अ which takes the place of आ is intended here: i. e. the इ replaces this short अ; but had the word स्थाने not been used in the sūtra the इ would have replaced the long आ ॥

भस्त्रैपाजाज्ञाद्वास्वा नञ्पूर्वाणामपि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, ज्ञा, द्वा, स्वा, नञ्, पूर्वाणाम्, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उड़ीचामातः स्थान इति वर्तते ॥ आतः स्थाने योकारस्तस्य इत्वं न भवति उड़ीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

47. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the आ (before क् by VII. 4. 13), of भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, ज्ञा, द्वा (VII. 2. 102), and स्वा; even not then when the negative particle precedes them.

As भस्त्रका or भस्त्रिका, अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका, एषका or एषिका, अजका or अजिका, ज्ञका or ज्ञिका, अज्ञका or अज्ञिका, इत्के or इत्के, स्वका or स्विका, अस्वका or आस्वका ॥ Of एषा and द्वि there are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with नञ् takes place after the addition of the अकच्, or on the contrary, if first अकच् be added and then the नञ् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII. 2. 102: and it is only when this अ is substituted that the fe-

minine दाप् can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and दाप् comes after सुप्, and therefore by the prohibition of असुप्: in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore अनेषका and अद्वका are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle. स्व meaning agnates and property, takes the negative particle. भस्त्रा is a word which has no corresponding masculine form, and as such, by the following rule VII. 3. 48 it would not have taken इ; its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here: as अविद्यमाना भस्त्रा यस्या = अभस्त्रा, the Diminutive of which is अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका ॥ Here first the भस्त्रा is shortened as it is a secondary member (upasarjana), then when the Bahuvrīhi is made, the feminine affix दाप् is added to this भाषितपुंस्क word, then this इत्ता is shortened before क by VII. 4. 13. This short अ (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the आ which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine.

The force of अवि shows that the rule applies, when words other than नञ् also precede, and even when no words precede. As निर्भस्त्रिका or निर्भस्त्रका, बहुभस्त्रिका or बहुभस्त्रका ॥

Note:—The form इके is from the word इक्ति, dual number, the final इ is changed to अ (स्वदाद्यन्व), then the feminine आ (दाप्) is added (इका), and then शी is substituted for औ ॥

अभाषितपुंस्काच्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, भाषितपुंस्कात्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभाषितपुंस्काद्विहितस्यातः स्थाने योकारस्तस्योदीचामाचार्याणामन्तेन इकारादेशो न भवति ॥

48. According to the opinion of Northern Gram-
marians, इ is not substituted for an अ obtained from the shorten-
ing of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13), when to the feminine
in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the
Negative particle precedes.

As खट्टका or खट्टिका, अखट्टिका or अखट्टका, परमखट्टका or परमखट्टिका ॥ When before the affix कप्, the stem is shortened in a Bahuvrīhi, this rule will apply (VII. 4. 15). There also, the अ must be substituted for the आ of a feminine word which has no corresponding masculine. But this rule does not apply when the negative compound is the synthesis of अविद्यमाना खट्टा अस्याः = अखट्टा, अल्पा अखट्टा = अखट्टिका ॥ Similarly अतिक्रान्ता खट्टाम् = अतिखट्टा, अल्पा अतिखट्टा = अतिखट्टिका ॥

Note:—The word खट्टा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine.

आदाचार्याणाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ आत्, आचार्याणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभाषितपुंस्कारातः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्याचार्याणामकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word which has no corresponding masculine form.

As खद्वाका, भखद्वाका or परमखद्वाका॥

Note:—The "Teachers" referred to here are either those other than the Northern Grammarians, or it may refer to the Teacher of Pānini, the plural being for the sake of respect. Thus there are three forms भखद्वाका, भखद्विका, and भखद्वाका ॥

ठस्येकः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ ठस्य, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गस्य निमित्तं यष्टः, कश्चाङ्गस्य निर्मित्तं, प्रत्यय, स्तस्य प्रत्ययठस्य इक इत्ययमदिशो भवति ॥

50. For ठ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक ॥

As आक्षिकः, शालाकिकः (ठक् IV. 4. 1), लावणिकः (ठञ् IV. 4. 52). In the affixes ठक्, ठञ् &c, if the affix is the consonant ढ्, and अ is only for euphony, then here also the अ is for pronunciation only: but if on the contrary, the aggregate ठ (इ + अ) is the affix, then the same is the case here. This rule does not apply in Unādi affixes always, as कणश् ढः = कण्डः (Uṇ I. 103), for there is diversity (बहुल) in the Uṇādi.

माथितिकः (= मथितं षण्मस्य IV. 4. 51) is thus formed मथित + ठक् = मथित् + इक (VI. 4. 148 the अ is dropped). Now arises the doubt, should इक be replaced by क as taught in the next aphorism VII. 3. 51, as it comes after a त् ॥ This substitution, however, does not take place, because it was इक which caused the elision of अ, and now त् which became final by such elision cannot cause the destruction of इक its producer (सन्निपातलक्षणा विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य). Or the elided अ (VI. 4. 148) may be considered as sthānivat, and would thus prevent क substitution.

There are two views about this ठ ॥ Some say that the consonant ढ् only is the sthāni, and the अ is only for the sake of pronunciation. The others hold that ठ, the consonant and the vowel are sthāni in the aggregate. In the first view, the rule would apply to the consonant ढ् at the end of roots like पढ् in पठिता, पठितुं; in the other view the rule would apply to the affix अठच् in कर्मठः ॥ Hence, the commentary uses the word, that ठ must be the cause of अङ्ग ॥

इसुसुकान्तात्कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्, उस्, उक्, त, अन्तान्त्, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् उस् इत्येवमन्तानाद्युगन्तानां तान्तानां चाङ्गानाद्युत्तरस्य ठस्य क इत्ययमदिशो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ दोष उपसंख्यानम् ॥

51. क is substituted for ठ after a stem ending in इस्, उस्, उ or ऊ, ऋ and त् ॥

As सार्षिकः, धातुक्कः, याजुक्कः, नैपादकर्षुकः, शाम्बरजम्बुकः, मातृकम्, पैतृकम्, भौवथि-

त्कः शाकृत्क याकृत्क ॥ The इस् and उस् are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, आशिषिकः (= आशिषा चरति), औषिका (= उषा चरति) ॥

Vårt:—So also after दास, as दौष्क. (शंभ्यां चरति) ॥

The word सार्षकः is formed by ट्क of तदस्य पण्य, (IV. 4. 51) and स is changed to ष by इणः षः (VIII. 3. 39). भानुष्कः is by ट्क of प्रहरण ॥ याजुष्क is by ट्क of वीष्यान् ॥ नैषादकर्षुः &c by ट्स् of भवादावर्थे ओर्देशे ट्स् ॥ मातृकः by ट्स् of तत भागतः, ऋतदस्य ॥ औशश्वत्कः by ट्क (IV. 2. 19) शाकृत्कः by ट्स् of संसृष्ट (IV. 4. 12).

चजोः कु घिण्ण्यतोः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चजोः, कु, घित्, ण्यतोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चकारञकारयोः कवर्गादेशो भवति घिति ण्यति च प्रत्यये परतः ॥

52. For the final च् or ज् of a root, there is substituted a corresponding guttural, before an affix having an indicative घ्, and before ण्यत् ॥

As पाक, न्याग, रागः with घञ्, and चाक्यम्, वाक्यम् and रेक्यम् with ण्यत् ॥ Compare VII. 3. 59.

न्यङ्कादीनां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्यङ्कु, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न्यङ्कु इत्येवमादीनां कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

53. The guttural is substituted in न्यङ्कु and the rest.

Thus न्यङ्कुः from नि + अञ्च् + उ; So also मद्युः ॥

(1) By the sūtra नावङ्चेः (Uṇ I. 17), the affix उ is added to the root अञ्च् preceded by नि ॥ (2) मद्युः is formed by adding उ to the root मज्ज (Uṇ I. 7) (3) भ्युः, is formed by the affix उ added to the root भ्रञ्ज, the स् is elided, and इ is vocalised (Uṇ I. 28). (4 and 5) दूरेपाकः, फलेपाकः formed by the अञ्च् affix of पचादि class, (=दूरं पच्यते स्वयमेव, फले पच्यते स्वयमेव) ॥ The vṛiddhi is by nipātana. The seventh case-affix is not elided in these compound words by VI. 3. 14. (6) क्षणेपाकः ॥ This word is read by some. Others read these as दूरेपाका, फलेपाका with टार् ॥ A third reading is दूरेपाकुः फलेपाकुः, by the affix उ added irregularly. (7 and 8) तक्र and वक्र ॥ These are formed from the roots तञ्च and वञ्च with the affix रक्त् Uṇ II. 13). (9) व्यतिषङ्गः formed from व्यतिषजति with पचादि अञ्च् ॥ (10) अनुषङ्गः ॥ (11) अवसर्गः ॥ (12) उपसर्गः ॥ (13) मेघः ॥ (14) श्वपाकः ॥ (15) मांसपाकः ॥ (16) कपोतपाकः ॥ (17) उलूकपाकः ॥ (18) पिण्डपाकः formed by the affix अण् with an accusative word in construction as upapada. (19) अर्घः when it denotes a name meaning 'price'. This is formed from the root अर्ह with the affix घञ् ॥ When it is not a name, the form is अर्हः ॥ (20 and 21) अवशाघः and निशाघः, when they are names meaning "Summer or Hot season". These are formed from the root ष्ह preceded by अव and नि ॥ But when they are not names, the forms are अवशाहः, निशाहः ॥ (22) न्यमोघः formed from the root रुह preceded by न्यक and by adding the पचादि अञ्च् ॥ The ह् is changed to घ ॥ (23) वीरुत् ॥ Formed from रुह with त्रि and the affix क्विप्, and ह changed to घ ॥ न्यग्राहयति and विरोहयति ॥

1 न्यङ्कु, 2 महु, 3 भ्यु, 4 दूरेपाक, 5 फलेपाक, 6 क्षणेपाक, 7 दूरेपाका, 8 फलेपाका, 9 दूरेपाकु, 10 फलेपाकु, 11 तक्र, 12 वक्र, 13 व्यतिषङ्ग, 14 अनुषङ्ग, 15 अवसर्ग, 16 उपसर्ग, 17 श्वपाक, 18 मांसपाक, 19 मूलपाक, 20 कपोतपाक, 21 उलूकपाक, 22 संज्ञायां मेघानिशाघावशाघाः मेघ 23 न्यमोघ, 24 वीरुध् ॥

हो हन्तेर्णञिञेषु ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, हन्तेः, ङिणत्, नेषु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्हकारस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ङिति ङिणत् प्रत्यय परतो नकारे च ॥

54. A guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् before an affix having an indicatory ञ्. or ण् and before न् ॥

As घानयति with ङिञ, घतिकः with षुल, साधुव तित् with इङ्, घातघातम् with णषुल्, घातः with घञ्, घ्नन्ति, घ्नन्तुम्, and अघ्नन् before न् ॥ Why do we specify ह? Otherwise the substitute would replace the final letter. Why of हन्? Observe प्रहारः, प्रहारकः ॥ ण् and ञ् qualify the affixes, and न् means the न् of हन् which becomes joined with ह् when the intermediate अ is dropped. This न् comes in immediate contact with ह्, because it is *heard* in pronouncing, and in writing. If the elided अ be considered as sthānivat, then ह् can never be followed by न्, for there will exist the intervention of this latent अ, but by virtue of the special text of this sūtra, such an elided अ should not be considered as an intervention. And if ञ्, ण् and न् be all considered as qualifying the ह् of हन्, still on the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तत्र व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात् therefore ण् or ञ् are considered to come after ह् though a portion of the root intervenes. But not so here, हननामिच्छति हननीयति, add षुल to this Denominative root, and we have हननायकः ॥

अभ्यासाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासात्, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासादुत्तरस्य हन्तिहकारस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

55. A Guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् after a reduplication also.

As जिघांसति, जङ्घत्यन्त, अहं जघान ॥ The rule applies when such an affix follows which causes the reduplication of the stem (aṅga) हन्, therefore not here हननीयितुमिच्छति = जिहननीयति ॥

हेरचङि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेः, अ, चङि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हिनंतेर्हकारस्याभ्यासादुत्तरस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति अचङि ॥

56. A guttural is substituted for the ह of हि (हिनोति) after a reduplication, but not in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As जिघीषति, प्र जेषीयते, प्रजिघाय; but प्राजीहयद् दूतम् in the simple Aorist. Obj. The word अचङि could be dispensed with from the sūtra, in as much as चङ् can never come after the simple root हि, but after the causative of हि, and the causative stem of हि is a different verb than, हि. Ans. The fact of this word अचङि being employed in the sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim : प्रकृति ग्रहणं प्यधिकस्यापि ग्रहणम् "A radical denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes also whatever stem may result from the addition to it of the causative affix ङि" ॥ Therefore we have प्रजिघाययिषति ॥

The word प्राञ्जिह्यन् is the Aorist of the causative of हि, with चङ्, the elision of णि, the shortening of the penultimate the reduplication, guttural change by कुहोद्बु, and lengthening by दीर्घालोपोः ॥

सन्निदाजैः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्, लिटोः, जेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सान् लिटि च प्रत्यये जेरङ्गस्य योभ्यासस्तस्मादुत्तरस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

57. A guttural is substituted for the ज् in जि after a reduplication before the Desiderative affix सन्, and in the Perfect.

As जिगीषति, जिगाय ॥ Why in the Desiderative and Perfect only? Observe जेजीयते ॥ Though the root ज्या also assumes the form जि by vocalisation (VI. I. 16, 17) yet that जि is not to be taken here. That will form जिज्यतुः, जिज्युः ॥

विभाषा चः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चैः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिनोतेरङ्गस्य सन्निदाभ्यासादुत्तरस्य विभाषा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

58. A guttural is optionally substituted for the च् of चि after a reduplication in the Desiderative and Perfect.

As चिचाषति or चिक्रीषति, चिचाय or चिकाय ॥ But चेचीयते in other cases.

न क्वादेः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कु, आदेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

59. A guttural is not substituted for the final च् ज् of a root which begins with a guttural, before an affix having an indicatory घ and before ण्यत् ॥

As कूजः, खजः and गर्जः with घञ्; कुज्यः, खज्यः and गज्यः with ण्यत् ॥ This is an exception to VII. 3. 52.

अजिब्रज्योश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अजि, ब्रज्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजि ब्रजि इत्येतयोश्च कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

60. A guttural is not substituted for the final or ज् of अज् and ब्रज् before an affix having an indicatory घ and before ण्यत् ॥

This is an exception to VII. 3. 52. Thus समाजः, उहाजः, परिव्राजः and परिव्राज्यम् ॥ There is no example of अज् with the affix ण्यत्, because by II. 4. 56, वी replaces अज् before all ārdhadhātuka affixes except घञ् and भप् ॥ The च् of the sūtra implies that the rule applies to other roots also not mentioned, as वाजः, वाज्यम् from वज् ॥

भुजन्युवृजौ पाण्युपतापयोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुज, न्युवृजौ, पाणि, उपतापयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुज न्युवृज इत्येतौ षष्ठौ निपात्येते यथासंख्यम् पाणानुपतापे च ॥

61. भुज 'an arm', and न्युव्ज 'a kind of bodily disease', are irregularly formed, without any change of their ज before घञ् ॥

The word भुजः = भुज्यतेऽनेन, with घञ् (III. 3. 121). The irregularity consists in the absence of Guṇa, as well as of gutturalisation. न्युव्जिताः शरतेऽस्मिन् = न्युव्जः from the root उञ्ज अर्जवे (Tudādi 20). The irregularity consists in the non-changing of ज ॥ When not meaning 'an arm' and 'a disease', we have भोगः, सधुद्गः ॥

प्रयाजानुयाजौ यज्ञाङ्गे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयाज, अनुयाजौ, यज्ञ, अङ्गे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्वप्रतिषेधोऽनुवर्तते ॥ प्रयाज अनुयाज इत्येतौ निपात्यते यज्ञाङ्गोऽभिधये ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य यज्ञार्थञि कुत्वाभावो निपात्यते ॥

62. प्रयाज and अनुयाज are irregularly formed with घञ्, when meaning a portion of a sacrificial offering.

These words are derived from यञ् with घञ् without the guttural substitution; as पञ्च प्रयाजाः, त्रयोनुयाजाः, स्वमग्ने प्रयाजाना पश्चात् त्वं पुरुस्तात् ॥ But प्रयागः and अनुयागः when not referring to portions of a sacrifice. The प्रयाज and अनुयाज are illustrative only. The guttural change does not take place with other prepositions &c. also, as उपयाजः, उपांशुयाजः, संयाजः, ऋतुयाजः, as in the sentences एकादशोपयाजाः, उपांशु याजमन्तरा यजति, अथै पत्नी संयाजा भवन्ति, ऋतुयाजे श्रन्ति ॥

वञ्चैर्गतौ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वञ्चैः, गतौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चैर्गतौ वर्तमानस्य कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

63. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal of वञ्च् in the sense of 'going'.

A; वञ्च्यं वञ्चन्ति वणिजः, but वाङ्मयं काष्ठं = कुटिलं ॥ Why is गतौ used, when we kn w from the Dhatupāṭha (Bhuadi 204) that वञ्च् means 'to go'? The specification shows that the roots possess many meanings other than those assigned to them in the Dhātupāṭha.

ओक उचः के ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओकः, उचः, के, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उचेर्द्धातोः के प्रत्यय ओक इति निपात्यते ॥

64, ओक is irregularly formed from the root उच् with the affix क (अ) ॥

The change of च् into क्, and the Guṇa are the irregularities. As न्योक्कैः 'a bird, a tree'. The affix क is added under III. 1. 135. The क is added with the force of घञ् the Kāraka relation being that of Location &c. The घञ् affix would have given the form regularly, but then the word would have been acutely accented on the first syllable, but it is desired that the acute should be on the last. The words द्विवोक्तः, ज्ञौक्तः &c are also irregular,

formed with the Uṇadi affix असुन् the कृ being substituted for च् as an Uṇadi diversity (bahulam).

ण्यभावश्चके ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ण्यः, आवश्यके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवश्यकेऽर्थे ण्यप्रत्ययस्तस्मिन् परभूते चजाः कुर्वन् न भवति ॥

65. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal, before the affix ण्य, when it means 'to do as absolute necessity'.

As अवश्य पाठ्यम्, अवश्य वाच्यम्, अवश्यरेच्यम्, but पाक्यं, वाक्यं and रेक्यं when the sense is not that of necessity.

यजयाचरुचप्रवचर्चश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज, याच, रुच, प्रवच, ऋचः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज याच रुच प्रवच ऋच इत्येतेषां ण्ये परतः कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ण्यति प्रतिषेधे त्यनेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

66. A guttural is not substituted for the final palatals of यज्, याच, रुच्, प्र-वच्, and ऋच् before the affix ण्यत् ॥

As याज्यम्, याच्यम्, रोच्यम्, प्रवाच्यम्, and अर्च्यम् ॥ Though ऋच् has a penultimate कृ and therefore by III. 1. 110 would have taken क्यप्, it takes ण्यत् by force of this sūtra. प्रवच् shows that the present sūtra applies to it, though it means 'a word or speech', and the prohibition of VII. 3. 67 does not apply. प्रवाच्य is the name of a particular book. Others say that the prohibition applies to वच् only when it is preceded by प्र, and does not mean word or speech (VII. 3. 67) and not when it is preceded by any other preposition. As अविवाक्यमहरिति पठन्ति ॥ This even in a very restricted sense, namely on the tenth day of the Daśarātra ceremony. In other places we have अविवाच्यं ॥

Vart.—त्यञ् should be enumerated in this connection i. e. before ण्यत्, the ञ् remains unaltered, as त्याज्यम् ॥

वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, अ, शब्द, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यइति वर्तते वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायां ण्यति परतः कवर्गो न भवति ॥

67. The guttural is not substituted for the final of वच् before ण्यत्, when it does not mean 'a word or speech'.

As वाच्यमाह, अवाच्यमाह, but अवबुधितं वाक्यमाह ॥

प्रयोज्यनियोज्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयोज्य, नियोज्यौ, शक्य, अर्थे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य निपूर्वस्य च युञ्जः प्रयाज्य नियोज्य इत्येतौ शब्दैः शक्यार्थे निपात्यन्ते ॥

68. प्रयोज्य and नियोज्य preserve their palatal in the sense of 'capable to do this'.

As प्रयोज्यः = प्रयोक्तुं शक्यः ; नियोज्यः = नियोक्तुं शक्यः, but प्रयोग्य and नियोग्य in other senses.

भोज्यं भक्ष्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भोज्यम्, भक्ष्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भोज्यं निपात्यते भक्ष्येभिधेये ॥ भुञ्जति कुत्साभावो निपात्यते शक्यार्थे ॥

69. भोज्य preserves its palatal in the sense of 'eatable'.

The word is derived from भुञ् with प्यन् in the sense of 'able'. As भोज्य भोरन्: 'eatable rice', भोज्या यवागू: 'eatable barley-gruel'. भक्ष्य here means anything which is fit for being eaten. When not having this sense, we have भोग्य: कम्बल: ॥

घोर्लोपो लेटि वा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ घोः, लोपः, लेटि, वा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानां लेटि परतो वा लोपो भवति ॥

70. The final of दा and धा (घु roots) may optionally be elided in the Subjunctive (लेट्) ॥

As दधद्वा दाशुषे Rig I. 35. 8. सोमो ददद् गन्धर्वाय Rig X. 85. 41. But also यदग्निरग्नये ददान् ॥ The form ददान्, however, may also be deduced even when the final of दा is elided, for then by the भाद् augment (III. 4. 94) we get this form. The word वा is therefore employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra without वा would have also given the above forms, as we have shown. Or the वा is used to remove the doubt which one may entertain to this effect "ददान् is the form which may be deduced by the general rule, since लोप is taught, this form will be excluded altogether and will never appear".

The form दधन् is thus evolved. We add तिप् to the root धा; then the इ of ति is elided (III. 4. 97). दाशुषे = यजमानाय रत्नानिदद्यान् ॥ Others say, the दधन् is the form of the root with the शन् affix. ददन् is from the root दाञ् ॥

Some say that वा is jñāpaka and indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अनित्यमागमशासनम् "the rule about augments is *anitya*". So that the augment आद् being *anitya*, we could not have got the form ददान् ॥ Hence the employment of the word वा ॥

ओतः इयनि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, इयनि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य इयनि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

71. A stem ending in ओ loses its final before the Present characteristic इयन् of the Divādi class.

As निञ्चति from शो, अवच्छयति from छो, अवघति from रो, and अवस्यति from सो ॥ The न् in ओन् is for the sake of euphony or ease of pronunciation.

According to Padamanjari, the sūtra should have been ओतः शिति, and thereby there would be the saving of half a mātrā, and also there would be no necessity of repeating the word शिति in VII. 3. 75.

कृत्स्याच्चि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्स्य, अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्स्याजादौ प्रत्यये लोपो भवति ॥

72. The अ of the Aorist characteristic कृत् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As अयुक्षाताम्, अयुक्षायाम्, अयुक्षि from the root दुह् ॥ Had the अ not been elided before आताम् and आयाम्, then इय् must have been substituted for it according to VII. 2. 81. Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe अयुक्षन्, अयुक्षताम् ॥ Why do we say क्स and not only स? So that the elision should not take place here, as उत्सौ, उत्साः, बत्सौ, बत्साः, तृणसौ, तृणसः ॥

लुग्वा दुहदिहलिहगुहामात्मनेपदे दन्त्ये ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, वा, दुह, दिह, लिह, गुहाम्, आत्मनेपदे, दन्त्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह दिह लिह गृह इत्येतेषामात्मनेपदे दन्त्यादौ परतः क्सस्य वा लुग्भवति ॥

73. The whole of the affix क्स is elided optionally before the personal endings of the Atmanepada beginning with a dental, after दुह्, दिह् लिह् and गुह् ॥

As अदुग्ध or अयुक्षत, अदुग्धाः or अयुक्षयाः, अदुग्ध्वम् or अयुक्षध्वम्, अदुह्वहि or अयुक्षावहि, अदिग्ध or अयिक्षत, अलीढ or अलिक्षत, न्यगुढ or न्ययुक्षत ॥

Why दुह् &c. only? Observe च्यत्यरुक्षत ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe अयुक्षत only. Why before an affix beginning with a dental? Observe अयुक्षामहि only. Though the anuvṛitti of लोप was understood in this sūtra; the employment of the term लुक् indicates that the whole of the affix is to be elided. For लोप would have elided only the final अ of स ॥ But even with the elision of अ alone we would have got all the above forms, except those in वहि ॥ For अ being elided, we have स् between ह् (a consonant of झल् class) and a dental (which is also a letter of झल् class). This स् situate between two झल् will be elided by VIII. 2. 26. Nor can it be objected that the elided अ is sthānivat, for by पूर्वत्रासिद्धं VIII. 2. 1, such an elision cannot be sthānivat. Though व् is a dento-labial, yet it is included in the word dental. Had it not been meant to be so included, तौ (letters of त् class) would have been taken in the sūtra. See III. 1. 45, for this Aorist-affix.

शमामष्टानां दीर्घः श्यनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमाम्, अष्टानाम्, दीर्घः, श्यनि, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ शमादीनामष्टानां दीर्घो भवति श्यनि परतः ॥

74. Before the Present character श्यन्, a long is substituted for the root-vowel in शम् and the seven roots that follow it.

As श्वास्यति, तास्यति, श्वास्यति, श्वास्यति, श्वास्यति, श्वास्यति, श्वास्यति, श्वास्यति, श्वास्यति, श्वास्यति ॥ Why of these eight only? Observe अस्यति ॥ Why before श्यन्? Observe भ्रमति; the श्यन् being optional after this root by III. 1. 70.

ष्टिवुक्लृभ्याचंमां शिति ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष्टिवु, क्लृमु, आचमाम्, शिति, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घ इति वर्तते ॥ ष्टिवु क्लृम् आचम् इत्येतेषां दीर्घो भवति शिति परतः ॥

75. Before any other Present character (शित्), the root vowel of ष्टिव्, क्लृम्, and आ-चम् is lengthened.

As व्रीवति, क्लामति, and आ चामति ॥ क्लम् lengthens its vowel before ष्यन् by the last rule, the present rule produces this change before the affix शप् also, which it gets by III. 1. 70. चम् lengthens its vowel only when it is preceded by आ; therefore not here: चमति, विचमति or उचमति ॥ The sūtra is exhibited as ष्विबुक्कुषु चमां शिति in the original text of Pāṇini; the present form, owes its existence to the insertion of आ from the vārtika दीर्घत्वमाङ्गि चमः ॥

क्रमः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, परस्मैपदेषु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घ इति वर्तते ॥ क्रमः परस्मैपदेषु शिति परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. The long is substituted in क्रम्, before a शित् affix, in the Parasmaipada.

As क्रामति, क्रामतः, क्रामन्ति ॥ Why in the Parasmaipada? Observe आक्रमते आदित्यः ॥ How do you explain the lengthening in उत्क्राम and संक्राम (Imperative 2nd Per. Sg.)? For when हि is elided by लुक्, (VI. 4. 105) then by I. 1. 63, the affix being dropped by a लु- elision, it would produce no effect and so there ought to have been no lengthening? This is no valid objection. The prohibition of I. 1. 63, applies to the अङ्ग stem after which the affix is elided. Here क्रम् is not a stem or aṅga with regard to हि, but it is a stem with regard to शप्, as क्रम् + शप् + हि ॥ Therefore, though हि is elided, the lengthening will take place by I. 1. 62, (प्रत्यय लक्षणम्) ॥

इषुगमियमां छः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इषु, गमि, यमाम्, छः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शितीति वर्तते ॥ इषु गमि यम इत्येतेषां शिति प्रत्यये परतच्छकारादेशो भवति ॥

77. छ is substituted for the final of इष्, गम् and यम् before a Present-character (शित्) ॥

As इच्छति, गच्छति, यच्छति ॥ The इष् with the indicatory उ is taken here, (Tud. 59), and not इष् of Divādi (19) class or of Kryādi class (53). There we have इष्यति and इष्णाति respectively. Those who do not read the sūtra as इषु &c, but as इषगमि &c, read the anuvṛitti of the word अचि from VII. 3. 72 into this sūtra; so that the शित् is qualified by the word अच्, i. e. a शित् affix which is merely a vowel, and has no consonant in it; (and not a शित् affix which begins with a vowel). Therefore though शानच् is a शित् affix beginning with a vowel, yet as it contains a consonant, the छ substitution does not take place, as इषाणः (III. 1. 83) The reading of the text according to Patanjali and Kātyayana is इषगमियमां छ, and hence the necessity of the above explanation. The reading इषु, though convenient, is not ārsha.

पात्राध्मास्थादाण्डश्यार्तिसार्तिसददां पिबजिघ्रधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपश्यर्द्धधौशी-
यसीदाः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा, घ्रा, ध्मा, स्था, स्ना, दाण, दशि, अर्त्ति, सर्त्ति, शद,
सदाम्, पिब, जिघ्र, धम, तिष्ठ, मन, यच्छ, पश्य, ऋच्छ, धौ, शीय, सीदाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पा प्रा ध्मा स्था म्ना दाण् दृशि अर्ति सर्ति शद सर इत्येतेषां पिब जिग्र धम तिष्ठ मन यच्छ पश्य ऋच्छ धौ शीय सीद इत्येते आदिशा भवन्ति शिति परतः ॥

78. Before a Present-character (शित्), the following substitutions take place :—पिप् for पा, जिग्र for प्रा, धम for ध्मा, तिष् for स्था, मन् for म्ना, यच्छ for दा (दाण्), पश्य for दृश्, ऋच्छ for ऋ, धौ for सू, शीय् for शद् and सीद् for सद् ॥

As पिबति, जिग्रति, धमति, तिष्ठति, मनति, यच्छति, पश्यति, ऋच्छति, धावति, शीयते and सीदति ॥ पिप् + दाप् + तिप् required Guṇa of the इ of पि by VII. 3. 86, it however does not take place on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावधिः: "when an operation which is taught in the angādhikāra, has taken place, and another operation of the angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place". Or the substitute पिब is one which ends with भ, and is acutely accented on the first. It must be acutely accented on the first; otherwise by VI. 1. 162, the acute will be on the last पिबे ॥ Then when there is ekādeśa with दाप्, the acute will be on the middle in पिबति, which is not desired. धौ is substituted for सू when the sense is 'to run, move quickly'; in any other sense, we have प्रसरति, अनुसरति ॥

ज्ञाजनोर्जा ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा, जनोः, जा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञा जन इत्येतयोर्जादेशो भवति शिति परतः ॥

79. Before a शित् affix, जा is substituted for ज्ञा and जन् ॥

As जानाति and जायते ॥ The जन् here belongs to Divādi class, meaning 'to be produced', and not जन् of the Juhotyādi class. Why जा (long) and not ज, for this ज would assume the form जा by VII. 3. 101? This long आ of जा indicates the existence of the maxim given above in VII. 3. 78; and had ज been the substitute, VII. 3. 101, could not have lengthened it.

प्वादीनां ह्रस्वः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ पू, आदीनाम्, ह्रस्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पू इत्येवमादीनां ह्रस्वो भवति शिति परतः ॥

80. A short is substituted for पू &c, before a शित् affix.

The Pṛādi roots form a subdivision of the Kryādi class, beginning with पूप् पवने (2) and ending with ह्ली गतौ (32). The ल्वादि roots (VIII. 2. 44) are a portion of प्वादि (nos 13 to 32). Others hold that upto the end of the Kryādi class are Pṛādi. Thus पुनाति, लुनाति, स्तृणाति ॥ Those who hold that Pṛādi roots are upto the end of the Class, explain the non-shortening of जानाति (for ज्ञा would also then become Pṛādi), by saying that the express

text of VII. 3. 79, substituting long **जा** prevents the shortening. They say had **ज्ञा** been also shortened, then merely **ज** substitute would have been enough and not **जा**; and this **ज** would have been lengthened in the case of **जन्** by VII. 3. 101, to form **जायने** ॥

मीनातेर्निगमे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनातेः, निगमे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मीनांतरङ्गस्य शित्ति प्रत्यये परता ह्रस्वा भवति निगमविवय ॥

81. In the Veda **मी** is shortened before a **शित्** affix.

As प्रमिनन्ति व्रतानि Rig. X. 10. 5. The **न** becomes **ण** (प्रमिणन्ति according to Kāśika) by VIII. 4. 15. Why in the Veda? Observe प्र मीणाति ॥

मिदेर्गुणः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिदेः, गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिदेरङ्गस्यैको गुणो भवति शित्ति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

82. For **इ** in **मिद्**, there is substituted a **गुण** before a **शित्** affix.

As मद्यति, मद्यतः, मद्यन्ति ॥ Why **मिद्** only? Observe स्वियन्ति, क्लियन्ति ॥ The root **मिदि** belongs both to the Bhvâdi and the Divâdi classes. The Bhvâdi **मिद्** will get **गुण** before **शप्** by virtue of VII. 3. 86, but the Divâdi **मिद्** would not have got **गुण** before **इयन्**, as this affix is **डित्** (I. 2. 4): hence the necessity of this sūtra. Before non **शित्** affixes there is no **गुण**, as मियते, मामद्यते ॥

जुसि च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुसि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुसि च प्रत्यये परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति ॥

83. Before the personal-ending **जुस्** (उस्) of the Imperfect, **गुण** is substituted for the final **इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ऋ, ए**, and **ऌ, ॡ** of the stem.

As अजुह्वुः, अविभयुः, अविभरुः, अजागरुः ॥ This Personal ending is **डित्** according to I. 2. 4, and would not have caused **गुण** (I. 1. 5), but for this sūtra. The ending **जुस्** (III. 4. 108) comes in the **लङ्** also. There, however, it does not cause **गुण**. As चिन्युः, सुतुयुः ॥ Here there are two **डित्** affixes, the augment **यासुद्**, and the sârvadhâtuka **जुम्**; and the **यासुद्** prevents **गुण**. The **इक्** is read into the sūtra from I. 1. 3.

सार्वधातुकाद्धारुधातुकयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुक, आर्द्धधातुकयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुके आर्द्धधातुके च प्रत्यये परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति ॥

84. The **गुण** is substituted for the final **इक्** vowel of a stem before the affixes called sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka (III. 4. 113 &c).

As तरति, नयति, भवति ; कर्तुं, चेतुं, स्तोतुं, ॥ Why sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka affixes only ? Observe अग्निस्वम् अग्निक्वाम्यति ॥ For had the sūtra been सङ्ङि then the rule would have applied to affixes like सन् क्काम्यच्च &c which go to form Denominative verbs. सङ्ङि includes all affixes beginning with सन् and ending with महिङ् ॥ If the sūtra had been प्रस्यये, then the rule would have applied to the affixes like स्वम् &c. To exclude these cases, the two words sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka are used. For exceptions See I. 1. 4, 5, 6.

जाग्रोऽविचिण्णल्ङित्सु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जाग्रः, अ, विच्, चिण्, णल्, ङित्सु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जागृ इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति अविचिण्णल्ङित्सु परतः ॥

85. The Guṇa is substituted for the ऋ of the stem जागृ, except before the affix वि, before the Aorist-character चिण्, before the Personal ending, णल् of the Perfect, and before an affix with an indicatory इ ॥

As जागरयति, with णिच्, जागरक् (with ष्वल्) साधुजागरी, जागरं जागरम् (with ष्वल्) जागरो वृत्ते (with घञ्), जागरितः (with क्त), जागरितवान् (with क्तवत्) ॥ This is an exception to the Vṛiddhi rule of VII. 2. 115, and to the prohibition in I. 1. 5. When this guṇa is substituted, there does not take effect that rule, which causes Vṛiddhi of the penultimate short अ of जागर; (अत उपधायाः VII. 2. 116). Had that been the case, then the guṇa substitution would become simply useless, and the prohibition with regard to चिण् and णल् superfluous. Why do we say not before वि, चिण् and णल् and ङित् ? Observe जागृविः (with the affix विन् Uṇâdi) अजागारि with चिण् which causes Vṛiddhi, and अजागर with णल्, and जागृतः and जागृथः with a ङित् (I. 2. 4) affix. Some hold that the इ in वि is for the sake of pronunciation only, and the prohibition applies to all affixes beginning with a व्, such as कृस्, as अजागृवान्, here there is no guṇa. In अजागरः with जुस् the guṇa takes place by virtue of VII. 3. 83 : for though it is a ङित् affix also, the prohibition ङित्सु of this sūtra does not affect it. Similarly अहं अजागर with णल् the optional guṇa VII. 1. 91 is also not prohibited by the णल् of this sūtra. In fact the phrase अविचिण् णल् ङित्सु is a Paryudâsa prohibition : for had it been a prasayya-pratishedha, then the guṇa before जुस् and the 1st Pers. णल् would also have been prohibited. In short this sūtra positively ordains guṇa of जागृ before every affix, other than वि, चिण्, णल् and ङित्, and if by any other rule these latter would cause guṇa, that guṇa is not *prohibited*. That is the result of Paryudâsa negation.

But if the sūtra be construed as a Prasayyapratishedha, then we shall apply the maxim अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा ॥ The prohibition is therefore stated with regard to जाम् in connection with the affixes वि, चिण्, णल् and ङित् ॥ But the Guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 84, 83 is not prohibited.

पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुक् अन्त, लघु उपधस्य, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुगन्तस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य च सार्वधातुकार्द्धधातुकयोर्गुणो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—संयोगे गुरुसंज्ञायां गुणो भेत्तुर्न सिध्यति ।
विध्यपेक्षं लघोश्चासौ कथं कुण्डिनं दुष्यति ॥
धातोर्हिनुम् कथं रज्जे, स्याद्विश्रथोर्निपातनात् ।
अनल्लोपशिरीर्घत्वे विध्यपेक्षे न सिध्यतः ॥
अभ्यस्तस्य यदाहाचि लङर्थे तत्कृतं भवेत् ।
वनुसनो यत्कृतं किरवं ज्ञापकं स्याल्लघोर्युणे ॥

86. Guṇa is substituted before a sârvadhâtuka and an ârdhadhâtuka affix, for the इक् vowels of the Causative stems which take the augment प् (VII. 3. 36), and for the short penultimate vowel of a root which ends in a single consonant.

As ह्येपयति, ह्येपयति, क्लोपयति, भेदन्म्, छेदन्म्, भेत्ता, छेत्ता ॥ Of course the vowel should be laghu or light, before the addition of the affix; the heaviness caused by the addition of the affix, will not prevent guṇa. Thus भिद् + तु, though इ + तु = तू causes the इ to become heavy, that will not prevent guṇa: for विध्यपेक्षं लघु महणम् ॥ Obj: If this be so, why the forms कुण्डित्तु, हुण्डित्तु are not incorrect, for in them also the vowel is laghu (the roots are कुड् and हुड्), and the augment न् is added afterwards by a Vidhi rule? Ans. The augment न् is added to the root, and becomes upadeśivat. (See VII. 1. 58). Obj. If so, how do you cause Vṛiddhi in रज्ज्, as in रागे with चञ्; as रज्ज् + चञ् = रज् + चञ् (the ज् being dropped by VI. 4. 27), for it is after the elision of ज्, that the अ of रज् becomes penultimate and can admit of Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 116? Ans. The exceptional forms स्यक्: from स्यन्द् + चञ्, and अयः from अन्य + चञ्, taught in VI. 4. 28, 29 teach by implication that roots of this form take Vṛiddhi as a general rule. Obj. If the विध्यपेक्ष maxim is not of universal application: though by VI. 4. 134, the अ of अन् &c. is elided in bha stems, like राजन् thus राज्ञा; yet the अ should not be elided if you be consistent, in अनङ् augment added by VII. 1. 75 to रधि, आस्थ &c. In fact, you could not get the forms रघ्ना सकृन्ना &c. Moreover though there can be the lengthening of the penultimate in सामन्—सामानि (before सि affix Nom. Pl). yet not in the case of कुण्डानि from कुण्ड for here न् is added by another rule VII. 1. 72. If you say, the maxim is not of universal application, then there can be no guṇa of इ in भिद् to form भेत्तु ॥ Ans. The guṇa takes place in forms like भेत्तु &c, because the prohibition of the following rule VII. 3. 87, with regard to the affixes beginning with a vowel, proves by implication that before affixes beginning with a consonant, as तु, the guṇa also takes place. Obj. The prohibitor in the case of vowel beginning affixes is for the sake of लङ्, to form अनेनेक् ॥ This is derived from निजिर् (Juhotyadi 11), in the Imperfect, as अ + निज् + शप् + लु, + तिप् then reduplication (VI. 1. 10), then guṇa of the redupli-

cate, (VII. 4. 75), then तिप् which had become त् in the Imperfect, is elided by VI. 1. 68. Thus अनिञ्+ऋ+त्=अ+निनिञ्+त् (VI. 1. 10)=अनेनिञ्+त् (VII. 4. 75)=अनेनिञ् (VI. 1. 98)=अननक्. The elided त् produces its effect, the guṇa by VII. 3. 86. This is why अच् is taken in sūtra VII. 3. 87, namely अजाद affixes do not cause guṇa, the हलादि affixes like त् cause guṇa. You cannot therefore say that अच् in VII. 3. 87 is a jñāpaka. Ans. The sūtra वसिर्गृध्रविक्षिपेः क्तुः (III. 2. 140) teaches the addition of तु to वस् &c, as गृध्नुः; if this तु had not tended to cause the guṇa of the penultimate vowels of these roots, what was the necessity of making this affix a कित्? Similarly I. 2. 10 teaches that सन् (Desiderative) is कित् after roots ending in consonants. These rules show that words like भेत् &c get guṇa, and the final consonant of the root plus the initial consonant of the affix, does not make the root vowel heavy. Obj: The कित् of सन् is for the sake of the elision of the nasal, in धिप्सति, धीप्सति (VI. 4. 24). Ans. Let it be so, still the कित् of व्तु is enough for us.

The "upadhā short" must be the vowels of the इक् pratyāhāra. Therefore in भिनक्ति, the penultimate is short अ (of ऋन्) and it does not take guṇa. In fact, the word penultimate qualifies the word इक् understood. Others explain it by saying that पुगन्त is to be analysed by पुकिमन्त "in the vicinity of प्" ॥ The word अन्त means समीप, and means the इक् vowel in the proximity of पुक् ॥ The word लघूपधा should be analysed as लघ्वी उपधा and is a Karmadhāraya compound, and means "a short or light penultimate". The word पुगन्तलघूपध is a Samāhāra Dvandva.

नाभ्यस्तस्याचि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अभ्यस्तस्य, अचि, पिति, सार्वधातु के ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तसंज्ञकस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्याजादौ पिति सार्वधातुके गुणो न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The guṇa is not substituted for the penultimate light इक् vowel in the reduplicated form of a root, before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory प् ॥

As नेनिजानि, अनेनिजम्; परि वेविषाणि, पर्यवेविषम् ॥ Why of a reduplicated root? Observe वेदानि ॥ Why beginning with a vowel? Observe नेनेक्त ॥ The word पित् is read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 3. 92. For here in cases other than पित्, guṇa will be prevented by कित् because of सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ Why a sārvadhātuka affix? Observe नेनेज in the Perfect, the affixes of which are ārdhadhātuka (III. 4. 115). Why do we say a penultimate light vowel? Observe जुहुवानि, अजुह्वम् ॥

Vārti:— There is diversity in the Vedas. As जुजावत् the लेट् of जुस् ॥

The forms पऋशान्, चाकशीति, वावसीतीः are irregular. स्पश्+लेट्=स्पश्+आइ+त्=स्पश्+घाप्ऋ+आति=पस्पशति ॥

The above forms are thus evolved. 1. ने निजानि is लेद् (Imperative 1st Per Sing). the मि is changed to नि, the augment भाद् is added which is पिन् (भाङ्-त्तमस्य ळष III. 4. 92), श्लु is substituted for हाप्, then there is reduplication, then guṇa by VII. 4. 75. 2. अनोनिजम् is लङ्, the मिप् is changed to अम् ॥ 3. वेदानि is 1st Pers. Sing. Imperative of विद् ॥ 4. नेनेक्ति is 3rd Person singular of the Present. 5. निनेज् is the Perfect with णल् which is ârhâdhtuka III. 4. 115. 6. जुजोषत् is the लेद् of जुषी प्रीतिसंबन्धोः (Tudâdi 8), in the Parasmaipada, the इ of तिप् is elided (III. 4. 97), then is added the augment अद् (III. 4. 94) then हाप् is irregularly replaced by श्लु, then reduplication.

In the words पस्पशान्ते &c. the reduplicate has been shortened, as a Vedic form, in the Intensive यङ् लुक् ॥ चाकशीति is from काशृशंसौ there is (यङ् लुक्, लद्, तिप्, and ईद् augment by यङो वा (VII. 3. 94). वावशीतीः is from वाशृशीसौ, in the Intensive (यङ्लुक्), लद्, शतृ, डीप् and शस् i. e. it is the Accusative plural of the Feminine Present Participle from the Intensive root of वाश् ॥ The reading in the Kâsika is वावशीति ॥ In these two काश् and वाश् the roots have been shortened. Or the above forms may be derived regularly, without shortening, from the roots कश् and वश् ॥

भूसुवोस्तिङि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भू, सुवोः, तिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू सू इत्येतयोस्तिङि सार्वधातुके गुणो न भवति ॥

88. भू and सू get no guṇa before an immediately following Personal ending which is Sârvaadhâtuka.

As अभूत्, अभूः, अभुवम्; सुवै, सुवावहे, सुवामहे ॥ The सू refers to the Adîdi root (21) in which the Present character is dropped, and does not refer to Div-âdi (24) or Tudâdi (115) roots, because there the Present character श्यन् and ण intervene between the Personal endings (तिङ्) and the root: and moreover the affixes श्यन् and ण are डित् (I. 2. 4) and would not cause guṇa. Why do we say before तिङ्? Observe भवति where the guṇa takes place before हाप् ॥ Why before a sârvaadhâtuka affix? Observe व्यति भविषीष्ट, where the Benedictive is not a Sârvaadhâtuka (III. 4. 116), and the augment is of course considered as a portion of the personal ending. Why the guṇa is not prohibited in बोभवीति when the Intensive यङ् is dropped, and the Personal ending is added directly to the root. Because the form बोभूत् in VII. 4. 65 indicates by implication that guṇa takes place in यङ्लुक् except in बोभूत् ॥

But of सू we have सोषुवीति where guṇa has been prohibited in the Intensive, because there is no jñâpaka with regard to it.

The forms सुवै &c are the 1st Per. Imperative of सू ॥

उतो वृद्धिर्लुकि हलि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, वृद्धिः, लुकि, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुके पितीति वर्तते ॥ उकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्भवति लुकि सति हलाद्यै पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

89. A root ending in short उ, which has no Present

characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa is dropped by luk elision), gets vṛiddhi, before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, but not if the stem is reduplicated.

Thus यौति, यौषि, यौमि; नौति, नौषि, नौमि, स्तौति, स्तौषि, स्तौमि ॥ Why ending in उ? Observe एति, एषि, एमि ॥ Why do we say whose vikaraṇa is elided by लुक्? Observe सुनोति, सुनोषि, सुनोमि ॥ Why beginning with a हल्? Observe यवाणि, रवाणि, the First Person of the Imperative is पित् by III. 4. 92. Why before a पित् affix? Observe युतः, रुतः ॥ The augment यासुद् being डित् (III. 4. 103), prevents पित् action in अपि स्तुयान् राजानम् ॥ The phrase नाभ्यस्तस्य should be read into the sūtra from VII. 3. 87; therefore Vṛiddhi does not take place here योयौति नोनोति ॥ Here there is luk-elision of यद् ॥

ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा वृद्धिर्भवति हलाच्च पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

90. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, the final उ of ऊर्णु gets optionally vṛiddhi.

As प्रोर्णोति or प्रोर्णोति, प्रोर्णोषि or प्रोर्णोषि, प्रोर्णोमि or प्रोर्णोमि; but प्रोर्णवानि before an affix beginning with a vowel.

गुणोऽपृक्ते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अपृक्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेर्द्धातोऽपृक्ते हलि पिति सार्वधातुके गुणो भवति ॥

91. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix which is a single consonant, Guṇa is substituted for the final of ऊर्णु ॥

As प्रोर्णोत्, प्रोर्णोः ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of हर्ल was understood in this sūtra from the last aphorism, the employment of the term अपृक्त implies the existence of the following maxim:—यस्मिन् विधि हतदाशवल्ल महणे “when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule, in the form of a Locative case, and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it”.

तृणह इम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणहः, इम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृणह इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य इमागमो भवति हलि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

92. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, इ is added after अ of the verbal stem तृणह् ॥

As तृणेति, तृणेशि, तृणेद्भि, अतृणेद् ॥ In the last example though the affix vanishes altogether, yet it produces its effect. Why beginning with a consonant? Observe तृणहानि ॥ Why a पित् affix? Observe तृणहः with तस् ॥ The stem तृणह is formed from the root तृह (Rudhâdi) with the vikaraṇa अम्, and is so exhibited in the sūtra in order to indicate that the augment इम् is added after the vikaraṇa अम् has been added, and that the root तृह of Tudâdi class is not to be taken.

The above forms are thus derived :—

तृह् + इन्म् + तिप् = तृणह् + इम् + ति = तृणइह् + ति = तृणह् + ति (VI. 1. 87) = तृणह्-ति (VIII. 2. 31) = तृणह् + धि (VIII. 2. 40) = तृणह् + ङि (VIII. 4. 41) = तृणङि with the elision of one ह् (VIII. 3. 13). The form तृणङि is similarly formed by VIII. 2. 41, the ह् being changed to क before सि of सिप् ॥ अतृणह् is the लङ् 2nd and 3rd Per. Sing.

ब्रुव ईट् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, ईट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रु इत्येतस्मादुत्तरस्य हलादेः पितः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

93. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, the augment ईट् is placed after ब्रू ॥

As ब्रवीति, ब्रवीषि, ब्रवीमि, अब्रवीत् ॥ But ब्रवाणि before such an affix beginning with a vowel, and ब्रूतः before an affix which is not पित् ॥

यङो वा ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, वा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङ उत्तरस्य हलादेः पितः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति वा ॥

94. The पित् Sârvadhâtuka affixes, beginning with a consonant, optionally get the augment इट् in the Intensive.

As लालपीति in शाकुनिका लालपीति, so also दुन्दुभिर्वावसीति, विधावद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महादेवोमर्थो आविवेश ॥ (Rig. IV. 58. 3). Also not, as वर्वत्ति चक्रम् and वर्वर्मि ॥ These are all examples of the Intensive with the elision of यङ् ॥ When the stem retains यङ्, there can be no पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant after it, because then ञप् will intervene between the affix and the stem. Hence no examples of the same can be given.

तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुके ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, रु, स्तु, शमि, अमः, सार्वधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु इति सौत्रोयं धातुः, रु शब्दे टुञ् स्तुतौ शम उपशमे अम गत्यादिषु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य हलादेर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

95. A sârvadhâtuka affix, beginning with a consonant, optionally gets ईट् augment, after the roots तु, रु, स्तु, शम् and अम् ॥

The root तु (Adâdi 25) means 'to increase', रु (Adâdi 24) 'to make a sound', स्तु (Adâdi 34) 'to praise', शम् 'to be satisfied', and अम् 'to go'. According to Kâśikâ तु is a Sautra dhâtu. Thus उत्तौति or उत्तवीति, उपरौति or उपरवीति, उपस्तौति or उपस्तवीति, शाम्यध्वम् or शमीध्वम्, अभ्यमति or अभ्यमतीति ॥ शम् and अम् can then be followed by a consonant beginning sârvadhâtuka affix, when they lose their Present character (vikaraṇa) as a Vedic anomaly (bahulam chhandasi).

The Apîśalâs read the sūtra as तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुकासुच्छन्दसि ॥ This will then become a विधि rule for the Vedic forms. The word सार्वधातुका is here exhibited in the feminine.

The repetition of 'sârvadhâtuka', though its anuvṛitti was present is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of पित्, and this rule applies to अपित् affixes also, as सुवीत्, शमीध्वम् ॥

अस्तिसिचोऽपृक्ते ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्ति, सिचः, अ, पृक्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेरङ्गान् सिजन्ताच्च परस्यापृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ आहिभुवारीदि प्रतिषेधः ॥

96. A single consonantal sârvadhâtuka affix gets the augment ईद्, after अस् (अस्ति) and after the Aorist character सिच् ॥

As आसीत्, आसीः; अकार्षीत्, असावीत् ॥ Why do we say a single-consonant affix? Observe अस्ति, अकार्षम् ॥

Vart.—Prohibition of the sthânavad-bhâva must be stated when आह् is substituted for ह् (III. 4. 84), and भू for भस् (II. 4. 52), before the augment ईद् ॥ Therefore not here आस्थ and अभूत् ॥ The word आस्थ is thus formed. आह्+सिप्=आह्+थल् (III. 4. 84)=आथ्+थ (VIII. 2. 35)=आत्+थ (VIII. 4. 55)=आत्थ ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तिसिचोरपृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति बहुलं छन्दसि विषये ॥

97. In the Veda, a single consonantal Sârvadhâtuka affix gets diversely the augment ईद्, after अस् and सिच् ॥

As आप एवेदं सलिलं सर्वमाः ॥ Here आः is used instead of आसीत्; but also अहरेवासीन्न रात्रिः (See Maitr. S. I. 5. 12). So also with s-Aorist, as गोभिरक्षाः (Rig IX. 107. 9), प्रत्यङ्चमस्ताः (Rig X. 28. 4). And अग्नीषीर्मा पुत्रक, the अद् is not elided though मा is added (VI. 4. 75). अक्षाः and अस्ताः are examples of सिच् without इद्. Compare VIII. 2. 73.

The word आः is the लङ् of अस्, there is added तिप्, then हाप् is elided, then स् is changed to रु, and it is turned to visarjaniya. The words अक्षाः and अस्ताः are derived from the roots क्षद् (संबलने) and त्स्वद् (छद्यगतौ), in the Aorist, the तिप् is elided (VI. 1. 68), the सिच् is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the इ of the roots is changed to visarga. The augment इद् is not added as a Vedic irregularity.

रुद्श्च पञ्चभ्यः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद्ः, च, पञ्चभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्यः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य हलादेरपृक्तस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

98. After रुद् and the four roots that follow it, comes the augment ईद् to a sârvadhâtuka affix consisting of a single consonant.

As अरोषीत्, अरोषीः, अस्वपीत् and अस्वपीः, अभ्रसीत्, अभ्रसीः, प्राणीत्, प्राणीः, अजषीत्, अजषीः ॥ Why of these five only? Observe अजगद् भवान् ॥ Why an aprikta affix? Observe रोषति ॥ The word रुद्ः is singular, though it ought to have been plural.

अङ्गार्ग्यगालवयोः ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, गार्ग्य, गालवयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुद्रादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः परस्य अपृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्याडागमो भवति गार्ग्यगालवयोर्मतेन ॥

99. According to the opinion of Gârgya, and Gâlâva, the augment अद् comes before a Sârva dhâtuka affix consisting of a single consonant, after the above five roots रुद्र &c.

As अरोदन्, अरोद्, अस्वपन्, अस्वपः, अश्वसन् अश्वसः, प्राणन् प्राणः, अजसन्, अजसः ॥ The names of Gârgya and Gâlava are mentioned for honoris causa.

The mention of these names is not for the sake of "option" (विकल्पार्थम्). Because the very injunction about अद्, would make the ईद् of the preceding sūtra optional. The mention of more than one Achârya in the sūtra is also for this very reason.

अद्: सर्वेषाम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्: सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद् भक्षणे अस्मादुत्तरस्यापृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्याडागमो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

100. After अद् 'to eat', comes the augment अद् before a Sârva dhâtuka affix consisting of a single consonant, according to the opinion of all grammarians.

As आदन् and आद्: ॥ Before a non-aprikta we have भन्ति, भस्ति ॥ The word सर्वेषाम् makes it a necessary rule and not optional, like the last.

अतो दीर्घो यञि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, दीर्घः, यञि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति यत्रासौ सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

101. The long आ is substituted for the final अ of a Tense-stem, before a Sârva dhâtuka affix beginning with व् or म् (lit. a consonant of यञ् pratyâhâra).

As पचामि, पचावः, पचामः, पश्यामि, पश्यावः, पश्यामः ॥ Why 'for the अ only'? Observe चिनुवः, चिनुमः ॥ Why before a यञ् consonant (semivowels, nasals and ह्र and भ) only? Observe पचतः, पचयः ॥ Why a 'Sârva dhâtuka'? Observe अङ्गना, केशवः ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of तिङ् into this sūtra, from VII. 3. 88 so that the lengthening takes place only before Personal-endings. According to them before क्लृप् there is no lengthening, as भववान् ॥

The word भववान् is thus formed. To भू is added क्लृप्, then comes शप्, treating kvasu as a sârva dhâtuka under III. 4. 117; the reduplication of the root ending in शप् is prevented, because the word dhâtu is used in VI. 1. 8 which ordains reduplication of a root only, and not of a root plus a vikaraṇa like the form भव (भू-1-शप्) ॥ Those who do not read the anuvṛitti of तिङ् in this sūtra, but only of the word सार्वधातुके, they explain the form भववान् as a Vedic anomaly.

सुपि च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतो दीर्घो यञीत्यनुवर्तते ॥ सुपि च यत्रासौ परतो ऽकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

102. Before a case-ending beginning with **य** or **भ** (lit a consonant of **यञ्** Pratyâhâra), the final **अ** of a Nominal-stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase **अतो दीर्घो यञ्** is understood here. Thus **वृक्षाय्**, **प्लक्षाय्**, **वृक्षाभ्याम्**, **प्लक्षाभ्याम्** ॥ But **अग्निभ्याम्** where the stem ends in **ह**, and **वृक्षस्य**, **प्लक्षस्य** where the affix does not begin with a **यञ्** consonant.

बहुवचने झल्येत् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचने, झलि, एत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचने झलदो मुपि परतो ऽकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारदेशो भवति ॥

103. Before a case-ending beginning with **भ्** or **स्** (lit. a **झल्** consonant), in the Plural, **ए** is substituted for the final **अ** of a Nominal stem.

As **वृक्षभ्यः**, **प्लक्षभ्यः**, **वृक्षेषु**, **प्लक्षेषु** ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe **वृक्षाभ्याम्**, **प्लक्षाभ्याम्** ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a **झल्** consonant? Observe **वृक्षाणाम्** (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3). Why a case-affix? Observe **यजध्वम्**, **पचध्वम्** ॥

ओसि च ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओसि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओसि परतोकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारदेशो भवति ॥

104. Before the case-ending **ओस्**, **ए** is substituted for the final **अ** of a Nominal-stem.

As **वृक्षयोः** (Gen. dual) **स्व**, **प्लक्षयोः** **स्वम्**, **वृक्षयोः** (Loc. dual) as **वृक्षयोर्निधेदि**, **प्लक्षयोर्निधेदि** ॥

आङि चापः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, चें, आपः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आङिति पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशेन तृतीयैकवचनं गृह्येत । तस्मिन्नाङि परतश्चकारादेशो च भावन्तस्याङ्गस्यैकारदेशो भवति ।

105. Before the case-endings **ओस्** and before **आ** of the Instrumental, **ए** is substituted for the final **अ** of the Feminine-affix.

आङ is the name given to the affix **दा**, the Ins. Sg. by the ancient grammarians. As **खट्वयाः**, **मालयाः**, **खट्वयाः**, **मालयोः**, **बहुराजयाः**, **कारीषगन्धयाः**, **बहुराजयोः**, **कारीषगन्धयोः** ॥ Why the **आ** of the Feminine affix only? Observe **कीलालपा** **ब्राह्मणेन** **कीलालपोः** **ब्राह्मणकुलयाः** ॥ Where ever **ङी** or **भाप्** is employed in Grammar, they mean the long forms **ई** and **आ**, and not when they are shortened, therefore, not here, **अतिखट्वेन** **ब्राह्मणकुलेन** ॥

The word **कीलालपा** is derived from **कीलाल** **विबत्ति** with the affix **विच्** (III. 2. 74). In the Ins. Sing. the final **आ** is elided by VI. 4. 140. Had therefore, **आ** only been used in the **sûtra**, instead of **भाप्**, there would have been **ए** substitution in the case of **कीलालपा** also; for the **लोप्** rule VI. 4. 140 would find its scope in **कीलालपः** **पश्य** &c, and would be debarred here by the present **sûtra**.

The maxim **डपाञ्च महणोऽशीर्षमहणम्** is necessary, because otherwise on the maxim of *sthânivadbhâva*, the short substitutes of **ङी** and **आप्** would also be included. In fact, in the sūtra prohibiting *sthânivad bhâva*, we find this *vārtika* **डपाञ्च महणोऽशीर्षः** "A short (not long) substitute of **ङां** and **आप्** is not *sthânivat*".

संबुद्धौ च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आप इति वर्त्तते । संबुद्धौ च परत आबन्तस्याङ्गस्य एत्वं भवति ॥

106. **ए** is substituted for the final **आ** of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

As **हे खट्वे, हे बहुराजे, हे कारीषगन्धे ॥**

अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्बार्थ, नद्योः, ह्रस्वः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धाविति वर्त्तते । अम्बार्थानामङ्गानां नद्यन्तानां ह्रस्वो भवति, संबुद्धौ परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ डलकवतीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ तलो ह्रस्वो वा डिःसंबुद्धोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दस्येव ह्रस्व त्वमिष्यते ॥ मातृणां मातच् पुत्रार्थमर्हते ॥

107. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the **आ** of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the Femines called *Nadī* (I. 4. 3 &c).

As **हे अम्ब ! हे अक ! हे अल ! हे कुमारी ! हे शार्ङ्गावि ! हे ब्रह्मवन्द्यु ! हे वीरवन्द्यु !**

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated when the endearing terms denoting mother have an uncombined **ड**, **ल** or **क**, as **हे अम्बाङ ! हे अम्बाल ! हे अम्बिक !** But **हे अक** and **हे अल** where the **ल** and **क** are conjunct.

Vārt:—Optionally so in the Veda: as **हे अम्बाङ !** or **हे अम्बाङ ! हे अम्बाल !** or **हे अम्बाले, हे अम्बिक ! हे अम्बिके ॥**

Vārt:—A feminine stem formed with the affix **तल्** optionally becomes short before the Loc. Sg. and Voc. Sg. As **देवते भक्तिः** or **देवतायां भक्तिः, हे देवत !** or **हे देवते ॥** This shortening takes place in the Veda only.

Vārt:—In a Bahuvrīhi compound ending with **मातृ**, there is substituted **मात** for **मातृ** in the Voc. Sg. when the word means a son worthy of such a mother. As **हे गामामात !** = **मात्रा व्यवदेशमर्हति इलाघनीयत्वाद् यः पुत्रः ॥** This debars the **कप्** affix of V. 4. 153. The **च्** of **मातच्** makes the final acute.

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वस्य, गुणः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धाविति वर्त्तते । ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति संबुद्धौ परतः ।

108. For short **इ** and **उ** final in a nominal-stem, a *guṇa* is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

As **हे अग्ने, हे वायो, हे पदो ॥** But there is no *guṇa* in **हे कुमारी, हे ब्रह्मवन्द्यु**, because **इ** and **ऊ** were shortened specifically, and to substitute *guṇa* for them

would make their shortening a useless operation. Moreover, had guṇa been intended in the case of these naḍi words, the sūtra would have been अम्बायानां ह्रस्वः, २ नदीह्रस्वयोर्युणः ॥

जसि च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जसि परतो ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य युणो भवति ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ जसादिषु छन्दसि वाचचनं प्राक् णौ चङ्गुपपाया ह्रस्व इत्येतस्मात् ॥

109. Before the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl., Guṇa is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

As अग्नयः, वायवः, पटवः, धेनवः, बुद्धयः ॥

Vārti:—All these rules upto the end of this chapter are of optional application in the Veda. As अम्बे or अम्ब, पूर्णा दर्वि or पूर्णा र्वी, अधा शतक्रत्वः or शतक्रतवः, पञ्च भृत्यः or पञ्चवे भृत्यः, किकिरीव्या or किकिरीविना ॥

The forms दर्वि and र्वी could have been regularly obtained by the optional use of डीष् (कृदिकारादन्तः) ॥ शतक्रत्वः is formed by adding अस् to शतक्रतु without guṇa of उ, and उ being changed to ड् ॥ The rule of lengthening the prior vowel (VI. 1. 102) which would have otherwise come, in the absence of guṇa does not take place, as a Vedic option (VI. 1. 106). किकिरीव्या is the Instrumental singular, the ना of VII. 3. 120 does not come. The word किकिरीवि is formed by Uṇādi nipātan (कृविधृष्वि &c Uṇ IV. 56).

ऋतो ङिसर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, ङि, सर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युण इति वर्तते ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य डौ परतः सर्वनामस्थाने च युणो भवति ॥

110. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

As मातरि, पितरि, भ्रातरि, कर्तारि; मातरौ, पितरौ, भ्रातरौ, कर्तारौ, कर्तारः ॥ For the long in कर्तारौ and कर्तारः see VI. 4. 11. The त् in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of utterance.

Because before ङि and strong cases, it is impossible for a stem to end in a long vowel ऋ nor a dhātu noun can so come, since in that case, long ऋ would be changed to इर् by VII. 1. 100, and in forms like कर्तारि there is तुम् ॥

घेङ्ङिति ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ घेः, ङिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्यन्तस्याङ्गस्य ङिति प्रत्यये परतो युणो भवति ॥

111. For the इ and उ of the stems called घि (I.4.3.) Guṇa is substituted in Dative, Ablative and Genitive Singular.

As अग्नये, वायवे, अग्नेः, वायोः, (VI. 1. 110). Why of घि stems? Observe सख्ये, पत्ये ॥ Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. and Loc. only? Observe अग्निः-भ्याम् ॥ The word case ending (सुपि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are पद्वी, कुरुतः ॥

The word पद्वी is formed by adding डीष् to पदु (IV. 1. 44). डीष् is not a case-affix, though it is ङित् and is added to पदु which is घि ॥ कुरुतः is no proper example: for though तस् which is added to कुरु, is ङित्, it is only so by atidesā (सार्वभातुकमपित्), and moreover कुरु is not घि ॥

आण्‌नद्याः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्, नद्याः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यन्ताद्‌ङ्गादुत्तरस्य ङितः प्रत्ययस्याडागमो भवति ॥

112. The augment आद् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after the stem called Nadi (I. 4. 3. &c.).

As कुमायै, किशोर्यै, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वै, धीरबन्ध्वै, कुमार्बाः, किशोर्याः, ब्रह्मबन्धवाः, धीरबन्धवाः ॥

याडापः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ याद्, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबन्ताद्‌ङ्गादुत्तरस्य ङितः प्रत्ययस्य याडागमो भवति ॥

113. The augment याद् is added to the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in आ ॥

As खट्वायै, बहुराजायै, कारीषगन्ध्यायै, खट्वायाः, बहुराजायाः, कारीषगन्ध्यायाः ॥ But in the compound अतिखट्वा, (from खट्वामतिक्रान्तः), this rule does not apply, on the maxim ङ्चाब् महण्डेऽर्धः as the आ has been shortened here. Even when the word अतिखट्वा assumes the form अतिखट्वा in the Dative by VII. 3. 102, the affix does not take the augment याद्, because this long आ is a lakṣhaṇika आ only, while the आ of the sūtra is a pratipadokta (लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः पतिपदस्यैव) ॥

सर्वनाम्नः स्याद्‌स्वश्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः, स्याद्, ह्रस्वः च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्न आबन्ताद्‌ङ्गादुत्तरस्य ङितः प्रत्ययस्य स्याडागमो ह्रस्वश्च भवति ॥

114. After a Pronominal stem ending in long आ of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. receive the augment स्याद् and the आ of the stem is shortened.

As सर्वस्यै, विश्वस्यै, यस्यै, तस्यै, कस्यै, भवत्यै, भवत्याः, सर्वस्याः, विश्वस्याः, यस्याः, तस्याः, कस्याः, अन्यस्यै अन्यस्याः ॥

But असुस्यै where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine.

विभाषा द्वितीयातृतीयाभ्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, द्वितीया, तृतीयाभ्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया तृतीया इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य ङितः प्रत्ययस्य विभाषा स्याडागमो भवति ॥

115. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. may optionally get the augment स्याद् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयायै; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयायै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयायाः ॥

ङेराम्‌द्यास्त्रीभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङेः, आम्, नदी, आप्, नीभ्यः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यन्तादाबन्तानीत्येतस्माद्योत्तरस्य ङेरामित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

116. For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem called Nadi (I. 4. 3. &c), after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

As कुमार्याम्, किशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मबन्ध्याम्, धीरबन्ध्याम्, खट्वाद्याम्, बहुराजायाम्, कारी-
वगन्ध्यायाम्, नी-भामण्याम्, सेनान्याम् ॥

The word मामणी is formed by क्लिप् affix added under III. 2. 61, the न is changed to ण by अय मामान्याम्; and the यण substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

इदुद्भ्याम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, उद्भ्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोकाराभ्यां नवीसंज्ञकाभ्यामुत्तरस्य डेरामादेशो भवति ॥

117. After the Feminine nadî words ending in इ and उ short, आम् is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

As कृत्याम्, धेन्याम् ॥ See I. 4. 6.

The word नही is understopped here also. Obj. If this be so, it is not a really separate sūtra, because it is included in the last, and these forms could be obtained by the last sūtra : so that we ought to make only one sūtra of 117 and 118, as इदुद्भ्यामौत् ॥ Ans. We could not have done so, for then in the case of कृति and धेनु, the औ would have come and not आ, in this way. The आम् would have found scope in nadî words like कुमार्याम्, the औ would have undisputed scope in पत्न्यौ and सख्यौ; but in the case of कृति when getting the designation नही the औ would have come, being subsequently taught, and the form would have been कृत्यौ instead of कृत्याम् ॥

औत् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदुद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य डेरौकारादेशो भवति ॥

118. After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadî or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

As सख्यौ, पत्न्यौ ॥

In the case of नही words आम् is taught by the previous sūtras; in the case of चि words औ preceded by अ substitution of चि letters will be taught in the next sūtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sūtra applies to words other than nadî and ghi.

अच्छघेः ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, च, घेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ औचिति वर्तते चिसंज्ञकादुत्तरस्य डेरौकारादेशो भवति तस्य च घेरकारादेशो भवति ॥

119. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short इ or उ, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

As अरुनौ, शयौ, कृतौ, धेनौ, पदौ ॥ The short अ is substituted, in order to prevent the टाप् affix in the Feminine. Those who read 118 and 119 combined as औवच घेः translate it thus: "After every other stem ending in इ and उ (i. e. which is not a Nadî), औ is substituted for the Locative Singular इ, whereby for the final of Ghi stems, अ is substituted". They do so on the analogy of the sūtra कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च (III. 1. 11).

आडो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ आडः, ना, अ स्त्रियाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घेरुत्तरस्याडो नाभावी भवति अस्त्रियाम् ॥

120. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

As अग्निना, वायुना, पटुना ॥ Why do we not say आडो ना पुंसि 'ना is substituted for आ in the Masculine'? Ans. In order to form the neuter Instrumentals also, as व्रपुणा, जतुना ॥ Obj. These can be formed by the augment तुम् under rule VII. 1. 73, and not by the ना of this sūtra. Ans. But अमुना will not be so formed as अमुना ब्राह्मणकुले ॥ Because सु substituted for इस् of अइस् VIII. 2. 80 is considered as asiddha or non-existent (VIII.2.1) for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 73, and as अमु cannot take तुम्, it will take ना by this rule. Why do we say "not in the Feminine?" Observe कृत्या, धेन्वा ॥

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, चङि, उपधायाः, ह्रस्वः, ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गस्येति वर्तते चङ्परं णौ यदङ्गं तस्योपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ उपधाह्रस्वत्वे णौणिच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

1. A short is substituted for the vowel, standing in a penultimate position, in the Causative stem, when the affix चङ् (sign of the Reduplicate Aorist of the Causatives) follows.

As अचीकरत्, अजीहरत्, अलीलवत्, अपीपठत् ॥ Here the rules of reduplication and shortening of the penultimate both present themselves simultaneously. The rule about shortening, being subsequent in order, is applied first, and then the reduplication takes place. Thus कारि + अत् = कार् + अत् (णि being elided VI. 4. 51) = कर् + अत् (shortening VII. 4. 1) = चकर् + अत् (VI. 1. 11) = चिकर् + अत् (VII. 4. 93, 79) = चीकरत् (VII. 4. 94). The necessity of maintaining this order will appear from the following considerations. The Causative stem of अद् is आदि ; the Aorist of which is आदि + चङ् + त् = आद् + अत् (VI. 4. 51). Now if reduplication took place first we shall have आदिद् + अत् (I. 1. 59 the elided इ will be present for the purposes of reduplication) and as the penultimate is short already, the form will be आदिदत्, which with the augment अ will be अ + आदिदत् = आदिदत् ॥ This is a correct form, so far as it goes; but when the augment is elided in connection with the negative मा, the form will be मा भवान् आदिदत्, the correct form however is मा भवान् आदिदत् with a short अ, which can be formed if we shorten first and then reduplicate, as आद् + अत् = अद् + अत् = अदिद् + अत् = अदिदत्, which with the augment अ, will be आदिदत् ॥ In fact, though the reduplication of the second syllable (VI. 1. 2) is a *nitya* rule, because it applies even where a penultimate is shortened and where not, yet the rule about shortening takes effect first, because the author has himself indicated this, by making the root

भोण have an indicatory ऋ in the Dhâtupâtha (See VII. 4. 2 about ऋदित् verbs). For had the reduplication taken place first in the case of भोण् (Bhu. 482), as भोणिण्, there would be no long vowel to be shortened, and there would be no necessity of the prohibition (VII. 4. 2).

Obj: Why do we say 'in the Causative'? The चङ् Aorist is formed of Causatives only (See III. I. 48), the only exceptions being the simple roots भि, हु, छु, घट् and भि, none of which have any vowel in the penultimate and कष and गुप् have already short upadhâ. The sūtra चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वः would have been enough. Ans. Had the sūtra been, as proposed, then it would have meant, 'that which is penultimate when चङ् follows, should be shortened'. Therefore in the Aorist of the Causative of लृ, we have लृ+णि+चङ्-लृत्=लृ+इ+भत् here the penultimate *with regard* to चङ् is ऊ, which would be shortened, debarring Vṛiddhi and आश् substitute, and there would have come the उवङ् substitute instead. But that is not the case. We have अलीलवत्, and not अलुलुवत् ॥ Similarly, in the Aorist of the Causative of दा, we shall have दा+इ+भत्, and आ being shortened we have इ+इ+भत्, so that we cannot add the augment पुक् (VII. 3. 36), and form अदीदपत् ॥ And the forms like अपीपचत् (पच्+इ-लृत्) would not at all admit of shortening.

Why do we say when चङ् follows? Observe कारयति, हारयति where there is no shortening in the Present Tense. Why do we say of the penultimate? Observe भषकाङ्क्षत् from काङ्क्ष्, and भववाञ्छत् from वाञ्छ, where the penultimate being a consonant, there can be no shortening. Had the word penultimate been not used, the vowels of these would be shortened. And the word 'upadhâ' is also absolutely necessary for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 4. 4, and it prevents shortening in the above case, which would have otherwise taken place, on the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनं प्रामाण्यात् which qualifies I. I. 67.

Vârt:—The rule of shortening of the penultimate applies to the चङ् Aorist of the Causative of the Causative i. e. to the double Causative even. Thus अदीदवत् (= वादितवन्तं प्रयोजितवान्) दीणां परिवादकेन ॥ Otherwise वादि+इ+भत्=वाद्+इ+भत्=वाद्+०+भत् ॥ Here the elided इ being sthanivat, will prevent shortening, or because the stem has lost a simple-vowel (अन्लोपिन्), it will not be shortened. The present vârtika makes it so however.

नागोपिशास्रवृदिताम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अक्, लोपि, शासु, ऋदिताम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अगोपिनामङ्गानां शासेऋदितां च णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वो न भवति ॥

2. The shortening of the penultimate of the stem, before the causative affix, in the reduplicated-Aorist, does not take place, when it is a (Denominative) stem, which has lost

a simple (end vowel of the Nominal-stem), before the Causative sign and also not, when it is the verb शास्, or a root which has an indicatory ऋ ॥

The word अग्लोपिन् means literally a stem, in which a simple vowel (अक् pratyâhâra) or a portion containing an अक् vowel has been dropped. As the final vowels of Denominative stems are so elided before the Causative sign णि, the sūtra has been translated accordingly. Thus अममालत् = मालामाख्यत्; अममातरत् = मातरमाख्यत्, अत्यरराजत् = राजानमतिक्रान्तवान्, अन्वलुलामत् = लोमान्यनुमृष्टवान् ॥ Where a simple अक् vowel alone is elided, as in the case of माला, there the elided आ being sthânivat, would prevent the shortening, the आ of मा not being then considered penultimate. So that अग्लोपिन् could be spared from the sūtra, since the sthânivad-bhâva would prevent shortening. But where an अक् vowel plus a consonant is dropped, as in राजन् and लोमन्, there the sthânivad-bhâva does not apply (I. 1. 57), hence the necessity of employing the term अग्लोपिन् in the sūtra. Similarly अशशासत् with शास्; and अबबाधत् from बाध्, अययाचत् from याच्, and अडुडौकत् from डौक् ॥ See III. 1. 21 and 25.

भ्राजभासभाषदीपजीवमीलपीडामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्राज, भास, भाष, दीप, जीव, मील, पीडाम, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राज भास भाष दीप जीव मील पीड इत्येतेषामङ्गानां णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ धात्तिकम् ॥ काण्वादीनां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The shortening of the penultimate of the Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist, is optional in the following:—bhrâj, bhâs, bhâsh, dîp, jîv, mîl and pîd.

As अविभ्रजत् or अबभ्राजत्, अवीभसत् or अबभासत्, अवीभषत् or अबभाषत्, अदी-ह्विपत् or अदिदीपत्, अजीजिवत् or अजिजीवत्, अमीमिलत् or अमिमिलत्, अपीपिडत् or अपिपीडत् ॥ The Dhâtupâṭha reads भ्राञ् (Bhu. 194) and भास् (Bh. 655). The indicatory ऋ is unnecessary and not countenanced by Pāṇini, as shown in this sūtra. Had they been ऋनिन्, they would have been governed by the last aphorism.

Vârt:—The words काणि, वाणि, राणि, हेडि, लोपि should be enumerated: as अचकाणत् or अचीकाणत्, अरराणत् or अरीरणत्, अशशाणत् or अशिश्नणत्, अबभाणत् or अवीभणत्, अजीहिडत्, अजिहेडत्, अल्लोपत् or अल्लुपत् ॥

लोपः पिबतेरीच्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, पिबतेः, ईत्, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ पिबतेरङ्गस्य णौ चङ्युपधाया लोपो भवति अभ्यासस्यकारादेशौ भवति ॥

4. The penultimate vowel, in the Causative stem of पा 'to drink' is elided in the Aorist, and for the vowel of the Reduplicate there is substituted long ई ॥

As पा + णि + अत् = पाश् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 37) = पाश् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = प्श् + अत् (VII. 4. 8) = प्श् + अत् (I. 1. 59) = पीष्यत् (VII. 4. 4). Thus अपीष्यत्, अपीष्यताम्, अपीष्यन् ॥ When the penultimate आ is elided, there remains प् which cannot be reduplicated as having no vowel, but the elided आ is considered as sthânavat and thus पा is reduplicated. Sûtra VII. 4. 80 establishes by implication the principle that the substitutes caused by णि are sthânavat. Thus भू + णि = भावि; in reduplicating, this भा will not be reduplicated, but भू, as बुभावि, भा = भू by sthânavad-bhâva.

तिष्ठतेरित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठतेः, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेरङ्गस्य णौ चङ्युपधाया इकारदेशो भवति ॥

5. Short इ is substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of स्था in the Aorist.

Thus अतिष्ठित्, अतिष्ठिताम्, and अतिष्ठित् ॥ The form is thus evolved. स्था + णिच् + अत् = स्थाप् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 36) = स्थाप् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = स्थिप् + अत् (VII. 4. 5) = तिष्ठित् ॥

जिघ्रतेर्वा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिघ्रतेः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिघ्रतेरङ्गस्य णौ चङ्युपधाया इकारदेशो वा भवति ॥

6. Short इ is optionally substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of घ्रा in the Aorist.

As अजिघ्रित् or अजिघ्रित्, अजिघ्रिताम् or अजिघ्रिताम्, अजिघ्रित् or अजिघ्रित् ॥ Thus घ्रा + णि + अत् = घ्राप् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 36) = घ्रिप् + इ + अत् (VII. 4. 6) = घ्रिप् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = जिघ्रित् ॥ When इ is not substituted, आ is shortened by VII. 4. 1.

उक्त्तत् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, ऋत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ चङ्युपधाया ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने वा ऋकारदेशो भवति ॥

7. Short ऋ is optionally substituted for the penultimate ऋ and ऋ of a Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist.

This debars the इर् (VII. 3. 101), अर् (VII. 3. 86), and भार् (VII. 2. 114) substitutes. Thus अचिकीर्त्तत् (VII. 1. 101) or अचिकीर्त्तत् from कृत् (Chur 111): अववर्त्तत् (VII. 3. 86), or अवीवृत्तत्; अममार्जत् (VII. 2. 114) or अमीष्टजत् ॥ Though the इर्, अर् and भार् substitutes are antaraṅga operations, they are prohibited by the express text of this sūtra. The short ऋ is substituted even for a long क्: the त् of क्त् shows that, as in अचीकृतत् (VIII. 2. 77). In fact, this ऋ substitute does not take place after the operations of इर्, भार् and अर् substitutions have taken effect, but it is a form which suspends the operation of all those rules.

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये णौ चङ्युपधाया ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने ऋकारदेशो भवति नित्यम् ॥

8. Short ऋ is invariably substituted in the Veda, for the penultimate ऋ or ॠ of a Causative stem, in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As भवीवृधत्, भवीवृधताम् and भवीवृधन् ॥

दयतेर्दिगि लिटि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दयतेः, दिगि, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दयतेरङ्गस्य लिटि परतो दिगीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

9. दिगि is substituted for दे (दयते), in the Perfect.

As भव विभ्ये, भव दिग्याते, भव दिग्यिर ॥ The root वेङ् 'to protect' (Bhu. 1011) is to be taken, and not दय 'to give' (Bhu. 510), for that root forms its Perfect by भाम् (Periphrastic Perfect) as taught in III. 1. 37. The substitute दिगि debars reduplication.

ऋतश्च संयोगादेर्गुणः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च, संयोग-आदेः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य संयोगादेर्गुणो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संयोगादेर्गुणविधाने संयोगोपधमहणं कृमर्थं कर्तव्यम् ॥

10. A root ending in short ऋ, and preceded by a conjunct consonant, gets Guṇa in the Perfect.

As सस्वरतुः, सस्वरुः from स्वरु, रध्वरतुः, रध्वरुः from ध्वरु, सस्मारतुः, सस्मारुः from स्मरु ॥ Why do we say ending in ऋ? Observe चिक्षियतुः, चिक्षीयुः ॥ Why do we say beginning with a conjunct consonant? Observe चक्रतुः, चक्रुः ॥ This sūtra ordains Guṇa where there was prohibition by I. 2. 5 read with I. 1. 5. But this does not debar the Vṛiddhi caused by णल् (VII. 1. 115). In fact, that prior rule supersedes this posterior rule, as सस्वार, रध्वार, सस्मार ॥ The word लिटि is to be supplied in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to Nishṭhā &c., as स्मृतः, स्मृतवान् ॥

Vārt:—For the sake of कृष्, the guṇa should be stated even where the double-consonant is in the penultimate position and not in the beginning. As संचस्कारतुः, संचस्कारुः ॥ See VI. 1. 135. On the maxim पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण 'a root is first developed fully and then the preposition is added to it'; we first develop कृ in the Perfect by reduplication, which gives us चकृ+भतुस्, then we add the preposition as संचकृ+भतुः, then we add सुद् though the reduplicate intervenes, by VI. 1. 136 and 137, as संचस्कृ-भतुः, now the root assumes a form in which the penultimate begins with a double consonant, and applying the vārtika we make guṇa, and get संचस्कारतुः ॥

It is by this consideration that in संस्कृषीष्ट, उपस्कृषीष्ट, the सुद् augment being Bahiraṅga and consequently considered as non-existent (asiddha), there is no इद् augment added by VII. 2. 43.

ऋच्छत्युताम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋच्छति, ऋ, ऋताम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋच्छतेरङ्गस्य ऋइत्येतस्य ऋक रान्तां च लिटि परतो गुणो भवति ॥

11. There is guṇa in the Perfect of ऋच्छ्, ऋ and roots ending in long ऋ.

As आनच्छ्, आनच्छ्तुः, आनच्छुः from ऋच्छ्, आर, आरतुः, आरुः from ऋ, and नि चकारतुः, नि चकरुः, नि जगरतुः, नि जगरुः from कृ and गृ ॥ ऋच्छ् not having a light vowel in the penultimate, would not have received guṇa by VII. 3. 86, this sūtra ordains it; roots in long कृ never received guṇa, but इर् substitution; this ordains guṇa. The Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 supersedes this rule, within its own jurisdiction, a prior superseding the posterior: as निचकार, नि जगार ॥

शुद्धप्रां ह्रस्वो वा ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृ, दृ, प्राम्, ह्रस्वः, वा, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शृ वृ पृ इत्येतेषामङ्गानां लिटि परतो वा ह्रस्वा भवति ॥

12. In शृ, 'to injure' (IX. 18) दृ 'to tear' (IX. 23) and पृ 'to protect' (IX. 19) the vowel may optionally be shortened in the Perfect.

As विश्भ्रतुः by shortening or विशभ्रतुः, by guṇa, which prevents ए and abhyāsalopa (VI. 4. 126) विशभुः or विशभारुः, विश्व्रतुः or विश्वरतुः, विश्व्रुः or विश्वरुः; निपप्रतुः or नि पपरतुः, नि पप्रुः or नि पपरुः ॥ Why is the word 'short' made optional in the sūtra, and not the word 'guṇa'; for in the absence of guṇa, the long कृ would have become र before अतुः by यणादेशः, and we would have got the forms विशभ्रतुः, विशभुः by the regular rules of 'sandhi'? The word 'short' is used in the sūtra, in order to debar the इर् and उर् alternatives. Had the sūtra been "शृ वृ प्रां वा" the alternative examples would have been with इर् (VII. 1. 101) as शिशिरतुः शिशिरुः and उर् (VIII. 2. 77) as पिपुरतुः ॥ Some say this sūtra is unnecessary. The above forms like विशभ्रतुः, विशभुः, &c. can be regularly obtained from the roots भ्रा 'to cook', द्रा 'to abuse', and प्रा 'to fill' and as the roots have many other senses, besides those assigned to them in the Dhātupāṭha, the roots भ्रा, द्रा and प्रा will give the meanings of शृ, वृ, and पृ" ॥ If that were so, the form विशभ्रवान् with the affix क्सु could not be formed, for we should have either विशभ्रवान् from शृ root or विशभ्रिवान् from भ्रा root but never विशभ्रवान् ॥ So the rule about shortening is necessary.

केऽणः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, अणः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ के प्रत्यये परतो ऽणो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

13. Before the affix क्, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened.

As लका, (VII. 3. 47) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मबन्धुका ॥ Why आ, ई and ऊ only? Observe गौका, नौका ॥ The words राका, धाका are irregular being formed by Uṇādi diversity, with the affix क् added to रा and धा (Uṇ III. 40) By the following sūtra, the rule does not apply to the affix क्; it therefore implies that कन् is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Ka-tyāyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क्, and not the क् of the

Uṇādi, as राका, धाका; but Uṇādi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽन्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sūtra.

न कपि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपि प्रत्यये परतो ऽणो ह्रस्वो न भवति ॥

14. But before the samāsanta affix कप् coming after Bahuvrīhi compounds, the अण् vowels are not shortened.

As बहुकुमारीकः, बहुवृषलीकः, बहुवधूकः, बहुलक्ष्मीकः ॥ The shortening ordained by I. 2. 48 even does not operate when कप् follows.

For had there been upasarjana shortening (I. 2. 48), the present sūtra would be useless. Therefore, the very existence of this sūtra debars every sort of shortening. Obj. The present sūtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasarjana by I. 2. 48: namely before non-feminine affixes, as बहुयवागूकः; but there should be shortening in feminine affixes. Ans. The shortening of I. 2. 48 will not take place before कप् affix. Because the affix कप् will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound, and then the word so ending in कप् will be compounded with the first member. So there is no *prātipadika* left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore I. 2. 48, does not apply, because the *prātipadika* now left is one ending in the affix कप् and not in a feminine affix.

आपोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबन्तस्याङ्गस्य कपि ह्रस्वो न भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

15. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुखट्वाकः or बहुखट्वाकः, बहुमालकः or बहुमालकः ॥

ऋदृशो ऽङ्ङि गुणः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ, दृशः, अङ्ङि, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्तानां दृशेश्च अङ्ङि परतो गुणो भवति ॥

16. Guṇa is substituted for the vowel of the root, before the affix अङ्, in the roots ending in ऋ or ॠ, as well as in दृश् ॥

As शकलाङ्गुष्ठकोऽकरन्, अहं तेभ्योऽकरं नमः, असरन्, आरन्, अवर्शन्, अवर्शताम्, अवर्शन् ॥ The affix अङ् means the Aorist-character अङ् of which the above examples are given. It also is the कृति-affix (III. 3. 104), of which we have जृ—जरा ॥

The word अकरन् is अङ् Aorist formed from कृ by III. 1. 59. The word असरन् is from सृ (III. 1. 56). अवर्शन् by VI. 1. 57.

अस्यतेस्थक् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यतेः, थक्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्यतेरङ्गस्य थुगागमो भवत्यङ्ङि परतः ॥

17. The stem अस् (अस्यते) gets the augment थुक् before this Aorist अङ् ॥

As आस्थत्, आस्थताम्, आस्थन् ॥ See III. 1. 52.

श्वयतेरः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वयतेः, भः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वयतेरङ्गस्याकारादेशो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

18. The अ is substituted for the final of श्वि in the अङ् Aorist.

As अश्वत्, अश्वताम्, अश्वन् ॥ For the अ of the stem and the अ of the affix, there is the single substitute of the last by VI. 2. 97. See III. 1. 58.

पतः पुम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतः, पुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतेरङ्गस्य पुमागमो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

19. The augment ए is added after the vowel of the root पत् in the अङ्-Aorist.

As अपतन्, अपतताम्, अपतन् ॥ The पत् takes the अङ् Aorist as it has an indicatory क् in the Dhātupāṭha (III. 1. 55).

वचउम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, उम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वचेरङ्गस्य अङि परत उमागमो भवति ॥

20. The augment उ is added after the अ of वच् in the अङ्-Aorist.

As अवोचत्, अवोचताम्, अवोचन् ॥ See III. 1. 52.

शीङः सार्वधातुके गुणः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीङः, सार्वधातुके, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङोऽङ्गस्य सार्वधातुके परतो गुणो भवति ॥

21. For the vowel of शी, there is substituted guṇa, when a Sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

As शेते, शयाते, शेरते, but शिश्ये before the ârdhadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 115). Though these sârvadhâtuka affixes were ङित् (I. 2. 4) and would not have caused guṇa (I. 4. 5), they do so by virtue of the present sūtra. The word शीङ् is read in the sūtra with the anubardha ङ्, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to यङ् लुक् as शेशीतः, शेश्याते ॥

अयङ् यि क्ङिति ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयङ्, यि, क्ङिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः शीङोऽङ्गस्यायङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

22. Before an affix beginning with य् and having an indicatory क् or ङ्, there is substituted अय् for the ई of शी ॥

As शय्यते with यक्, शाशय्यते with यङ्, प्रशय्य and उपशय्य with ल्यप् which being the substitute of क्त्वा is कित् ॥ But शिश्ये where the affix is ए, and शयम् where the affix is यत् (neither कित् or ङित्) ॥

उपसर्गाङ्गस्व ऊहतेः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, ह्रस्वः, ऊहतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुत्तरस्य ऊहतेरङ्गस्य ह्रस्वो भवति यकाराद्यै कृडिति ॥

23. The short is substituted for the ऊ of ऊह् when a Preposition precedes it, and an affix beginning with य् with an indicatory क् or ड् follows.

As सपुह्यते, प्रत्युह्यते, सपुह्य, अभ्युह्यते, अभ्युह्य ॥ But ऊह्यते without Preposition. Why do we say of ऊह्? Observe समीह्यते ॥ Why do we say 'before य्'? Observe समूहितम् ॥ Why do we say having indicatory क् or ड्? Observe अभ्यूह्यः with यत् ॥ Of course the shortening takes place of ऊ (or अण् vowel, the word अण् being understood here from VII. 4. 13), and not when it assumes the form ओ, as भा ऊह्यते = भोह्यते, समोह्यते ॥

एतेर्लिङि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतेः, लिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेरङ्गस्योपसर्गादुत्तरस्य लिङि यकाराद्यै कृडिति परतो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

24. The short is substituted for the vowel of the stem इ (एति) before the augment यास् in the Benedictive, when a Preposition precedes it.

As उदियात्, समियात्, अन्वियात् ॥ This is an exception to the following sūtra by which a long would have been substituted. But ईयात् without a Preposition. The अण् (VII. 4. 13) is understood here also. Therefore ए form of इ will not be shortened, as आ-न-इयात् = एयात्, समेयात् ॥

अकृतसार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकृत, सार्वधातुकयोः, दीर्घः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकृत्यकार असार्वधातुकयकार च कृडिति परतो जन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

25. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before an affix beginning with a य् having an indicatory क् or ड्, when it is not either a Kṛit or a Sârvadhâtuka affix.

Thus भूशायते, सुखायते, and दुःखायते with the Denominative affix क्यङ् according to III. 1. 12 and 18. चीयते and स्तृयते with the Passive यक्, चेचीयते and तोष्टृयते with the Intensive यङ्, and चीयात् and स्तृयात् in the Benedictive (See III. 4. 116). But प्रकृत्य and प्रहृत्य where the affix ल्यप् is kṛit, and had the vowel been lengthened by this subsequent rule, the antecedent तुक् augment would have been debarred (VI. 1. 71). And चितुयात् and सुनुयात् where the Personal endings of the Potential are sârvadhâtuka. The phrase कृडिति is understood in this sūtra, so there is no lengthening before non-kit and non-nit affixes, as, उर्या, धृष्ण्या, formed by या under VII. 1. 39.

चौ च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च्चिप्रत्यये परतो जन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

26. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Adverbial affix च्चि (V. 4. 50).

As शुची करोति, शुची स्यात्, शुची भवति, पट्ट करोति, पट्ट स्यात्, पट्ट भवति ॥ The च draws in the anuvṛitti of the phrase 'non-krit, and non-sârvadhâtuka' from the last sūtra, which though not of any direct use in this aphorism, is necessary for the sake of subsequent ones. See VII. 4. 32 for words ending in अ ॥

रीङ्कृतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ रीङ्, कृतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च्वाविति वर्त्तते ॥ अकृतसार्वधातुकयोरिति च ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य अकृत्यकारेऽसार्वधातुके यकारे च्वा च परतो रीङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

27. री is substituted for the final short ऋ of a stem, before an affix beginning with य, when it is not a Krit nor a Sârvadhâtuka affix, and before the adverbial affix च्चि ॥

The anuvṛitti of किङिति is, however, not understood in this sūtra; that of च्चौ and अकृतसार्वधातुकयोः is present. Thus मन्त्रीयति and पित्रीयति with क्यच (III. 1. 8), मन्त्रीयते, पित्रीयते with क्यङ् (III. 1. 11). चेक्रीयते with यङ्, मन्त्रीभूतः with च्चि ॥ The किन् and डिन् not being understood here, we have पितुरागतं = पित्र्यम् (IV. 3. 79), which is thus formed पितृ-+यन् = पित्री + य = पित्र-+य (ई being elided by VI. 4. 148). Why do we say short ऋ? Observe चेकीर्यते, from कृ विक्रमे, with यङ्, ऋतद् धातोः and हलिच lengthening. निजेगित्यते from कृ and गु ॥

रिङ् शयग्लिङ्क्षु ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिङ्, श, यक्, लिङ् क्षु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य श यक् इत्येतयोर्लिङि च यकारादौ असार्वधातुके परतो रिङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. For the final short ऋ of a root, there is substituted रि, before the Present-character अ (श), before the Passive-character य, and before the augment यास् in the Benedictive.

The word लिङि in the aphorism is qualified by the phrase यकारादौ असार्वधातुके ॥ A लिङ् affix which begins with a य and is not a Sârvadhâtuka, is necessarily the augment यास् of the Benedictive. Thus श-भा द्वियते and भा द्वियते (the य् comes by VI. 4. 77). यक्-क्रियते, द्वियते ॥ लिङ्-क्रियान् and द्वियान् ॥ This short रि debars the long री of the last. The word non-Sârvadhâtuka being understood, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as चिभृयान् ॥ The चि (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also, therefore when the Benedictive affix does not begin with य्, the rule does not apply, as कृषीष्ट, हृषीष्ट ॥

गुणोत्तिसंयोगाद्योः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अर्त्ति, संयोगाद्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतो यकि लिङि इति वर्त्तते ॥ शइत्यत्रासे भवान्नानुवर्त्तते ॥ गुणा भवत्युत्तः संयोगादीनामृकारान्तानां यकि परतो, लिङि च यकारादावसार्वधातुके ॥

29. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ in the root ऋ (अर्त्ति), and in those roots ending in ऋ, in which

the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Passive character यक् or the Benedictive augment यास् follows.

The words कृतः, यकि and लिङि are understood here. Not so the word कृ as its anuvṛitti is impossible. Thus अर्थते, अर्थान्, स्मर्यते and स्मर्यान् ॥ This is an exception to I. 1. 5. In सं स्क्रियते and संस्क्रियान् (VI. 1. 135), there is no Guṇa, either because in स्क्रु the augment स् is considered as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, or because it is considered as no part of (or non-attached to) कृ, and therefore स् कृ is not a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See however VII. 4. 10, where in forming संचस्करतुः, स्क्रु is considered as a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See also Mahābhāshya on VI. 1. 135. The यि (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also; the Benedictive affix must begin with य, therefore not here स्तृषीष्ट, ध्वृषीष्ट ॥ The word non-sarvadhātuka is also understood here, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as इय्यान्, there is ślu substitution of śap, reduplication, then there is इ substitution in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 77, then इयइ by VI. 4. 78.

यङि च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यङि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङि च परतो अर्चः संयोगादेश्च ऋतो गुणो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ न न्नाः संयोगाद्य इति द्विवचनप्रतिषेधो यकारपरस्य नेष्यते ॥

धा० ॥ हन्तेर्हिंसायां यङि ग्रीभावो वक्तव्यः ॥

30. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of the root ऋ (अर्ति) and in those roots, ending in short ऋ, in which the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Intensive character यङ् follows.

As अरार्थते, सास्वर्थते, दाध्वर्थते, सास्वर्थते ॥ The root ऋ takes यङ् according to a Vārtika under Sūtra III. 1. 22, with Guṇa we have ऋ-1-य=अर्थ ॥ By VI. 1. 2, the second member is reduplicated, in spite of the prohibition in VI. 1. 3, for according to Patanjali र् followed by य is not governed by that prohibition. So we have अर्थर्थ, and according to VII. 4. 60, the य् is dropped, and we have अरर्थ, and by VII. 4. 83, we get अरार्थ ॥ This is an exception to I. 1. 5.

Vārti:—In the Intensive of हन् 'to kill', ह्नी is substituted for हन् as जेघ्नीयते ॥ The substitute is with a long ह्, had it been with a short ह, that might also have been lengthened by VII. 4. 25. Not doing so, however, indicates the existence of the maxim संज्ञापूर्वकाविधेरनित्यत्वम् "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it is denoted by a technical term". It is through this that स्वायंभुवः is formed from स्वयम्; because the Guṇa taught by VI. 4. 146, does not take place here before the Taddhita affix अण्, in as much as that rule VI. 4. 146, is taught by employing the technical term गुणः in ओर्युणः instead of ओरान्, hence that rule is anitya, and we have उवङ् ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'to kill'? Observe जह्पन्थते where it means to do.

ई घ्राध्मोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, घ्रा, ध्मोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्रा ध्मा इत्येतयोर्यङि परत ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

31. Long ई is substituted for the vowel of the roots घ्रा and ध्मा in the Intensive.

As जेघ्रीयते, देघ्मीयते ॥ The long ई is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, short इ would have, by VII. 4. 25, given the same forms also.

अस्य च्यौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, च्यौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई इति वर्तते अवर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य च्यौ परत ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

32. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix च्चि (V. 4. 50).

As शुक्ली करोति, शुक्ली भवति, शुक्ली स्यात् ॥ खट्वी करोति, खट्वी भवति and खट्वी स्यात् ॥

क्यचि च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यचि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थेति वर्तते क्यचि परतोवर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

33. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Denominative affix क्यच् ॥

As पुत्रीयति, घटीयति, खट्वीयति, मालीयति ॥ This is an exception to VII. 4. 25. The separating of this aphorism from the preceding, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism.

अशनायोदन्यधनाया बुभुक्षापिपासागर्द्धेषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशनाय, उदन्य धनायाः, बुभुक्षा, पिपासा, गर्द्धेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशनाय उदन्य धनाय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते बुभुक्षा पिपासा गर्द्ध इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु ॥

34. The Denominative roots अशनाय, उदन्य and धनाय are irregularly formed, when they respectively mean 'to be hungry', 'to be thirsty', 'to be greedy'.

Thus अशनायति from अशन-न-क्यच्, आ instead of ई; the other form being अशनायति who is not hungry at the time, but wishes to get food for some future occasion, and therefore when not meaning 'to be hungry'; उदन्यति 'he is thirsty', उदन् being substituted for उदक्; in any other sense we have उदकयति, who wants water for purposes of bathing &c. धनायति 'he is greedy'; in any other sense, धनीयति who is poor, and therefore wishes to get riches.

नच्छन्दस्यपुत्रस्य ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, छन्दसि, अ, पुत्रस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये पुत्रवर्जितस्यावर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य क्यचि यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अपुस्त्रादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

35. In the Veda, the above rules causing lengthening, or the substitution of long ई for the final vowel of the stem, do not apply, except in the case of पुत्र ॥

Thus मित्रयुः, संवेद्युः, देवाञ् जिगाति सुम्बुयुः ॥ But पुत्रीयन्तः, सुदन्वः (Rig VII. 96. 4).

Vart:—It should be rather stated पुत्र and the rest: as जनयिन्तोऽन्वयः ॥ See III. 2. 170, for the affix उ ॥

दुरस्युर्द्रविणस्युर्वृषण्यति रिषण्यति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुरस्युः, द्रविणस्युः, वृषण्यति, रिषण्यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुरस्युः द्रविणस्युः वृषण्यति रिषण्यति एतानि छन्दसि निपात्यन्ते ॥

36. In the Veda दुरस्यु, द्रविणस्यु, वृषण्यति and रिषण्यति are irregularly formed.

As अवियोना दुरस्युः, (= दुर्हीयति with the affix क्यच् added to दुष्ट), द्रविणस्युर्विषण्यति (द्रविणीयति, here द्रविणस् is substituted for द्रविण similarly). वृषण्यति=वृषीयति (वृषण् substituted for वृष) ॥ रिषण्यति=रिहीयति (रिषण् substituted for रिष्ट) ॥

अश्वाघस्यात् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्व, अघस्य, आत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्व अघ इत्येतयोः क्यचि परतः छन्दसि विषये आकारादेशो भवति ॥

37. In the Veda, long आ is substituted for the final of अश्व and अघ, before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As अश्वायन्तो मघवन् (Rig VII. 32. 23), मां त्वा वृका भघायवो विदन् ॥ This also indicates that other words do not lengthen their vowel in the Veda before क्यच्, as taught in VII. 4. 35. See Vārtika to III. 1. 8. The word अघायु occurs in Rig I. 120. 7, 27; 3.

देवसुस्रयोर्यजुषि काठके ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ देव सुस्रयोः, यजुषि, काठके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देव सुस्र इत्येतयोः क्यचि परत आकारादेशो भवति यजुषि काठके ॥

38. Long आ is substituted for the final of देव and सुस्र before the Denominative क्यच् in Yajush Kāthaka.

As देवायन्तो यजमानाः सुस्रायन्तो हवामहे ॥ Why in the Yajus? Observe देवाञ्जिगाय सुस्रयुः ॥ Why do we say in the Kāthaka? Observe सुस्रयुर्विदमासात् ॥

कव्यध्वरपृतनस्यार्चि लोपः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवि, अध्वर, पृतनस्यः, ऋचि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवि अध्वर पृतना इत्येतेषामङ्गानां क्यचि परतो लोपो भवति ऋचि विषये ॥

39. In the Rig Veda, the final of कवि, अध्वर and पृतना is dropped before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As कव्यन्तः सुमनसः (not in the Rig Veda), अध्वर्यन्तः (not in this case in the Rig Veda). पृतन्यन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति (not in this connection in the Rig Veda). The examples given above are of Kāśikā: according to Pr. Bohtlingk none of them are from the Rig Veda. The following are given by Bhattoji Dikshita in his Siddhanta Kaumudi: स पूर्वया निविदा कव्यतायोः (Rig I. 96. 2). अध्वर्युं वा मधुपाणिम् (Rig X. 41. 3), दमयन्तं पृतन्युम् ॥

घतिस्यतिमास्थामिति किति ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ घति, स्यति, मा, स्थाम्, इत्, ति, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घति स्यति मा स्था इत्येतेषामङ्गानामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

40. Short इ is substituted for the final of दो, सो, मा and स्था, before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As निर्दितः and निर्दितवान्; अवसितः and अवसितवान्, मितः and मितवान्; स्थितः and स्थितवान्, all with क्त and क्तवतु ॥ Why before त्? Observe अवशाय ॥ Why before a कित् affix? Observe अवशान्ता with तृच् ॥

शाछोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शा छा इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इयतेरिष्वे व्रते नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā:—देवचातो गलो माह इतियोगे च सङ्घिः ।

मिथस्ते न विभाष्यन्ते गवाक्षः संशितव्रतः ॥

41. Short इ is optionally substituted for the final of शा (शो) and छा (छो), before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As निशितं or निशातम्, निशितवान् or निशातवान्; अवच्छितं, अवच्छितवान् or अवच्छातं, अवच्छातवान् ॥ The शा *always* takes the इ when it means a vow: as संशितो ब्राह्मणः = संशितव्रतः ॥ The rule of this sūtra thus becomes a vyavasthita vibhāshā. Other examples of such vyavasthita vibhāshā are to be found in VIII. 2. 56, where चात and चाण past participles are formed with त् or ण, but चात is *only* employed in names as देवचातः &c, and never चाण, while in denoting action both forms are valid: similarly by VIII. 2. 21, गल and गर are both formed, but गल *alone* is used when 'neck' is meant, and गर *alone* when 'poison' is indicated; optionally both when an action is meant. Similarly by III. 1. 143, माह and मह are formed, but माहः is *only* used when 'a crocodile' is meant, and महः *alone* is employed when a 'planet' is indicated. Similarly the addition of the Present Participle affix शतृ and दानच् under III. 2. 126, is debarred when इति is added, as हन्ति इति पलायते, वर्षतीति धावति ॥ In all the above examples, the option though taught generically, should be limited to specific cases; as also in the examples गवाक्षः 'a window', and गोऽक्षम् 'cow's eye' (VI. 1. 123) and संशितव्रतः ॥ In short, we should limit a general vibhāshā to a vyavasthita-vibhāshā, on the maxim व्यवस्थितविभाषा विज्ञानान् सिद्धम् ॥

दधातेर्हिः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दधातेः, हिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधातेर्ङ्गस्य हीत्ययमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

42. हि is substituted for धा (दधाति) before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As हितः, हितवन्, हित्वा ॥

जहातेश्च क्ति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, क्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेरङ्गस्य हीत्ययमादेशो भवति क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतः ॥

43. हि is substituted for हा (जहाति) before क्त्वा ॥

As हित्वा राज्यं वनम् गतः, हित्वा गच्छति ॥ The rule does not apply to हा जिहीते ॥ There we have हात्वा गतः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेरङ्गस्य विभाषा हीत्ययमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतः ॥

44. हि is optionally substituted for हा before क्त्वा in the Chhandas.

As हित्वा शरीरं यातव्यं, or हात्वा also. The long ई of VI. 4. 62 does not take place also as a Vedic irregularity.

सुधितवसुधितनेमधितधिष्वधिषीय च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्व, धिषीय, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधित वसुधित नेमधित धिष्व धिषीय इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

45. These five Vedic forms are irregularly formed, सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्व and धिषीय ॥

Of these five, सुधित, वसुधित and नेमधित are formed from the root धा with the affix क्त, preceded by सु, वसु and नेम ॥ As गर्भं माता सुधितम् (=सुहितम्), वसुधितमनौ जुहोति (=वसुहितं), नेमधिता बाधन्ते (=नेमहिता) ॥ धिष्व is Imperative 2nd Per. Sg. of धा, there is no reduplication, as धिष्व सोमम्=धस्व ॥ धिषीय is Benedictive Atmanepada 1st Per. Sg. of धा, the regular form being धासीय ॥

दो दद् घोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, दत्, घोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा इत्येतस्य घुसंज्ञकस्य इत्ययमादेशो भवति तकाराद्यौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

46. For दा, when it is a Ghu (I. 1. 20), there is substituted दद् before a कित् affix beginning with त् ॥

As दप्ः, दत्तवान्, दत्तिः ॥ Why of दा? Observe धीतः, धीतवान् from धेद्; and the long ई is by VI. 4. 66. Why when it is a Ghu? Observe दातं बर्हिः from दाप् 'to cut', and अवदातं दुखं from दैप् "to cleanse". The substitute is दद् ending in थ, according to an *Ishti*.

Kārikā:—तान्ते दोषो दीर्घत्वं स्याद्, दान्ते दोषो निष्ठा नत्वम् ।

धान्ते दोषो धस्व प्राप्तिस्, थान्तेऽ षष् स्तस्मान् थान्तम् ॥

If the substitute be दद् ending in त्, then it would require the lengthening taught in VI. 3. 124. (N. B. The sūtra इस्ति should be interpreted as 'the vowel of the Preposition is lengthened before a substitute of दा which ends in त्', in order to make this objection applicable. That sūtra however is capable of another interpretation). If the substitute be दद् ending in द् then the Nishṭhā त् would be changed to न् by VIII. 2. 42: as in भिद्+त=भिन्नः ॥ If the substitute be दद् ending in ध्, then by VIII. 2. 40; the Nishṭhā त् would be changed to थ ॥ Hence the substitute is दद् ॥ If

however, the sūtra VI. 3. 124, is interpreted as "the vowel of a preposition is lengthened before a substitute of दा which begins with त्", then the substitute may be वृन् also without any harm. Even if the substitute be वृद् or वृध्, the apprehended न् and ध् substitutions will not take place, on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणं विधि रनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ॥

The following are exceptions to VII. 4. 47, अवदत्तं, विदत्तं, प्रदत्तं, सुदत्तं, अनुदत्तं and निदत्तं ॥ Or the words अव &c, here are not Upasargas. See I. 4. 57.

Kārikā:—अवदत्तं विदत्तं च प्रदत्तं चादिकर्मणि ।

सुदत्तमनुदत्तं च निदत्तमिति चेष्यते ॥

The word आदिकर्मणि qualifies pradatta only. The word च shows that regular forms अवत्तं, वित्तं, प्रत्तं, &c also are valid.

अच् उपसर्गात्तः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, उपसर्गात्, तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तादुपसर्गादुच्चारस्य दा इत्येतस्य घुसंज्ञकस्य त इत्ययमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ अतेरित्यादश्चस्त इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

47. त् is substituted for the ghu दा before a क्ति affix beginning with त्, when a Preposition ending in a vowel precedes it.

The examples under the present sūtra are प्रत्तं, अवत्तं, नीत्तं, परीत्तं ॥ For the lengthening see VI. 3. 124. Why do we say 'ending in a vowel'? Observe निर्दत्तम् दुर्दत्तम् ॥ Why 'after an Upasarga only'? Observe दधि दत्तम्, मधु दत्तम् ॥ Why 'the दा called Ghu'? Observe अवदात्तं घृत्तं from द्हेप् ॥

Obj. The word उपसर्गान् in the sūtra is in the Ablative case, and by I. 1. 67, the substitute त् should replace only the first letter of दा, how does it replace the whole?

Ans—The word अचः is to be repeated in the sūtra, one अचः being in the Ablative case and qualifying उपसर्गान्, and the other अचः being in the Genitive case, showing the sthānin to be आ, as "after an Upasarga ending in a vowel, त् is substituted for the vowel of दा". Or the word अस्य may be read into this sūtra from VII. 4. 32. Or उपसर्गान्तः consists of three त्'s, the substitute being त्त, and being a substitute of more than one letter, it replaces the whole of दा (I. 1. 55). In the following sūtra अपोभि, the अचः in the Ablative case is understood, and therefore त् replaces only प् ॥

Vārt:—After a Preposition ending in a vowel, त् is substituted for दा (दौ), when इ would have been substituted otherwise for its final by VII. 4. 40. As अवत्तम्, प्रत्तम् जुहोति and नीत्तं, वीत्तं ॥

अपोभि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः, भिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य भकारादौ प्रथये परतस्त इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

48. त् is substituted for the final of the stem अप् before a case-ending beginning with भ् ॥

As अद्भ्याम्, अङ्गिः, अङ्गयः ॥ Why beginning with a भ? Observe अप्सु ॥

In the Veda, त् is substituted before भ, for the final of स्ववस्, from सु + अच् + असुन्; meaning सोभनमवेषिषां; स्वतवस् from the root तु meaning स्वं तवो येषां; मास and उपस्, as स्ववाङ्गिः, स्वतवङ्गिः, माङ्गिरिटा इन्द्रो वृत्रहा, ससुपङ्गिरजायथाः ॥ The word मास becomes मास् by VI. 1. 63.

सः स्याद्धधातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, सि, आर्द्धधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य सकारात् आर्द्धधातुके परतस्तकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. त् is substituted for the final स् of a root before an Ārdhadhâtuka affix beginning with स् ॥

As वस्यति, अवस्यत्, विवसति, जिघसति ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in स'? Observe वश्यति ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with स'? Observe घासः, वासः ॥ Why an ārdhadhâtuka? Observe आस्ते, वस्ते, from भास् 'to sit' and वस् 'to cover'; both Adâdi roots.

तासस्त्योर्लोपः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तास्अस्त्योः, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासेरस्तेश्च सकारस्य सकारादौ प्रत्यये लोपो भवति ॥

50. The final स् of तास् (the character of the second Future) and that of अस् 'to be', is elided before an affix beginning with स् ॥

As कर्त्तसि, कर्त्तसे, स्वसि, व्यति से ॥ See VI. 4. III. In से the अ and स् both of अस् have been elided, the अ by VI. 4. III, and स् by the present sūtra, so that the mere suffix से remains, which however here is a finite verb: hence the स्, is not changed to ष ॥ See VIII. 3. III.

रि च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफादौ च प्रत्यये परतः तासस्त्योः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

51. The स् of तास् and अस् is dropped before an affix beginning with a र् ॥

As कर्त्तारौ, कर्त्तारः, अध्येतारौ, अध्येतारः ॥ The स् of अस् 'to be' is elided in the Perfect, because it is there that a र् beginning affix can follow it. Thus व्यतिरे (See VI. 4. III). According to the reading of Padamanjari, there can be no example of अस् अस्तेरुदाहरणं न प्रदर्शितं, रेफादिरसम्भवात् ॥

ह एति ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, एति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासस्त्योः सकारस्य हकारादेशो भवति एति परतः ॥

52. For the स् of तास् and अस् there is substituted ह before the personal-ending ए ॥

As कर्त्तहे, and व्यति हे from अस् ॥ See VI. 4. III. The ह substitution does not take place before the Personal ending एश् (III. 4. 8), as एधामासे ॥ The reason of this is that the ए referred to in this sūtra, is that ए which can come after तास्; and that very ए should also come after अस् ॥ The ए that can

come after तास् is the 1st Person singular ए; and not this ए of the Perfect 3rd Person singular. Others say, this even sârvadhâtuka, and therefore not here सुतोऽहं त्वां प्रक्षामसि ॥

यीवर्णयोर्दीधीवेव्योः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यि, इवर्णयोः, दीधी, वेव्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादाविवर्णादौ च परतो दीधीवेव्योर्लोपो भवति ॥

53. The final of दीधी and वेवी falls before an affix beginning with य्, इ or ई ॥

Thus आदीध्य and आविव्य गतः, आदीध्यते, and आविव्यते before य् ॥ आदीधित्, आविवित्; आदीधीत् and आविवीत् ॥ Why before य्, इ or ई? Observe आशंध्यनम् and आविव्यनम् ॥ The long ई in वी is a sūtra वैचित्र, for यिवर्णयोः would have been enough.

सनि मीमाद्युरभलभशकपतपदामच इस् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, मी, मा, घु, रभ, लभ, शक, पत, पदा म्, अचः, इस् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि प्रत्यये सकारादौ परतो मी मा घु रभ लभ शक पत पद् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचः स्थाने इसित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सनि राधो हिंसायामच इस्क्त्व्यः ॥

54, इस् is substituted for the root-vowel of मी, मा, दा and धा (घु), रभ्, लभ्, शक्, पत् and पद् when the Desiderative सन् beginning with स् (i. e. not taking the augment इ) follows.

The मी includes मीनाति (Kryādi 4), and मिनोति (मि of Svādi 4) for मि assumes the form मी by VI. 4. 16 Thus मिस्सति, प्रमिस्सति ॥ The मा denotes all the roots which assume the form मा, on the maxim गामाद्ग्रहणेष्वविशेषः "The terms गा, मा or दा when they are employed in Grammar denote both the original roots गा, मा and दा and also the roots which are changed to गा, मा and दा" ॥ They are मा and माङ् माने, and म्रेङ् प्रणिज्ञाने ॥ Thus मिस्सते, अप मिस्सते ॥ घु—दिस्सति, धिस्सति; रभ्—आरिप्सते, लभ्—आलिप्सते, शक्—शिक्षति, पत्—पिस्सति, पद्—प्रपिस्सते ॥ In the roots that end in a vowel, the स् of इस् is changed to त् by VII. 4. 49, and in the roots that end in a consonant, this स् is dropped, according to VIII. 2. 29. The reduplication falls by VII. 4. 58.

Why do we say 'when the Desiderative follows'? Observe दास्यति ॥ The word स्ति is understood here from VII. 4. 49, so the rule will not apply when the Desiderative takes the augment इद्, as प्र पातसति ॥ Here पत् optionally takes इद् under the vārtika तनिपतिदरिद्राणाद्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

Vārt.—The इस् comes after the root-vowel of राष् in the Desiderative, when the sense is that of to injure. As प्रति रिस्सति ॥ Why do we say when the sense is that of 'to injure'? Observe आरि रास्सति ॥

आप्लुष्यधामीत् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आप्, लुप्, ऋधाम्, ईत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप् लुपि ऋध इत्येतेषामङ्गानामच ईकारादेशो भवति सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

55. For the vowel of the roots आप्, ज्ञपि and ऋध् there is substituted long ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

Thus आप्—ईप्सति, ज्ञपि—ज्ञीप्सति, ऋध्—ईस्सति (I. 1. 51.). The reduplication is dropped by VII. 4. 58. In the Causative stem ज्ञपि there are two vowels, the इ (णि) is dropped by pūrva-vipratishedha (the prior debarring the subsequent) according to VI. 4. 51, and ई substituted for अ according to the present sūtra. The word सन् is to be read into the sūtra, otherwise प्रापस्यति ॥ The सन् must begin with स् i.e. should not take the इद् augment, as in जिज्ञपयिषति, भार्हिषिषति ॥ The roots ज्ञपि and ऋध् are optionally सेद् in the Desiderative by VII. 2. 49.

दम्भ इच्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दम्भः, इत्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दम्भेरच इकारादेशो भवति चकारासीच्च सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

56. For the vowel of the root दम्भ् there is substituted इ as well as ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

As धीप्सति or धिप्सति ॥ But इशिम्भषीत् before the सेद्सन् ॥ The reduplication falls off by VII. 4. 58.

मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुचः, अकर्मकस्य, गुणः वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा भवति सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

57. When मुच् has an Intransitive signification, Guṇa is optionally substituted for its vowel before the अनि सन् of the Desiderative.

By I. 2. 10, after a root ending in a consonant, the सन् is like कित् and does not cause Guṇa. The present sūtra ordains it optionally. As मोक्षते or मुमुक्षते वत्सः स्वयमेव ॥ In the Transitive there is one form only, as मुमुक्षति वत्सं देवदत्तः ॥ मुच् becomes Intransitive when it has a Reflexive significance, or when it expresses a mere action. The reduplication is elided by VII. 4. 58.

अत्र लोपोभ्यासस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, लोपः, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदेतत्प्रक्रान्तं सनि मीमेत्यादि मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणेवेति यावत् अत्राभ्यासलोपो भवति ॥

58. The reduplicate is dropped under the circumstances mentioned in the foregoing sūtras VII. 4. 54 to VII. 4. 57.

The examples are given under the above-mentioned sūtras. The word 'of the reduplicate' अभ्यासस्य is to be supplied in all the subsequent sūtras upto the end of the chapter. Thus Sūtra VII. 4. 59, says 'a short is to be substituted', we must supply the words 'for the reduplicate' to com-

plete the sense : as डुडौकिषते, तुडौकिषते ॥ The word अथ in the sūtra indicates that the reduplication is not to be elided, when an affix is treated like सन् but is not actually सन् ॥ Thus चङ्-Aorist is treated like सन् by VII. 4. 93 ; but the reduplication will not be dropped there : as अभीमपत्, अभीदपत् ॥ Some say the word अत्र here indicates that the whole of the reduplicate is dropped, and not only its final letter. Others elide the whole of the reduplicate on the maxim नानर्थकाऽलोऽभ्यविधिः ॥ “ The rule I. 1. 52, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the Genitive case, is not valid, where what is exhibited in the Genitive is meaningless”.

ह्रस्वः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वो भवत्यभ्यासस्य ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अभ्यासस्यानचि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अरि चलि पति वरीनां वा दिस्वमच्याक् च्चाभ्यासस्य इति वन्तर्ग्यम् ॥

59. A short is substituted for the long vowel of the reduplicate.

As डुडौकिषते, तुडौकिषते, डुडौके, तुडौके, अडुडौकत्, अतुडौकत् ॥

Vārt.—The shortening takes place before affixes other than अच् (III. i. 134). Before अच्, the roots चर्, चल, पत् and वद् are reduplicated, and the augment अक् added to the reduplicate. See VI. I. 12 Vārt. This augment when added to the reduplicate, is not to be shortened by this rule : and because this is not to be shortened, also indicates that the consonants of the reduplicate other than the first are also not dropped : as चराचरः, चलाचलः, पतापतः, वदावदः ॥

हलादिः शेषः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् आदिः; शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य हलादिः शिष्यते अनादिरुप्यते ॥

60. Of the consonants of the reduplicate, only the first is retained, the remainders are dropped.

As जग्लौ, मग्लौ; पपाचं, पपाठ, आद, आदतुः, आदुः ॥ This rule ordains the retention of the initial consonant, if any, and elision of the non-initials in the reduplicate. If the root begins with a vowel as अद्, there being no initial consonant, in अद् अद्, the द् will be elided of course. The word हलादिः should not be construed as a Genitive Tatpurusha ‘first among the consonants’, for then in अक्ष् + लिट् = अक्ष् अक्ष्, the ष् only would be elided, and क् retained.

The word शेषः or शिष्यते here means अवस्थाप्यते ‘is retained’. The word हलादिः is not a compound. For had it been a compound, then if it is a Karma-dhāraya, the word आदि should stand first ; if it be a Genitive compound then the first among compound consonants would be retained and we could not get the form आनक्ष from अक्ष. The word abhyāsa is to be taken in the sense of jāti or kind, i.e. in the jāti which is collectively called abhyāsa, the consonant that stands first in respect to abhyāsa, is retained, and not the consonant standing

in any other portion of it. So that all consonants, where ever they may be situate in the body of an abhyāsa, whether in the beginning or middle or end, are dropped, except one with which the abhyāsa begins. Thus if the abhyāsa begins with a simple consonant, it is retained; if it begins with a conjunct consonant, the first is only retained; and if the consonant or consonants are not in the beginning they are all dropped.

Others say, the word शेषः here means "retention along with the cessation of others". Therefore, though literally the word शेषः or retention appears to be the principal word in this sūtra, yet as a matter of fact, it is secondary, because the injunction is not with regard to retention, but with regard to cessation. The rule is not "Retain the first consonant"; but "Drop every consonant but the first, if there be a first consonant". Or the sūtras 59 and 60, may be combined and read thus: ह्रस्वोऽहलमदिशेषः "The abhyāsa becomes short and also without consonant". आदिशेषः "The first consonant is retained". Or the sūtras may be divided thus:—

- (1) 'A short vowel is substituted in the abhyāsa'.
- (2) 'The consonants of abhyāsa are all elided'.
- (3) The first is retained.

The sūtras 59 and 60 must be joined by sandhi "ह्रस्वोऽहलमदिशेषः", and then we shall be able to read an elided अ between ह्रस्व and हल्, as if it was a compound of ह्रस्व and अहल् ॥

शर्पूर्वाः खयः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्पूर्वाः, खयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य शर्पूर्वाः खयः शिष्यन्ते ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ खर्पूर्वाः खय इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. Of a reduplicate, the hard consonants (aspirate and unaspirate) when preceded by a sibilant, are only retained, the other consonants are elided.

As चुद्धयोत्तिषति, from śchyutir ksharaṇe, तिष्ठासर्ति, पिस्पन्दिषते ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a sibilant'? Observe पपाच ॥ Why do we say hard consonants? Observe ससौ ॥

Vart:—It should be said rather, a hard consonant preceded by a hard consonant or a sibilant is only retained: and the खर् consonants are elided: as in उच्चिच्छिषति, here उच्छ becomes उच्छ् by the augment त् (तुक्); in the reduplicate the च् should be elided, and छ् retained out of छ्; and not च् retained and ह् elided; for the च् represents त्, and if this were retained, it would be त् and not च् that would be heard: for by VIII. 2. 1, the change of त् to च् is asidhda for the purposes of this rule.

कुहोश्चुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुहोः, चुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य कवर्गहकारयोश्चवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

62. For the Guttural and ह् of a reduplicate there is substituted a Palatal.

As चकार, चखान, जगाम, जयान, जहार, जिहीर्षति, जहौ ॥

न कवतेर्यङि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कवतेः, यङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवतेर्यासस्य यङि परतश्चुर्न भवति ॥

63. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कु (कवते) in the Intensive.

As क्कूयते उग्रः, क्कूयते खरः ॥ The कु here is कुङ् (Bhu. 999), and not कु 'to make sound' (Ad. 33, कौत्ति), nor कुङ् (Tud. 108, कुवति) ॥ Of those two, we have च्कूयते ॥ Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe चुकुवे ॥

कृपेच्छन्दसि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृपेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृपेच्छन्दसि विषये यङि परतोभ्यासस्य चुर्न भवति ॥

64. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कृष् in the Veda, when in the Intensive.

As करीकृष्यते यज्ञकुणपः ; otherwise चरीकृष्यते कृषीवलः ॥

दाधार्त्तिदर्द्धर्त्तिदर्द्धर्षिबोभूतुतेतिकेल्पर्यापनीफणत्संसनिष्यदत्करिकत्कनिकदद्भ-
रिभ्रद्दविध्वतो दविद्युत्तरित्रतः सरीसृपतंवरीवृजन्मर्मृज्यागनीगन्तीति च ॥ ६५ ॥

पदानि ॥ दाधार्त्ति, दर्द्धर्त्ति, दर्द्धर्षि, बोभूतु, तेतिके, अर्ल्षि, आपनीफणत्, संसनि ष्य-
दत्, करिकत्, कनिकदत्, भरिभ्रत्, दविध्वतः, दविद्युत्तत्, तरित्रतः, सरीसृपतम्,
वरीवृजत्, मर्मृज्य, आगनी गन्ति, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाधार्त्ति इर्षति दर्द्धर्षि बोभूतु तेतिके अर्ल्षि आपनीफणत् संसनिष्यदत् करिकत् कनिकदत्
भरिभ्रत् दविध्वतः दविद्युत्तत् तरित्रतः सरीसृपतं वरीवृजत् मर्मृज्य आगनीगन्ति इत्येतानि अष्टादश छन्दसि
विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

65. In the Veda are found the following eighteen irregularly reduplicated forms:—1 dâdharti, 2 dardharti, 3 dardharshi, 4 bobhûtu, 5 tetikte, 6 alarshi, 7 â panîpha-
nat, 8 sam sanishyadat. 9 karikrat, 10 kanikradat, 11 bhari-
bhrat, 12 davidhvataḥ, 13 davidyutat, 14 taritrataḥ, 15 sarî-
srpatam, 16 varîvrjat, 17 marmrjya and 18 â ganîganti.

The word छन्दसि is drawn in to this sūtra, by force of च ॥ The form दाधार्त्ति, is either from the Causative of the root धृङ् अवस्थाने or from धृष्, in the ष्लु or यङ् लुक्, there is lengthening of the abhyāsa and elision of णि ॥ (2) So also दर्द्धर्त्ति is the form in ष्लु, with रुक् augment of the abhyāsa. (3) दर्द्धर्षि if it be a form of यङ् लुक्, there is no irregularity. (4) बोभूतु is from भू in the Intensive (यङ् लुक्), Imperative, irregularly without गुण. Q. There is no necessity of including this, because there would be no गुण regularly even under VII. 3.

88? Ans. The inclusion of बोद्धु is a jñāpaka, indicating that in every other case, the guṇa is not prohibited in the Intensive (यङ् लुक्), as बोभेति, बोभवीति (लृट् with ईद् VII. 3. 94) (5) तेतिक्ते is from तिञ् in the Intensive याण लुक्, ātmanepada is irregular. Q. The यङ् is डित् and therefore by pratyaya lakṣhaṇa rule (I, 1. 62) read with I. 3. 12, the यङ् लुक् will be ātmanepadi, where is the necessity of reading this nipātan? Ans. The ātmanepada nipātan is a jñāpaka, that in the Intensive याण लुक् the ātmanepada affixes are not employed. (6) भलर्षि is from the root ऋ (इयति), in Present, 2nd Person, the र् of abhyāsa is not elided, though required by VII. 4. 60, and this र् is changed to ल् irregularly. This form is found in the 3rd Person also, as भलर्षि दक्षः ॥ (7) भा पनीकणत् is from कण् with भा augment, and णत् affix is added to यङ् लुक्, and in the reduplicate नी is added. (8) संसनिष्यदन् is from स्यन्द with the Preposition सम्, in the Intensive याण लुक्, with णत् affix, नि being added in the abhyāsa, the root स is changed to ष ॥ The Preposition सं is not absolutely necessary, with other Prepositions also we have this form, as भा सनिष्यदन् ॥ (9) करिकन् is from कृ (करोति), in the Intensive याण लुक्, with णत्, in the abhyāsa there is no palatal change (VII. 4. 62), and रि is added to the reduplicate. (10) कनिकदन् from कन्द in the Aorist with अङ्, reduplication, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62) of the reduplicate, and the augment नि is added. In the secular literature, the form is अकन्नीन् ॥ (11) भर्षि-भन् from भृ (भित्ति) in याण लुक् with णत्, without इ of VII. 4. 76, without jaṣṭva, and रि is added to the reduplicate. (12) दविध्वतः from ध्वृ (ध्वरते) in the याण लुक्, षात्, plural number Nominative. The वि is added to the reduplicate, the ऋ is elided, दविध्वतः रश्मयः सूर्यस्य ॥ (13) दविद्युतम् is from द्युत्, याण लुक् with षात्, there is no vocalisation of the reduplicate, with अ change and वि augment. (14) तरित्रतः from तृ (तरति) with ष्लु, षात्, genitive singular: and रि added to abhyāsa. (15) सरीसृपत् from सृप् with ष्लु, षात्, Accusative with री added to abhyāsa. (16) वरीवृजत् from वृज् with ष्लु, षात् and री augment. (17) मर्षज् from मृज् with लिट् (Perfect) णल्, रु added to abhyāsa, and अ added to the root, and there is no vṛiddhi, because there is no short penultimate now. In fact VII. 2. 114 is to be qualified by the words लघूपध from VII. 3. 86. (18) भा गनी-गन्ति is from गम् with the Preposition भा, in the Perfect, with ष्लु, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62), and augment नी is added. वृक्ष्यन्ती वेश गनीगन्ति कर्षाञ्च ॥

The word इति in the aphorism indicates that other forms, similar to these, are also to be included.

उरत् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, अत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्तस्याभ्यासस्याकारदेशो भवति ॥

66. अर् (I. 1. 51) is substituted for the ऋ or ऌ of the reduplicate.

As वृत्ते, वृधे, शशुधे, नर्नर्त्ति, नरिनर्त्ति नरीनर्त्ति ॥ The र् is elided by VII. 4. 60. In the Intensives VII. 4. 90 &c, are applied, by which after the substitution of अर्

by the present sūtra, we apply those sūtras and add ईक रूक्, रिकू &c: for the maxim is अभ्यासविकरिषु अपवादो नास्मान् विधीन् बाधते "so far as the changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned special (apavāda) rules do not supersede the general (utsarga) rules".

द्युतिस्त्राप्योः, संप्रसारणम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युतिः स्वाप्योः, संप्रसारणम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्युति स्वापि हेत्यन्तेयारभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

67. 'There is vocalisation' of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of द्युत् and स्वापि (Causative of स्वप्) ॥

As वि दिद्युतन्, वि दिद्योतिषते, वि दिद्युतिषते, (I. 2. 26) वि दिद्युत्यते ॥ स्वापि—सुष्वापयिषति ॥ The Causative of स्वप् is taken here, and the vocalisation takes place then only, when it is immediately followed by an affix which causes reduplication. Therefore not here, स्वापि + ण्वुल् = स्वापकः; स्वापक + क्यच् = स्वापकीय, स्वापकीय + सन् = सिष्वापकीयिषति ॥

The simple root स्वप् will get vocalised in its reduplicate by VI. 1. 15, 17 in the Perfect. The Desiderative of स्वप् is क्तिन् by I. 2. 8, and therefore the reduplicate of स्वप् will be vocalised before सन् by VI. 1. 15. The reduplicate of स्वप् will be vocalised in the Intensive also by VI. 1. 19.

Quere:—Does the reduplicate of the Desiderative of the Denominative verb द्योतकीयति get vocalised or not.

व्यथो लिटि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यथः, लिटि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ व्यथेलिटि परतोभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

68. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of व्यथ् in the Perfect.

As विव्यथे, विव्यथाति, विव्यथिरे ॥ This ordains the vocalisation of थ्, which otherwise would have been elided as being a non-initial consonant (VII. 4. 60). The vocalisation of थ् is prevented by VI. 1. 37. Why do we say in the Perfect? Observe वाव्यथ्यते ॥

दीर्घ इणः किति ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, इणः, किति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इणोङ्गस्य बोभ्यासस्तस्य दीर्घो भवति किति लिटि परतः ॥

69. A long vowel is substituted in the reduplicate of the root इ (पति), before a Personal ending of the Perfect, which has an indicative क् ॥

As ईयतु, ईयुः ॥ These are thus formed इ + ऋतुस् = इ + ऋतुः (इ substituted for इ by VI. 4. 81). Then there is reduplication, the इ becomes sthānavat to इ by I. 1. 59, and we have इ इ + ऋतुः and then by the present rule इयतुः ॥ Why do we say before a क्तिन् affix? Observe इयाय, इययिथ ॥

अत आदेः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, आदेः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्यादेकारस्य दीर्घो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

70. A long vowel is substituted in the Perfect for the initial अ of a reduplicate.

This debar the single substitute of the form of the subsequent ordained by VI. 1. 97. Thus आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥ Why do we say 'the *initial*'? Observe पपाच and वपाठ ॥ Thus अद् + भतुः = अद् अद् + भतुः = अ अद् + भतुः = आ अद् + भतुः ॥

तस्मान्नुद् द्विहलः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुद्, द्वि-हलः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मात्तोभ्यासादीर्घीभूतादुत्तरस्य द्विहलाङ्गस्य नुडागमो भवति ॥

71. After such a lengthened आ of the reduplicate, there is added the augment नुद् (न्) to the short अ of the root which ends in a double consonant.

As from अञ्च्—आ अञ्च् = आन् अञ्च्, which with the affixes of the Perfect gives us, आनङ्ग, आनङ्गतुः, आनङ्गुः ॥ From अङ्ज्—आनङ्ज, आनङ्जतुः, आनङ्जुः ॥ Why do we say 'containing two consonants'? Observe आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥

With regard to नुद् augment, ऋ is considered like र्, as आनुधतुः, आनुधुः ॥ This proceeds on a vārtika to be found under the Pratyāhāra sūtra ऐ औच् ॥ The vārtika is नुव्विधि—लादेश—विनामाषु ऋकारे प्रतिविधातव्यं ॥ The examples of लादेश are क्लमः, क्लमवान् ; (See VIII. 2. 18) and of विनाम are कर्तृणाम् and भर्तृणाम् ॥

अश्रोतेश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्रोतेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद्विहलर्थे आरम्भः ॥ अश्रोतेश्च दीर्घीभूतादभ्यासादुत्तरस्य नुडागमो भवति ॥

72. After the lengthened आ of the reduplicate of अश् (अश्रोति), comes the augment नुद् (न्) before the short अ of the root in the Perfect.

This applies to a case where the root does not contain a double consonant. Thus व्यानशे, व्यानशाते, व्यानशिरे ॥ The rule applies to अश् (Svādi 18) and not to अश् (Kryādi 51); there we have आश, आशातुः, आशुः ॥

भवतेरः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवतेः, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेरभ्यासस्याकारादेशो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

73. अ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of भू in the Perfect.

As बभूव, बभूवतुः, बभूवुः, बभूवे ॥ Why do we say 'in the Perfect'? Observe बुभूषति and बोभूयते ॥

The word भवतेः is shown in the sūtra in the Active Voice, therefore the rule will not apply to Passive and Reflexive forms; as अतुबुभूवे कम्बले वेव-हत्तेन ॥ This opinion of Kāśikā, however, is not endorsed by later Gram- marians

ससूवेति निगमे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ससूव, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ससूव इति तिपात्यते सूतेलिटि परस्मैपरं वुगागमो ऽभ्यासस्य चात्वं तिपात्यते ॥

74, In the Veda **संसूव** is irregularly formed in the Perfect.

It is derived from सू ॥ Thus **संसूव स्यविर विपश्चित्** otherwise **सुषुव** ॥ Rig. IV. 18 10.

This word **संसूव** might well have been included in sūtra VII. 4. 65.

निजां त्रयाणां गुणः श्लौ ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निजाम्, त्रयाणाम्, गुणः, श्लौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निजादीनां त्रयाणामभ्यासस्य गुणो भवति श्लौ सति ॥

75. **Gūṇa** is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present form (**इलु**) of **निज्, विज्** and **विप् ॥**

Thus **नेनेक्ति, वेवेक्ति, वेवेष्टि ॥** The word **त्रयाणां** could have been spared in this sūtra, as these three roots stand at the end of a subdivision, and **निजां** would have denoted these three without the word **trayaṅām**. The word is however used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. Why do we say in the reduplicated Present form? Observe **निनेज्** in the Perfect.

भृजामिद् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजाम्, इत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भृजादीनां त्रयाणामभ्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति श्लौ सति ॥

76. In the Reduplicated Present-form of the three roots **भृ, मा (माङ्)** and **हा (ओहाङ्)**, **इ** is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate.

As **विभक्ति, विमीते, (VI. 4. 113) जिहीति ॥** The word 'three' is understood here, therefore not in **ओहाङ्—जहाति ॥** The rule applies in the Reduplicated Present system (**इलु**) only: therefore not in **बभार ॥**

अत्तिपिपत्योश्च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्ति-पिपत्योः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अत्ति पिपत्ति इत्येतयोर्भ्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति श्लौ ॥

77. **इ** is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of **ऋ** and **ृ** in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As **इयति (VI. 4. 78) धूमम्, पिपति सोमम् ॥**

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऽभ्यासस्य श्लौ बहुलनिकारादेशो भवति ॥

78. **इ** is diversely substituted in the Veda, for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As **पूर्णां विवष्टि (from वश्), जनिमा विवक्ति (from वच्), वस्सं नू माना सिपक्ति (from सच्), and जिघर्ति सोमम् ॥** But also **वशति, जजनम्, वधनत्** as in **वशातीत्येवं हूयान् ; जजनमिन्द्रं माता यद्दीरं वधनद् धनिष्ठा ॥** All these three roots belong to Juhotyādi class.

सन्यतः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, अतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परतोकारान्ताभ्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. इ is substituted for the final short अ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative.

As पिपक्षति, यियक्षति; (VIII. 2. 36, 41) तिष्ठासति, पिपासति ॥ Why do we say in the Desiderative? Observe पपाच ॥ Why do we say "for the अ"? Observe छुक्षति ॥ Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe पापचिषते the Desiderative of the Intensive पापच्यते ॥

ओः पुयण्ज्यपरे ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, पु-यण्-जि-अपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनीति वचंत इति च ॥ उवर्णान्ताभ्यासस्य पवर्गे यणि जकारे चावर्णपरे परत इकारदेशो भवति सानि प्रत्यये परतः ॥

80. इ is substituted for the final उ or ऊ of a reduplicate, before a labial, a semi-vowel and before ज्, when अ or आ follows these consonants, in the Desiderative.

The word पु-यण्-जि is the Locative singular of the samâhâra dvandva compound of those three words—पू, यण् and ज् ॥ The samâsânta affix टच् (V. 4. 106) does not come, as these affixes are anitya. The word अ-परं means that after which is the letter अ ॥

Thus: 1. Labial:—पिपविषते, पिपावयिषति, बिभावयिषति; 2. Semi-vowel:—यियविषति, यियावयिषति, रिरावयिषति, लिलावयिषति; 3. ज—जिजावयिषति from the root जु ॥

The word पिपविषते is from पू which gets इद् augment in सन् (VII. 2. 74), then there is गुण, and अन्तु substitutions, but these latter being sthânivât for reduplication (I. 1. 59), पू is doubled; and for ऊ there is substituted इ by the present sūtra. पिपावयिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of पू ॥ बिभावयिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of भू ॥ यियविषति is the Desiderative of यु 'to mix', which is सैद् by VII. 2. 49. यियावयिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of this root. The words रिरावयिषति and लिलावयिषति are the Desiderative of the Causatives of रौति and लुनाति ॥

This sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अद्विर्वचन निमित्तेऽपि णौ स्यानिवद् भवति, "though not the cause of reduplication, the substitute which takes place when णि follows, becomes like the original". Thus in बिभावयिषति we have भावि + सन् from भू + णि + सन्, here the आच् substitute caused by णि is sthânivât to ऊ, otherwise there would be no उ in the reduplicate to be operated upon by the present sūtra. See VI. 1. 31 also. Why do we say "for the उ or ऊ"? Observe पापच्यते, the Desiderative of which will be पापचिषति ॥ Why do we say "followed by a labial, semi-vowel or ज्"? Observe अत्र नुनावयिषति, according to Padamanjari it is अत्र तुता वयिषति from the sautra root तु ॥ जुहावयिषति ॥ Why do we say 'when these consonants are followed by an अ'? Observe बुभूषति ॥

स्रवतिशृणोतिद्रवतिप्रवतिप्लवतिच्यवतीनां वा ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्रवति-शृणोति-द्रवति-प्रवति-प्लवति-च्यवतीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्रवति शृणोति द्रवति प्रवति प्लवति च्यवति इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य ओरवर्णपरे यणि वा इकारदेशो भवति सानि परतः ॥

81. इ is optionally substituted for the final उ of the reduplicate of झु, श्रु, द्रु, प्रु, ष्लु and च्यु when the semi-vowel is followed by अ or आ in the Desiderative.

Thus सिञ्जावयिषति or सुञ्जावयिषति ; शिञ्जावयिषति or शुञ्जावयिषति ; द्विञ्जावयिषति or दुद्विञ्जावयिषति ; पिञ्जावयिषति or पुपिञ्जावयिषति ; पिष्णावयिषति or पुष्णावयिषति ; चिञ्च्यावयिषति or चुञ्च्यावयिषति ॥ All these are Desideratives of the Causatives of the above roots. Here though a letter like स्, श्, द् &c, intervenes between the semi-vowel and the preceding उ of the reduplicate, yet the substitution takes place owing to the express text of this sūtra. In the preceding aphorism, the semi-vowel followed *immediately* after the उ of the reduplicate. The option of the present sūtra is, therefore, an aprāpta-vibhāshā. The word अपरं is understood here also : therefore not in सुञ्जुषति, शुञ्जुषति ॥

गुणो यङ्लुकोः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, यङ्-लुकोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङि यङ्लुकि च इगन्तस्याभ्यासस्य गुणो भवति ॥

82. Guṇa is substituted for the इ and उ (with their long) of a reduplicate, when the Intensive character यङ् follows and also when it is elided.

Thus चेचीयते, लोलूयते with यङ्, and जोहवीति with यङ् लुक् ॥ The ईङ् is added in the latter by VII. 3. 94. So also चोक्रुशीति from क्रुश् (VII. 3. 94 and 87).

दीर्घोक्तिः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, अक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्तित्वाभ्यासस्य दीर्घो भवति यङि यङ्लुकि च परतः ॥

83. A long vowel is substituted for the अ of the reduplicate in the Intensive (with expressed or elided यङ्), when the reduplicate receives no augment having an indicative क् ॥

The reduplicate receives augments like नीक्, नुक् by the following sūtras. Thus पापच्यते, and पापचीति, यायज्यते and यायजीति ॥ Why do we say "when it gets no augment"? Observe यंयम्यते, यंयमीति, रंरम्यते, रंरमीति ॥

Obj:—When the न् augment is added, the reduplicate will end in a consonant, and as it does not end in a vowel, there will be no occasion for lengthening; hence the employment of the term अक्तिः is useless.

Ans.—The employment of this term by the Achārya indicates the existence of the following maxim: अभ्यासविकारस्वपादा नोत्सर्गान् विधान् बाधन्ते "so far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules which teach those changes do not supersede one another". What is the necessity of this

indication (jñāpaka)? Observe ङोढौव्यते, here the rule of lengthening of this sūtra, does not supersede, though it is subsequent, the rule of shortening in VII. 4. 59; so the diphthong औ is shortened to उ, and it is then gunated by VII. 4. 82. Secondly observe अचीकरत्, here इ is substituted in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79 plus 93, and then this is lengthened by VII. 4. 94, the latter not superseding the former. Thirdly observe मीमांसते &c, where in मान् + सन् (III. 1. 6), the reduplicate is lengthened, but that does not prevent the इ of VII. 4. 79. Fourthly observe भजीगणत्, where the ई substitute (VII. 4. 97) does not supersede the sūtra VII. 4. 60, by which the ण् of गण् is elided.

नीग्वञ्चुस्त्रंसुध्वंसुभ्रंसुकसपतपदस्कन्दात् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नीक्, वञ्चु-स्त्रंसुध्वंसु-भ्रंसु-कस-पत-पद-स्कन्दात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चु स्त्रंसु ध्वंसु भ्रंसु कस पत पद स्कन्व इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य नीगागमो भवति यङि यङ्लुकि च ॥

84. The augment नीक् is added to the reduplicate of the Intensive (with the expressed or elided यङ्) in the following :—वञ्चु, स्त्रंसु, ध्वंसु, भ्रंश्, कस, पत्, पद् and स्कन्द् ॥

Thus वनीवच्यते and वनीवञ्चीति; सनीघस्यते and सनीघसीति; इनीध्वस्यते and इनीध्वसीति; बनीभ्रस्यते and बनीभ्रसीति, (बनीभ्रश्यते and बनीभ्रशीति), चनीकस्यते and चनीकसीति; पनीपत्यते and पनीपतीति, पनीपद्यते and पनीपदीति; चनीस्कद्यते and चनीस्कदीति ॥ The nasal is elided in one alternative by VI. 4. 24.

नुगतोनुनासिकान्तस्य ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुक्, अतः, अनुनासिक-अन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्य बोध्यासस्तस्याकारान्तस्य नुगागमो भवति यङ्यङ्लुकाः परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पदान्तवद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

85. The augment नुक् (न्) is added after the short अ of a reduplicate in the Intensive (with or without यङ्), when the root ends in a Nasal.

As तन्तन्यते and तन्तनीति; जङ्गम्यते and जङ्गमीति, यंयम्यते and यंयमीति; रंरम्यते and रंरमीति ॥ The augment न् here should be considered as anusvāra, because an ādeśa is indicated by the nature of the sthānin which is replaced; and therefore in यंयम्यते, it remains anusvāra. Had it been न्, it could not have been changed to anusvāra in यंयम्यते, रंरम्यते (See VIII. 3. 24). In तन्तन्यते &c, the anusvāra is changed to न्, ङ् &c, by VIII. 4. 58; the other forms तंतन्यते तंतनीति, जंगम्यते, जंगमीति are derived by the following :—

Vārt.—This anusvāra should be treated as if it was at the end of a Pada or word. That being so, VIII. 4. 59 applies, and we have the anusvāra unchanged, as in तंतन्यते &c.

Why do we say “after a short अ”? Observe तैतिम्यते ॥ The त् in भत् indicates that the augment will not be added to a reduplicate which once was long भा but became short by VII. 4. 59 as from भाम ‘to be angry’, is बाभाम्यते.

(the second lengthening takes place by VII. 4. 83). Why do we say ending in a nasal? Observe पापश्यते ॥

जपजभदहदशभञ्जपशां च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जप-जभ-दह-दश-भञ्ज-पशाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जप जभ दह दश भञ्ज पश इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य तुगागमो भवति यद्ध्यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

86. The augment जुक् comes after the reduplicates of जप, जभ, दह, दश, भञ्ज, and पश in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

Thus जञ्जयते and जञ्जयीति; जञ्जभ्यते and जञ्जभीति, वृंह्यते and वृंहयीति; वृंह्यते and वृंहयीति ॥ The root is वृंह्, but it is exhibited in the sūtra as दृश, showing that even in यङ् लुक्, the root loses its nasal. Similarly बंभज्यते and बंभजीति, and पंपश्यते and पंपशीति ॥ This last is a sautra root.

चरफलोश्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर-फलोः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चर फल इत्येतयोर्भ्यासस्य तुगागमो भवति यद्ध्यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

87. The augment जुक् comes after the reduplicate of चर् and फल् in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

Thus चञ्चूर्यते and चञ्चूरीति (the lengthening of ऊ is by VIII. 2. 77) पंफुल्यते and पंफुलीति ॥ See the following sūtra.

उत्परस्यातः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, परस्य, अतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चरफलोर्भ्यासात्परस्यात उकारवेशो भवति यद्ध्यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

88. For the subsequent अ (i. e. for the अ of the root and not of the reduplicate), there is substituted उ in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) of चर् and फल् ॥

The examples have been given above, as चञ्चूर्यते, चञ्चूरीति and पंफुल्यते पंफुलीति ॥ Why do we say 'the अ which stands subsequent to the reduplicate'? The substitute does not replace the अ of the reduplicate. Why do we say 'of अ'? The substitute should not replace the final letter, which it otherwise would have done by I. 1. 52. The न् in उन् debars guṇa (VII. 3. 86) in चञ्चूर्ति and पंफुलीति, for though उ is lengthened by VIII. 2. 77, in चञ्चूर्ति, yet that lengthening is considered as non-existent or asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of Guṇa (VII. 3. 86). *Quere.* If the न् in उन् debars guṇa, why should it not debar lengthening also of VIII. 2. 77?

ति च ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकाराद्यै प्रत्यये परतश्चः तलोर्कारस्य उकारवेशो भवति ॥

89. उ is substituted for the vowel of चर् and फल् before an affix beginning with त ॥

Thus चूर्तिः (= चरणं or ब्रह्मणः), प्रफुलिः and प्रफुलाः ॥ The anuvṛitti of वृह्लोर्भ्यासस्य does not apply here, though present. See VIII. 2. 55.

रीगुदुपधस्य च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ रीक्, ऋत्-उपधस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋदुपधस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रीगागमो भवति यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रीगृत्वत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. The reduplicate of a root, which has a ऋ in the penultimate position, gets the augment री in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

As वरीवृत्ते and वरीवृतीति, वरीवृद्धते and वरीवृधीति, नरीनृत्यते and नरीनृतीति ॥

Vārt:—It should be rather stated 'a root which contains a ऋ': when यङ् follows, whether this ऋ be of upadeśa, or obtained by samprasāraṇa, so that the augment may come in वरीवृद्ध्यते and वरीवृधीति where the ऋ is of vocalisation, and not penultimate also.

रुभिकौ च लुकि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुक्-रिकौ, च, लुकि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङ्लुकि ऋदुपधस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रुभिकावागमौ भवतश्चकाराद्रीक्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मर्धुज्यते मर्धुज्यमानास इत्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The augments रीक्, रुक् and रिक् come after the reduplicate of a root which has a ऋ in the penultimate, only when the यङ् of the Intensive is elided.

Thus नर्नर्ति, नरिनर्ति, and नरीनर्ति; वर्वर्ति, वरिवर्ति, वरीवर्ति ॥ The ङ in रुक् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment is र् ॥

Vārt:—मर्धुज्यते and मर्धुज्यमानासः should also be enumerated. These have taken रुक् augment, though the यङ् is not elided here.

ऋतश्च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रुभिकावागमौ भवतो रीक्चयङ्लुकि ॥

Kārikā:—किरति चर्करीतान्तं पचतीत्यत्र यो नयेत् ॥

प्राप्तिज्ञं तमहं मन्ये गारुधस्तेन संग्रहः ॥

92. The reduplicate of a root, which ends in short ऋ, gets, in the Intensive without यङ्, the above augments री, र्, and रि ॥

Thus चर्कति, चरिकति, and चरीकति, जर्हति, जरिहति and जरीहति ॥ Why do we say 'which ends in a short ऋ'? The rule does not apply to roots ending in long ऋ as, चाकति, चाकीति, चाकिरति from कृ ॥ The word ऋतः qualifies the word अङ्ग and not the word अभ्यास, for an abhyāsa is always short, so the त् in ऋत् would become meaningless if the word qualified reduplicate. Therefore कृ ending in long ऋ does not get री, र् and रि augments in the reduplicate.

Kārikā:—He who can conjugate, in the Present tense, the yaṅ-luk Intensive of कृ and of other roots ending in long ऋ, is considered by me to be a person who has attained to the right knowledge of the employment of the

augment ॠ, री, रि &c: and he has obtained the right use of words.

The word किरति in the Kārikā is illustrative of all roots like कृ (किरति) ending in long ऋ ॥ चर्करीत is the name given to the यङ् लुक् form of the Intensive, by ancient grammarians. चर्करीतान्त means, therefore, a form ending in yañ-luk. पचति is illustrative of लट् or Present tense.

सन्वल्लघुनि चङ्परेश्चग्लोपे ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्वत्, लघुनि, चङ्-परे, अन् अग्लोपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लघुनि धात्वक्षरे परतो योभ्यासस्तस्य चङ्परेश्चौ परतः सनीव कार्यं भवति अनग्लोपे ॥

93. In the reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, the reduplicate adapts itself to that of the Desiderative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative affix.

The words of this sūtra require a little detailed explanation. The word सन्वत् means "like unto सन् or Desiderative"; i. e. as the Desiderative is treated, so should the चङ् Aorist of the Causative. The words लघुनि and चङ्परेश्च are both in the Locative case, but not in apposition with each other, but refer to different objects. लघुनि means 'when a light vowel follows', namely that reduplicate which is followed by the light root-vowel. The operations to be performed on such a reduplicate, in the चङ् Aorist, after the णि are the same, as on the reduplicate of the Desiderative. अन्-अक्-लोपे "provided that a simple vowel of the Pratyāhāra अक् has not been elided". We read the word 'causative' into this sūtra, because there can be no other root which will form चङ् Aorist. Causatives form such Aorist. (III. 1. 48), as well as the simple roots श्रि, द्रु and लु ॥ The words चङ्परेश्च qualifies the word अङ्ग understood: that stem which is followed by चङ्; therefore, it refers to the Causative stem, and not to the simple roots श्री, dru and sru. The light vowel, therefore refers, to the light vowel of the Causative stem before चङ् ॥

The word अनग्लोपे is in apposition with चङ्परेश्च ॥ Thus कम्+णिङ् (III. 1. 30). = अकाम्+इ+अत् (III. 1. 48) = अकाम्+अत् (VI. 4. 51) = अकम्+अत् (VII. 4. 1) = अचकम्+अत् (VI. 1. 11) = आचकम्+अत् (VII. 4. 79 read with VII. 4. 93) = अचीकम् (VII. 4. 94).

Thus VII. 4. 79 teaches the substitution of इ for अ in the reduplicate of the Desiderative. The same substitution will take place in the reduplicate of the Aorist: as अचीकरत्, अपीपचत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 80, इ is substituted for उ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative, the same will be the case in the reduplicate of the Aorist, as अपीपवत् and अलीलवत्, and अजीजवत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 81, इ is optionally substituted for उ in the Desiderative reduplicate of लु &c, the same will hold good in the Aorist-reduplicate, as असिन्नवत् or अलुन्नवत्, अदिधवत्

or अशुभ्रवत्, अविद्ववत् or अदुद्ववत्, अपिमवत् or अपुमवत्, अपिद्ववत् or अदुद्ववत्, भविच्यवत् or भवुच्यवत् ॥ Why do we say 'having a light vowel'? Observe भततक्षत्, भररक्षत्, भजजागरत् ॥

Some say, that in भजजागरत्, the syllable ग is *light*, and therefore, the san-*vat* rule would apply: for a light vowel no where *immediately* follows a reduplicate; therefore, though a long syllable जा intervenes, yet the rule will apply, because of the express text. This reasoning is wrong. The maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेनव्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात् cannot be extended to cases like this. It applies only when the intervention consists of one letter and not of more than one. Obj. If so, how do you form भविक्षणत् for here two letters क् and ख् (क्ष) intervene between the reduplicate and the light vowel. Ans. The author indicates by implication in VII. 4. 95 that these roots like क्षण् do take ह् in the reduplicate; for had it not been so, what was the necessity of making an exception in favor of roots like स्मृ, स्वर, स्तृ, स्पृश् in VII. 4. 95. So that a conjunct consonant is not considered an intervention for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, स्मृ &c would have taken ह् in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79, read with the present sūtra, and so the Achārya enjoins भ instead in VII.4.95 with regard to these.

Why do we say 'when चङ् follows'? Observe भङ् पपच ॥ Why do we use the word पर "followed by"? The rule would not apply when चङ् alone follows without णि, as भचकमत् where कम् has taken चङ् under the vārtika कमरु-पसंख्यानम् ॥

Why do we say 'when an अक्र vowel has not been dropped'? Observe भचकथत् from the Churādi root कथ which ends in भ, and this भ is elided by VI. 4. 48. Obj. This lopa being considered sthānivat, will prevent the application of the present rule, as there will be an intervention. Ans. We shall give another example, भददृषत् from दृषदमाख्यातवान् ॥ Here णिच् is added to दृषद् under the Vārtika सत्करोति तदाष्टे, and the दि portion is elided by इष्टवद्भावः, here a vowel and a consonant have been elided, and so the lopa is not sthānivat.

In the double causative Aorist भवीवद् the present rule applies, though one णि has been elided. भवीवद् = वादितवन्तं प्रयोजितवान् ॥ In fact, the elision of one णि when followed by another णि is not considered as an ak-lopa; the latter refers to the elision of any other vowel than णि ॥ Therefore we have भवीवद् वीणां परिवारकेन् ॥ In fact, this exception rests on the following vārtika सन्वद्भाव-दीर्घत्वे णे णिच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The lopa of the reduplicate which takes place before सन् of the roots मी, मा &c (VII. 4. 54) does not, however, take place in चङ् Aorist. The analogy does not extend so far. In fact, the present sūtra teaches a रूपान्तिदेश,

namely the *form* which a reduplicate has in Desiderative, will be the *form* in the Aorist. But as *मी, ना* &c have *no* reduplicate form in the Desiderative, the analogy stops. Therefore, we shall have *अमीमपन्* ॥ Moreover the word *सन्वद्* here means the operations that depend *solely* on *सन्* ॥ Now the total elision of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 54 does not depend upon *सन्* *alone*, but upon the augment *इस्* also of VII. 4. 54. But as there can be no *इस्* in the Aorist, so there will be no elision also. In fact, an *atidesā* should be confined to general cases and not to particulars.

दीर्घो लघोः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, लघोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घो भवति लघोरभ्यासस्य लघुनि णौ चङ्परे ऽनग्लोपे ॥

94. In the reduplicative syllable, a prosodially short vowel is lengthened in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative णि ॥

Thus *अचीकरन्*, the *इ* (VII. 4. 79) is lengthened. Similarly *अजीहरन्*, *अलीलवन्*, *अपीपचन्* ॥ Why do we say which is prosodially light? Observe *आब्रजन्* ॥ Why do we say when the vowel of the root is light? Observe *अततक्षन्*, *अररक्षन्* ॥ Why do we say in the reduplicated Aorist? Observe *अहं पपच* ॥ The word *पर* is understood here also, so the rule will not apply to simple roots as *अचकमत्* ॥ The words 'anaglope' are to be read here, therefore not so in *अचकयत्* ॥

अत्स्मृदृत्वरप्रथम्रदस्तृस्पशाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत, स्मृ-दृ-त्वर-प्रथ-म्रद,
स्तृ-स्पशाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मृ दृ त्वर प्रथ म्रद स्तृ स्पश इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्यादित्ययमादेशो भवति चङ्परे णौ परतः ॥

95. Short *अ* is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, of the roots *smri*, *drī*, *tvar*, *prath*, *mrād*, *strī* and *spaś*,

Thus *असस्मरन्*, *अदृरन्*, *अतत्वरन्*, *अपप्रथन्*, *अमम्रदन्*, *अतस्तरन्*, *अपस्पशन्* ॥ This debars the *इ* which would have come under VII. 4. 93. The '*short अ*' indicates that it is not to be lengthened by VII. 4. 94, as *अदृरन्* ॥

विभाषा वेष्टिचेष्टयोः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेष्टि, चेष्टयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेष्टि चेष्टि इत्येतयोर्भ्यासस्य विभाषा अदित्ययमादेशो भवति चङ्परे णौ परतः ॥

96. Short *अ* is optionally substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in *वेष्ट्* and *चेष्ट्* in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative.

Thus अववेष्ट् or अविवेष्ट्, अचचेष्ट् and अचिचेष्ट् ॥ In one alternative there is shortening of the reduplicate (VII. 4. 59), and after such shortening, there is अ substituted in the other alternative.

ईच्च गणः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, गणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गणेभ्यासस्य ईकारदेशो भवति चहृपरे णौ परतः ॥

97. In the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, ई is substituted optionally for the vowel of the reduplicate in गण् ॥

As अजीगणत् or अजगणत् ॥ गण is a root which ends in अ, and this अ being elided by VI. 4. 48 before the Causative णि, the rule VII. 4. 93, does not apply to it, because there is an ak-lopa here, so in the other alternative, it has its natural अ ॥

BOOK VIII.

THE
ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.



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TO

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

LATE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

सर्वस्य द्वे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वस्येति च द्वे इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः प्राक् पदस्थेत्यतः सर्वस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

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

This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. Whatever will be taught hereafter upto पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य द्वे should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4. teaches “when the sense is that of ‘always’, and ‘each’.” Here the phrase ‘the whole word is repeated’ should be supplied to complete the sense. i. e. “The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*”. What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one पचति becomes two, as पचति पचति ‘he always cooks’. Similarly ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः ‘every village is beautiful’.

The *sūtra* ‘sarvasya dve’, should not be confounded as meaning ‘the word-form *sarva* is doubled’. For then rules like VI. 1. 99, and VI. 1. 100 will find no scope. The word *sarva* has several meanings: (1) the totality of *things* (द्रव्यः) as सर्वस्वं ददाति, (2) the totality of *modes* (प्रकारः) सर्वाङ्गीनो भिक्षुः = सर्वप्रकारमन्नं भक्षयति; (3) the totality of *members* (अवयवः), as सर्वः पटोदग्धः ॥ In the present *sūtra*, the word *sarva* has this last sense: namely *all* the *members* of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in *sarvasya*, is that of *sthāna*, i. e. in the *room* of the *whole* of the words like परि &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the *sūtra* is, that in the *room* of the one word, two are *substituted*. In making such *substitution*, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.

Another meaning of the sūtra however is, that it does not teach *substitution* but *repetition* or *employment*, not âdesâ, but prayoga. That is to say, one word is *employed* twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, पचति &c, is employed twice, i. e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

The word sarvasya is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness only. Otherwise, one may double only the last *letter* of a word by the rule of अलोऽन्तस्य, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases.

Obj. The word पदस्य should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samâsa (compound), to taddhitas, and to vâkyas (sentences). Thus सप्तपर्णोऽष्टापदम् ॥ Here there is the sense of vîpsâ with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly द्विपदिकां ददाति, here also the sense is that of vîpsâ, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in ग्रामे ग्रामे पानीयम्, the sentence ग्रामे पानीयम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. 1. 16.

Ans. We could not employ the word padasya in this sūtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling; for सप्तपर्णः means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves पर्वाणि पर्वाणि सप्तपर्णानि अस्य,': so that the sense of vîpsâ is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna. In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the *force* of vîpsâ is there denoted by the taddhita *affix* itself, and so doubling is not *necessary*. Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vîpsâ can take place with regard to a *word*, and not a sentence. Therefore the word पदस्य should not be employed in the sūtra.

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sūtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have प्रपचति प्रपचति; for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only पचति would be doubled, and प्र would not. So also, we have two forms द्रोग्धा and द्रोढा ॥ Here नृच् is added to the root हुह्, and ह् is optionally changed to च by VIII. 2. 77, and in the other alternative there is ढ ॥ As च and ढ are both asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), the doubling would take place without making this च or ढ substitution. So that having first doubled the word (something as द्रोहता द्रोहता) then optional च or ढ change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like द्रोग्धा द्रोढा, द्रोढा द्रोग्धा in doubling. While the correct forms are द्रोढा द्रोढा, or द्रोग्धा द्रोग्धा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vârtika पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयम-द्विर्वचने (See VIII. 2. 3 last vârtika).

Or the word सर्वे may be considered to be formed by अच् affix of अर्श आद्यच्, meaning सर्वे कार्ये यस्मिन्नस्ति तदिदं सर्वे, तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥ That is, all operations having been *first* performed, *then* the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

तस्य परमाधेदितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, परम्, आधेदितम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य द्विरुक्तस्य यस्परं शब्दरूपं तदाधेदितसंज्ञं भवति ॥

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

Thus in चौर चौर ३, वृषल वृषल ३ इत्यो ३ घातयिष्यामि स्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि स्वा, the second word being *âmrēḍita* is *pluta*. The word *अधेदित* occurs in *Sûtras* VI. 1. 99, VIII. 1. 57, VIII. 2. 95, VIII. 10. 3 &c.

The तस्य here denotes *avayava-shashṭhi*: and the word परः denotes the *avayava*. In fact, this *sûtra* indicates by implication, that a Genitive case is employed, when a member (*avayava*) is denoted. So that the sentences like पूर्व कायस्य become valid.

In the above examples, the word has become *pluta* by VIII. 2. 95.

अनुदात्तं च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तं च तद्वदति यदाधेदितसंज्ञम् ॥

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

Thus भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते ; पशून् पशून् ॥

That is, all the vowels of the *âmrēḍita* become *anudatta* or accentless. In the above examples, the root भूञ् becomes *âtmanepadi* by I. 3. 66: the Personal endings are *anudatta* by VI. 1. 186; the *vikaraṇa* शनम् gets the acute by III. 1. 3; the ई of this नै is elided by VI. 4. 111, and thus भूङ्क्ते becomes finally acute by *udatta-nivṛtti-svara* (VI. 1. 161). The *âmrēḍita* *bhuṅkte* becomes wholly *anudatta*. The word पशु is formed by the affix कु and is finally acute.

नित्यवीप्सयोः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्य, वीप्सयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नित्ये चार्थे वीप्सायां च यद्वर्त्तते तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥

4. The whole word is repeated when the sense is of 'always' and 'each'.

What words express 'always'? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by *kṛit* affixes. What 'always' is meant here? The word 'nitya' here means 'again and again', and this idea of 'repetition' is the quality of an action. That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called "nitya". So that *nitya* refers to an action (See III. 4. 22). Thus पचति पचति 'he cooks continually'. जल्पति जल्पति 'he talks incessantly'. भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा व्रजति or

भोजं भोजं व्रजति 'each one, when he has eaten goes away.' See III. 4. 22. लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येवायं लुनानि (See III. 4. 2). The affixes ktvā and ṇamul formed words and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated. While the words formed with the affix यङ् (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition. Thus पुनः पुनः पचति = पापच्यते ॥ And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated; as पापच्यते पापच्यते ॥ In the above, examples have been given of nitya, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति, Indeclinable kṛit words like सुक्त्वा, and like भोजं ॥ Now for वीप्सा ॥ In what words the वीप्सा is found? It is found in nouns (सुप् formed words). As finite verbs (तिङ्) express nitya, so inflected nouns (सुप्) express vīpsā or a distributive sense. What is meant by the word vīpsā? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (vyāptum ichchhā) an object through and through with a certain quality or action. That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker, with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is vīpsā. Thus ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'. So also जनपदो जनपदो रमणीयः पुरुषः पुरुषो निघनमुपैति ॥

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of nityatā; and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as पचति पचतितराम् ॥ But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to vīpsā, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated, as आढ्यतरमाढ्यतरमानयाम् ॥

परैर्वर्जने ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, वर्जने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीत्येतस्य वर्जनेर्ये द्वे भवतः ॥

शक्तिः ॥ परैर्वर्जनेऽसमासे वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

5. The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of 'with the exception or exclusion of'.

As परि परि त्रिगर्तैभ्यो वृष्टो देवः (I. 4. 88 and II. 3. 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Trigarta'. Similarly परि परि सौवीर्यः, परि परि सर्वसनेभ्यः ॥ Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe ओदनं परिषिञ्चति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र सम् उप उद् इत्येतेषां पादपूरणे द्वे भवतां द्विवचनेन चेत्यादः पूर्यते ॥

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

As प्र प्रायमग्निभरतस्य भृण्वे (Rig VII. 8.4), संसन्निष्ठवसे वृषन् ॥ (Rig X .191. 1), उपोप मे परामृश (Rig I. 126. 7), किं नोदुदु हर्षसे दातवाउ (Rig IV. 21. 9). Why do we say when 'a foot of a verse is completed there by'? Observe प्रदेवं दन्वा धिया ॥ This rule applies only to the Vedic verses, for, there alone the Preposition may be used separate from its verb. In the secular literature, this rule has no applicability, as Prepositions are never so used.

उपर्यध्यधसः सामीप्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि, अधि, अधसः, सामीप्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपरि अधि अधम् इत्येतेषां द्वे भवतः सामीप्ये विवक्षिते ॥

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

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

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्व एव दरिद्रति ।

अधोधो दर्शने कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vīpsā.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एकार्थः पदसमूहो वाक्यम् । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्य द्वे भवतः असूया संमति कोप कुत्सन भर्त्सनइत्ये-
तेषु यदि तद्वाक्यं भवति ॥

8. A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence, is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker.

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or vākya. Thus (1) envy :—माणवकां ३ माणवक औभिरूपकां ३ अभिरूपक रिक्तं ते आभिरूप्यम् ॥ (2) praise — माणवकां ३ माणवक औभिरूपकां ३ अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसिं ॥ (3) anger :— माणवकां ३ माणवक औविनीतकां ३ अविनीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्म ॥ (4) blame :— शक्तिं ३ शक्तिकं यष्टिकं ३ यष्टिकं रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥ (5) Threat—धैरं चौरां ३ वृषल वृषलां ३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा ॥ The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the âmreḍita becomes pluta by VIII. 2. 95. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभन खल्वसि माणवकः ॥ Why do we say of a Vocative? Observe उदारोदेवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'. Observe देवदत्त गानभ्याज शुक्लाम् ॥

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

एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकम्, बहुव्रीहि, वत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक मित्येतच्छब्दरूपं द्विरुक्तं बहुव्रीहिवद्भवति ॥

9. When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member a of Bahuvrīhi compound.

The making it a Bahuvrīhi is for the sake of eliding the case-affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine. Thus एकैकमक्षरं पठति (not एकमेकम्), एकैकयाहुया जुहोति (not एकयैकया). The accent is regulated by VI. 2. 1. the case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and masculinising by VI. 3. 34. This double word एकैक should not however be treated like a Bahuvrīhi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sūtra I. 1. 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvrīhi compound. The word एकैक however is declined like a Pronoun, as एकैकस्मै ॥ For sūtra I. 1. 29 applies to a compound which is *really* a Bahuvrīhi, and not to a word-form which is treated *like* a Bahuvrīhi. The repetition of the word Bahuvrīhi in that sūtra, though its anuvritti was understood from the preceding one; indicates this. (2) The application of the rule of accent. Thus by the following sūtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed. Thus न न करोति, सुसुजागर्ति ॥ This double-word is treated *like* a Bahuvrīhi, but not for the purposes of accent. For by VI. 2. 172 a Bahuvrīhi preceded by न or सु gets acute on the final, but not so नन or सुसु ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves 1st VI. 1. 223 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd VI. 2. 1 the first member retaining its accent, 3rd VI. 2. 172 already mentioned, 4th VIII. 1. 3 by which the second member becomes anudatta, The rule VI. 2. 1 however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three. (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrīhi-vat एकैक is the rule of samāsanta affixing. Thus कृकृ कृकृ, पूः पूः (doubled by VIII. 1. 10) do not get the samāsanta affix अ by V. 4. 74.

आबाधेच ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, बाधे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबाधनमाबाधः । पीडाप्रयोक्तु धर्मः । तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य द्वे भवतः बहुव्रीहिवद्भास्य कार्यं भवति ॥

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

Thus गतगतः 'gone, gone to my affliction', नष्टनष्टः, पतितपतितः, in the masculine, and गतगता, नष्टनष्टा, पतितपतिता in the Feminine (not गतागता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इत उत्तरेषु द्विर्वचनेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्यं भवतीत्येतेहृदितव्यम् । कर्मधारयत्वे प्रयोजनं सुव्योप-
पुंवज्ञावान्तोऽक्षत्त्वानि ॥

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

The reason for making it a Karmadhâraya is to elide the case - affix (II. 4. 71), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI. 3. 42), and to regulate the accent by VI. I. 223. Thus पटुपटुः, मृदुमृदुः where the first member has lost the case-affix. पटुपटुी, मृदुमृदुी where the first member is treated as a masculine, even when there is a क in the penultimate as कालककालिका (See VI. 3. 37 and 42); पटुपटुैः, पटुपटुी, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. I. 223 was debarred by VIII. I. 3, but the present rule re-instates VI. I 223. The word उत्तरेषु is for the sake of distinctness, the sūtra being an adhikâra one, would have applied to the subsequent aphorisms, without even the word uttareshu.

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

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

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आनुपूर्व्ये द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ स्वार्थे अयथार्थमाणेनेकस्मिन्द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ चापले द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्रियासमभिहारे द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ आभीक्ष्ण्ये द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ डाचि द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ पूर्वप्रथमयोरर्थातिशयविवक्षायां द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उत्तरदत्तमयोः समसप्रधारणयोः स्त्री निगद भावे द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ कर्मव्यति ॥ ार्वनाम्नो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् सामासवच्च बहुलम् ॥
वा० ॥ स्त्रीनपुंसकयारुत्तरपदस्य चाम्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥

12. An adjective is repeated, when it is meant to express that the said attribute belongs to a thing only to a limited degree, and the double word is treated like a Karma-
dhâraya.

The word प्रकार means both 'difference' and 'resemblance'. It means 'resemblance' here : i. e. the person or thing *resembles*, but is not *fully like*, the thing expressing the attribute. Thus पटुपटुैः, 'tolerably sharp', मृदुमृदुैः "pretty soft", पण्डितपण्डितैः &c. The sense is that the attribute is not *fully* possessed by the person. The affix जातीयर् (V. 3. 69) also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sūtra. Thus पटुजातीयः, मृदुजातीयः ॥

Why do we say prakâre "when denoting somewhat like it"? Observe पटुर्देवदत्तः 'the clever Devadatta'. Why do we say 'an attributive or adjective word'? Observe अग्निर्माणवकः, 'a fiery boy', गौर्वाहीकः 'a cow-like Bâhika'. Here

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

Vårt.—An adjective is repeated when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्थूलाः, अग्ने अग्ने सूक्ष्माः, ज्येष्ठं ज्येष्ठं प्रवेशयः ॥

Vårt.—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense, when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus अस्मान् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषं माषं देहि 'give a māsha, a māsha out of this kârshâpana to you two': i. e. give only *two* masha one to each. A kârshâpana contains many māshas, out of them, the extent of gift is *limited* to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double (vîpsâ). The words माषं माषं देहि = द्वौ देहिः; the माष does not take the dual case here. Why do we say when it expresses the limit? Observe अस्मान् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि, द्वौमाषौ देह, त्रीन्वा माषान् देहि. Here the word माष itself does not express limit, but the qualifying words एकं, द्वौ, त्रीन् &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मान् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि ॥

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

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

Vårt.—In re-iteration the word is doubled; as, भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा व्रजति, भोजं भोजं व्रजति ॥ See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. I. 4.

Vårt.—The word is repeated when the affix डाच् follows; as, पटपटा करोति, पटपटायते ॥ This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V. 4. 57). Therefore, not here, द्वितीया करोति, तृतीया करोति, where the affix डाच् denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58). Because of this restriction, some read the vârtika as, डाचि बहुलम् ॥

Vårt.—The words पूर्व and प्रथम are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्वं पूर्वं पुष्यन्ति, प्रथमं प्रथमं पच्यन्ते ॥ The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतरं पुष्यन्ति, प्रथमतरं पच्यन्ते ॥

Vårt.—The words ending in the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम (comparative and superlative), are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as उभात्रिमावाढ्यौ, कतरा कतरा अनयोराढ्यता "Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness." सर्वे इमे आढ्याः, कतमा कतमा एषामा-

क्यता ॥ This is found in words other than those ending in *तर* and *तम*; as; उभावि-
मावाञ्चौ, किटशी किटशी अनयोराक्यता ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun
denoting condition (as आक्यता) is not in the feminine: as, उभाविमावाञ्चौ, कतरः क-
तरोऽनयोर्विभवः “Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness.”

Vart:—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled;
and diversely it is treated like a compound (II., 2. 27) when it is not treated
like a compound, then the first word is always exhibited in the 'nominative
singular. See I. 3. 14, III. 3. 43, and V. 4. 127. Thus. अन्योन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति
“these Brāhmanas feed one another.” अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति ॥ अन्योऽन्यस्य
ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति = इतरेतरान् भोजयन्ति ॥ The word अन्य and पर are never treated as
a compound, and इतर is *always* so treated. The following are from Siddhānta
Kaumudi:— अन्योऽन्यौ, अन्योऽन्यान् अन्योऽन्येनकृतं, अन्योऽन्यस्मैदत्तं, अन्योऽन्येषां पुष्करैरावृशन्ते
(Māgh) परस्परं ॥

Vart:—In the feminine and neuter, the augment भाम् is added option-
ally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मण्यौ
भोजयतः, अन्योऽन्यं भोजयतः, इतरेतरां भोजयतः, इतरेतरं भोजयतः ॥ अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः,
इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय सुख इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यां द्वे भवतः अकृच्छ्रे द्योले ॥

13. The words 'priya' and 'sukha' are repeated op-
tionally, when they mean “easily, without any difficulty”.

The word कृच्छ्र means 'difficulty and sorrow', अकृच्छ्र means 'without
difficulty or sorrow, i. e. pleasantly'. Thus प्रियप्रियेण ददाति, सुखसुखेन ददाति, or प्रियेण
ददाति, सुखेन ददाति = अतिप्रियमपि वस्त्रं नायासेन ददाति ॥ That is, he gives, with
pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. Why do we say “when meaning
easily”? Observe प्रियः पुत्रः “beloved son”. सुखी रथः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ यो य आत्मा यद्यदात्मीयं तच्छयथास्वं तस्मिन् यथायथमिति निपात्यते । यथाशब्दस्य द्विवचनं
नपुंसकलिङ्गता च निपात्यते ॥

14. The word यथायथम् is irregularly formed in the
sense of “respectively, fitly, properly”.

What is one's own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called
यथास्व ॥ In this sense is formed यथायथम् there being doubling and neuter
gender. It is an Indeclinable. As ज्ञाताः सर्वे पदार्था यथायथम् = यथास्वभावं “all ob-
jects have been known according to their respective nature”. सर्वेषां तु यथायथं =
यथात्मीये ॥

द्वन्द्वं रहस्यमर्यादावचनव्युत्क्रमणयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥
द्वन्द्वम्, रहस्यम्, मर्यादा वचनम्, व्युत्क्रमणम्, यज्ञ पात्र प्रयोगम्, अभि व्यक्तिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वमिति द्विशब्दस्य दिर्वचनं पूर्वपदस्याम्भावः अत्वं चोत्तरपदस्य निपात्यते रहस्य मर्यादावचन व्युत्क्रमण यज्ञपात्र प्रयोग अभिव्यक्ति एतेषु अर्थेषु ॥

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

The word द्वन्द्व is formed from द्वि by doubling it, changing the first इ into अम्, and the second इ into अ ॥ The word द्वन्द्व itself means रहस्य or secret; while it marks ‘limit’ मर्यादा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus द्वन्द्व मन्त्रयन्ते ‘they are consulting some secret’. Limit or मर्यादावचनः, as, आचतुं हीमेषावो द्वन्द्वं मिथुनायन्ते = माता पुत्रेण मिथुनं गच्छति, पौत्रेण, तन्पुत्रेणापि ॥ (See Maitr. S. I. 7. 3 Śāṅkh. Br. III. 97). Separation of व्युत्क्रमणः—द्वन्द्वव्युत्क्रान्ताः = द्विवर्गसम्बन्धन पृथगवस्थिताः ॥ Vyutkramana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (यज्ञपात्रप्रयोगः) as—द्वन्द्वं यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति वीरः (See I. 3. 64) ॥ अभिव्यक्तिः or manifestation : as—द्वन्द्वं नारदपर्वतो, द्वन्द्वं संकर्षण वासुदेवो = द्वावप्याभिव्यक्तौ साहचर्येण ॥

The word द्वन्द्व is found employed in connection with other senses also; as, द्वन्द्वं युद्धं वर्त्तते, द्वन्द्वानि सहतेधीरः, चार्ये द्वन्द्वः &c.

पदस्य ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येत्यमधिकारः प्रागपदान्ताधिकारात् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पदस्येत्येव तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

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

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

Why do we say ‘of a Pada’? Observe पचन्तौ, यजन्तौ where the त् though sanyogānta is not elided, because the stem is no longer called pada. The force of the Genitive in पदस्य must be construed according to the context, sometimes as sthāna-shashṭhī i. e. “in the room of the *whole* pada”; and sometimes as avayava-shashṭhī i. e. “of a pada-of the *portion* of a pada”.

पदात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पशदित्यमधिकार प्राक्कुत्सने च सुप्यगोत्राशविलेतस्माद्यदित उर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पशदित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

17. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase “after a pada”.

Whatever we shall teach hereafter should be understood to apply to that which comes *after a pada*. Thus the sūtra VIII. 1. 19, teaches "of an āmantrita". The phrase पदान्, must be supplied to complete the sense. That is, "of a pada, which is in the Vocative case, and which comes after another pada, all vowels become anudātta". Thus पचसि देवदत्त "Cookest thou, O Devadatta". Why do we say, "after a pada"? Observe देवदत्त पचसि ॥ Here Devadatta is not anudātta (VI. 1. 198).

अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, सर्वम्, अ-पाद-आदौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति च सर्वमिति च अपादाशक्तिं च एतन्नयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापादपरिसमाप्ति, रित
क्षणं यद्दद्यामः अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादाशक्तित्वं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

18. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase "The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse".

The three words anudāttam "unaccented", sarvam "the whole", and apādādau "not in the beginning of a Pāda of a verse", should be understood to exert a governing influence over all the subsequent sūtras of this chapter, upto its end. Whatever we shall treat of hereafter, must be understood to be wholly unaccented, provided that, it does not stand as the first word of a verse or stanza. Thus VIII. 1. 19, says "of a Vocative". The whole of this sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, viz: "all the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand as the first word of a hemistich"; as पचसि देवदत्त ॥

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

Similarly VIII. 1. 21, teaches "वः and नः are the substitutes of युष्मद् अस्मद् in the plural". The present sūtra must be read there to complete the sense, viz, when not at the beginning of a verse. Thus मामेवः स्वं, जनपशो नः स्वम् ॥ But at the beginning of a hemistich, we must have the forms युष्माकं and अस्माकं instead of वः and नः ॥ As,

रुद्रो विश्वेश्वरो देवो युष्माकं कुलदेवता ।

स एव नाथो भगवानस्माकं शशुमर्दन ॥

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

Q. Why do we employ the word सर्वे in the sūtra ?

Ans. The word sarvam is used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that a word, which has not acute accent on the first syllable, should also become anudātta. For the word पदान् (VIII. 1. 17) is in the ablative case, and shows that the operation taught in any sūtra governed by it, will be performed on

the *first* syllable, according to the maxim आदेः परस्य ॥ Therefore, by rule VIII. 1. 28, the word पचति, which is acutely accented on the *first* syllable, (because षप् and तिप् are anudatta), will only lose its accent in देवदत्तः पचति; but not so the verb करोति which is acutely accented in the middle (by the vikaraṇa accent) in देवदत्तः करोति ॥ But by force of the word सर्वे, करोति also loses its accent.

Q. This cannot be the reason, for the author indicates by his prohibition in Sūtra VIII. 1. 29, that a verb loses its accent, *where ever* that accent may be. For there is no verb when conjugated in लुट् which has acute on the *first* syllable.

Ans. The word 'sarvam' is used to prevent the operation of अलोऽन्त्यादीधिः; for where the rule आदेः परस्य will not apply there the other will apply: so that, if "sarvam" was not used, the rule would apply to the finals, and not to cases where there were other than initials to be operated upon. Thus the rule VIII. 1. 28 would apply to कुरुते: which is finally acute by VI. 1. 186, in देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ कुरुते; but not to देवदत्तः करोति ॥

Q. No; this cannot be the reason of employing the word 'sarvam' in the sūtra, for the author indicates that the rule is not confined to the *finals*, by the prohibition he makes in favor of लृट् in VIII. 1. 51; for there is no verb, when conjugated in लृटि, which has acute on the final. All लृटि is acute in the middle by VI. 1. 186. So the अलोऽन्त्यस्य rule does not apply.

Ans. The word 'sarvam' is used for this reason. Had 'sarvam', not been used, then in those cases where there was no other rule to apply, like VIII. 1. 19, there *only* the word would become anudatta. But in cases where another rule also operated, there this anudatta rule would not apply, for then there would be two different sentences. For a thing which is already in existence can be made the subject of a rule ordering certain operations to be performed on it; but not so a thing which will come in existence in future time. Thus the words वां and नौ are ordained as substitutes of yushmad and asmā by one sentence VIII. 1. 20; while another sentence ordains their anudatta-hood. So here there is separation of sentences (vākya-bheda): which is not desirable; for a vākya bheda should be avoided, if possible. But by employing the word 'sarvam', this vākya-bheda is made tolerable.

Another reason for employing this word is that the substitutes वां and नौ should come in the room of the *whole declined* forms of yushmad and asmā, with their case-affixes. Had not this word (sarvam) been used, then वां and नौ would have replaced only 'yushmad' and 'asmā'. Obj. Will not the anuvritti of the word 'padasya', cause the *whole declined word* to be replaced by वां and नौ, not only the crude-forms yushmad and asmā? And there cannot be a full word unless it takes case-affixes; so the whole of yushmad and asmā with their case-affixes will be replaced. Where is the necessity of using the word 'sar-

vam? Ans. This objection will apply to those cases where a Pada is a word ending in a case-affix. But the word पद् is a technical term also, and applies to crude forms before certain case-affixes. Thus a nominal stem (not a full word) is also called Pada by I, 4. 17, before non-sarvanamasthana case-affixes. Therefore yushmad and asmad will be pada before those affixes. Thus before the affix of Dative Dual, they will be called Pada; and had सर्वे not been used, then only "yushmad" and "asmad" will be replaced and not their case-affixes. Thus ग्रामो वां दीयते, जनपदो नौ राधते ॥ Here वां and नौ would require after them the case - affix भ्यां otherwise.

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य पदस्य पदात्परस्थापादादौ वर्त्तमानस्य सर्वस्यानुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समान वाक्ये निघात युष्मद् स्मदादेशा वक्तव्याः ॥

19. All the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand at the beginning of a hemistich.

Thus पचसि देववृत्तु, पचसि यज्ञवृत्तु ॥ The Vocative is acutely accented on the first by VI. I. 198, the present makes it all unaccented.

Vart.—The rules relating to nighāta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as the present, and VIII. I. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighāta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. Therefore not here:—अयं दण्डो, हरानेन ॥ "This is the staff. Carry by means of it." Here हर does not lose its accent by VIII. I. 28, though preceded by the Noun danḍa, because these are parts of two different sentences. भोदनं पच, तव भविष्यति । भोदनं पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ "Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food, it will be for me." That is the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. I. 22) for yushmad and asmad, for the same reason.

Another example is, भवतीह विष्णुमित्रो, देवदातागच्छ "Vishnumitra is here. Come back Devadatta." Here Devadatta, though in the Vocative case, does not lose its accent. Nor can you say that समर्थः पदविधिः will make this vārtika redundant. In all the above examples, the different sentences are connected with each other in sense. Thus in the last example, Devadatta was searching for Vishnumitra, when some one says to him, 'Here is V. come back D.'" Thus the two sentences are samartha, yet there is no nighāta. But the rule will apply here:—इह देवदत्त ! माता ते कथयति । नद्यास्तिष्ठति (VIII. I. 28) कूलं । शालीनां ते भोदनं दास्यामि ॥ In the last examples the Vocatives, the verbs and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the nighāta rule &c does apply: inspite of the general maxim समर्थः पदविधिः (II. I. I), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction,

In the last example, the construction is इह स्थिता माता ते देवदत्त, and not इह देवदत्त. Thus इह is in syntactical construction with स्थिता and not देवदत्त, yet it causes nighâta of Devadatta. Similarly in नद्यास्तिष्ठति कूलं, the word नद्याः is not in construction with तिष्ठति, but with कूलं, i.e. नद्याः कूलं तिष्ठति; yet it causes the nighâta of तिष्ठति ॥ Similarly शालीनां is not in construction with ते, but with भोदनं, i. e. शालीनां भोदनं ते दास्यामि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence.

युष्मद्स्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वाच्चावौ ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अस्मदोः, षष्ठी, चतुर्थी, द्वितीयास्थयोः, वाम्, नावौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्स्मद् इत्येतयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्यथासंख्यं वान्नौइत्येतावादेशौ भवतस्तौ चानुदात्तौ ॥

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

All the three sūtras पदस्य, पदान् and अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादेशौ are applicable here. Thus ग्रामो वां स्वम् । जनपदो नौ स्वम् । ग्रामो वां दीयते । जनपदो नौ दीयते । ग्रामो वां पश्यति । जनपदो नौ पश्यति ॥

These two वाम् and नौ come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sūtras.

Why do we say "for the Genitive, Dative and Accusative"? In other cases there will be no substitution. As, ग्रामो युवाभ्यां कृणम् ॥ The word स्य in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: इति युष्मत्पुत्रः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case yet षः substitution (VIII. I. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided.

बहुवचनस्य वस्त्वसौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचनस्य, वस्, नसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचनान्तयोर्युष्मद्स्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्यथासंख्यं वस् नस् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

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

Thus ग्रामो वः स्वम्, जनपदानः स्वम्; ग्रामो वो दीयते, जनपदो नो दीयते; ग्रामो वः पश्यति जनपदो नः पश्यति ॥

ते. य त्रेकवचनस्य २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, मयौ, एक, वचनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्स्मदोरेकवचनान्तयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीस्थयोर्यथासंख्यं ते मे इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

22. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and these are anudâtta).

Thus ग्रामस्ते स्वम्, ग्रामो मे स्वम्, ग्रामस्ते दीयते, ग्रामो मे दीयते ॥ For the Accusative singular, other substitutes have been taught in the next sūtra, hence ते and मे come only in Genitive and Dative.

त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वा, मौ, द्वितीयायाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनस्येति वर्त्तते । द्वितीयाया यदकवचनं तदन्तयोर्बुध्मदस्मदशैर्यथासंख्यत्वा ना इत्येतावा-
दशौ भवतः ॥

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

The word एकवचनस्य is understood here. Thus ग्रामस्त्वा पश्यति, ग्रामो मा पश्यति ॥

न चवाहाहैवयुक्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, च, वा, ह, अह, एव, युक्ते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ च वा ह अह एव एभिर्योगे बुध्मदस्मदशैर्वावाद्दयो न भवन्ति ॥

24. The above substitutions do not take place when there is in connection with the pronouns any of these:—
च, 'and' वा, 'or' ह, 'oh! अह 'wonderful', or एव 'only'.

Thus ग्रामस्तव च स्वम्, ग्रामो मम च स्वम् ॥

युवयोश्च स्वम् । आवयोश्च स्वम् । युष्माकं च स्वम् । अस्माकं च स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यं च दीयते । ग्रामो मह्यं च दीयते । युवाभ्यां च दीयते । आवाभ्यां च दीयते । युष्मभ्यं च दीयते । अस्मभ्यं च दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वां च पश्यति । ग्रामो मां च पश्यति । युवां च पश्यति । आवां च पश्यति । युष्मांश्च पश्यति । अस्मांश्च पश्यति ॥ वा । ग्रामस्तव वा स्वम् । ग्रामो मम वा स्वम् । युवयोर्वा स्वम् । आवयोर्वा स्वम् । युष्माकं वा स्वम् । अस्माकं वा स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यं वा दीयते । ग्रामो मह्यं वा दीयते । युवाभ्यां वा दीयते । आवाभ्यां वा दीयते । युष्मभ्यं वा दीयते । अस्मभ्यं वा दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वां वा पश्यति । ग्रामो मां वा पश्यति । युवां वा पश्यति । आवां वा पश्यति । युष्मांश्च पश्यति । अस्मान्वा पश्यति । ह । ग्रामस्तव ह स्वम् । ग्रामो मम ह स्वम् । युवयोर्ह स्वम् । आवयोर्ह स्वम् । युष्माकं ह स्वम् । अस्माकं ह स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यं ह दीयते । ग्रामो मह्यं ह दीयते । युवाभ्यां ह दीयते । आवाभ्यां ह दीयते । युष्मभ्यं ह दीयते । अस्मभ्यं ह दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वां ह पश्यति । ग्रामो मां ह पश्यति । युवां ह पश्यति । आवां ह पश्यति । युष्मान् ह पश्यति । अस्मान् ह पश्यति । अह । ग्रामस्तवाह स्वम् । ग्रामो ममाह स्वम् । युवयोरह स्वम् । आवयोरह स्वम् । युष्माकमह स्वम् । अस्माकमह स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यमह दीयते । ग्रामो मह्यमह दीयते । युवाभ्यामह दीयते । आवाभ्यामह दीयते । युष्मभ्यमह दीयते । अस्मभ्यमह दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वामह पश्यति । ग्रामो मामह पश्यति । युवामह पश्यति । आवामह पश्यति । युष्मानह पश्यति । अस्मानह पश्यति । एव । ग्रामस्तवैव स्वम् । ग्रामो ममैव स्वम् । युवयोरेव स्वम् । आवयोरेव स्वम् । युष्माकमेव स्वम् । अस्माकमेव स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यमेव दीयते । ग्रामो मह्यमेव दीयते । युवाभ्यामेव दीयते । आवाभ्यामेव दीयते । युष्मभ्यमेव दीयते । अस्मभ्यमेव दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वामेव पश्यति । ग्रामो मामेव पश्यति । युवामेव पश्यति । आवामेव पश्यति । युष्मानेव पश्यति । अस्मानेव पश्यति । युक्तग्रहणं साक्षाद्योगप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । युक्तयुक्ते प्रतिषेधो न भवति । ग्रामश्च ते स्वम् । नगरं च मे स्वम् ।

The word युक्त is employed in the sūtra to indicate direct conjunction. There is, therefore, where the conjunction is not direct but intermediate the employment of the shorter forms. As ग्रामश्च ते स्वं, नगरं च मे स्वम् ॥

The particles च, वा, & c denote conjunction, 'separation' 'wonder'

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पश्यार्था दर्शनार्थाः । दर्शनं ज्ञानम् । आलोचनं चक्षुर्विज्ञानम् । तेः पश्यार्थैरनालोचने वर्त्तमानैर्युक्ते युष्मदस्मदोर्वात्रावादयो न भवन्ति ।

25. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of "seeing", when physical seeing is not denoted.

The word पश्यार्थाः is equivalent to दर्शनार्थाः, and दर्शनं means 'knowledge', i.e. verbs denoting 'to know', आलोचनं means perception obtained through sight i.e. physical 'seeing' opposed to metaphorical "seeing" = "knowing". The substitutions of वां and नौ &c. for युष्मद् and अस्मद् do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting 'seeing' (metaphorically) but not 'looking' (physically).

Thus ग्रामस्तव स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः, ग्रामो मम स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः; ग्रामस्तुभ्यं दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः, ग्रामो मह्यं दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः, ग्रामस्त्वां समीक्ष्यागतः, ग्रामो मां समीक्ष्यागतः ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यमानपूर्वात्प्रथमान्तात्पदादुत्तरयोर्युष्मदस्मदोर्विभाषा वात्रावादयो न भवन्ति ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदस्मदो विभाषा अनन्वादेश इतिवक्तव्य ॥

वा० ॥ सर्व एव वात्रावादयोऽन्वादेश विभाषा वक्तव्यः ॥

26. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative, which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally.

Thus ग्रामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम् or ग्रामे कम्बलस्तवस्वम् ॥ ग्रामे कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥ ग्रामिकम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ ग्रामिकम्बलस्ते दीयते ॥ ग्रामे कम्बलस्तुभ्यं दीयते ॥ ग्रामे कम्बलो मे दीयते ॥ ग्रामे कम्बलो मह्यं दीयते ॥ ग्रामे छात्रास्त्वा पश्यन्ति ॥ ग्रामे छात्रास्त्वां पश्यन्ति ॥ ग्रामे छात्रा मा पश्यन्ति ॥ ग्रामे छात्रा मां पश्यन्ति ॥

Why do we say "which itself is preceded by another word"? Observe कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥

Why do we say "after a Nominative"? Observe कम्बलो ग्रामे मे स्वम्, कम्बलो ग्रामे मे स्वम् ॥

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

compulsory and not optional. This *vârtika* restricts the scope of the *sûtra*, and makes it a *vyavasthita vibhâshâ*. Therefore, there is no option here, where there is *anvâdeśa*:—अथो ग्रामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अथो ग्रामे कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥

Vârt:—Others say, that the substitutes वां, नौ &c are *all* optional, when not employed in *anvâdeśa*, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not. Thus the rules 20, 21, 22, 23 are optional. As: कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or कम्बलस्तव स्वम्, कम्बलो मे स्वम् or कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ Why do we say “when not in *anvâdeśa*”? Observe अथो कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अथो कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥ Q. If this is so, where is the necessity of the present *sûtra* at all? Ans. The present *sûtra* is for the sake of *anvâdeśa*: i.e. the option taught in the present *sûtra* will take place only then, when there is *anvâdeśa* and not otherwise; thus अथो ग्रामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or अथो ग्रामे कम्बलस्तव स्वम्, अथो ग्रामे कम्बलो मे स्वम्, or अथो ग्रामे कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ In other words, according to this *vârtika*, rules 20, 21, 22 and 23 are all *optional* in *anvâdeśa*, but *compulsory* where is no *anvâdeśa*; but when the pronoun is preceded by a nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above rules are not *compulsory*, even in *anvâdeśa*: there also the option will apply.

तिङो गोत्रादीनि कुत्सनाभीक्ष्ण्ययोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङः, गोत्रादीनि, कुत्सन, आभीक्ष्ण्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङन्तात्पराणि गोत्रादीनि कुत्सने आभीक्ष्ण्ये चार्थे वर्त्तमानानि अनुदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

27. The words गोत्र &c, become unaccented after a finite verb, when a contempt or a repetition is intended.

Thus पचति गोत्रम्, जल्पति गोत्रम्, when contempt is meant.

Here पचति गोत्रं means ‘he proclaims his Gotra &c, so that he may get food &c’. पचति is from the root पचि व्यञ्जिकरणे ‘to make evident’ (Bhu. 184). Similarly जल्पति गोत्रम् “he repeatedly utters, his descent &c, in order to get married &c”. Where contempt is not meant, it has the force of repetition, i.e. he repeatedly utters his Gotra as one is bound to do, in marriage-rites &c. And पचति पचति गोत्रम्, जल्पति जल्पति गोत्रम् when repetition or intensity is denoted. Similarly पचति बुधम्, पचति पचति बुधम् ॥ The word बुध् is a noun derived from the root बू by the affix कच्, the वच् substitution for बू has not taken place, as an anomaly.

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

The word नाम optionally becomes *anudatta*: in the alternative, it is first-acute. Thus पचति नाम् or पचति नाम ॥

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

Why do we say "Gotra and the rest"? Observe पचति पापम् ॥ Here पापं is an adverb

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

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

तिङ्ङतिङः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्, अतिङः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङन्तं पदमतिङन्तात्पदात्परमनुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus देवदत्तः पचति ॥ Why do we say "a finite verb"? Observe नीलपुत्र लम्, शुक्लं वस्त्रम् ॥

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

न लुट् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वणातिप्रसक्ते प्रतिषेध आरभ्यते । लुङन्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

29. But the Periphrastic Future is not unaccented, when it is preceded by a word which is not a finite verb.

This restricts the scope of the last sūtra which was rather too wide. Thus इवः कर्त्तारो, इवः कर्त्तारो, मासेन कर्त्तारः ॥ The Sārvadhātuka affixes डा, रौ, रस्, are anudatta after the affix तास्ति by VI. 1. 186, the whole affix तास् becomes udatta (III. 1. 3) and where the दि portion of तास् i. e. the syllable आस्, is elided before the affix डा, there also the आ of डा becomes udatta, because the udatta has been elided. See VI. 1. 161.

निपातैर्यद्यदिहन्तकुविन्नेचेच्चणकच्चियत्रयुक्तम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातैः, यद्, यदि, हन्त, कु वित्, नेत्, चेत्, चण, कच्चित्, यत्र, युक्तम् ॥

वृत्तः ॥ नेति वर्त्तते । यत् यदि हन्त कुवित् नेत् चेत् चण कच्चित् यत्र इत्यतनिपातयुक्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

30. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with the particles यत्, 'that', 'because'; यदि, 'if', हन्त, 'also', 'O!', कुवित्, 'well', नेत्, 'not', चेत्, 'if', च 'if', कच्चित् (interrogative particle, implying 'I hope' or 'I hope not'), and यत्र 'where'.

Thus यत् कुरोति, यत् पचति, यदि कुरोति or यदि पचति, हन्त कुरोति, हन्त पचति, कुवित् कुरोति, कुवित् पचति, नेत् जिहमायन्न्यो नरकं पताम (Nir. I. 11), स चेद् भुङ्क्ते, स चेद् अधीते ॥ The particle चण with the indicatory ण has the force of चेत् ॥ Thus अयं च मरिष्यति = अयं चेत् मरिष्यति ॥ Other examples are स्वप् च सोम नो वैशो जीवातुप् नै मरामहे 'if thou, Soma wiltst us to live, we shall not die' औ च गच्छान् मित्रमेना दधाम " if he will come here, we will make friends with him." इन्द्रश्च मृलयति नः, नतः पश्चादयं नशान् " If Indra makes us happy &c ". This rule does not apply to the च which is a conjunction meaning 'and'. So also: कच्चिद् भुङ्क्ते, कच्चिद् अधीते, यत्र भुङ्क्ते, यत्राधीते ॥

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

Q. Now by the rule of Pratipadokta &c. that यत् should only be taken, which is a Particle; moreover it is read in connection with other Particles like यदि &c, so it must be a Particle. How then can the Present Participle यत् be taken at all? Ans.—This sūtra indicates that the प्रतिपदोक्त rule and the साहचर्य rule do not apply here. Thus the word यावत् formed with the affix वतुप् (V. 2. 39) is also included in the word यावत् of this sūtra. As नावदुषो राधो अस्मभ्यं, रास्व यावत् स्तोत्रभ्यो अरक्षो गृणानाः = यावतोऽश्वान् प्रतीगृहणीयात् ॥

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

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

नह प्रत्यारम्भे ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नह, प्रत्यारम्भे ॥

वृत्तः ॥ नह इत्येतेन युक्तं प्रत्यारम्भे तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

31. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with **नह** when employed in the sense of forbidding.

When something urged by one, is rejected insultingly by another, then the reply made by the first tauntingly, with a negation, is *pratyârambha*. Thus A says to B: "Eat this please". B rejects the offer repeatedly, in anger or jest. Then A in anger or jest says 'No, you will eat'—as **नह भोक्ष्यसे** ॥ Here **भोक्ष्यसे** retains its accent, which is acute on the middle, for **से** becomes accentless as it follows **अदुपदेश** (VI. 1. 186), and **स्य** becomes *udâta* by the *प्रत्ययस्वर* (III. 1. 3).

Another example is **नहाध्येष्यसे** 'No, you will study'. Why do we say, 'when asseverative'? Observe **नह वै तैस्मिंश्च लोके रक्षिणमिच्छन्ति** "Verily in that world they do not wish for fee". Here it is pure negation. **तस्मिन्** is first acute by *किट्* accent, **लोके** is final acute because it is formed by *अच्* of *पञ्चादि* (III. 1. 134), **रक्षिण** is first acute, because it is a Pronoun ending in *अ* (*स्वाङ्गशिदामदन्तानाम्*, *Phit* II. 6) and **इच्छन्ति** is *anudâta* by VIII. 1. 28.

सत्यं प्रश्ने ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्यम्, प्रश्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यमित्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति प्रश्ने ॥

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

Thus **सत्यं भोक्ष्यसे** 'Truly will you eat?' **सत्यमध्येष्यसे** ॥ Why do we say 'in questioning'? Observe **सत्यं वक्ष्यामि नावृतं** 'I shall tell the truth, not falsehood'. **सत्यमिद्वा इ तं वृथमिन्द्रं स्तवामु** ॥

अङ्गाप्रातिलोम्ये ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, अप्रातिलोम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्ग इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमप्रातिलोम्ये गम्यमाने नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Anything done to injure another is *prati-loma*, opposite of this is *apratiloma*, or *friendliness*. In fact, it is equal to *anuloma*. Thus **अङ्गवैच** 'yes, you may cook'. Here *anga* has the force of friendly permission. So also **अङ्ग वैच ॥** But when it has the force of *pratiloma*, we have:—**अङ्ग कूर्जो इ वृषल ॥ इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्म** "Well, chuckle O sinner! soon wilt thou learn, O coward". Here **अङ्ग** is used in the sense of censure, for chuckling is a thing not liked by the person: and is *pratiloma* action: for *pluta-vowel* see VIII. 2. 96.

हि च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिइत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमप्रातिलोम्ये नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus स हि कुरुँ, सहि पँच, सहि पँट ॥ Why do we say 'in friendly assertion'?
Observe स हि कृञ् वृषल । इदानीं ज्ञास्यासि जाल्म ॥

छन्दस्यनेकमपि साकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अनेकम्, अपि, साका-
ङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हि चैतिवर्त्तते छन्दसि विषये हियुक्तं तिङन्तं साकाङ्क्षमनेकमपि नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

35. In the Veda, the finite verb retains its accent (but not always), in connection with हि, when it stands in correlation to another verb, even more than one.

That is sometimes one verb, sometimes more than one verb retain their accent. Thus of more than one verb, we have the following example:—
अनृतं हि मत्तो वैदति। पाप्मा एनं वि वुँनाति 'Because the drunkard tells falsehood, therefore sin will make him impure: i. e. he does incur sin'. Here both verbs वदति and विपुनाति retain their accent: and हि has the force of यत् 'because'. According to Kaiyyata the meaning of this sentence is यस्मान् मत्तोऽनृतं वदति, तस्मादनृतवदनं दोषेण न युज्यते i. e. a drunkard does not incur the sin of telling a falsehood, because he is not in his senses. See Maitr. Sanhita I. 11. 6. As regards one verb in a correlated sentence retaining its accent and the other losing it, we have:—अग्निर्हि पूर्वमुर्वैजयत् तमिन्द्रोऽनुवृजयत् ॥ Here the first retains its accent and the second not. The force of हि is to denote here cause and its effect. So also:—अजा ह्यग्नेरजनिष्ट गर्भान् (or गर्भम्), सा वा अपृश्यत् जनितारमघे (Taittiriya Samhitá IV. 2. 10, 4). The word अजनिष्ट is first acute, the augment अद् having the accent; while अपृश्यत् is all anudatta.

यावद्यथाभ्याम् ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्, यथाभ्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताभ्यां युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताभ्यां युक्तमनन्तरं तिङन्तं पूजायां विषये नातुदात्तं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुदात्तमेव ॥

37. But not so when these particles यावत् and यथा immediately precede the verb and denote 'praise'.

That is, the verb loses its accent, and becomes anudâta. Thus यावत् पचति शोभनम्, यथा पचति शोभनम्, यावत् करोति चारु ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथाभ्यां युक्तं उपसर्गव्यपेतं च पूजायां विषये नानुदात्तं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुदात्तमेव भवति ॥

38. A finite verb loses its accent when it denotes 'praise' and is joined immediately with यावत् and यथा through the intervention of an upasarga or verbal-preposition.

The last sūtra taught that the verb loses its accent when *immediately* preceded by यावत् and यथा ॥ This qualifies the word 'immediately' and teaches that the intervention of a Preposition does not debar immediateness. Thus यथा प्रकरोति चारु, यथा प्रपचति शोभनं, यावत् प्रकरोति चारु, यावत् प्रपचति शोभनम् ॥

The word 'immediately' is understood here also. Thus यावद् देवदत्तः प्रपचति, शोभनं, यथा विष्णु मित्रः प्रकरोति चारु ॥ The upasarga प्र has udâta accent. Prof. Bohtlingk's Edition reads the sūtra as व्यपेतं ॥

तुपश्यपश्यताहैः पूजायाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, पश्य, पश्यत, अहैः, पूजायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु पश्य पश्यत अह इत्येतैर्युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

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

Thus माणवकस्तु भुङ्क्ते शोभनम्; पश्य माणवको भुङ्क्ते शोभनं, पश्यत माणवको भुङ्क्ते शोभनम्, अह माणवको भुङ्क्ते शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning praise'? Observe, पश्य सृगा धावति ॥

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

Another example is आदह स्वधामनु पुनर्गभ्रत्वमोरुरे ॥

अहो च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अहो, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

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

Thus अहो देवदत्तः पचति शोभनं, अहो विष्णुमित्रः करोति चारु ॥ The separation

of this अहो from तु &c, of the last sūtra, indicates that the next rule applies to अहो only. Had अहो been joined with तु &c, then Rule VIII. 1. 41, would have applied to तु &c, which is not desired. Hence the making of it a separate sūtra.

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं शेषे विभाषा नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

41. A finite verb retains its accent optionally when in connection with अहो in the remaining cases (i.e. where it does not mean praise).

What is the शेष alluded to here? The शेष means here senses other than पूजा or 'praise'. Thus कटमहो करिष्यसि or कटमहो कुरिष्यसि ॥ This is a speech uttered in anger or envy and not in praise (असूया वचनं) ॥ So also मम गेहमेव्यसि ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरा इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं परीप्सायामर्थे विभाषा नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

42. A finite verb retains its accent optionally in connection with पुरा when it means 'haste' (i.e. when पुरा means 'before').

The word परीप्सा means त्वरा or 'quick'. Thus अधीष्व माणवक पुरा विद्योतते विद्युन्, or पुरा स्तनयति स्तनयित्नु ॥ The word पुरा here expresses the future occurrence which is imminent or very near at hand. It is against the rule of Dharmaśāstras to study while it thunders or lightens.

Why do we say 'when meaning haste'? Observe नडेन स्म पुराधीयते ॥ Here the word पुरा expresses a past time; that is, it means "long ago". So also ऊर्गया स्म पुराधीयते ॥ See III. 2. 118 and 122, for the employment of पुरा in the Past Tense, and III. 3. 4, for the Present.

नन्वित्यनुज्ञैषणायाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ननु, इति, अनुज्ञा, एषणायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननु इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति अनुज्ञैषणायां विषये ॥

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

The word एषणा means 'asking, praying'. The word अनुज्ञा means 'permission'. The compound अनुज्ञैषणा means 'asking of permission'. Thus ननु को रामि भोः, "may I do it, sir"; ननु गच्छामि भोः 'can I go sir'. The sense is 'give me permission to do or to go'.

Why do we say when 'asking for' permission'? Observe अकार्षीं कदं देवदत्त? ननु कुरांमि भो: 'Devadatta hast thou made the mat? Well, I am making it'. Here ननु has the force of an answering particle, and not used in asking permission and hence the verb loses its accent.

किं क्रियाप्रश्नेनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्रिया-प्रश्ने, अनु-पसर्गम्-अप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमित्येतत्क्रियाप्रश्ने यदा वर्त्तते तदानेन युक्तं तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं नानुशात्तं भवति ॥

44. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with किम्, when with this is asked a question relating to an action, and when the verb is not preceded by a Preposition or by a Negation.

Thus किं देवदत्तः पचति, आहो स्विद् भुङ्क्ते ॥ किं देवदत्तः शेते, आहो स्विदधीते ॥ Here some say, that the first verb (पचति or शेते) being directly joined with किं retains its accent, whilst the second verb (भुङ्क्ते or अधीते) not being joined with किं, loses its accent by the general rule VIII. 1. 28. Others say, though the word किं is heard in connection with one verb only, yet as both verbs are objects of doubt, therefore, किं is logically connected with both of them, and so both verbs retain their accents. Thus भुङ्क्ते will retain its accent according to this view.

Why do we say when the question relates to a क्रिया or action? The rule will not apply, when the question relates to an object or साधन ॥ Thus किं देवदत्त ओदनं पचति आहोस्विच्छाकं ॥

Why do we say "when a question is asked"? Observe किमधीते देवदत्तः ॥ Here किं is used to express contempt, and not to ask a question.

Why do we say 'not preceded by a Preposition'? Observe किं देवदत्तः प्र पचति आहोस्विन् प्रकरोति ॥

Why do we say "not preceded by a negative particle". Observe, किं देवदत्तो न पठति आहोस्विन् न करोति ॥

लोपे विभाषा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमो लोपे क्रियाप्रश्ने तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं विभाषा नानुशात्तं भवति ॥

45. When however किम् is not added in asking such a question, the finite verb may optionally retain its accent.

When किम् is elided in asking a question relating to an action, the finite verb which is not preceded by a Preposition or a Negative Particle, optionally does not become anudatta. When is there the elision of this किम् because no rule of Pānini has taught it? When the sense is that of an interrogation, but the word किम् is not used. In short, the word 'lopa' here does not mean the Grammatical substitute, but merely non-use. As देवदत्तः पचति (or

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एहिमन्ये इत्यनेन युक्तं लृटन्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति प्रहासे ॥

46. In connection with एहिमन्ये used derisively, the First Future that follows it, retains its accent.

The word प्रहास means great laughter, i. e. derision, mockery, raillery, jeering, gibing, sneering. Thus एहि मन्ये ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे, नहि भोक्ष्यसे, भुक्तः सोऽतिथिभिः ॥ एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि, नहि यास्यसि, यातस् तेन पिता ॥ The word एहि is the Imperative second Person of the root इष् preceded by the preposition आङ् ॥

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

By sūtra VIII. I. 51, *in fra*, after the Imperative एहि which is a verb of 'motion' (गम्यर्थं), the following First Future (लृट्) would have retained its accent. The present sūtra makes a niyama or restriction, namely that in connection with the Imperative एहि मन्ये, the लृट् is accented only then when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. Thus the लृट् loses its accent here:— एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥ The employment of the First Person in मन्ये in the sūtra is not intended to be taught: for by I. 4. 105, the verb मन् (मन्यते) takes the affix of the First Person instead of the second, when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. When प्रहास is not intended, the proper personal affix of the Second Person is employed. The employment of the First Person ceases there also by this restrictive rule. Thus एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥

The above counter example is given according to Kāśika, according to which एहि मन्ये इति उत्तमोपादानमतन्त्रम् ॥ But according to Mahābhāshya, the counter-example is एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि ॥ Here यास्यसि loses its accent. The meaning of the above is एवं रथेन यास्यसि इति अहं मन्ये, एहि ॥ According to Kaiyata, this would be an example also under the rule, the First Person not being necessary:—एहि मन्यसे रथेन यास्यामि ॥

जात्वपूर्वम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु, अपूर्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु इत्येतद्विद्यमानपूर्वं तेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

47. A finite verb retains its accent after जातु, when this जातु is not preceded by any other word.

Thus जातु भोक्ष्यसे, जातु अध्यस्यसे, जातु कारिष्यामि । Here से is anudatta by VI. I. 186, as it is an sārvaadhātuka affix coming after an अदुपदेश; the word जातु is first acute, as it is a Nipāta. Why do we say 'when not preceded by any other word'? Observe :—कटे जातु क्कुरिष्यति ॥ The word कटे is end-acute as it is a क्ङि or noun.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ किमोवृत्तं किंवृत्तं, किंवृत्तग्रहेण तद्विभक्त्यन्तं प्रतीयाद्भुतरडतमौ च प्रत्ययौ, तत्किंवृत्तं चिदुत्तर-
मविद्यमानपूर्वं यत्नेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

The word किम्वृत्तं is a Genitive Tatpurusha meaning किमोवृत्तं ॥ The word किम्वृत्तं means any form of किम् with its case-affixes, as well as the forms of किम् when it takes the affixes डत्तर and डतम् ॥ Thus कश्चिद् भुङ्क्ते, कश्चिद् भोजयति, कश्चिद् अधीते, केनचित् करोति, कस्मै चिद् वृषति, कतरश्चित् करोति, कतमश्चिद् भुङ्क्ते ॥

Why do we say 'followed by चित्'? Observe को भुङ्क्ते ॥

The word अपूर्वं of the last sūtra qualifies this also; therefore, the verb loses its accent here :— देवदत्तः किञ्चित् पृष्टति ॥

आहोउताहो चानन्तरम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहो, उताहो, च, अनन्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघातप्रतिषेधोवर्त्तते ॥ अपूर्वमिति च ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यामपूर्वाभ्यां युक्तमनन्तरं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

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

Thus आहो or उताहो भुङ्क्ते, उताहो वृषति ॥ Why do we say 'immediately preceding'? In the following sūtra will be taught option, when these particles do not immediately precede the verb.

Why do we say "when no word precedes them"? Observe देवदत्त आहो or उताहो भुङ्क्ते ॥

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यां युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं शेषे विभाषा भवति ॥ कश्च शेषः यदन्यदनन्तरात् ॥

50. When the above-mentioned Particles आहो and उताहो do not immediately precede the verb, the verb may optionally retain its accent.

Thus आहो देवदत्तः पँचति or पृच्यति ॥ उताहो देवदत्तः पँचति or पृच्यति ॥

गत्यर्थलोटा लृणनच्चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-लोटा, लृट्, न, चेत्, कारकम्, सर्व-अन्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिना समानार्था गत्यर्थाः; गत्यर्थानां धातूनां लोट् गत्यर्थलोट्; तेन गत्यर्थलोटा युक्तं लृडन्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति, न च्चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

यत्रैव कारके कर्त्तरि कर्मणि वा लोट् तत्रैव यदि 'लृडपि भवतीत्यर्थः । कर्तृकर्मणी एवात्र तिङन्तवाच्य कारकग्रहणेन गृह्येते न करणादि कारकान्तरम् ॥

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

Those verbs which have similar meaning with the word गति 'motion' are called गत्यर्थाः ॥ The Imperative of the गत्यर्थ verbal roots, is called गत्यर्थ-लोट् ॥ In connection with such an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', the First Future does not become anudatta, if the kâraka is not all different. The sense is, with whatever case-relation (kâraka), whether the Subject or Object, the Imperative is employed, with the same kâraka, the First Future must be employed. In connection with the finite verb here, the word कारक denotes the Subject and Object only, and not any other kâraka, such as Instrument, &c.

Thus आगच्छ देवदत्तग्रामं, द्रक्ष्यस्येनम् 'Come O Devadatta to the village, thou shalt see it'. Here the subjects of both verbs आगच्छ and द्रक्ष्यसि are the same, and the objects of both verbs are also the same, namely ग्रामं and एनम् ॥ आ is a Preposition and is accented, गच्छ and देवदत्त both lose their accent by VIII. 1. 19 and 28, ग्राम is first-acute being formed by the निन् affix मन् ॥ So also आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, भोदनं भोक्ष्यसे "Come, O Devadatta! to the village, you will eat rice". Here the subjects of both verbs are the same, only the objects are different, and so the rule still applies. आहर देवदत्त शालीन्, यज्ञदत्त एतान् भोक्ष्येत् ॥ Here the subjects are different, but the objects are the same, namely शालीन् ॥ Similarly उद्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः, यज्ञदत्तेन भोक्ष्येत्ते "Let the rice be carried by Devadatta, and let them be eaten by Yajñadatta."

Why do we say 'verbs of motion'? Observe पच देवदत्त भोदनं, भोक्ष्यसे एनम् ॥

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

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

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

आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं, पिता ते ओदनं मोक्षयन्ते ॥ उह्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः, सक्तवस्तेन प्रास्थन्ते ॥ उह्यन्तां
is the Imperative of वृह 'to carry'.

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

लोड् च ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोड्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडन्तं तिङन्तं गत्यर्थलोदा युक्तं नानुदात्तं भवति, न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

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

Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं पश्य ॥ मात्रज विष्णुमित्र मामं शाधि ॥ आगम्यतां देवदत्तेन मामो दृश्यतां यज्ञदत्तेन ॥

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

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

By the force of the anuvritti of सर्व the rule will apply to the following: आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं, एवं चाहं च पश्यावः ॥

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

विभाषितं सोपसर्गमनुत्तमम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, सोपसर्गम्, अनुत्तमम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वं पूर्वमनुवर्त्तते ॥ प्राप्तविभाषियं, लोडन्तं सोपसर्गयुक्तमवर्जितं गत्यर्थलोदा युक्तं तिङन्तं विभाषितं नानुदात्तं भवति न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

53. An Imperative preceded by a Preposition, and not in the First Person, following after an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', may optionally retain its accent, when the Kāraka is not wholly different.

The whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here. This is a Prāpta-vibhāshā. Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं प्रविश or प्रविश ॥ आगच्छ देवदत्त मामंप्रशाधि or प्रशाधि ॥ When the verb is accented, the upasarga loses its accent by VIII. I. 71.

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

Why do we say अन्—उत्तमं 'not a First Person'? Observe आ गच्छानि देवदत्त, ग्रामं प्रतिशान्ति ॥

हन्त च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्त, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वं सर्वमनुवर्त्तते गत्यर्थलोके वर्जयित्वा हन्त इत्यनेन युक्तं लोडन्तं सोपसर्गमुत्तमवर्जितं विभाषितं नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

54. An Imperative, with a Preposition preceding it, may optionally retain its accent, in connection with हन्त, but not the First Person.

With the exception of गत्यर्थ लोका &c, the whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here.

Thus हन्त प्रै द्विशु or प्रविशो, हन्त प्रै शाधि or प्रशाधि ॥ But no option is allowed here हन्त कुर्वे, as it is not preceded by a preposition. Here rule VIII. 1. 30, makes the accent compulsory after हन्त ॥ So also हन्त प्रभुर्न जावहै, हन्त प्रभुर्न जावहै, where the 1st Person is used, the verb retains its accent compulsorily by VIII. 1. 30.

The word प्रभुर्न जावहै is Imperative First Person, Dual of the root भुञ् in Atmane pada (I. 3. 66). The Personal ending वहै is anudatta by VI. 1. 186, because the verb is anudatta-it. The vikaraṇa न therefore retains its accent.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आम उत्तरमेकपदान्तरमामन्त्रितान्तमनन्तिके नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

55. After आम, but separated from it by not more than one word, the Vocative retains its accent, when the person addressed is not near.

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

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

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

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

Why do we say अनन्तिके 'not near'? See आम् पचसि देवदत्त ॥ Here some hold that अनन्तिक is equivalent to दूर 'far off'. Therefore, according to them, the prohibition applies to एकश्रुति: as well as to निघातः ॥ Had it been merely a prohibition of *nighâta*, then the sūtra would become redundant, as the nighâta is precluded by the rule of eka-śruti (I. 2. 33). Thus arguing, they hold that eka-śruti being asiddha, the pluta-udâtta of VIII. 2. 84, is not prohibited: and so the last vowel is prolated.

Others say that the word अनन्तिक means 'that which is not far off (दूर) nor very near'. It does not mean दूर only. For had it meant दूर, the author could have used the word दूर in the sūtra. Therefore the rule of eka-śruti (I. 2. 33), has no scope here at all, for it applies to दूर vocatives. Not being दूर, the pluta-dâtta also should not be exhibited in the illustration; for the rule VIII. 2. 84, applies also to दूर Vocatives.

In the example आम् भो देवदत्त, the word आम् being a Nipâta is first acute; the word भो is a shortened form of भवन्, (VIII.3.1. Vârt). and it is accentless by VIII. 1. 19, being a Vocative case preceded by another word. देवदत्त would also have become accentless by the same rule, this sūtra prohibits it. The निघात being thus prohibited by this sūtra, two rules make themselves manifest now for application. The one is of एकश्रुतिदूरात्संबुद्धौ (I. 2. 33) causing एकश्रुति or monotony; the other causing प्लुतोदात्तत्वं by दूराद्भूते च (VIII. 2. 84). The opinions referred to above, relate to this doubt.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितमित्येतस्वरितस्वानानुवर्त्तते ॥ तिङिति वर्त्ततएव ॥ यत्परं हिपरं तुपरं च तिङन्तं छन्दसि नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of आमन्त्रितं should not be taken in this sūtra, but that of तिङ् ॥ Thus with यत्परं we have:--गवां गोत्रमुदसजा यदाङ्गिरः ॥ The verb उदसृजः is the Imperfect (लङ्) 2nd person singular of सृज् of Tudâdi class. With हि we have, इन्द्रो वा पुष्यन्ति हि (Rig Ved. I. 2. 4). The verb उषन्ति is the Present (लृट्) Plural of वृष् of Adâdi class. The samprasârana takes place because it belongs to गृह्यादि class. With तु we have, आख्यास्यामि तु ते ॥ By the previous sūtra VIII. 1. 30 a verb in connection with यन् would have retained its accent, so also in connection with हि by the sūtra VIII. 1. 34, and in connection with तु by VIII. 1. 39: the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule. The verb retains its accent when these three Particles *only* follow and not any other. If any other Particle follows, the verb need not retain its accent. Thus जाये स्वा रोहवैहि ॥ Here रोहाव is the 1st Person Dual of the Imperative of रुह् (रुह् + ञप् + वस् = रोह +

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

चनच्चिदिवगोत्रादितद्धिताध्रैडितेष्वगतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चन, चित्, इव, गोत्र-आदि, तद्धित, आध्रैडितेषु, अगतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन चिद् इव गोत्रादि तद्धित आध्रैडित इत्येतेषु परतः भगतेरुत्तरं तिङन्तं नानुशक्तं भवति ॥

57. A finite verb retains its accent, when it is not preceded by a Gati Particle (I. 4. 60 &c), and when it is followed by चन, चिद्, इव, गोत्र &c, a Taddhita affix, or by its own doubled form.

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

With a Taddhita affix, देवदत्तः पँचति कल्पम्, देवदत्तः पचति रूपम् ॥ The examples should be given with anudātta Taddhita affixes, like रूपप्, कल्पप् (V. 3. 66 and 67). Any other Taddhita affix added to the verb would cause the verb to lose its accent, the Taddhita accent overpowers the verb accent: as पचतिदे इय (V. 3. 67).

With a doubled verb, as; देवदत्तः पँचति पचति ॥

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a Participle called Gati'? Observe देवदत्तः प्र पचति चन ॥ The word गति in this sūtra as well as in सगतिरपि तिङ् (VIII. 1. 68) should be taken in its restricted sense, namely upasargas treated as Gati, and not the extended definition of Gati as given in I. 4. 61. Therefore the verb retains its accent here: शुक्लीकरोति चन, यत् काष्ठं शुक्लीकरोति, यत् काष्ठं कृष्णीकरोति ॥

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

चादिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, आदिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादिषु च परतः तिङन्तमगतः परं नानुशक्तं भवति ॥

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

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

But when preceded by a gati, we have देवदत्तः प्र पचति च प्र खावति च ॥ Here the first verb retains its accent by virtue of the next sūtra, but the second verb loses its accent.

चवायोगे प्रथमा ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, वा, योगे, प्रथमा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अगतेरिति पूर्वसूत्रे चानुकूलमित्यत्र नानुवर्त्तते । च वा इत्येताभ्यां योगे प्रथमा तिङ्बिभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of अगतेः which was drawn in the last sūtra, does not run into this. Thus गर्दभांश्च कालयति, वीणां च व्रावृयति ॥ गर्दभान् वा कालयति, वीणां वा व्रावृयति ॥

The word योग in the sūtra indicates that the mere connection with the verb is meant, whether this connection takes place by adding these words च and वा, before the verb, or after the verb, is immaterial for the purposes of this sūtra, (not so in the last). The word प्रथमा shows that the first verb is governed by this rule and not the second.

हेति क्षियायाम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ह, इति, क्षियायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह इत्यनेन युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्बिभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति क्षियायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

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

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

Thus स्वयं ह रथेन यीति ३, उपाध्यायं पशति गमयति 'He himself goes on a car, while he causes his Preceptor to trudge behind on foot'. स्वयं ह ओदनं भुङ्क्ते ३, उपाध्यायं सक्नुन् पाययति 'Himself eats the rice, and makes the preceptor eat the gruel'. Here in both examples, the nighāta of the first verbs is prohibited. The verbs become svarita-pluta by VIII. 2. 104.

अहेति विनियोगे च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अह, इति, वि नि योगे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अह इत्यनेन युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्बिभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति विनियोगे गम्यमाने चशब्दात् क्षियायां च ॥

61. In connection with अह, the first verb retains its accent, when it refers to various commissions, (as well as when a breach of good manners is condemned).

The word विनियोग means sending a person to perform several commissions. The word च in the sūtra draws in the anuvṛitti of क्षिया also.

Thus त्वं अह ग्रामं गच्छ, त्वं अह शरण्यं गच्छ ॥ So also when क्षिया is meant,

as स्वयमह रथेन आति ३, उपाध्यायं पशति गमयति ॥ स्वयमहौदनं भुङ्क्ते ३, उपाध्यायं सक्तून पाययति ॥ The prohibition of *nighāta* and prolation are as in the last aphorism.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अलोपे अहलोपे च प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति एवेत्येतेष्ववधारणार्थं प्रयुज्यते ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ चाद्यो नचवाहाहैवयुक्तइति सूत्रनिर्दिष्टा गृह्यन्ते; तेषां लोपे प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति विभाषा ॥

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

Thus with च लोपः—शुक्ला व्रीहयो भवन्ति or भवन्ति, श्वेता गा आज्याय दुहन्ति ॥ Here भवन्ति optionally may either lose or retain its accent. So also when वा is elided, as:—व्रीहिभि र्यजेत or यजेत, यवै र्यजेत ॥ So also with the remaining.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ वैवाव इत्येताभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एक अन्य इत्येताभ्यां समर्थाभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्बिभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुशाचा भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

65. Also in connection with एक and अन्य, optionally in the Chhandas, the first verb retains its accent, when these words have the same meaning ('the one—the other').

Thus प्रजामेका जिन्वति (or जिन्वति), ऊर्जमेकारक्षति ॥ तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाह्विति (or वृत्ति), अनधन्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति (Rig Veda I. 164. 20, Mundaka Upanishad III. 1).

Why do we say समर्थाभ्यां 'having the same meaning' ? See एको देवानु-
पातिष्ठत् ॥ Here एक is a Numeral and has not the sense of अन्य 'the one another' .
The word समर्थ is used, in fact, to restrict the meaning of एक, for it has various
meanings: while there is no ambiguity about the word अन्य ॥ एकोऽन्यार्थे प्रधाने च
प्रथमे केवले तथा । साधारणे समानेऽल्पे संख्यायां च प्रयुज्यते ॥

यद्वृत्तान्नित्यम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत्, वृत्तात्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमा छन्दसीति निवृत्तं, निघातप्रतिषेध इत्येव ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ यथाकाम्ये वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. In connection with यद् in all its forms, the verb retains its accent always.

The anuvṛtti of प्रथमा and छन्दसि ceases. The prohibition of nighāta, which commenced with न लट् (VIII. 1. 29) is present here also. In what ever sentence the word यद् occurs, that is called यद्वृत्तं ॥ The word वृत्तं denotes here the form of यद् in all its declensions with case affixes. According to Kāsikā, उत्तर and उत्तम are not included, according to Patanjali they should be included. See also the explanation of किंवृत्तं in VIII. 1. 48.

Thus यो भुङ्क्ते, ये भोजयति, येन भुङ्क्ते, यस्मै ददाति, यत् कामास्ते जुहुमः (Rig Veda X. 121. 10) यद्वाद् वायुर्वीति (T. S. V. 5. 1. 1.) यद् वायुः वैवते ॥ For the form यद्वाद् see VI. 3. 92. Though the sūtra is in the Ablative (यद्वृत्तात्) and therefore requires that the verb should *im-mediately* follow it, yet in यद्वाद् वायु वीति, the intervention of वायुः does not prevent the operation of this rule, according to the opinion of Pātanjali.

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्य उत्तरपरं पूजितमनुदात्तं भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ मलोपश्च ॥

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

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

Thus काष्ठाध्यापकः, काष्ठाभिरूपकः, शरुणाध्यापकः, शरुणाभिरूपकः ॥

अमातापुत्र । अमातापुत्राध्यापकः । अमातापुत्राभिरूपकः । अयुताध्यापकः । अयुताभिरूपकः । अद्भुत । अद्भुताध्यापकः । अनुक्त । अनुक्ताध्यापकः । शृश । शृशाध्यापकः । घोर । घोराध्यापकः । सुखः । सुखाध्यापकः । परम । परमाध्यापकः । सु । स्वध्यापकः । अति । अत्यध्यापकः । द्यौः । द्यौरध्यापकः । द्यौरभिरूपकः । स्वध्यापकः । अपुत्र । अपुत्राध्यापकः । कल्याण । कल्याणाध्यापकः ॥

Vārt:— The final **म्** should be elided in forming these words. The word शरुण is an adverb, and therefore in the accusative case, like शनि, गतः ॥ In such a case, there can be no compounding: hence the elision of **म्** is taught. This is the opinion of Vārtika—kāra Kātyāyana. According to Kāśikā, there is compounding under मयूर व्यंसकादि rule, and so **म्** is elided by the general rule of samāsa. This becoming of अनुशक्त takes place in the compound, and after composition. In fact, it is an exception to the general rule by which a compound is *finally* acute (VI. I. 223) But there is no elision in शरुणमध्यापकः &c. and there is no loss of accent also of the second word. By the Vārtika 'मलोपश्च', this further fact is also denoted, where the case - affix is not employed and so the **म्** is not heard, there the second member becomes anudatta. When there is no compounding, there is no elision of **म्** as शरुणमधीते, शरुणमध्यापकः ॥

Though the word पूजन would have implied its correlative term पूजित, the specific mention of पूजित in the aphorism indicates, that the word denoting पूजित should follow *immediately* after the word denoting पूजन ॥ In fact, this peculiar construction of the sūtra, is a jñāpaka of the existence of the following rule:—इह प्रकरणे पञ्चमी निर्देशेऽपि नानन्तर्यमाश्रीयते " In this subdivision or context, though a word may be exhibited in the Ablative case, it does not follow that there should be consecutiveness between the Ablative and the word indicated by it". This has been illustrated in the previous rule of यद्वृत्तान् नित्यम्, in explaining forms like यद्गच्छ वायुर्वति &c.

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

On this subject, the following extract from the Commentary on Siddhānta-Kaumudī, will give the view of later Grammarians:—The words काष्ठ &c, are all synonyms of अद्भुत, meaning *wonderful, prodigious*: and are words denoting *praise*. This is an aphorism appertaining to samāsa subject. In the examples the compounding takes place under the rule of Mayura-vyansakādi.

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

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

सगतिरपि तिङ् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, गतिः, अपि, तिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सगतिरगतिरपि पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्यः परं पूजितं तिङन्तमनुशात्तं भवति ॥

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

Whether a finite verb is compounded with a *gati* or stands single, both the compound and the simple verb lose their accent, when it is qualified by the adverbs काष्ठं &c. Thus यत् काष्ठं पृच्छति, यत् काष्ठं प्रपृच्छति ॥ By VIII. 1. 28, the finite verb would have lost its accent after the word काष्ठं, but this loss was prohibited by VIII. 1. 30 in connection with यत्; the present *sūtra* re-ordains the loss, by setting aside the prohibition of VIII. 1. 30.

The word सगति 'along with its *Gati*', indicates that the *Gati* even loses its accent. The word *Gati* here is restricted to *Upasargas*. Therefore not here यत् काष्ठं शुक्ली करोति, यत् काष्ठं कृष्णी करोति ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादिति निवृत्तम् ॥ सगतिरपि तिङिति वर्त्तते ॥ कुत्सने च सुबन्ते गोत्रादिवर्जिते परतः सगतिरपि तिङ् अगतिरप्यनुशात्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाकुत्सन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूतिश्च चानुबन्धो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ विभाषितं चापि बह्वर्थमनुशात्तं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā, सुपि कुत्सने क्रियाया मलोप इष्टोऽ तिङीति चोक्तार्थे ॥

पूतिश्च चानुबन्धो विभाषितं चापि बह्वर्थम् ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of पदान् (VIII. 1. 17) ceases. But the anuvṛitti of the last sūtra is current. Thus पचन्ति पूति, प्रपचन्ति पूति, पचन्ति मिथ्या, प्रपचन्ति मिथ्या ॥

Why do we say कुत्सेन 'denoting the fault of the action'? See पचन्ति शो-
भनम् ॥

Why do we say सुपि 'a noun'? Observe पचन्ति क्लिदनाति ॥

Why do we say with the exception of गोत्र &c. See पचन्ति गोत्रम्, पचन्ति
सुवम्, पचन्ति प्रवचनम् ॥

Vārt: It should be mentioned that the 'fault' mentioned in the sūtra, must be the fault relating to the mode of doing the action, denoted by the verb. The rule will not apply, if the कुत्सेन refers to the agent and not to the action. Thus पचन्ति पूतिर्देवदत्तः, प्रपचन्ति पूतिः ॥

Vārt: It should be stated that पूति has an indicatory च ॥ The effect of this is that the word पूति is finally acute, because of the indicatory च ॥ The word पूति is not a क्तिन् formed word, because it is not feminine, as we find it in sentences like पूतिरयम्; nor is it a word formed by क्तिच् affix, because this is not a संज्ञा word; therefore, it is a word without a derivation. Therefore by प्रातिपदिक स्वर (Phiṭ I. 1) it will be end-acute. The vārtika, therefore, indicates that when पूति causes the loss of accent of the verb, then it is end-acute, but in other cases it is acute on the beginning. According to Padamanjari, पूति is derived from पृ by adding the Uṇādi affix तिप् diversely (Uṇ IV. 180), and is first acute.

Vārt: A finite verb in the plural number, loses its accent optionally: when it loses its accent, then पूति is end-acute. Thus पचन्ति पूतिः, or पचन्ति पूतिः, प्रपचन्ति पूतिः or प्रपचन्ति पूतिः ॥

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

गतिर्गतौ ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, गतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिर्गतौ परतो ऽनुवाचो भवति ॥

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

Thus अभ्युद्धरति, समुद्धानयति, अभिसंपर्शो हरति ॥ Why do we say गतिः "a Gati becomes &c"? Observe देवदत्तः प्रपचन्ति ॥ Here देवदत्त is a Prātipadika and does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gati'? Observe आँ मन्द्नेरिन्द्र हरिभि र्वाहि मथुर रोमभिः ॥ Here आ is a Gati to the verb याहि, the complete verb is आयाहि ॥ But as आ is not followed by a Gati, but by a Prātipadika मन्द्ने, it retains its accent. Had the word गतौ not been used in the sūtra, this आ would have lost its accent, because the rule would have been too wide, without any restriction of what followed it.

तिङ्ङि चोदात्तवति ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्ङि, च, उदात्तवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिरिति वर्त्तते ॥ तिङ्ङन्ते उदात्तवति परतो गतिरनुदात्तो भवति ॥

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

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

Why have we used the word तिङ्ङि in the sūtra? In order to restrict the scope of the word उदात्तवति; so that a Gati would not become accentless before every udâtta word, but only before udâtta verbs. Thus आ does not become anudâtta before मन्त्रैः in आ मन्त्रैर्ऋ रिन्द्र हरिभि र्याहि ॥ If it be said that the word गति is a particular name which the Particles get before verb only, and therefore गति would always refer to its correlative term verb, and not to noun, like as the word father refers to its correlative term son and not nephew: and that, therefore, उदात्तवति must refer to the verb like याहि and not to a noun like मन्त्रैः; then also we say that the employment of the term तिङ्ङि is necessary, in order to indicate that the verb must be a finite verb, and not a verbal root. So that though a verbal root be udâtta, yet if in its conjugated form (तिङ्ङन्त) it is not udâtta, the गति will not lose its accent. Thus in यत् प्र करोति, the root कृ is anudâtta, but the तिङ्ङन्त form करोति is udâtta, hence the rule will apply here: which would not have been the case had उदात्तवति not been qualified by तिङ्ङि ॥ For the maxim is यत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयस् तेषां तं प्रति गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे भवतः ॥ Therefore in a तिङ्ङन्त, the designation of गति is with regard to धातु or verbal root. Obj: If तिङ्ङि is used for this purpose, then the rule will not apply to an आम् ending forms, like प्र पचतितराम् and प्रपचतितामम्, for these are not तिङ्ङन्त; but as a matter of fact, we find that प्र loses its accent, in these forms also. How is this explained? Ans. Here there are two views: some compound the Gati प्र with the completed आमन्त form पचतितराम् ॥ According to them, this प्र would get the accent, on the rule that an Indeclinable first member retains its accent (VI. 2. 2); so that even if the word तिङ्ङि was not used in the sūtra, the form पचतितराम् being the second member of a compound, became anudâtta; and so प्र being followed by an anudâtta never loses its accent. According to them, therefore, the Gati never loses its accent in प्रपचतितराम् &c. Others compound the word ending in तरप् (पचतितर) with the Gati, and having formed प्रपचतितर, then add the affix आम् ॥ According to this view, the आम् accent debars all other accents, on the maxim, 'the accent of the last prevails' (सतिशेष), and so प्र is anudâtta, not by this rule, but by अनुदात्तसर्वे पदमेकवर्जे ॥ According to them the word is प्रपचतितराम् ॥ According to both of these views, this sūtra is not necessary for the purposes of प्रपचतितराम् &c. But there is a third view which makes this sūtra necessary even for this purpose. There is this maxim: गतिकारकापदानाम् कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्ते: "It should be

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवद्भवति, तस्मिन्सति यत्कार्यं तन्न भवति ॥

72. A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्).

Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent vocative, which the first, taken as a पद्, would have caused under VIII. 1. 19. As देवैदत्त ! यज्ञदत्त ! Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. 1. 198. (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. 1. 28 is prevented: as, देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII. 1. 20-23 is prevented, as द्वादत्त तव (not ते) ग्रामः स्वम्, देवदत्त मम (not मे) ग्रामः स्वम् ॥ (4) The application of VIII. 1. 37 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb ; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb: as, यावद् देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII. 1. 47, though a Vocative may precede जातु, the latter is still considered as अविद्यमानपूर्वं and VIII. 1. 47 applies, as देवदत्त जातु पचसि ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. 1. 49, as आहो देवदत्त पचसि, उताहो देवदत्त पचसि, no option is allowed here by VIII. 1. 50.

Why do we use the word 'as if' or *वत्* in the sūtra, instead of saying 'altogether'? In other words, why do we say "it is considered as if non-existent", instead of saying "it is considered altogether non-existent"? The vocative does produce its own particular effect. Thus in *आम् भो देवदत्त!* the vocative *भो* is considered as one word (*एकान्तर*) for the purposes of separating *आम्* from the vocative *देवदत्त* under VIII. 1. 55. This is the opinion of Patanjali; but the opinion of the author of *Kāśikā* is that *भो* would have been considered as *अविद्यमानवत्* but for VIII. 1. 73.

Why do we say 'a Vocative'? Observe *देवदत्तः पृच्छति ॥* Why do we say *पूर्वं* 'with regard to the subsequent word'? The vocative itself will not be considered as non-existent, for the application of rules that would apply to vocative as such. Thus in *देवदत्त र्यज्ञदत्त*, the vocative *देवदत्त* gets its accent by VI. 1. 193 also. In fact, the word *पूर्वं* connotes its correlative *पर* 'subsequent'; and the vocative is considered as non-existent, for the purposes of the operations to be performed on such *subsequent* term, whether such operation be caused by the vocative itself, or by any other cause; but it is not to be considered non-existent for the purposes of operations to be performed upon itself. Therefore in *देवदत्त पृच्छति*, Devadatta does get the accent of the vocative. In *इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शतुद्रि* the first vocative *गङ्गे* is considered as non-existent with regard to *यमुने*, and, therefore, *यमुने* is considered as following immediately after the pada *मे* and thus *यमुने* becomes *anudatta*, not because of *गङ्गे*, but because of *मे*; similarly *सरस्वति* and *शतुद्रि* are *anudatta*, not because of the preceding Vocative, but because of *मे* ॥ In other words, the intervention of the vocatives does not stop the action of *मे* ॥

नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आमन्त्रिते, समानाधिकरणे, सामान्य-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानवत्त्वस्य प्रतिषेधः ॥ आमन्त्रितान्ते समानाधिकरणेपरतः पूर्वमामन्त्रितान्तं सामान्यवचनं नाविद्यमानवद्भवति ॥

73. A preceding vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus *अग्ने गृहपते, माणवकज्जटिलकाभ्यापक ॥* The first vocative being considered as existing, second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the *vocative* subsequent'? Observe *देवदत्त पृच्छति* here the *verb* does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition or *समानाधिकरणे*? Observe *देवदत्त पण्डित यज्ञदत्त*, here the word *पण्डित* qualifies *यज्ञदत्त*, and is not in apposition with *देवदत्त*, and hence it retains its accent.

Why do we say सामान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus ईक्ष्ये देवि सरस्वति ईडे काव्ये विईव्ये एतानि ते अक्ष्ये नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1. 198). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Taittiriya Br. is:-- ईडे रत्नेऽदिते सरस्वति प्रिये प्रेयसि महि विश्रुते, एतानि ते अक्ष्ये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, विशेष-
वचने, बहुवचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वैणाविद्यमानवचने प्रतिषिद्धे विकल्प उच्यते ॥ विशेषवचने समानाधिकरणे भामन्त्रितान्ते परतः पूर्वमामन्त्रितं बहुवचनान्तं विभाषितमविद्यमानवद्भवति ॥

74. When the preceding Vocative is in the Plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

This ordains option, where the last sūtra would have made the consideration of the first vocative as existent compulsory. Thus देवाः शरण्याः or देवा शरण्याः ॥ ब्राह्मणा वैद्याकरणाः or ब्राह्मणा वैद्याकरणाः ॥

The anuvṛitti of सामान्यवचनम् is understood here; the second vocative, therefore, must be a विशेषवचन, as being the correlative of the former: where is then the necessity of employing the word विशेषवचने in the sūtra? This word is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision only.

Why do we say 'in the plural number'? Observe मागवक जुटिलक ॥ No option is allowed here, and the preceding vocative is *always* considered as existent and so rule VIII. 1. 73 applies.

The sūtras 73 and 74 as enunciated by Pāṇini are:—73. नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे; 74. सामान्यवचनं विभाषितं विशेषवचने (i. e. 73. The preceding Vocative is not considered as non-existent, if the subsequent word is a Vocative in apposition with it. 74. Optionally so, if the preceding vocative is a general term and the subsequent vocative is a particular term). Patanjali made the amendment by adding सामान्यवचने to 73 also, and the author of Kāśikā has added बहुवचनम् to 74 from the commentary of Patanjali and has omitted सामान्यवचनम् from it: though he reads its anuvṛitti.



ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वत्र, अ-सिद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्यधिकार आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्येवं तद्वे-
दितव्यम् । तत्र येयं सपादसप्तम्यानुक्रान्ता एतस्यामयं पादो नो ऽध्यायो ऽसिद्धो भवति । इत उत्तरं चोत्तरो-
त्तरो योगः पूर्वत्रपूर्वत्रासिद्धो भवति । असिद्धवद्भवति । सिद्धकार्यं न करोति इति अर्थः ॥ तदेतदसिद्धवच्चनं
आदेशालक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थं उत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥

1. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikāra or governing rule, and extends upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter is to be understood as non-existent, with regard to the preceding rule. With regard to whatever has been taught in the preceding Seven Books and a quarter, the rules contained in these three last chapters are considered as *asiddha*. And further, in these three chapters, a subsequent rule is, as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned. The word असिद्धम् = असिद्धवद्भवति, सिद्धकार्यं न करोति ॥ The rule is "as if non-effective, does not produce the operation of a siddha or effective rule". This rule of non-effectiveness is for the sake of prohibiting the operation of an âdeśa rule, and establishing the operation of an utsarga or general rule. Thus अस्मा उद्भू; द्वा अन्न; द्वा आनय, असा आदित्यः ॥ In all these, the elision of स् and व् by VIII. 3. 19, being considered as not to have taken effect, there is no further sandhi, and आ + उ does not give rise to guṇa, nor आ + अ = आ ॥ In fact, for the purposes of the application of आद्गुणः rule of VI. 1. 87, or the दीर्घ rule of VI. 1. 101, the rule VIII. 3. 19 is considered as not to have taken effect at all.

Similarly अद्युष्मै, अद्युष्मात्, अद्युष्मिन् from अद्स् ॥ Thus अद्स् + ङे = अद् + ङे (VII. 2. 102 अ being substituted for the final स्, which again merges in the

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

शुष्किका शुष्कजङ्घा च क्षामिमानौजडत्तया ।

मतेर्वस्वे भलां जभ्स्वं, शुडलिग्मान्निर्देशनम् ॥

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

(1) शुष्किका ॥ To the root शुष् we add the Nishṭhâ त, as शुष् + त = शुष् + क (त changed to क by VIII. 2. 51) = शुष्क ॥ Add the feminine affix टाप् and we have शुष्का ॥ Add to this the affix क (V. 3. 70, 73), as शुष्का + क = शुष्काक, the feminine of which with टाप् will be शुष्किका (the shortening taking place by VII. 4. 13). Now अ is changed to इ by VII. 3. 44 and we have शुष्किका ॥ Now rule VII. 3. 46 makes this इ substitution optional, when a क precedes the अ, as is the case here: and that rule would require the alternative form शुष्किका ॥ But there is no such alternative form, because the क of शुष्क was the substitute of त by VIII. 2. 51, which is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of VII. 3. 46.

(2) शुष्कजङ्घा ॥ Here rule VI. 3. 37 would have required the form to be शुष्काजङ्घा like मद्रिकाकल्पा; there being no puñ-vad-bhāva when there is a penultimate क ॥ But the क in शुष्का being the result of VIII. 2. 51 is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes of VI. 3. 37.

(3) क्षामिमान् ॥ This word may be considered to have been formed by adding the affix मतुप् to the Patronymic word क्षामिः or to the noun क्षामिन् [क्षाम-स्यापत्यं = क्षामिः, or क्षामोऽस्यास्तीति = क्षामिन्] ॥ The word क्षाम is formed by adding the Nishṭhâ त to the root क्षै, as क्षै + त = क्षा + त (VI. 1. 45) = क्षाम (the त being changed to म् by VIII. 2. 53). Now this म् is considered as non-effectual for the purposes of application of VIII. 2. 9, which requires the change of म् of मत् to व, when मत् is added to a word having a penultimate म, as in क्षामिवान् ॥ Therefore we have क्षामिमान् and not क्षामिवान् ॥

(4) औजडत् ॥ This is the Aorist third person singular of the Derivative root औडि, from the Past-Participle of वह् ॥ Thus वह् + त = ऊड (VI. 1. 15). Add to it णिच् in the sense of तमाख्यन् (III. 1, 26): and then form its लुङ् ॥ The लुङ् is formed by adding चङ् (III. 1. 48), before which the stem is reduplicated (VI. 1. 11). In reduplicating, all the rules that went before in forming ऊड are considered *asiddha*; viz. the rule by which ह् was changed to ड (as वह् + त = उड् + त = उड् + त VIII. 1. 31), the rule by which त was changed to ध (उड् + त = उड् + ध VIII. 1.

40), the rule by which घ was changed to ढ (VIII. 4. 41), and the rule by which the first ढ was elided (VIII. 3. 13 as उह्+ढ=उ+ढ=ऊढ VI. 3. 111). The elision of ढि before णि being considered sthânavat, we reduplicate हत्; as ऊहतढ+चङ्+त्=ऊहढत् (VII. 4. 60)=ऊहढत् (VII. 4. 62)=ऊजढत् (VIII. 4. 54). There is no इ added by VII. 4. 79, because of the prohibition of अनग्लोपे of VII. 4. 93. With the augment, it becomes औजढत्.॥ The form औजिढत् is from उढि ending in the affix क्तिन् ॥

(5) गुडलिप्मान् ॥ This is formed by adding मतुप् to the word गुडलिह्, which is formed by क्विप् (गुडं लेढि) Here also the म of मतुप् is not changed into व by VIII. 2. 10; because the change of ह् to ह् (VIII. 1. 3), and again of ह् to ङ् are considered asiddha.

The rules of interpretation, however, contained in the previous part will apply to this part also; because such rules cannot be considered 'prior' or पूर्व; for they become operative then only when occasion requires to apply them. The maxim which governs such rules is कार्यकालं हि संज्ञा परिभाषम् ॥ The rules, therefore, which are exhibited here in the sixth case such as VIII. 2. 23, or the seventh case, as VIII. 2. 26, or the fifth case, as VIII. 2. 27, should be interpreted in accordance with the sūtras षष्ठी स्थाने योगा, तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य, तस्मादिति उत्तरस्य ॥

But with regard to the paribhâshâ विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यं, the above will not hold good. For, by the very fact, that a subsequent rule in these chapters, is held to be asiddha, with regard to the prior, there cannot arise any conflict of two rules of equal force with regard to them. And it is only where there is such a conflict, that the above rule of interpretation applies. This being so, in विस्कार्यम्, अवगोर्यम् formed by प्यत् (III. 1. 124) the guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 86 is not debarred by the दीर्घि rule VIII.2. 77, because there is no conflict between guṇa rule VII. 3. 86 and the dīrgha-rule VIII. 2. 77, for the latter is simply non-existent with regard to the former.

But though the विप्रतिषेध rule does not apply in these chapters; yet an apavâda rule here even, does over-ride an utsarga rule, for otherwise, the enunciation of an apavâda rule would be useless. The apavâda rule is therefore, not considered asiddha. Thus the utsarga rule होढः (VIII. 2. 31) is set aside by the apavâda rule दक्षिर्भातोर्षः (VIII. 2. 32), and thus we have दोग्धा, दोग्धुम् (दुह्+तृच्=दोघ्+तृच्) ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ नलोपः पूर्वत्रासिद्धौ भवति सुबिधौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ तुग्विधौ च कृति । विधिशब्देन प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यमानः स्वरसंज्ञातुकां विधेयत्वान्नैः कर्मषष्ठीयुक्तैर्भावसाधनो ऽभिसंबध्यते । सुपा तु संबन्धसामान्य-वचनषष्ठ्यन्तेन कर्मसाधनः । तेन सुपः स्थाने यो विधिः सुपि च परभूते सर्वोसौ सुबिधिरिति सर्वत्रासिद्धत्वं भवति ॥

2. The elision of a final न् (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment न् before a Kṛit-affix.

The word विधि in the sūtra applies to all the four words preceding it: as सुब्रुविधि, स्वरविधि &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्वरविधि, संज्ञाविधि सुब्रुविधि is that of ordaining the existence of something: e.g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is to be given to it or when न् is to be added to it, (भावसाधन) ॥ The compound सुब्रुविधि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मसाधन) ॥

(1) सुब्रुविधि:—As राजभिः, तक्षभिः ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तक्षन् being asiddha, the भिस् is not changed to ऐस् by VII. 1. 9. So also राजभ्याम्, तक्षभ्यां, राजसु, तक्षसु ॥ Here the finals of राज and तक्ष are not lengthened before भ्यां by सुप्च (VII. 3. 102) and nor changed to ए before सु by (VII. 3. 103): as in नराभ्यां and नरेषु of the stem ending in अ ॥

(2) स्वरविधि:—As राजवती and not राजवती ॥ For the elision of न् being asiddha, the rule VI. 1. 220, does not apply, for the word is considered not to end in अवती but न्वती ॥ Similarly in पञ्चार्धम् and दशार्धम्, the elision of न् being asiddha, the first member does not become ādy-udātta by VI. 2. 90. Similarly पञ्चवीजी: the elision of न् being asiddha, the first member does not retain its original accent as required by VI. 2. 29.

The word राजन् is first acute, as it is formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ. I. 156). राजवती is formed by adding डीप् to the मनुप् ending word, by IV. 1. 6. पञ्चार्धम् is a compound under rule II. 1. 50 of पञ्चन्-1-अर्ध, and when न् is elided, the first member becomes a word ending in अ and would require the accent of VI. 2. 90.

(3) संज्ञाविधि:—As पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः, दश ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पञ्च and दश are still called shash though they no longer end in न् (ष्णान्ता षट् I. 1. 24). Being called षष्, they do not take टप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 10).

According to the Vārtikakāra, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sūtra (संज्ञा ग्रहणानर्थक्यं च तन्निमित्तत्वाल्लोपस्य), because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as षट्). Thus without its having the name of षट् there would be no elision of जस् and शस्, without such elision, there is no pada sañjña of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII. 2. 7. The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking

plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The पञ्चन् and द्वाञ् ending in न् would require डीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जस् and न् are elided, the words end in अ and require टाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of षट् ॥

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sūtra? There are two views as regard definitions (संज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, *prior* to any operations; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim यथेहिंशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् 'Sanjñā, and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught.' The other view is that the sanjñā sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, and the sanjñā given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjñā sūtra becomes identified with a vidhi sūtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकालं संज्ञापरीभाषम् "Sanjñās and Paribhāshās are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations." In the first view, the षट् sanjñā will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस् and द्वास् and for prohibiting टाप् ॥ Hence thus sūtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjñā is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that षट् sanjñā which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding जस् and द्वास्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

(4) तुङ्विधिः—Thus वृत्रहभ्यां, वृत्रहभिः ॥ On account of the elision of न् being asiddha, the तुक् augment is not added, though required by VI. 1. 71. (इत्स्वस्य पिति कृति तुक्) ॥

Some hold that तुक् need not be read in the sūtra. They argue in this way:—There is this maxim सन्निपात लक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य "That which is taught in a rule, the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". Now the elision of न् of वृत्रहन् took place because of the case affix भ्यां, this elision cannot be the cause of adding तुक् ॥ Or the तुक् being a बहिरङ्ग operation would be asiddha with regard to the antaranga elision of न् ॥ This opinion is, however, not sound. The employment of तुक् in this sūtra indicates, that the two maxims above referred to, are not of universal application i. e. they are anītya.

Why do we say before a Kṛt-affix? Observe वृत्रहच्छत्रम्, वृत्रहच्छाया ॥ Here तुक् is added by VI. 1. 73.

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2. 7 &c would be asiddha by the

general rule VIII. 2. 1; the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of **ञ्** is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजीयते (राजन् + क्यच् + ते = राज + य + ते = राजीयते III. 1. 8, VII. 4. 33). There would not have been long ई had the नलोप been asiddha. So also राजायते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25) and राजाश्च there is ekādeśa (VI. 1. 101).

न मु ने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, मु, ने, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभावो नाभावे कर्त्तव्ये नासिद्धो भवति किं तर्हि सिद्ध एव ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ एकादेशस्वरोन्तरङ्गः सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ संयोगान्तस्य लोपो रो रुत्वे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ सिञ्जलोप एकादेशो सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ निद्रादेशः षत्वस्वरप्रत्ययविधीङ्घिषु सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ प्लुतविकारस्तु ग्विधौ छे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ इचुत्वं धुटि सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ अभ्यासजइत्वचत्वे एत्वतुकोः सिद्धे वक्तव्ये ॥

वा० ॥ द्विर्वचने परसवर्णस्य सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पदाधिकारश्लेषत्वव्यङ्ग्यत्वनस्वरुत्त्वत्पत्वनानुनासिकछत्वानि सिद्धानि वक्तव्यानि ॥

3. The sūtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of **मु** for the **दस्** of the Pronoun **अदस्**, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending **ना ॥**

The existence of **हु** is not considered uneffected when there is to be added **ना ॥** On the contrary, it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus **हु** being considered as siddha, **अहु** gets the designation of **घि** by I. 4. 7, and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120, **अहुना ॥** Had the **हु** been considered as non-effected, then the stem would not have been called *ghi*, and there would have been no **ना** added. But when **ना** had been added, then the **हु** being asiddha, **अहु** is considered to be as **अइ** ending in **अ**, and this **अ** would require lengthening by **सुपि च** VII. 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". There being no long **आ** the **उ** of **अहु** remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) **हु** is siddha when **ना** is to be added, (2) **हु** is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when **ना** is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sūtra is ने परतो यत् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्त्तव्ये शुभावो नासिद्धः "the **हु** is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when **ना** followed". From this, it would follow by implication that **हु** must be considered valid for the purposes of **नाभाव** itself. So **हु** being always siddha, **ना** is added: and there is no lengthening,

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

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

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

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

(4) एकदेश accent. As गाङ्गे ऽनूपे ॥ Here गाङ्ग + इ = गाङ्गे ॥ The word गाङ्ग is formed by अण् affix (गङ्गाया इत्म्) and is end-acute. The ekādeśa ए is udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This udātta accent will remain valid: so that when for ए + अ there is pūrva-rūpa-ekādeśa by VI. I. 109, this ekādeśa ए will be udātta by VIII. 2. 5, or it will be svarita by VIII. 2. 6. The word अनूपे is a प्रादि compound, भापोऽनुगतं = अनूपं ॥ Here by VI. 2. 2, the Indeclinable first term would have retained its accent: but the word is end-acute by VI. 2. 189.

(5) शतृ - accent. As तुरती, तुरते ॥ Here in तुर + श + शतृ, the affix श is udātta, and शतृ is anudātta. The ekādeśa अ will be udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādeśa - udātta should be considered valid for the purposes of the rule VI. I. 173 by which the feminine affix and the weak case-ending are udātta. Thus तुरैत् + ई = तुरती, तुरैत् + ए = तुरते ॥ The prohibition अनुमः in VI. I. 173 is a jñāpaka or indicator of the fact, that the ekādeśa accent should be considered *siddha*, in the accent of the शतृ, because without this ekādeśa accent, there is no śatṛi ending word with तुम् which is antodātta.

(6) एकाननुवागः accent. As तुरन्ति, लिखन्ति ॥ Here in तुद् + श + अन्ति (VI. I. 186) the ekādeśa अ is udātta by VIII. 2. 5, and this ekādeśa accent is considered valid for the purposes of rule VI. I. 158, by which all the remaining syllables become anudātta, as तुरैन्ति, लिखैन्ति ॥

(7) सर्वानुशक्तः accent. As ब्राह्मणास्तुवन्ति, ब्राह्मणा लिखन्ति ॥ Here the ekâdes'a-accent of तुवन्ति and लिखन्ति being valid, rule VIII. 1. 28 applies, and all the syllables become anudâtta.

The word antaranga is used in the vârtika to indicate that the Bahiranga ekâdes'a accent will not be siddha. Thus पचतीति and प्रपचतीति, where the word ईति is first acute, as it is an Indeclinable. And सोमसुत् पचतीति ॥ The accent of पचति + इति = पचतीति is governed by VIII. 2. 5. This ekâdes'a accent of long ई has reference to external sandhi, and therefore naturally it is a bahiranga. This bahiranga ekâdes'a accent is not siddha for the purposes of the application of previous sûttras. Thus sûtra VIII. 1. 71. requires that the *gati* should be unaccented before an accented verb: but प्र does not lose its accent, as पचतीति is not considered as an accented verb. In the second example, the ई of सी is not considered as accented, therefore, it does not become anudâtta by VIII. 1. 28.

Vârt.—The rule VIII. 2. 23 causing the elision of the final consonant in a word ending with a conjunct consonant, should be valid for the purposes of changing रु into उ ॥ What is the necessity of this vârtika? Observe हरिषा मेदिनिं स्वा ॥ The word हरिवः is formed by मतुप् affix हरयोऽस्य सन्ति = हरि + मत् ॥ Now by VIII. 2. 15 the म is changed to व, as हरि + वत् or हरिवत्; add सु (Voc.Sg.) as हरिवत् + सु, then add नुम् augment, as हरिवन्त् + सु ॥ Then there is elision of the final consonant = हरिवन् ॥ Now by VIII. 3. 1. the final न् is changed to र्, and we have हरिवर्, the र् would be changed to उ by VI. 1. 114, if the elision of the conjunct consonants be considered as siddha: for then this र् is followed by म, a ह्रस्व letter. But if such elision be considered asiddha, then र् is considered not to be followed by ह्रस्व letters, but by the consonants which were elided.

Vârt.—When ekâdes'a is to be done, the elision of सिच् is to be considered siddha or valid. As अलावीत् and अपावीत् ॥ Here the सिच् is elided by इद् ईदि (VIII. 2. 28.) This elision is considered valid or siddha, and thus we have dîrgha single substitution of ई for इ + ई as अलाच् + इ + सीत् = अलाच् + इ + ० + ईत् = अलावीत् ॥

Vârt.—The substitute of the Nishṭhâ affixes should be considered as valid or siddha for the purposes of the rules relating to the (1) changing of स to ष, (2) accent, (3) affix, and (4) इद् augment. As (1) वृक्णः, वृक्णवान् ॥ The root is ओत्रश्चु (VI. 11) the indicatory ओ shows that the nishṭhâ त् is changed to न (VIII. 2. 45). This nishṭhâ substitute is considered as valid or siddha, and the final of the root is not changed to ष, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 36: for न् would have been still considered as त् or a ह्रस्व letter. The equation is as follows:—त्रश्चु + त् = वृक्चु + त् (VI. 1. 16) = वृद्चु + न (VIII. 2. 45) = वृच् + न (VIII. 2. 29) = वृक् + न (VIII. 2. 30) = वृक्णः (VIII. 4. 1) The च् is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 30, by considering न् as asiddha and therefore equal to त् or a ह्रस्व letter. Thus it will be seen that this न् is ओसक् for the purposes of

rule VIII. 2. 30, but it is सिद्ध only for the purposes of rule VIII. 2. 36.

As regards the other three cases, viz, accent, affix and इद् augment, the one word क्षीब्, will illustrate them all. The irregular formation of this word is variously explained. It is formed by "nipātana" under VIII. 2. 55. It is the Past Participle of the root क्षीब्, thus evolved क्षीब् + इद् + त = क्षीब् + इ + त = क्षीब् + भ (इत् being elided, this is the anomaly) = क्षीब् ॥ Here the elision of इत् is considered as valid and siddhā, and therefore, क्षीब् is considered as a word of two syllables, for the purposes of accent, under rule निष्ठाच्च द्व्यजनात् (VI. 1. 205). Had the lopādeśa of इत् been considered asiddha, the word would have been considered as if of three syllables, and that rule of *accent* would not have applied.

Similarly क्षीबेन तरति = क्षीबिक formed by घृत् (IV. 4. 7) which *affix* is added, because it is considered a word of *two* syllables, the elision of इत् being considered as valid for the purposes of IV. 4. 7.

Similarly क्षीब् may be considered to have been formed by eliding the त्; as क्षीब् + त = क्षीब् + भ ॥ In this view of its formation, the augment इद् is not added, because the lopa of त् is considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of इद् augment. In the opinion of Patanjali, the words इद् विधि may well be omitted from the vārtika, for इद् being a *portion* of a प्रत्यय, the word प्रत्ययविधि would include इद्-विधि also.

Vārt:—The prolation modification of a vowel (pluta) should be considered as valid and siddha, for the purposes of the rule relating to तुक् augment before the letter छ ॥ Thus by VIII. 2. 107, the Vocative words अग्ने and पदे assume the forms अग्नाइ, and पदाइ ॥ These इ and उ are pluta-vikāras. As अग्नाइ इच्छन्म् । पदाइ उच्छन्म् ॥ Here the modification caused by VIII. 2. 107, is considered as valid and siddha; otherwise there would have been no compulsory तुक् augment as required by VI. 1. 73 but optional तुक् under VI. 1. 76.

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

Why is the root द्युतिर् considered to begin with स् and not with श् as we find it written? Because had it been a root beginning with श् originally, we could not get the form मधुक् which would have been मधुद् ॥ The form मधुक् is thus evolved. Thus मधु द्योतति = मधुद्युत् by adding क्विप् ॥ From मधुद्युत् we form a Derivative root in णिच् in the sense of मधुद्युत्तमाचष्टे = मधुद्ययति ॥ Add again क्विप् to this Derivative root मधुश्चि, the णिच् will be elided, and we have मधुद्यच्, then श् (which represents स्) is elided because it is at the beginning of a compound letter (VIII. 2. 29), and श् is elided, because it is at the

end of a conjunct letter final in a pada (VIII. 2. 23), and thus there remains मधुच्, and च् is changed to क् (VIII. 2. 30) we have मधुकृ ॥ Had the root been शकारादि, then this श could not be elided, and so we should elide only the final च् and य् and the form would be मधुश् which would be changed to ष् and then to द् and we should get मधुद् which is not desired.

Vart:—The जश् and चर् substitution of letters in the reduplicate should be considered siddha and valid for the purposes of ए change (VI. 4. 120) and तुक् augment. Thus बभणतुः and बभणुः ॥ Here the जश् change of भ, to ब in the reduplicate should be considered as valid, otherwise this would be अनदेशादि root and the Perfect would be भेणतुः and भेणुः ॥ Similarly from छिद् we have चिच्छिस्तति, and from उच्छ्, उचिच्छिपति ॥ In the latter, the second syllable छिस् of उच्छिस् (Desiderative) is reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. Here had the reduplicate substitute च् for छ् been considered asiddha, there would not have been तुक् augment by छे च (VI. 1. 73)

Vart:—The change of letter homogeneous with the subsequent is valid and siddha for the purposes of doubling. As सय्यन्ता, सव्वस्तरः, यत्त्रोकम्, तत्त्रोकम् ॥ In सय्यन्ता &c the स् is changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3. 23, and the anusvâra is then changed to a letter homogeneous with the subsequent by VIII. 4. 58. Had the परसवर्ण change been asiddha, there would have been no doubling by VIII. 4. 47.

Vart:—If there be the adhikâra of the word 'pada' in those sūtras which ordain the following changes, then those changes are considered siddha for doubling, namely, 1. ल्स्व the change into ल (VIII. 2. 21), 2. ढस्व the change into ढ (VIII. 2. 31), 3. च्स्व the change into च (VIII. 2. 33), 4. नस्व the change into न (VIII. 2. 56), 5. रुस्व the change to रु (VIII. 2. 75), 6. षस्व the change to ष (VIII. 3. 85), 7. णस्व the change to ण (VIII. 4. 11), 8. anunâsika change (VIII. 4. 45), 9. छस्व the change to छ (VIII. 4. 63).

As 1. गलो गलः; गलोगरः ॥ 2. द्वोग्धा द्वोग्धा ॥ 3. द्वोढाद्वोढा ॥ 4. तुन्नो तुन्नः or तुत्तो तुत्तः ॥ 5. अभिनोऽभिनः or अभिनद् अभिनत् This is लङ् second person singular of भिद्, the स् of सिर् is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final त् changed optionally to रु by VIII. 2. 74. The न is the vikarana भ्नम् ॥ 6. मातुः स्वसा मातुः स्वसा or मातुः स्वसा, मातुः स्वसा, 7. माषवापाणि माषवापाणि or माषवापानि माषवापानि ॥ 8. वाङ् नयनम् वाङ् नयनम् or वाङ् नयनम् वाङ् नयनम् ॥ 9. वाक् च्छयनं वाक् च्छयनं or वाक् च्छयनं वाक् च्छयनं ॥

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

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

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

उदात्तस्वरितयोर्यणः स्वरितो ऽनुदात्तस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त-स्वरितयोः, यणः, स्वरितः, अनुदात्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तयणः स्वरितयणश्च परस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरित आदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

Let us first take the vowel following an udāṭṭa yan. Thus कुशर्यो, कुशर्यः ॥ The word कुशर्यो is acutely accented on the final, because the long ई (डीप्) replaces अ of कुशर (VI. 1. 161). The semi-vowel य् is substituted in the room of this acute ई; the anudāṭṭa ओ and अः become svarita after such a य् ॥

Now to take an example of a svarita-yaṇ. The words सकृद्वि and खल्वि are finally acute by kṛit-accent (VI. 2. 139). The Locative singular of these words are खल्वि + इ = खल्वि, and सकृद्वि by VI. 4. 83. This इ is a semi-vowel which comes in the room of the acute ई, therefore, it is udāṭṭa-yaṇ. After this udāṭṭa-yaṇ, the anudāṭṭa इ of the Locative becomes svarita by the first part of this sūtra. Now when खल्वि + आशौ and सकृद्वि + आशौ are combined by sandhi, this svarita इ is changed to य्; it is, therefore, a svarita-yaṇ. The unaccented आ will become svarita, after this svarita-yaṇ. As खल्व्याशा and सकृद्व्याशा ॥ The word आशा is finally acute and consequently आ is not acute (Phit. I. 18).

Obj :—Here an objector may say : that the svarita accent on इ in खल्वि is by this very sūtra, this svarita is to be considered as asiddha for the purposes of यण् ādeśa of VI. 4. 83. How can then the य् substituted for this इ be considered as svarita-yaṇ ?

Ans :—This is considered as siddha by āśraya. (आश्रयान् सिद्धत्वम्) ॥

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

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

Vārt :—यण्स्वरो यणादेशे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ “The यण् accent should be considered as valid, for the purposes of यण् substitution”.

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

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

The second proposal is not to read svarita into the sūtra at all. The svarita in *सकृत्ल्याशा* would then be explained by udātta-yanah rule. *सकृत् + इ + आशा = सकृत् + इ + आशा ॥* Here इ is udātta-yaṅ. This will cause आ to become svarita. The intervening svarita इ is considered as not existent for the purposes of accent *स्वरिधौष्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवन् ॥* Nor is this इ to be considered as *sthāni-vad* to इ by I. 1. 57, for in applying the rule of accent, such a substitute is not considered as *sthānivat* by I. 1. 58.

Why do we say “of udātta and svarita”? Observe *वेदी + आशा = वेद्याशा*, so also *शाङ्गव्याशा ॥* Here the semi-vowel replaces an unaccented ई, and is *अनुदात्त यण ॥* These words are first acute owing to *लित्* accent (IV. 1. 73).

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तेन सहानुदात्तस्य च एकादेशः स उदात्तो भवति ॥

5. The single substitute of an unaccented with an udātta vowel is udātta.

The word “of an *anudātta*” is understood here. An unaccented vowel,

which combined with the preceding udâta vowel remains as a single substitute, becomes udâta. Thus for the udâta इ of अग्निँ and for the case-ending औ which is anudâta, there is always substituted long ई single by VI. 1. 102. This single substitute will be udâta according to the present sūtra, as अग्नीँ ॥ Similarly वाँ, वृँ, वृँः ॥

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

Other examples are क्व वोऽश्वाः (Rig. V. 61. 2) and क्वावरं मरुतः ॥ The word वः is anudâta by VIII. 1. 21. read with VIII. 1. 18. The word अँदवः is acutely accented on the first, as it is formed by adding क्वन् to अश् (Uṇ. I. 151). The स् of वस् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66), which is again changed to ञ (VI. 1. 113). Thus वो ऽदव ॥ Here अ becomes pūrva-rupa by VI. 1. 109, which is udâta. क्व is formed from क्विस् by अत् affix (V. 3. 12 and VII. 2. 105) and is svarita (VI. 1. 185). The word अँवर is acutely accented on the first by the Phiṭ II. 6. The single long substitute is udâta.

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

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

Thus सु + जल्यितः = सूँल्यितः or सूँल्यितः ; वि + ईक्षते = वीँक्षते or वीँक्षते ; वसुकः + असि = वसुकोँसि or वसुकोँसि ॥ Here the word सु is a Karmapravachanīya by I. 4. 94, when it is compounded by प्रादिसमास with the Past Participle, the Avayayibhāva compound retains the accent of its first member (VI. 2. 2), and so it is acutely accented on the first, and the rest are anudâta. Thus the udâta वृँ of सु is compounded with the anudâta र् of जल्यितः which stands at the beginning of a Pada, and so the ekâdeśa is optionally svarita. In वीँक्षते and वसुकोँसि also the verbs ईक्षते and असि lose all accent by VIII. 1. 28 and so ईँ and अँ become anudâta, which when compounded with वि and वसुक्ता become optionally svarita.

The word स्वरितः is employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra may have well stood as वाऽनुदात्ते पदादौ ॥ In this form of the sūtra, the udâta of the preceding sūtra would become optional when the second member is a word beginning with anudâta. Udâta being optional, in the other alternative, where there will not be udâta, the svarita will be substituted by reason of the nearness in position.

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

Why do we say "beginning of a word"? Observe वृक्षः, वृक्षाः, वृक्षैः and वृक्षाः, where anudatta case-endings are not beginnings of words.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita this is a vyavasthita-vibhâshâ; in this wise. There will necessarily be svarita (1) where a long ई is the single substitute of (इ+इ) or of two short इ, (2) where there is pûrva-rupa by the application of एङपरान्तात् अति (VI. I. 109). There will be udatta where a long vowel comes in. Thus in वि+इत्म्=दीदम् in वी३रुं ज्योतिर्हृदये, the long ई is substituted for two short इ's. This substitution of a long ई for two short इ's is technically called प्रभ्लेष ॥ Where there is Pras'lesha, the long ई is necessarily svarita. Similarly when there is अभिनिहतसन्धिः i. e. the peculiar sandhi taught in VI. I. 109. Thus तेऽववन्, सोऽयमागात् ॥ So also where there is क्षेप्रः सन्धिः i. e. the substitution of a semi-vowel in the room of an udatta or svarita vowel, as अभ्याभि ॥ The above rules about svarita are thus summarised in the Prâtiśâkhyas: इकारयोश्च प्रदलेषे क्षेप्राभिनिहेतु च ॥ But where a long ई is substituted as a single substitute for इ+ई (one of the इ's being long), there it must always be acute. As अस्य श्लोको विधीयते (Rig. I. 190. 4). The words विवि + ईयते are compounded into विधीयते ॥ The word विवि Locative singular is finally acute by VI. I. 171. ईयते is from the Divâdi root इङ् गतौ, and has lost its accent by VIII. I. 28.

नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, प्रातिपदिक, अन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकस्य परस्य योन्यो नकारस्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अहो नलोपप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

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

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

Why do we say 'at the end'? If the word अन्तस्य had not been used in the sûtra, then the sûtra would have stood thus नलोपः प्रातिपदिकस्य; and as the word परस्य is understood here, the sûtra would have meant, there is elision of न्, where ever it may be, of a Pada called stem. So that the न् of नराभ्याम् would also have required elision. In fact, the genitive case here in परस्य is not sthâna shashthî, but viseshâna shashthî, नलोप अन्तग्रहणं पराधिकारस्य विशेषणत्वात् ॥

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

end of a pratipadika, which (prâtipadika) is a portion of a pada" &c. and not "न which is at the end of a pada". So that the rule will not apply to अहन्नराभ्यां but will apply to राजानौ &c? Ans. The word प्रतिपदिक is not compounded, with the word अन्त in the sūtra. It is used without any case-affix, on the analogy of Chhandas usage. In fact, it is in the genitive case, the affix being elided by VII. 1. 39.

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

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

The word वीर्षाहन् is a Bahuvrihi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the न् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to उ (VI. 1. 114). In हे अहन्! the न् is not elided by the option of the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 8.

To remove these objections, they say, the word अहन् which is used in VIII. 2. 68 is in nominative singular without the elision of न्, and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन् ॥ The first one indicates the exact form, showing that the न् is not elided; and by the second word the ह is ordained for this final न् ॥

न ङिसंबुद्धोः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ङि, सम्बुद्धोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङौ परतः संबुद्धौ च नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ङाबुत्तरपदे प्रतिषेधस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ वा नपुंसकानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

This debars the elision of न्, which otherwise would have taken place by the preceding sūtra. The examples of non-elision of न् in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परेम व्योमन् (Rig. I. 164. 39), आर्हे चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् ॥ Here the sign of the Locative, namely, इ (ङि) is elided by VII. 1. 39. In the Vocative Singular, the न् is not elided as हे राजन्, हे तक्षन् ॥

Q. When इङि or the Vocative is elided, the preceding stem is no longer a Prâtipadika, and the stem does not get the designation of पद् before the affix but is भ, hence where is the necessity of making the present prohibitory rule, when the elision of न् would not have taken place in the Locative and Vocative singular, by any rule?

Ans. The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of न्, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (jñâpaka), that a word retains the designation of prâtipadika, though an affix has been elided after it and though such elided affix may produce its effect (I. 2. 45 read with I. 1. 62). Nor will such elided affix give the designation of Bha (भ) to such a stem. Thus राज्ञः पुरुषः = राजपुरुषः, here the न् is elided by considering the word राजन् as a prâtipadika, even after the elision of the Genitive affix in the compound, and it is not a Bha, which would have required the elision of भ by VI. 4. 134.

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

In हे राजवृन्दारक ! the first member राजन् does not retain its न् by the present sūtra, because the whole compound, as such, is in the Vocative case, and not the word राजन् ॥ In fact, there can be no compound, which in its analysis, will give the first member as a Vocative word.

Vârt :—Optionally so in the neuter nouns. As हे चर्मन्, हे चर्म !

मादुपधायाश्च मतोर्वो ऽयवादिभ्यः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, आत्, उपधायाः, च, मतोः, घः, अ यवादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्ताद् मकारोपधावर्णान्तादवर्णोपधाच्चोत्तरस्य मतोर्व इत्ययमदेशो भवति यवादिभ्यस्तु परतो न भवति ॥

9. For the म् of the affix मन् is substituted व्, if the stem ends in म् or अ (and आ) or if these are in the penultimate position; but not after यव and the rest.

After a stem ending in म् or having म् as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in अ or आ, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted व् for the म् of मतुप् ॥ First after stems ending in म्, as किवन् (किवान्), शिवन् (शिवान्). Secondly म् penultimate : as शमीवान्, शडिमीवान् ॥ Thirdly a stem ending in अ or आ, as वृक्षवान्, इक्षवान्, खट्वावान्, मालावान् ॥ Fourthly अ or आ in the penultimate : as—पयस्वान्, यज्ञस्वान्, भास्वान् ॥

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

The following is the list of यवादि words.

1. यव, 2. क्लिप्त, 3. उर्मि, 4. भूमि, 5. कृपि, 6. कुञ्चा, 7. वशा, 8. द्राक्षा, 9. प्राक्षा ॥ These words either end in म and अ or have these as their penultimate. 10. धाञि, 11. ध्वञि, 12. सञिञ्ज. These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. 13. हरिन्, 14. ककुत्, 15 गरुत् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इष्टु, 17. मधु, 18. हुम, 19. मण्ड, 20. धुम ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

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

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

ज्ञयः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञयन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As अग्निचिच्चान् आमः, उरद्विचिवान् घोषः, विद्युच्चान् वलाहकः, इन्द्रो मरुत्वान्, दृषद्वान् देशः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As अहीवती, कपीवती, ऋषीवती, सुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI. 3. 120.

आसन्दीवद् अष्टिवच्चक्रीवत्कक्षीवद्दुमण्युच्चर्मण्वती ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसन्दीवत्, अष्टीवत्, चक्रीवत्, कक्षीवत्, रुमण्वत्, चर्मण्वती ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्दीवद् अष्टीवत् चक्रीवत् कक्षीवद् रुमण्वत् चर्मण्वती इत्येतानि संज्ञायां निपात्यन्ते ॥

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

The change of म् to व् in these was obtained from the last sūtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. आसन्दीवत्, is from the stem आसन which is here changed to आसन्दी ॥ As आसन्दीवान् आमः, आसन्दीवद् अहिस्थलम् ॥ As in the following śloka :

आसन्दीवति धान्यावं रुक्मिणं हरितस्रजम् ।

अद्वं बबन्ध सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजयः ॥

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

अस्थि which is changed to अष्ट्री ॥ As अष्ट्रीवान् the name of a particular portion of body; the knee-joints. Otherwise अस्थिवान् ॥ 3. चक्रीवन् is from चक्र which is changed to चक्री, as चक्रीवान् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have चक्रवान् ॥ चक्रीवन्ति सरोहविर्द्रानानि भवन्ति is a Vedic example. It means सारस्वते सत्रेजङ्गमानि सरो हविर्धानानि, न स्वेकत्रावस्थितानि, तानि तत्र तत्र कर्षणाय चक्रपुक्तानि भवन्ति ॥ 4. कक्षीवन् is from कक्ष्या, there is vocalisation of य and the lengthening is by VI, 4. 2. कक्षीवान् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कक्ष्यावान् ॥ 5. रुमण्वन् is from लवण which is changed to रुमण् ॥ Otherwise we have लवणवान् ॥ Others say, that there is a distinct word रुमन्, and the न् is not elided, but changed to ण् ॥ Or that the affix मन् takes the augment नुद् ॥ 6. चर्मण्वती is from चर्मन्, there is non-elision of न् and its change to ण् ॥ Or मन् has taken नुद् augment. The Charmanvati is the name of a river. Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥

उदन्वानुद्धौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदन्वान्, उद्धौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदन्वानित्युक्कशब्दस्य मतादुदन्भावो निपात्यते उद्धावर्ये संज्ञायां विषये ॥

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

It is derived from उदक 'water' with the affix मन् ॥ उदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like तटाक &c. The affix क्रि is added by III. 3 93, and उक्क changed to उद् by VI. 3. 58, and thus we have उद्धिः ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a sea"? Observe उदकवान् घटः 'a pot having water'. Here the main idea is not that of "holding or containing", but simply the general fact of possessing water: a human being may also possess water in the same way.

राजन्वान्सौराज्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्वान्, सौराज्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्वानिति निपात्यते, सौराज्ये गम्यमाने ॥

14. Also राजन्वान्, when the sense is of a good government.

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देशः, राजन्वती पृथ्वी ॥ The affix मनुष् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise. Otherwise राजवान् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये इवर्णान्ताद्रेफान्ताच्चोत्तरस्य मतोर्ध्वं भवति ॥

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

To take some examples of a stem ending in इ, as चिवती याज्यानुवाक्या भवति; हरिवो मे इन् त्वा; अधिपति वती जुहोति; चतुरग्निवानिन्व; आरेवानेतु मा विशान् (आरेवान् from रयि with vocalisation). सरस्वतीवान्, भारतीवान्, र्धीवांश्चरुः ॥ As all rules have

optional force in the Chhandas, we have no change here सप्तर्षिमन्त्रम्, ऋषिमान्, ऋतीमान् सूर्यं ते द्यावापृथिवीमन्त ॥ Of stems ending in र we have गीर्वाण्, धूर्वाण्, आशीर्वाण् ॥

अनो तुद् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, तुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीति वर्तते ऽनन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोरुडागमो भवति छन्दासि विषये ॥

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

As अक्षण्वन्तः कर्णवन्तः सखायः; अस्थण्वन्तं यदनस्था त्रिभक्ति (Rig. I. 164. 4), अक्षण्वता लाङ्गलेन; शीर्षण्वती, मूर्द्धण्वती ॥

The word अक्षण्वन् is thus formed: आक्षि + मतुप् = अक्ष् + अन् + मन् (अनङ् is substituted for the final of akshi by VII. 1. 76) = अक्षमन् (the न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Now we add the augment तुद् ॥ If this augment is added to मतुप्, as म्नुत्तुप् then it becomes a *portion* of मतुप्, and this न् would be changed to व् by VIII. 3. 9 read with I. 1. 54, and not the letter म्, because न् intervenes. If we add this augment to the end of the stem, then in अक्षण्वता &c. we cannot change it to ञ because of the prohibition in VIII. 4. 37, and the augment being तुक्, the न् would be changed to रु by VIII. 3. 7 in सुपयिन्तरः &c (VIII. 2. 17). The first view, however, is the correct one and the difficulty in its acceptance is obviated by तुदोऽसिद्धत्वात् तस्य च वत्त्वं न भवति; ततः परस्य च भवति; as shown above.

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

नाद् घस्य ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नात्, घस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तादुत्तरस्य घसंज्ञकस्य तुडागमो भवति छन्दासि विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भूरिदान्त्स तुद् वक्तव्यः ॥ वाः ॥ रथिन ईकारान्तादेशो घे परतः ॥

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

The affixes तरप् and तमप् are called घ ॥ Thus सुपयिन् + तर = सुपयि + तर (VIII. 2. 7) = सुपयि + त्तर (VIII. 2. 17) = सुपयिन्तरः ॥ So also वस्युहन्तमः ॥

Vārt.:—The augment तुद् is added to these affixes after भूरिदावन्; as भूरिदावन्तरः (III. 2. 74, the affix is वनिप्).

Vārt.:—Long ई is the substitute of the final of रथिन् before तर and तम ॥ The word रथिन् is formed by the affix ह्नि in the sense of मतुप् ॥ The final न् is first elided by VIII. 2. 7, and then for the short इ of रथि the long ई is substituted by the present vārtika. If the long ई were substituted for the final न् of रथिन् as रथिई + तर, then this long ई being asiddha, it could not be compounded by ekādeśa with the preceding इ into ई, and the form would always remain रथिईतरः ॥ As रथितरः, and रथितमं रथिनाम् ॥ Or this ई may be considered to have come after रथि in the sense of मतुप् ॥

कृपो रो लः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृपः, रः, लः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृपेर्द्धी रो रेफस्य लकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृपणकृपाणकृपीटकर्पूरादयोपि ऋपरेव द्रष्टव्याः ॥

वा० ॥ बालमूललघुसुरालमङ्गुलीनां वा रोऽन्मापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ कपिलकाशीनां संज्ञालन्दसोर्वा रो लमापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

18. For the र of the root कृप्, there is substituted ल् ॥

The र् here merely indicates the sound, and includes both the single consonant र् and the same consonant of the vowel क् ॥ So also with ल् ॥ So that for the single र् there is substituted ल् ; and for र् when a portion of क्, the ल् is substituted, i. e. क् becomes ल् ॥ Thus कृप् = क्लृप्, as in the sūtra लुटि च क्लृपः (I. 3. 93). कल्मा, कल्मारौ, कल्मारः ॥ क्लृप्तः, क्लृप्तवान् ॥

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

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

Vārt:—Optionally so of बाल &c. As, बालः or बारः, मूलम् or मूरम्, लघु or रघु, असुरः or असुलः, अलम् or अरम्, अङ्गुलिः or अङ्गुरिः ॥

Vārt:—Optionally so in the Vedas, or when names, of कपिलका &c, as कपिरकः or कपिलकः, तिल्विलीकम् or तिल्विरीकम्, लोमाणि or रोमाणि, पांशुरं or पांशुलं, कर्म or कल्म, शुकः or शुक्लः, कल्मषं, कर्मषं ॥

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

उपसर्गस्यायतौ ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, अयतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयतौ परत उपसर्गस्य यो रेऽस्तस्य लकार अ. र् ङे भवति ॥

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

when अयते follows.

Thus पलायते, श्लायते ॥ Here arises the question, does the word अयति qualify the word र्, or does it qualify the word Preposition. In the first view, the sūtra would mean, "the र् immediately followed by अयति is changed to ल्" ॥ But as a matter of fact, र् is never immediately followed by अयति ॥ Thus in प्र+अयति or परा+अयादि, the letter अ and आ intervene respectively. The ekādeśa sandhi of these, will make र् immediately followed by अयति; but the ekādeśa, being sthānivat will prevent it. This difficulty however, is overcome by the maxim, येन नाच्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात्, for otherwise the rule will be useless. For the same reasons, परि+अयते=पल्ययते, though here य् intervenes between र् and अयते ॥ In short, the intervention of one letter is considered as no intervention.

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

with regard to the above forms. But then would arise a fresh difficulty, for the र of प्रति would also require to be changed into ल् ॥ Some say, that प्रति is never followed by भयति; while others hold that the form प्रत्ययते (प्रति + भयते) is valid. According to the first view, the valid form is प्रत्ययते ॥ The स् of the Prepositions दुस् and निस् is changed to र्, but this र् is not changed to ल्, because it is asiddha: thus we have the forms निरयणम्, दुरयणम् ॥ But there is a preposition निर् also the र् of which is changed to ल्, as निलयणम् ॥ See VII. 2. 46. According to the Siddhânta Kaumudi, there is a Preposition दुर् also, which gives दुलयते ॥

ओ यङि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अः, यङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृ इत्येतस्य धातो रेफस्य लकारादेशो भवति यङि परतः ॥

20. ल् is substituted for the र् of गृ in the Intensive.

Thus निजेगिल्यते, निजेगिल्थेते, निजेगिल्यन्ते ॥ The root गृ takes यङ्, when the sense of contempt is conveyed, with regard to the action denoted by the root, (III. 1. 24). गङ्हितं गिलति = जेगिल्यते ॥

Some say that अ of the sūtra includes the two roots गृ (गिरति Tud. 117) and गृ (गृणाति Kry. 28). Others hold that the Tudâdi ग्रि is only taken and not the Kryâdi. The Kryâdi ग्रि never takes the Intensive form, no example of which is to be met in literature.

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

अचि विभाषा ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ प्रत्यये परतो ओ रेफस्य विभाषा लकारादेशो भवति ॥

21. The र् of ग्रि is optionally changed to ल् before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As निगिरति or निगिलति, निगरणम् or निगलनम्, निगारकः or निगालकः ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhâshâ, the optional forms have particular meanings. Thus गलः meaning 'neck' is always with ल्; while गरः 'poison' is always with र्.

In निर्गार्यते or निगाल्यते, the elision of णि is considered sthânavad, and hence this option, though the actual affix begins with य ॥ Obj.—The sthânavad-bhâva rule is invalid here by VIII. 2. 1. Ans. The rule पूर्ववाचिसिद्धं does not hold good with regard to the rules of संयोगादिलोप, लृत्व and णृत्व on the maxim "तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलृत्वणृत्वेषु" ॥

Or the र् will be *first* changed to ल्, as being antaranga, and then the णि will be elided.

The forms गिरी, गिरः are either from the Kryâdi root ग्रि, or l-change has not taken place on the maxim धातोः स्वरूपमङ्गणे तत्प्रत्यये विज्ञानम् and as the

affixes औ and अः are not affixes which are ordained after a verb, but are affixes added to nouns, hence the ळ change has not taken place. In fact the words 'an affix beginning with a vowel' in the sūtra, means "a verbal affix beginning with a vowel," and not a noun affix. These are the Dual and Plural of the Nominative case of गृ formed with the affix विदप् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ परि इत्येतस्य यो रेफस्तस्य घशब्दे ऽङ्कशब्दे च परतो विभाषा लकार आदेशो भवति ॥
वर्तिकम् ॥ योगं चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

As परिषः or पलिषः, पर्यङ्कः or पत्यङ्कः ॥ The word घ here means the word-form घ, and not the technical घ of तरप् and तमप् ॥ See III. 3. 84 by which हन् is replaced by घ ॥

Vårt.—So also, it must be stated, before the word योगः ॥ As, परियोगः or पलियोगः ॥

संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगान्तस्य, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तस्य परस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

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

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

In दध्यन्न and मध्वन्न formed from दधि + अन्न and मधु + अन्न, by changing इ and उ to य् and व्, we have दध्यन् + अन्न and मध्वन् + अन्न, where य् and व् are final in a pada, and so they require to be elided. It is, however, not done, because यण् substitution is a Bahiranga operation, as it depends upon two words and consequently, is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule, which depends on one word only.

Why do we say 'of a Pada'? Observe गोमन्तौ, गोमन्तः ॥

रात्सस्य ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात् , सस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तपदस्य यो रेफस्तस्मादुत्तरस्यान्यस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

24. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus अक्षाः and अन्ताः for अक्षास् and अन्तास् the Aorist of क्षर् and स्तर in the following passages: गोभिरक्षाः, प्रत्यञ्चमस्ताः ॥ The ईद् is not added as a Vedic diversity. See VII. 3. 97.

So also मातुः, पितुः for मातुस् and पितुस् ॥ Here by VI. 1. 111, the क् + अ of मातृ + अस् is changed to ङ, which is followed by र् by I. 1. 51.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after र् by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of स् after र् shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than स् following after र् will not be dropped. Thus ऊर्क् from ऊर्क् + क्विप् (III. 2. 177), here ङ् is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30, and to क् by VIII. 4. 56. Also अमाद् from अज् in लङ् the तिप् (त्) is elided by VI. 1. 18; there is वृद्धि by VII. 2. 114, the ङ् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to ङ् VIII. 4. 53 and finally to द् (चर्) ॥

धि च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धकारादी प्रत्यये परतः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—धि सकारे सिचो लोपश्चकाद्धीति प्रयोजनम् ।

आशाध्वं तु कथं जशत्वं सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्छ्रुतिश्चापि न विद्यते ।

लुङ्श्चापि न मूर्द्धन्ये ग्रहणं सेटि दुष्यति ॥

घसिभसोर्न सिध्येत तस्मास्सिङ्ग्रहणं न तत् ।

छान्दसो वर्णलोपो वा यथेष्कर्त्तारमध्वरे ॥

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

As अलविध्वम्, अलविद्ध्वम्, अपविध्वम्, अपविद्ध्वम् for अलविस्ध्वम् and अपविस्ध्वम् ॥ Had this स् (of सिच्) not been elided; then स् would be first changed to ष्, and then to a letter of जश् class (VIII. 4. 53), ध् would never be heard even optionally, though so required by VIII, 3. 79, but the forms would be always with ङ, as अलविङ्द्ध्वम् &c. ॥

From an *ishiti*, the elision of स् is confined to the स् of the Aorist सिच्, and not to any other स् ॥ Thus स् is not elided in चकाद्धि in चकाद्धि पलितं शिरः (हे शिरः पलितं सच् चकाद्धि शोभस्वेत्यर्थः). It is the Imperative of चकास् the सिप् is changed to हि, and हि to धि (VI. 4. 101), and स् to द् by VIII. 4. 53. Similarly it does not apply to पयस् धावति, where स is changed to रु and then to ङ (VI. 1. 114)

=पयो धावति ॥ The elision of स् in सग्धिः from वस् with क्तिन्, and in बधाम् from भस् in the Imperative with ताम्, is a Vedic diversity. But according to Patanjali चक्राधि is the proper form; while in पयो धावति the antaranga रु debars this bahiraṅga स् elision.

Obj.—If so, how do you form आशाध्वं, by the elision of स् of शास् ; for स् would not be elided? Ans.—The स् is not here elided but changed to जश् letter, by VIII. 2. 39. Obj. If so, स् may always be changed to जश् letter, and there is no need of eliding it; in pronouncing, it will make no difference, whether you pronounce with one consonant or two, e.g. आशाद्भम् or आशाध्वं ॥ Moreover by so doing, you will shorten the sūtra VIII. 3. 78, by omitting the word लुङ् from it. For the forms like अच्योङ्ङम्, अशोङ्ङम्, will be evolved regularly by changing स् of सिच् to ष् ; and the ध after it will be changed to ढ, and then ष् changed to ङ् by जश्त्व (VIII. 4. 53). Ans.—So far it will be all right, but in सेद् Aorist we shall never get the alternative forms अलविध्वम् &c, though we may get the form अलविङ्ङम् (VIII. 3. 79). Therefore, the word सिच् should be taken.

Obj.—If सिच् is to be taken here, then the स् of वस् and भस् will not be dropped, and we shall not get the forms सग्धिः and बध्यां in the passages सग्धिश्च मे सपीतिश्च मे, and बध्यां ते हरीधानाः ॥ Therefore, the present sūtra should not be confined to सिच् only. Ans.—We shall explain सग्धिः by saying, that it is a word derived from सघ, and so also बध्यां from the root बन्ध ॥

[N. B.—The word सग्धिः is generally thus derived; अद् + क्तिन् = वस् + ति (II. 4. 39) = ष् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = ष् + ति (VIII. 2. 26). Had the present rule been confined to सिच्, the स् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 26. See VI. 4. 100, where these two forms are developed]. Or we may explain these forms as Vedic irregularity, by which letters are sometimes dropped, and so वस् and भस् have lost their स् ॥ That letters are sometimes dropped in the Chhandas, we see in passages like the following इष्कत्तरिमध्वरे for निष्कत्तरिमध्वरं ; तुभ्येदमग्ने for तुभ्यमिदमग्ने ; आम्बानां चरुः for नाम्बानां चरुः ; अव्याधिनी रुगणः or अव्याधिनीः सुगणाः ॥

The above discussion is summarised in the following

Kārikā:—धिसकारे सिचोलोपश्चक्राद्धीति प्रयोजनम्, “This rule is confined to the elision of the स् of सिच् only, for the sake of preserving the स् in चक्राद्धि” ॥

आशाध्वं तु कथं? जश्त्वं सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥ “How then do you form आशाध्वं by the elision of स्? The स is not elided but changed to a जश् letter”.

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्, छुति भ्रापि न विद्यते । लुङ्भापि न मूर्धन्ये ग्रहणं सेटि दुष्यति ॥ “ If this be so, then let जश् come every where, for there is no difference in sound, moreover this will shorten VIII. 3. 78 by omitting the word लुङ् from it. The जश् cannot come every where, as the difficulty will be in सेद् Aorist”. घसि भसोर्न सिध्येत, तस्मात् सिच् ग्रहणं न तत् । “The forms सग्धिः and बध्यां could not be formed

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

छान्सो वर्णलोपो वा यथेष्कार्त्तरिध्वरे " The elision of स् in सग्धिः and ब्रह्मां will be explained as a Vedic anomaly, for letters are often dropped in Vedic forms, as in इष्कार्त्तरिध्वरे instead of निष्कार्त्तरिध्वरे ॥"

झलो झलि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलो, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झल उत्तरस्य सकारस्य झलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

26. The स् is elided when it is preceded by a *jhal* consonant (any consonant except semi-vowels and nasals), and is followed by an affix beginning with a *jhal* consonant.

Thus अभिक्त for अभिक्त, अभिस्थाः for अभित्स्थाः ॥ So also अच्छिक्त, अच्छिस्थाः, अवात्ताम्, अवात्त ॥ The last example may also be explained by VII. 4. 49; the elision of the स of सिच् being considered as asiddha, the स् of the root is changed to त् ॥

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

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

ह्रस्वादङ्गात् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, अङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वान्ताङ्गादुचरस्य सकारस्यलोपो भवति झलि परतः ॥

27. The स् is elided, before an affix beginning with a *jhal* consonant, when it is preceded by a stem ending in a short vowel.

As अकृत; अहयाः ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel stem? Observe अच्योष्ट, अघ्नोष्ट ॥ Why do we say 'after a stem'? Observe अकृथाः, अलाविष्टाम्, अलाविषुः अपाविष्टाम् and अपाविषुः ॥ Why do we say "before an affix beginning with a *jhal*". Observe अकृपाताम्, अकृपत ॥

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

इट ईटि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, ईटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इट उत्तरस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ईटि परतः ॥

28. The स् is dropped after the augment इत्, if after this स् the augment ईट् follows.

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

sûtra, this *स्* between *इ* and *ई* is dropped, and we have *अलावीत्*; so also, *अरावीत्*, *असेवीत्*, *अकोषीत्*, *अमोषीत्* ॥

Why do we say 'after the augment *इद्*'? Observe *अकार्षीत्*, *अहार्षीत्* ॥
Why when the augment *ईद्* follows? Observe *अलाविटाम्* *अलाविपुः* ॥

स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्कोः, संयोग-आद्योः, अन्ते, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ *पदस्यान्ते यः संयोगः झलि परलो वा संयोगस्तशद्योः सुकारककारयोर्लोपो भवति ॥*
वाचिकम् ॥ झलि सडीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The *स्* or *क्*, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped, before a jhal affix, and at the end of a word.

A conjunct consonant, having *स्* or *क्* as its first member, when coming at the end of a Pada, or when followed by a jhal beginning affix, loses its *स्* or *क्* ॥ Thus from the root *लस्* we have *लग्नः* and *लग्नवान्* before the jhal affix *त्* and *तवन्*; the substitution of *त्* for *स्* is considered asidhha for this purpose (VIII. 2. 1). So also *साधुलक्* at the end of a Pada. Similarly *मग्नः* *मग्नवान्*, *साधुमक्* from *मस्* ॥ So also with initial *क्*, as *तद्* from *तश्*; so also *तटः*, *तटवान्*, *काष्ठतद्* ॥

Vârti:— It should be rather stated that "before a jhal affix included in the *pratyahâra* सङ्" ॥ The *सङ्* is a *pratyâhâra* formed with the *स्* of *सन्* (III.1.5) and the *ङ्* of *महिङ्* (III. 4. 78). It thus includes all the *kṛit* affixes, and *dhâtu* affixes i. e. affixes which come after a *verb* and not the *Taddhita* or the *Femine* affixes. This *Vârtika* applies to all the preceding *sûtras* of this sub-division and is of use in the following places.

गिरोऽ भोधिर्द्विट्रां च दृषस्थः काष्ठशक्स्थिरः । कृञ्चाधुर्येति मा स्मैषु सत्वादीनि भवन्विति ॥

So that in *गिरः* there should not be the optional *ल* by VIII. 2. 21. In *अभोधिः*, the *स्* of *अभस्* is not elided before *धि* as required by VIII. 2. 25. In *द्विट्रां* the rule VIII. 2. 27 does not apply. In *दृषत्स्थः* the rule VIII. 2. 26 does not apply. In *काष्ठशक्स्थिरः* the rule VIII. 2. 29 is non-applicable. In *कृञ्चा* the rule VIII. 2. 30 does not apply. In *धुर्यः* (*धुरं वहति*) there is not lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Thus *काष्ठशक्स्थाता* ॥ Here *क्* would require to be elided as initial in a consonant, followed by a jhal consonant *थ* ॥ *काष्ठशक्* is formed by adding *क्लिप्* to *शक्* ॥ But according to *Patanjali*, there can be formed no valid word from *शक्* with *क्लिप्*, *a fortiori*, no such word can be formed as *काष्ठशक्स्थाता* (*काष्ठशक् तिष्ठति*).

In *वास्वर्थम्*, *काक्वर्थम्*, the *स्* and *क्* are not elided, because *व्* is a *Bahir-anga* substitute and asidhha, and the word *वास्व्* *काक्व्* are not considered as Pada, ending in a conjunct consonant.

Why do we say "of *स्* and *क्*"? Observe *नर्नन्ति*, *वर्वन्ति* ॥

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

Why do we say 'at the end of a word'? Observe *तक्षिता*, *तक्षकः* ॥

चोः कुः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ चोः, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ *चवर्गस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति झलि परतः परान्ते च ॥*

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

Thus पक्ता, पक्तम्, पक्तव्यम् and ओदनपक् from पच् ॥ Similarly वक्ता, वक्तम्, वक्तव्यम् and वाक् ॥

In कुञ्चा the feminine in षप् of कुञ्च (कुङ्) by IV. 1. 4 list, the झ् a palatal is followed by च् a jhal letter, and therefore, it should be changed to a guttural. It is not so, because Pāṇini himself uses this word, in this form, in sūtra III. 2. 59. Or because the rule is confined to सङ् affixes only. Or the root is कुञ्च् without र् and with a penultimate न्, and not झ् as we find in Dhātupāṭha कुञ्च कौटिल्याल्पी भावयोः (Bhu. 200). With the elision of न् we have निकुञ्चितिः before the क्तिन् affix (VI. 4. 24) कुञ्चितः in Past Part. and अचोकुन् ॥ In निकुञ्चितम् we cannot have the optional क्तिन् of the Nishṭhā by I. 2. 21, because the elision of the penultimate न् by VI. 4. 24 preceded on the basis of the affix being क्तिन्, thus कुञ्च्+क्त=कुञ्च्+त ॥ This elision of न्, will not make the root उदुपधा for the purposes of the application of rule I. 2. 21, on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ॥ In fact, one of the reasons on which this maxim is based, is this very fact, that the elision of न् does not make the root उदुपधा for the purposes of making the affix non-क्तिन् ॥ The affix क्तिन् takes the augment इद् under VII. 2. 9 (vārt). The word कुङ् is formed from this root by क्तिन् affix (III. 2. 59): the final च् is first elided by VIII. 2. 23, and then झ् is changed to ङ् by VIII. 2. 62. The rule VI. 4. 24 thus finds no scope here.

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

हो ढः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, ढः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारस्य ढकारादेशो भवति इति परतः पदान्ते च ॥

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

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

दादेर्धातोर्घः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्-आदेः, धातोः, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दकारादेशोर्धातोर्हकारस्य घकारादेशो भवति इति परतः पदान्ते ॥

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

For the final ह of a द् beginning root, घ is substituted under similar circumstances. As दग्धा, दग्धुम्, दग्धव्यम्, काष्ठधक्, दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम्, गोधुक्, from दृह् and दुह् ॥ For the त् of the affixes तृ &c. घ is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the घ becomes ग by VIII. 4. 53. For the घ in काष्ठधक् is substituted ग by VIII. 2. 39, or क् by VIII. 4. 56, and दृ becomes ध by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with दृ"? Observe लेढा, लेढुम्, लेढव्यम्, गुडेलिद् ॥

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

If it has the force of denoting a 'portion or member', how do you explain the forms दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, for here no *portion* is taken but the *whole* word? This will be explained on the maxim of व्यपदेशिवद् भावः "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach". (व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन्) ॥ Or we may explain the sūtra, by saying 'that root which begins with दृ in its original enunciation in Dhātupāṭha'? Thus in original enunciation the root is लिह् not beginning with दृ ॥ If a Derivative root be formed from it like दामलिह्य (दामलिहामिच्छति = दामलिह्यति), it is a root which begins with दृ; the ह of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to घ, for it is not a root of upadeśa. Therefore, when we add क्विप् to this root, we get दामलिद् by VIII. 2. 31, and not दामलिक् ॥

वा द्रुहमुहष्णुहष्णिहाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, द्रुह, मुह, ष्णुह, णिहाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ न्ह मुह ष्णुह णिह इत्येतेषां धातूनां हकारस्य वा घकारादेशो भवति झलि परतः परान्ते च ॥

33. The ह of druh, muh, shṇuh, and shṇih is optionally changed to घ, before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

Thus द्रुहः, द्रोढा Or द्रोग्धा, मिन्नधुक्, मिन्नधुद्, मुह, उन्मोग्धा, उन्मोढा, उन्मुक्, उन्मुद्, कुह, उत्सोग्धा, उत्सोढा, उत्सुक्, उत्सुद्, झिह, झेग्धा, झेढा, झिक्, झिद् ॥

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

These roots belong to Radhādi sub-class of Divādi gaṇa: and are

taught there in this very order (Div. 89-91). By belonging to Radhâdi sub-division, the इद् is optional (VII. 2. 45). Instead of making the sūtra वा वृहादीनाम्, this longer formation of the aphorism indicates that the rule applies to यद्भुक् also; as दोधृक् or दोधृद् ॥ See VII. 1. 6, for if the roots were taught not specifically but by गण, then the rule would not apply to यां luk.

नहो धः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहः, धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहो हकारस्य धकारदेशो भवति झलि परे पदान्ते च ॥

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

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

आहस्थः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहः, थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो हकारस्य थकारदेशो भवति झलि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ह्रमहो भेदलन्दासि हस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

As इदमात्थ, किनात्थ ॥ The word आथ्य becomes आत्थ by VIII. 4. 55. Why has the last mentioned substitute ध not been ordained here, for this ध would also have given the form आत्थ by चर change, as the थ is also changed to त्; and by so doing there would have been only one sūtra, instead of two i. e. आहनहो र्ध would have been enough? Making this separate substitute, is for the sake of indicating that the rule VIII. 2. 40, does not apply here. For had VIII. 2. 40, still applied, the substitute ध of the last sūtra would have been enough. The त् substitute, however, would have been the best.

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

Vart.— In the Chhandas, भ is substituted for the ह of ह् and ग्रह् ॥ Thus गर्हभेन संभरति; मरुदस्य गृभ्णाति; सामिधेन्यो जधिरे, उदयाभञ्च निशाभञ्च ब्रह्म देवा भवीवृधन् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रश्च भ्रस्ज सृज घृज यज राज भ्राज इत्येतेषां छकारान्तानां शकारान्तानां च षकार आदेशो भवति झलि परतः पशन्ते च ॥

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

Thus ब्रश्चः—ब्रष्टा, ब्रष्टुम्, ब्रष्टव्यम् मूलवृद् ॥ भ्रष्टा । भ्रष्टुम् । भ्रष्टव्यम् । धानाभृद् । सूञ् । झष्टा । झष्टुम् । झष्टव्यम् । रज्जुसृद् । घृज् । मार्था । मार्थुम् । मार्थव्यम् । कंसपरिवृद् । यज् । यथा । यथुम् । यष्टव्यम् । उपयद् । राज् । सम्राद् । स्वराद्, विराद्, विभाद् ॥ The श ending words would have been changed to जश्-letters and the others to Gutturals; this sūtra debaras that by ordaining ष ॥ In मूलवृद् and धानाभृद् there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, the सू is elided by VIII. 2. 19, and ष becomes जश्-letter झ्, which becomes र् by VIII. 4. 56. The word शब्दप्राद् is formed by क्विष्, there is lengthening and no vocalisation.

The roots राज् and भ्राज् are never followed by a *jhal* beginning affix, because such affixes will always take इद् augment. These roots are, therefore, mentioned here, for the sake of the change of their ज् to ष्, when at the end of a word. Some, however, form nouns like राष्टिः, भ्राष्टिः with क्तिन् affix from these roots by III. 3. 94, vârt., and इद् augment is prevented by VII. 2. 9.

Of roots ending in छ we have प्रच्छः—प्रष्टा, प्रष्टुम्, प्रष्टव्यम्, शब्दप्राद् ॥ According to one view, the letter छ should not be mentioned in this sūtra: for by VI. 4. 19, छ is always changed to श, and this श will be changed to ष by the present sūtra. Others hold, that the change of छ to श by VI. 4. 19 is confined before क्तिन् or ड्तिन् affixes, and therefore the mention of छ is necessary in this sūtra; moreover the ष substitution here, and the श substitution in VI. 4. 19. refer to the conjunct letter च्छ (with the augment तुक्). For if it were not so, then छ alone being changed to ष्, the त् of तुक् would be changed to द्, and we should have पृष्टः instead of पृष्टः ॥

Of roots ending in श् we have लिश्ः—लेष्टा, लेष्टुम्, लेष्टव्यम्, लिद्; विश्ः—वेष्टा, वेष्टुम्, वेष्टव्यम्, विद् ॥

एकाचो वशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-अचः, वशः, भष्, झष-अन्तस्य, सू, ध्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोर्वयवो य एकाच् झषन्तः तद्वयवस्य वशः स्थानि भष् आदेशो भवति झलि सकारि ध्वशब्दे च परतः पशन्ते च ॥

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

Thus from बुष्—भोस्त्यन्ते, अभुध्वम् and अर्थभुत्; from गुह्—नि घोक्ष्यते न्यघुद्भुम्, पर्णघुद् ॥ गुह् becomes गुह् by VIII. 2. 31, and thus it is a root ending in jhash.

From दुह्—(which becomes दुष् by VIII. 2. 32, and thus is a jhash ending root) धोक्ष्यते अदुग्धम्, गोधुक् ॥

So also from गृष् we have अजर्घाः the 2nd Person. Sing. Imperfect (लङ्) Intensive (yañ luk). There is guṇa of क्, the स् (of सिप् 2nd Pers. Sing.) is elided (VI. 1. 68), and we have अजर्घर्ध्, and for the letter ग of the monosyllabic root, घ is substituted by the present aphorism. अजर्घर्ध् ॥ Then the final ध् is changed to द्, अजर्घर्द् (VIII. 2. 39). Then द् is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75, अजर्घर् ॥ Then the first र् is elided अजर्घर् (VIII. 3. 14). Then there is lengthening by VI. 3. 111, and we have अजर्घाः ॥

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

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

Why do we say “for a बश् letter”? Observe कुध्—क्रोत्स्यति here क is not changed to घ ॥ Why do we say ending in jhash? Observe दास्यति ॥ Why before स and ध्व? Observe बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम् ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ दध इति दधातिः कृतद्विवचनो निर्दिश्यते। तस्य झलन्तस्य बशः स्थाने भष् आदेशो भवति तकार-यकारयोः परतश्चकारात् स्ध्वोश्च परतः ॥

38. For the द् of दध (the reduplicated form of धा) is substituted ध, before the affixes beginning with त, थ, स and before ध्वम् ॥

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

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

The word झलि is understood here, and so also झपन्तस्य; and there can be no affix, but begins with त or य, that can come after द्ध ॥ Why do we employ then the words 'before त and य'? Had we not used these, the sūtra would have referred to स and ध्व only, as being in immediate proximity, and the च draws them in. According to Padamanjari the words तयोश्च could have been dispensed with: for before स् and ध्व, the ध change would have taken place by the last sūtra, whilst by this sūtra, the same change would have taken place before all other झल-beginning affixes, and such affixes that can come after द्ध are त or य-beginning affixes.

The word jhash is understood here also, therefore the rule applies to द्ध then only, when it assumes the form of द्ध्, by the elision of आ; and hence not here इधाति ॥

झलां जशोन्ते ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलां, जशः, अन्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां जश आदेशा भवन्ति पदस्यान्ते वर्त्तमानानाम् ॥

39. A corresponding ज, ब, ग, ड or द् is substituted for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाग् भञ्ज, श्वलिङ् भञ्ज, ऐग्निचिद् भञ्ज, त्रिष्टुब् भञ्ज ॥ The word श्वलिङ् is formed by changing the ह् of लिङ् to ढ first, and then changing this ढ to ड, a jaś-letter.

The word अन्त 'at the end' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the anuvṛitti of झलि ceases. Thus बस्ता, वस्तुम्, वस्तव्यम् ॥

The exceptions to this have been given in VIII. 2. 30 &c, and VIII. 2. 66. At an avasāna or Pause, a चर् consonant may be substituted for a झल by VIII. 4. 56.

झपस्तथोद्धौ ऽधः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ झपः, त-थोः, धः, अधः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झप उत्तरयोस्तकारथकारयो स्थाने धकार आदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

The भ् of लभ् is changed to ब by VIII. 4. 53. From दुह्:—दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम्, अदुग्ध, अदुग्धाः ॥ The ह् is changed to घ by VIII. 2. 32, and then it is changed to ग by VIII. 4. 53.

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

From बुध्—बोद्धा, बोद्ध्युम्, बोद्धव्यम्, अबुद्ध, अबुद्धाः ॥ For the ध of बुध् there is substituted ढ by VIII. 4. 53.

Why do we say “but not after the root धा”? Observe धत्तः, धस्यः ॥

पढोः कः सि ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पढोः, कः, सि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारढकारयोः ककारदेशो भवति सकारे परतः ॥

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

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

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

Why do we say “before स”? Observe पिनष्टि, लेढि ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति । पूर्वस्य चत्कारस्य ॥

42. After र and द्, for the त् of the Participial suffix त् and त्वत्, there is substituted न्, and the same substitution takes place also for the preceding द् ॥

After रः—आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विशीर्णम्, निगीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम् ॥

After द्ः—भिन्नः, भिन्नवान्, छिन्नः, छिन्नवान् from भिद् and छिद् ॥

Why do we say “after र and द्”? Observe कृतः, कृतवान् ॥ The word र here does not denote the common sound र्, which would include ऋ also, but the consonant र् ॥ But even if र् be taken a common sound-name including र् and ऋ, yet the न् change does not take place in कृत &c, because between त् and the र्-sound, there intervenes vowel-sound इ, for ऋ is sounded not like pure र्, but र्+a vowel sound.

Why do we say “of the Participial suffix”? Observe कर्त्ता, हर्त्ता ॥

Why do we say “for the त्”? Observe चरितम्, हरितम् ॥ Here the त् of the Nishthâ does not follow *immediately* after र्, the augment इद् intervenes.

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

In the word कर्त्तिः the descendant of कृतः the त् of Nishthâ is immediately preceded by र्, but no change has taken place, because the Vṛiddhi, by which कृ is changed to कार्, is Bahiranga and consequently asiddha, and for the purposes of न change, the र् so obtained is invalid.

संयोगादेरातो धातोर्यण्वतः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग-आदेः, आतः, धातोः, यण्वतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादिव्यो धातुराकारान्तो यएवान् तस्मादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe च्युतः, च्युतवान्; प्लुतः, प्लुतवान् ॥

Why do we say "after a root"? Observe निर्यातः, निर्यातः ॥ For the roots here या and वा do not begin with a conjunct consonant, and that which is a conjunct i. e. र्वा and र्वा is not a root, hence the rule does not apply.

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

ल्लादिभ्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लू-आदिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लूञ् छेदने इत्येतत्प्रथति वृ वरण इति यावत् वृत्करणेन समापिता ल्लादयो गृह्यन्ते । तेभ्य उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋकारल्लादिभ्यः क्तिन्निष्ठावद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ दुग्बोर्दीर्घश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूञ्जा विनाशइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सिनेतेर्भासकर्मकर्तृकस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

These roots belong to Kryâdi class, and commence from लूञ् छेदने (IX. 13) and end with वृ वरणे (IX. 32).

Thus लूनः, लूनवान्, धूनः, धूनवान्, जीनः, जीनवान् from ज्या the vocalisation is by VI. I. 16.

Vårt:—After a root ending in ऋ or ॠ and after a root of Luâdi class, the त of the affix क्तिन् is changed to न्, like as in Nishṭhâ. Thus कीर्णः, गीर्णः, शीर्णः, लूनः, पूनः ॥ These are from कृ (IX. 26), गृ (IX. 28), शृ (IX. 18), लू and पूञ् ॥

Vårt:—The vowel of the roots दु गतौ (Bhu. 991) and गु (Bhu. 997), are lengthened before the Nishṭhâ which is changed to न ॥ As भावूनः, विगूनः ॥

Vårt:—The न change takes place after पूञ् 'to destroy' (Bhu. 1015). As पूना यवाः = विनष्टाः ॥ But पूतं धान्यं from पूञ् 'to purify' (IX. 12).

Vårt:—The same change takes place after the root सि बन्धने of Svâdi class (2) when used in a Reflexive sense of becoming a morsel fit for swallowing. As सिनो भासः स्वयमेव i. e. where a morsel by being mixed with curd, condiments &c, becomes rounded of itself, there this form is used. बन्धमानः पिण्डीक्रियमाणो भासो, यदा दध्यादिव्यञ्जन वशेन तत्रानुकूल्यं प्रतिपद्यते तदाऽयम् प्रयोगः ॥ But

when not used in this sense, we have सित्ता पाशेन सूकरी ॥ Moreover, the ग्रास must be the object and not the subject of the verb. Therefore not here: सित्तो ग्रासो देवदत्तेन ॥

ओदितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओदितः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारेणो धातो रुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारदेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus ओलस्जी—लग्नः, लग्नवान्, ओविजी—उद्विग्नः, उद्विग्नवान् ॥ ओप्यायी वृद्धोः—आपीनः, आ पीनवान् ॥

The roots सूङ् प्राणिप्रसवे (Div. 24) &c. are considered as ओदिन् ॥ Thus, सूनः, सूनवान्; वृङ्—वूनः, वूनवान्; सीङ्—सीनः, दीनवान्; डीङ्—डीनः, डीनवान्; धीङ्—धीनः, धीनवान्; मीङ्—मीनः, मीनवान्; रीङ्—रीणः, रीणवान्, लीङ्—लीनः, लीनवान्, व्रीङ्—व्रीणः, व्रीणवान् ॥

क्षियो दीर्घात् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियो धातोर्दीर्घादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारदेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus क्षीणाः क्लेशाः; क्षीणो जाल्मः; क्षीणस्तपस्वी ॥ The vowel of क्षि is lengthened by VI. 4. 60 and 61.

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

The root ङक्ष includes the two roots क्षि क्षये and क्षि निवासगत्यौः ॥ As क्षितः कामो मया ॥ See also the commentary of Sâyana on अक्षितोऽङ्गितः सनेष्टिमं वाजामन्द्रः सहस्रिणं ॥ (Rig I. 5. 9).

Obj:—The form क्षियः in the sūtra is the Genitive singular of the root-noun क्षी ending in long ई, and will denote the root क्षी ending in long ई according to the maxim प्रकृतिवद्बुकरणं भवति "an imitative name (as क्षी here) is like its original (the root क्षी)". What is then the necessity of employing the word दीर्घात् in the sūtra? For had the root क्षि with short इ been meant, the form would have been क्षेः ॥

Ans.—The dhātu imitative noun though taking इयङ् (VI. 4. 77) as in क्षियः, includes the dhātu ending in short इ also, as in sūtra VI. 4. 59, 60 where क्षि ending in short इ is taken.

Q. If a root ending in short vowel may also be indicated by an imitative name, declined with इयङ् augment, then why is the root ङक्षि exhibited in sūtra I. 3. 19 as जेः instead of जियः i. e. the sūtra ought to have been वि पराभ्यां जियः and not वि पराभ्यां जेः ?

Ans. Here the word जि is not used as a dhātu-imitative word, there is no intention here to denote the verbal idea of the particular act connoted by the root जि; on the contrary, it simply expresses the mere form जि ॥

इयो ऽस्पृशे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयः, अ-स्पृशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयात्तेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्यास्पर्शे नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चतेरुत्तरपदस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति न चेदपादानं तत्र भवति ॥

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

Thus समक्रौ शङ्कुनेः पादौ = सङ्गतौ; तस्मात् पशवो व्यक्राः ॥

Why do we say 'when not in construction with an Ablative case'?

Observe उदक्तशुदकं कृपात् = उद्धृतं 'drawn out'.

The word व्यक्तम् is from the root अञ्च् व्यक्तिस्रक्षण कान्तिगतिषु, and not from the root अञ्च्; and hence the Nishṭhâ is not changed.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव उच्चारस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति अविजिगीषायामर्थे ॥

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

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

Thus आद्यूनः = औसरिकः, परिद्यूनः = क्षीणः ॥ Why do we say "when it does not mean to play"? Observe द्यूतं वर्तते ॥ Here the throwing of dice is with the desire of winning or gaining victory (vijigîshâ) over the opponent.

निर्वाणो ऽवाते ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्वाणः, अ-वाते ॥

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

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

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

Why do we say when not meaning "the wind"? Observe निर्वातो वातः, निर्वातं वातेन ॥

In the sentences निर्वाणः प्रदीपो वातेन, निर्वाणोऽग्निर्वतिन, the न change has taken place, because the location of the verb वा is in the प्रदीप and अग्नि, and not in the वात, which is merely an Instrument. Hence the above वृत्ति uses the words "if the sense of the verb वा does not govern वात in the locative case".

शुष्कः कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्कः, कः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शुषेर्द्धातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य ककारदेशो भवति ॥

51. क is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त after the root शुष् ॥

As शुष्कः, शुष्कवान् ॥

पचो वः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पचः वः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पचेर्द्धातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य वकारदेशो भवति ॥

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

As पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥

क्षायो मः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षायः, मः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेधातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य मकारदेशो भवति ॥

53. म is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त after the root क्षै ॥

Thus क्षामः, क्षामवान् ॥

प्रस्त्योन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्त्यः, अन्यत रस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वात् स्त्यायतेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्यान्यतरस्यां मकारदेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus प्रस्तीमः or प्रस्तीतः, प्रस्तीमवान् or प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ In the second alternative when म does not come, we first vocalise the root स्त्या into स्ती, and then add त् ॥ Had Samprasâraṇa not taken place first, then the Nishṭhâ त् would have been changed to न after स्त्या by VIII. 2. 43. But when samprasâraṇa is

once made, the root no longer has a semi-vowel and so there remains no occasion for the application of VIII. 2. 43. See VI. 1. 23 for vocalisation.

अनुपसर्गात्फुल्लक्षीवकृशोलाघाः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, फुल्ल-क्षीव-कृश-उलाघाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फुल्ल क्षीव कृश उलाघ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते न चेटुपसर्गादुच्चारं भवन्ति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्फुल्लसंफुल्लयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

The word फुल्ल is derived from the root त्रिफला विशरणे the त् is changed to ल् ॥ The change of अ to उ (VII. 4. 88) and the want of इद् augment (VII. 2. 16) are regular. The same change takes place before क्तवत् also, as फुल्लवान् ॥

The affix त् is elided after the roots क्षीव्, कृश् and उन्—लाच्, and the augment इद् is prohibited; this is the irregularity in क्षीवः, कृशः and उलाघः ॥

Why do we say when not preceded by a Preposition? Observe प्रफुल्लः सुमनसः, प्रक्षीवितः, प्रकृशितः, प्रोलाघितः ॥ In the case of लाच्, prepositions other than उन् are prohibited.

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

Vart.—The forms उत्फुल्लः and संफुल्लः should be enumerated. Here त् is changed to ल्, though the root has taken a Preposition.

In the word परिकृशः, the word परि is not a Preposition with regard to the verb कृश्; परिगतः कृशः = परिकृशः ॥ So that परि is upasarga of the verb गतः understood, hence we have the form कृशः ॥

नुदविदोन्दत्राघ्राहीभ्यो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुद, विद, उन्द, त्रा, घ्रा, हीभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नुद विद उन्द त्रा घ्रा ही इत्येतेभ्य उच्चारस्य निष्ठात्कारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Kārikā:—वेत्तेस्तु विदितो निष्ठा विद्यतेर्विन्न इष्यते ।

विच्तेर्विन्नश्च विराश्च भोगे विन्नश्च विन्दते ॥

56. The Nishthâ त् may optionally be changed to न्, after नुद, विद, उन्द, त्रा, घ्रा, ही ॥

Thus नुन्नः or नुत्तः, विन्नः or वित्तः, सधुन्नः or सधुत्तः, त्राणः or त्रातः, घ्राणः or घ्रातः, हीणः or हीतः ॥

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

The root विद् विचारणे of Rudhâdi is to be taken here, and not the other विद् roots. Thus the following: *Kārikâ*

The Nishthā of विद्-वेत्ति of Adādi class is विदितः ; (2) of विद्-विद्यते of Divādi class is विन्नः only ; (3) of विद् of Tudādi is विन्नः ; (4) of विद् of Rudhādi are both वित्तः and विन्नः ॥ The Tudādi विद् has also the form वित्तः in the sense of भोग by VIII. 2. 58.

न ध्याख्यापृमूर्च्छिमदाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ध्या, ख्या, पृ, मूर्च्छि, मदाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ध्या ख्या पृ मूर्च्छि मद् इत्येतेषां निष्ठातकारस्य नकारदेशो न भवति ॥

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

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यातवान्, ख्यातः, ख्यातवान्, पूतः, पूतवान्, मूर्च्छः, मूर्च्छवान्, मत्तः, मत्तवान् ॥

This debars the न change prescribed by VIII. 2. 42, 43.

The root मूर्च्छि is exhibited in the sūtra in its lengthened form ; the root मुच्छ् is lengthened by VIII. 2. 78, and the च्छ is elided before त by VI. 4. 21.

वित्तो भोगप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वित्तः, भोग, प्रत्यययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वित्त इति विरेकाभार्यादुत्तरस्य क्तस्य नत्वाभावो निपात्यते भोगे प्रत्यये चाभिधेये ॥

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

This is derived from विद् लभे of Tudādi class, the त is not changed to न though so required by VIII. 2. 42.

Thus वित्तमस्य बहु = धनमस्य बहु 'he has much riches'. Because riches are enjoyed (भुज्यते), so they are called भोग or 'enjoyments' *par excellence*.

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

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

भित्तं शकलम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भित्तम्, शकलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भित्तमिति निपात्यते शकलं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

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

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

ऋणमाधमर्ण्ये ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋणम्, आधमर्ण्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋणमिति ऋइत्येतस्माद्धातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते आधमर्ण्यविषये ॥

60. The word ऋण is irregularly formed in the sense of 'debt.'

It is derived from ऋ, the त is changed to न ॥ The word अधमर्ण is compounded from अधम ऋणे "he who in a debt transaction holds a lower position"—

i.e. a debtor. This nipātana shows that such irregular Locative compounds may be formed; for here the first member is *not* in the Locative case, but the second member. The condition of being a debtor is **आधमर्ण्यम्** or "indebtedness:"

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ नसत्त निषत्त अनुत्त प्रतूर्त्त सूर्त्त गूर्त्त इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

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

The words **नसत्त** and **निषत्त** are derived from the root **सद्** preceded by **न** and **नि**, and there is not the **न** change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus **नसत्तमञ्जसा ॥** In secular literature we have **नसन्नम् ॥** So also **निषत्तः** in the Vedas, but **निषण्णः** in secular literature. The word **अनुत्तः** is from **उन्द्** with the negative **अन् ॥** The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As **अनुत्तमा ते मघवन् (=अनुन्नम्) ॥ प्रतूर्त्तम्** is from **स्वर्** or **तूर्व**, as **प्रतूर्त्तं वाजिनम् (=प्रतूर्णम्) ॥** When it is derived from **स्वर्** then **ऊद्** is added by VI. 4. 20; and when from **तूर्व** then VI. 4. 21 is applied. **सूर्त्तं** is from **सृ**, the **ऋ** is changed to **उ** irregularly, as **सूर्त्तगावः=सृतागावः ॥ गूर्त्तं** is from **गूर्**, as **गूर्त्तं अमृतम् (=गूर्णं) ॥**

क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विन्, प्रत्ययस्य, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्यति वर्त्तते । क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्र पदान्ते कुत्वमिष्यते । क्विन्प्रत्ययो यस्माद्धातोः स क्विन्प्रत्ययः, तस्य पदस्यालोन्यस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

62. A stem formed with the affix **क्विन्** under III. 2. 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

The word **पदस्य** is understood here. The word **क्विन्प्रत्यय** is a Bahuvrihi meaning 'that stem which has kvin as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As **घृतस्पृक् (III. 2. 58), हलस्पृक्, मन्त्रस्पृक् ॥**

The sūtra could have been **क्विनः कुः**; the word **प्रत्यय** is used in the sūtra to show the Bahuvrihi compound; so that the **व्** of **क्विन्** may not be changed to a guttural. Moreover this Bahuvrihi also indicates that the roots which take the **क्विन्** affix, change their final to a guttural before other affixes than **क्विन् ॥**

Thus the roots **सृज्** and **दृश्** take **क्विन्** to form **स्रक्** and **दृक्** nouns by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: as, **मानो अस्नाक् मानो अद्राक्**, where **अस्नाक्** and **अद्राक्** are the Aorist of **सृज्** and **दृश्** ॥ The augment **अद्** is not elided, though the **मा** is added (VI. 4. 75) as a Vedic diversity. The **ईद्** augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment **अम्** is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 3. Thus **अद् + सृज् + सिञ् + तिप् = अस्रज्** (VI. 1. 58) = **अस्नाक्** (VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62). Other wise it would have been **ष** by VIII. 2. 36. So also in **दृग्भ्यां, दृग्भिः**, the **श्** is changed to a guttural, though the noun **दृश्** is a **क्विप्** formed noun and not formed by **क्विन्**; and this is so, because the verb **दृश्** does take **क्विन्** also.

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

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

नशोर्वा ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशोः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येति वर्त्तते ॥ नशोः पदस्य वा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

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

The word **पदस्य** is understood here also. As **सा वै जीवनडाहुतिः** (Maitr. S. I. 4. 13): or **सा वै जीवनगाहुतिः ॥** According to Pro. Bohtlingk this latter form is not found in the Samhitā.

Here the root **नश्** has taken **क्विप्** in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to **संपदादि** class.

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुनासिकस्य क्लिप्तलोः द्वितीतिरीर्धत्वम् ॥

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

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

Why do we say "of **म**-ending roots"? Observe **भिन्, छिन् ॥**

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

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

म्बोश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ म्, वोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारवकारयोश्च परतः मकारान्तस्य धातोर्नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

As अगन्म, अगन्व the Imperfect of गम्, as in the sentence अगन्म तमसः पारम ॥ The शप् is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also जगन्वान् with क्वसु, the augment इह is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. I. 68. This sūtra applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sūtra.

ससजुषो रुः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, सजुषोः, रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य पदस्य सजुष् इत्यन्तस्य च रुर्भवति ॥

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

Thus अग्निरत्र, वायुरत्र ॥ So also सजूर्कषिभिः, सजूर्वेभिः ॥ सजुष् is derived from जुष् with the affix क्तिप् and the preposition सह which is changed to स in Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means सप्रीतिः ॥ The रु is र्, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary र् (or रु) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary र् ॥

अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाश्च ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयाः, श्वेतवाः, पुरोडाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाः इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ॥

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

The word अवयाः is from अव + यञ् ; श्वेतवाः from श्वेत + वह् and पुरोडाः from पुरस् + दाश् ॥ The affix ण्विन् is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अवयाञ् is also formed by ण्विन् (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words श्वेतवाह्, पुरोडाश् and अवयाञ् are formed. These words take the affix डस् before the Pada-terminations (See Vārtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken डस्, the above forms अवयाः &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipātana, when रु would have come by the last sūtra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अवयस्, श्वेतवस् and पुरोडस्? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हे अवयाः, हे श्वेतवाः, हे पुरोडाः ॥

The word च shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हे उक्थशाः ॥

अहन् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अह्नित्येतस्य पदस्य रुभवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अह्नो रविधौ रूपरात्रिरथन्तरूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

68. ह is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निदाघः, हे दीर्घाहोऽनेति ॥ See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र् in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārti:—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्रः, अहोरथन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this र् change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with रं; as अहो रम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

रोऽसुपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, अ-सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अह्नित्येतस्य रेफादेशो भवत्यसुपि परतः ॥

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

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

Obj. In अहर्हसति and अहर्भुङ्क्ते the case-ending is elided after अहन्, and so by Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa, we may say that there is a case-ending here also? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहो रविधौ लुपता लुप्ते प्रत्यय लक्षणं न भवति ॥ The rule of pratyaya lakṣhaṇa does not apply to the substitution of र् for the final of अहन् when the affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्. Therefore, this अहन् is not considered to be followed by लुप् or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa does apply to अहन् ॥ As हे दीर्घाहोऽत्र, हे दीर्घाहो निदाघ. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नस् ऊधस् अवस् इत्येतेषां छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि भाषायां च विभाषा प्रचेतसो राजन्युपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ अहरादीनां पद्यादिषूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

70. In the Chhandas, both **रु** and **र** are substituted for the final of amnas, ūdhas, and avas.

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

Vart :—**रु** and **र** both replace the final of प्रचेतस् before राजन्, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रचेता राजन् (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) प्रचेतो राजन् ॥

Vart :—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by **रु** or **र** before पति &c. As. अहर्पतिः or अहः पतिः or अहः पतिः; अहर्पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, गर्पतिः, गीः पतिः, गी × पतिः; धूर्पति, धूः पतिः, धू × पतिः ॥ Here **रु** is substituted for the final **र्** of अहर् &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this **रु** ॥

भुवश्च महाव्याहतेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, चः, महाव्याहतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुवस् इत्येतस्य महाव्याहते छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

71. In the Chhandas, **रु** and **र** may replace the final of the word भुवस् when used as a mahâ-vyâhṛiti.

Thus भुवारित्यन्तरिक्षम् or भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम् ॥ The mahâ-vyâhṛitis are three, used generally before the famous Gâyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भुवस् is an Indeclinable and a Vyâhṛiti denoting the firmament. The other two are भूः and स्वः ॥

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

वसुसंसुध्वंस्वनडुहां दः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, संसु, ध्वंसु, अनडुहाम्, दः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ससञ्जुषोरुत्थितः स इति वर्त्तते । वस्वन्तस्य पदस्य सकारान्तस्य संसु ध्वंसु अनडुह इत्येतेषां च दकारोद्देशो भवति ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of **स्** is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies वस् only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix वस् ends with **स्**, such **स्** is replaced by **द** ॥ For a word formed by वस् does not

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

Thus विद्वद्भ्याम्, विद्वद्भिः, पपिवद्भ्याम्, पपिवद्भिः with वस् affix. संस्—उखासद्भ्याम्, उखासद्भिः ॥ (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). ध्वस्—पर्णध्वद्भ्याम्, पर्णध्वद्भिः ॥ अनडुह्—अनडुद्भ्याम्, अनडुद्भिः ॥

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

In the case of वस्, the द् is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself; thus in विद्वद्भ्यां this द् debarbs रु; so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in विद्वान् also? This rule sets aside रु, but it does not, however, over-rule the elision-rule, because it is not directly connected with this change.

Why in अनडुान् the न् is not changed to द्? By the very fact, that नुम् is ordained (विधान-सामर्थ्यात्), this न् will not be changed to द्: otherwise नुम् rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let ह् be changed to द्, and we should get the form अनडुाद् by this rule without नुम् ॥

Obj:—If this be so, that the नुम् is not changed to द्, because of giving it a scope, then in अनडुान् अत्र, this नुम् should not be changed into रु by VIII. 3. 9?

Ans:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (यं विधिं प्रति उपदेशोऽनर्थकः, सविधिर्वाध्यते, यस्य तु विधे निमित्तमेव नासौ वाध्यते) ॥ With regard to द् change, the नुम् vidhi is useless (anarthaka), with regard to रु change, it is merely an occasion.

The word पदस्य is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विद्वांसौ and विद्वांसः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ तिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य अनस्तेर्दकार आदेशो भवति ॥

73. द् is substituted for the final स् of a root, with the exception of अस्, before the Personal ending ति (त्), when it stands at the end of a word.

The स् of a root can stand at the end of a word when the Personal-ending is dropped. Thus अचकाद् भवान्, अन्वशाद् भवान्, from the roots चकास् and शास् ॥ The Personal affix is elided by VI. 1. 68, and thereby स् comes to stand at the end of a Pada.

Why do we say 'before तिप्'? Observe चकास् formed by चिप् affix added to the root.

Why do we say 'with the exception of अस्'? See आप एवेदं सलिलं सवर्भम्, आः ॥ Here आः is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of अस् ॥ The ईइ is not added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिपि धातो र्वा ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिपि, धातोः, रुः, वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य धातो रुः इत्ययमादेशो भवति द्कारो वा ॥

74. दू or रु may optionally be substituted for the स् of a root, before the Personal ending सि (स्), when such स् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अचक्रास् त्वम् or अचक्रात् त्वम्, अन्वशास् त्वम् or अन्वशात् त्वम् ॥ For the रु is first substituted visarjanīya, which is then changed to स् ॥

The word धातुः is employed in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtras : so also the word रु ॥

दश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्कारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य सिपि परतो रुर्भवति द्कारो वा ॥

75. दू or रु may optionally be substituted for the final दू of a root, before the Personal-affix सि, when such दू stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अभिनत् त्वम् or अभिनस् त्वम्, अच्छिनत् त्वम् or अच्छिनस् त्वम् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य उपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

The word धातोः 'of a root' is understood here also. Therefore इ and उ are not lengthened in अग्निः, वायुः ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also, therefore, not here, गिरौ, गिरः ॥

हलि च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि च परतः रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

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

Thus आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विशीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम्, all ending in र् ॥ So also, शैर्ग्यात्, सीव्यति ending in व् ॥

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

The phrase इकः "of the vowels इ or उ" is understood here also. Therefore not here, स्मर्यते, भव्यम् ॥

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

उपधायां च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरुपधाभूतौ यौ रेफवकारौ हल्परौ तयोरुपधाया इकां दीर्घो भवति ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of हलि is current. The root must end in a consonant, and must have a र् or व् as preceding such consonant, for the application of this rule. Thus हूर्छा, हूर्छिता, मूर्छा, मूर्छिता. तूर्वी, तूर्विता. धूर्वी, धूर्विता ॥

The र् or व् must be followed by a consonant. Therefore not here: as, चिरि, जिरि are roots having a penultimate र्, which however is followed by a vowel. Therefore we have चिरिणोति, जिरिणोति ॥

Q.—Why there is not lengthening in रिर्यतुः, रिर्युः or विव्यतुः, विव्युः Perfect, forms derived from the roots रि गतौ and वी गतौ &c? Here the इ of the abhyâsa required lengthening, and it would not be shortened, as it is asiddha.

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

Similarly in चतुर्यित् formed with तच् affix from the Denominative (क्यच्) root चतुर्य ॥ Here इद् is added before तच् as चतुर्य + इ + त् and then अ is elided, चतुर्य + इ + त् ॥ Here the elision of अ is a Bahiranga process, and therefore, र् is not here really penultimate, and so there is no lengthening of the vowel.

In प्रतिदीप्ता (Instrumental singular) there is lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. To the root प्रति-दिव् is added कनिन् by Uṇ I. 156, and we have प्रतिदिवन् ॥ To this is added दा (Instrumental affix), as प्रतिदिवन् + आ, and अ is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we get प्रतिदीप्ता ॥ The lengthening takes place here, the elision of अ is not considered here as sthânavat, and so व् becomes penultimate. In fact,

here we apply the maxim that a lopa substitute of a vowel is not to be considered as sthānivat when a rule of lengthening is to be applied (See I. 1. 58).

Q.—Well, let it not be sthānivat, but the elision by VI. 4. 134, depends upon a case-affix, and is Bahiranga, and therefore asiddha for the purposes of this rule which is antaranga : and so therefore, there would be no lengthening ?

Ans.—The maxim of असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गं should not be applied here : because it is an *anitya* rule.

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

न भकुर्धुराम् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भ, कुर, छुराम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य भस्य कुर छुर इत्येतयोश्च दीर्घो न भवति ॥

79. The lengthening of vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77, when the Nominal stem ending in र् or व् is called Bha (i. e. when a य् follows), and also not in कुर and छुर ॥

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

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

अदसो ऽसेर्दातु दो मः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, अ-सेः, दात्, उ, दः, मः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अदसो ऽसकारान्तस्य वर्णस्य दात्परस्य उवर्णादेशो भवति दकारस्य च मकारः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अदसो ऽनोस इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā:—अदसोऽत्रे पृथङ् ' रं ' के चिदिच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ।
के चिदन्यसं शस । नेत्येके ऽसेर्हि दृश्यते ॥

80. When the pronoun अदस् does not end in स्, then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म् for द् ॥

Thus अमुम्, अम्, अमून्, अमुना, अमून्नाम्, ॥ अद् is substituted for अदस् before a case-ending by VII. 2. 102, which in Feminine becomes अदा ॥ By the

present sūtra read with I. 1. 50, अद् is substituted for अद् and अद् for अद् ॥ The उ which replaces one-mātrā vowel will be one-mātrā उ i. e. short उ, and the उ which replaces a two-mātrā vowel will be a two-mātrā उ i. e. long उ ॥ See I. 1. 50.

Why do we say, "not ending in स"? Observe अद् इच्छति=अदस्याति ॥ Obj. How can this be a valid example, as the word पदस्य is understood here, and अदस् before the affix क्य is not a pada (I. 4. 15)? Ans. This indicates that the सु change takes place, even when अदस् is not a pada. As अद्भुय ॥

Vārt:—It should rather be stated that the rule applies to that अदस् which has no ओ, or स् or र् ॥ So that the prohibition may apply to अदोऽद्, अदः कुलम् ॥ The visarjaniya being considered as asiddha, this word is considered as ending in र् ॥

In order to apply the prohibition to ओ and र् also, some explain the sūtra thus:—अः सेर्यस्य सोऽयमासिः, यत्र सकारस्य अकारः क्रियते ॥ "The word असिः in the sūtra is a Bahuvrihi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स" ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अद् derived by changing the स् into अ by VII 2. 102: and not to any other अद् ॥

When अदस् takes the final-substitute अद्भि by VI. 3. 92, how is this rule to be applied? Thus by III. 2. 59, the root अद्भृ takes क्तिन् ॥ We compound it with अदस्, as अदाऽञ्चति ॥ अदस् + अञ्च + क्तिन् = अद् + अद्भि + अञ्च + क्तिन् (VI. 3. 92) = अदद्भृच् (VI. 4. 24). Now there are three views, (1) the द् of अद्, and द्भृ of अद्भि are both changed to सु by the present sūtra; (2), the first द् is not changed, but only द्भृ; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अद्भुयद् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अद्भुयद्भृच्, अद्भुयद्भृच् ॥ (2) Secondly, अद्भुयद् अद्भुयद्भृच्, अद्भुयद्भृच् ॥ (3) Lastly अदद्भृच्, अदद्भृच्चौ, अदद्भृच्चः ॥ The above verse summarises this:

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

Why do we say दान् 'for the vowel after द'? Observe अद्भुया, अद्भुयोः, the final य as-not changed to उ ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अदसो ङकारादुत्तरस्य एकारस्य ईकारदेशो भवति ङकारस्य च मकारः बहुवचने बहुनामर्थाना-
शुक्तौ ॥

81. For the ए coming after the द् of अदस्, there is substituted ई, and द् is changed to म्, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus अमी for अदे (or अने) अमीभिः for अदेभिः, अमीभ्यः for अदेभ्यः, अमीषाम् for अदेषाम्, अमीषु for अदेषु ॥ द् is changed to त in अने &c.

The word बहुवचने in the sūtra does not mean the technical बहुवचन ; for that would have made the sūtra have this sense "when the affixes of the Plural number follow". In that case, we could not get the form अमी where no plural affix follows. Hence we have translated it, by saying when plurality is to be denoted.

वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्यस्य, टेः, प्लुतः, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यस्य ङेरिति प्लुत इति च उदात्त इति च एतत्रयमप्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापाङ्परिसमाप्ते, ङेरिति ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्त इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

The employment of the word "vākya" would not debar the anuvritti of पद्, for the final vowel of a sentence, will *a fortiori* be the final vowel of a word (pada), then what is the use of employing the word वाक्यस्य in this sūtra ?

The word वाक्य is employed in the sūtra, so that a word which is not the last word of a sentence, will not get the pluta and acute. Had the sūtra been पदस्य टेः &c. then *all* the words of a sentence would become pluta and acute in the final.

The word टि is employed to indicate that the final *vowel* becomes pluta and acute, though the word may end in a consonant. As अग्निर्चि३त् ॥ Had टि not been used, the rule would have applied to words *ending* in vowels only, and not to words ending in consonants.

प्रत्यभिवादे ऽशुद्धे ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे, अ-शुद्धे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे नाम यन्नाभिवाद्यमानो गुरुराशिषं प्रयुङ्क्ते । तत्राशुद्धविषये यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्त्रियामपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ असूयकेऽपि केचित् प्रतिषेधामिच्छन्ति ॥

इष्टिः ॥ अभिवाद्वाक्ये यत् संकीर्त्तितं नाम गोत्रं वा तद् यत्र प्रत्यभिवाद वाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तत्र प्लुत इष्यते ॥ वा० ॥ भोजजन्य विशां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

83. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation". The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udatta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śūdra.

Thus अभिवाद्ये देवदत्तोऽहं is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्तो ३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived".

Why do we say when not referring to a Śūdra? Observe अभिवाद्ये तुषज-कोऽहं is said by a Śūdra. In reply to this the Guru replies भो आयुष्मान् एधि तुषजक!

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवाद्ये गार्ग्यहं is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies :—भो आयुष्मती भवगार्गि ! ॥

Vārt:—Some would have this prohibition where a detractor or an arrogant person is addressed. So long as one's arrogance or ridicule does not become manifest, there is prolation. But when one comes to know that he is my detractor, and is really ridiculing me by a show of respect; then the reply is not a blessing, but is, in fact, a curse. Thus अभिवाद्ये स्थालिहं भोः, is uttered by the detractor; and the Guru understanding the word Sthālin to be the Proper Name of the person, replies आयुष्मान् एधि स्थालिन् ३ ॥ Then the

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

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

Vart :—The prolation is optional, when भोः follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवाच्यं देवदत्तोऽहं ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवाच्ये इन्द्रवर्माहं भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्मान् ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्मान् ॥ Vaishya : अभिवाच्ये इन्द्रपालितोऽहं भोः ॥ Guru : आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित ३ or आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित ! ॥

दूराद्धूते च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूरात्, हूते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूराद्धूते यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति स चोदात्तः ॥

इष्टिः ॥ वाक्यस्थान्ते यत्र सम्बोधनपरं भवति, तत्र अयं प्लुत इष्यते ॥

84. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word दूरात् is in the Fifth case by II. 3. 35; the word हूतं means 'calling', 'addressing'. Thus आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता ३ ॥ आगच्छ भो माणवक यज्ञदत्ता ३ ॥ The word 'distance' is a relative term, and is not fixed at what distance there should be prolation. The prolation however takes place, when a voice is to be raised, in order that the sound may reach the person. That distance upto which the voice can be heard without raising its pitch and without any special effort, need not be considered as "distance" for the purposes of this sūtra.

The word हूत here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here also सक्नुन् पिब देवदत्ता ३, पलायस्व देवदत्ता ३ ॥ This pluta sentence becomes eka-śruti by I. 2. 33.

Why do we say "from a distance"? Observe आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त !

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ हेहंप्रयोगे दुराद्धूते यद्वचनं वर्त्तते तत्र हेहयोरेव प्लुतो भवति ॥

85. When the words हे and हे are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the हे and हे alone get the pluta and the accent.

As हे हे देवदत्त, देवदत्त हे हे ॥-हे हे देवदत्त, देवदत्त हे हे ॥

The repetition of the words हे and हे in the sūtra, is for the sake of indicating, that the prolation takes place even when हे and हे do not stand at the end of a sentence.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारवर्जितस्य गुरोरनन्त्यस्यापिशब्दादन्यस्यापि देरेकैकस्य सम्बोधने वर्त्तमानस्य प्लुतो भवति प्राचामाचार्योणां मतेन ॥

86. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of ऋ) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (VIII. 2.83-84), in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānin for the pluta vowel taught by VIII. 2. 83 to 84. With the exception of ऋ, for every heavy vowel, though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus दे^३श्वदत्त or देव^३दत्त or देव^३दत्त ॥ Similarly with य^३ज्ञदत्त, यज्ञ^३दत्त or यज्ञ^३दत्त ॥

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

Why do we say अन्तः "with the exception of ऋ"? Observe कृष्णमि^३त्र, कृष्ण-मि^३त्र, but never कृ^३ष्णमि^३त्र ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time; not दे^३श्वदत्त ॥

The word प्राचाम् "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation *at all*.

As आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त ॥ Thus the present sūtra, makes VIII. 2. 83 and 84, optional sūtras. This also is an authority for the following dictum of Patanjali " सर्व एव प्लुतः साहसमनिच्छता विभाषा कर्त्तव्यः " (Mahabhāshya VIII. 2. 92. Commentary). Thus *all* rules relating to Prolation become optional. In short, the word प्राचाम् should be read in all rules regarding prolation, and thus without doing violence (sāhasa) to grammatical authority, one may have optional pluta everywhere.

ओमभ्यादाने ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम्, अभ्यादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यादानं प्रारम्भं तत्र य ओमशब्दः तस्य प्लुतो भवति ॥

87. The vowel in ओम् is pluta in the beginning of a sacred text.

The word अभ्यादानं means the commencement of a sacred mantra or Vedic text. Thus ओम् अग्निमीले पुरहितं यज्ञस्य देववृत्विजं ॥ (Rig I. 1. 1).

Why do we say "in the beginning"? Observe ओमिन्येतदक्षरमुदीयमुपासीत (Chhândogya Upanishad. I. 1. 1). Here ओम् is not used to indicate the commencement of a Text or Mantra, but is itself the subject of comment.

ये यज्ञकर्मणि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, यज्ञ, कर्मणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ये इत्येतस्य यज्ञकर्मणि प्लुतो भवति ॥

इष्टिः ॥ ये यजामहे इत्यत्रैवायप्लुत इष्यते ॥

88. The vowel of ये becomes pluta in a sacred text, when it is employed in a sacrificial work.

Thus ये यजामहे ॥ Why do we say when employed in sacrificial work? Observe ये यजामहे इति पञ्चाक्षरम्. "Ye yajamahe consists of five syllables". Here it is simple recitation.

Ishiti:—The word ये is pluta before यजामहे only. Therefore not so here : ये देवासो दिव्यकारिणश्च (Rig. I. 139. 11).

प्रणवष्टेः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणवः, टेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि टेः प्रणव आदेशो भवति ॥

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

The word यज्ञकर्मणि is understood here also. The word प्रणव means ओम् ॥ It is the name given to this syllable. This ओम् is substituted for the final letter (टि) of that word which stands either at the end of a Pâda of a sacred hymns or at the end of a hemistich of such Rik. Thus for अपां रतांसि जिन्वति (Rig. VIII. 44. 16), we may have अपां रतांसि जिन्वतो^३म् ॥ So also for देवाञ् जिगति सुमयुः (Rig. III. 27. 1), we may have देवाञ् जिगति सुमयो^३म् ॥

The word टि is repeated in this aphorism in spite of its anuvṛitti from VIII. 2. 82, to indicate that ओम् replaces the *whole* last syllable, with its vowel and consonant. Had टि not been repeated, then by the rule of अलोऽन्यस्य the final *letter* only of the टि portion of a sentence would have been replaced. Thus in सुमयुः, the visarjaniya alone would have been replaced.

When not employed in connection with sacrificial works, there is no such substitution. Thus in simple reading of the Vedas, we should always recite अपां रतांसि जिन्वति ॥

याज्यान्तः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ याज्या, अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याज्या नाम ये याज्याक्काण्डे पठ्यन्ते मन्त्रास्तेषामन्त्यो यष्टिः स ह्रवते यज्ञकर्मणि ॥

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

Thus स्तोमैर्विधेमाग्नयेऽ (Rig. VIII. 43. 11), जिह्वामग्ने चकृषे हव्यवाहाश्म (Rig. X. 8. 6).

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

ब्रूहिप्रेष्यश्रौषड्रौषडावहानामादेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, श्रौषद्, औषद्, आवहानाम, आदेः ॥

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

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

Thus अग्नयेऽनुब्रूहि (Maitr S. I. 4. 11), अग्नये गोमयानि (or 'न्) प्रेष्य, अस्तु श्रौषद्; सोमस्याग्ने वीहीऽ श्रौषद्, अग्निमौष्वह ॥

So also in पित्र्यायामनुस्वश्धा on the analogy of ब्रूहि, so also अस्तुस्वश्धा ॥ The word औषद् is illustrative of the six forms वषद्, औषद्, वाषद्, वौक्षद्, वाक्षद्, वक्षाद् ॥

But there is no prolation in आवह देवान् यजमानाय; आवह जात वेदः ॥

अग्नीत्प्रेषणे परस्य च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नीध्, प्रेषणे, परस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नीधः प्रेषणमग्नीत्प्रेषणम् तच्चादेः प्लुतो भवति परस्य च ॥

92. In an order given to Âgnîdhra priest, the first syllable as well as the succeeding syllable is pluta.

In a Yajña, the principal priests (ṛtvij) are four Adhvaryu, Udgâtâ, Hotâ, Brahmâ. Every one of these has three subordinate priests (ṛtvij) under them: as shown below.

NAMES OF PRINCIPAL.

SUBORDINATE.

I.	½.	⅓.	¼.
Adhvaryu: (Yajur)	Pratiprasthâtâ	Nesthâ (VI.4.11)	Unnetâ.
Udgâtâ (Sâman)	Prastotâ	Pratihartâ	Subrahmanya.
Hotâ (Rig) VI. 4. 11.	Maitrâ varuṇa	Achchhâvâk	Potâ (VI.4.11).
Brahmâ (Atharvan)	Brâhmanâchhañsî	Âgnîdhra	Grâvastuta.

The duty of Āgnidhra is to kindle the sacrificial fire. In a summons or call (प्रेषण) made by the Adhvaryu, who is the Director of ceremonies, to the Āgnidhra to perform the functions of Āgnidh, both syllable become pluta.

The word अग्नीन् प्रेषण is a compound = अग्नीधः प्रेषणम् " a call or summon relating to Agnidhduty. "

Thus आ ३ आ ३ वय, ओ ३ आ ३ वय ॥ The pluta takes place only in these examples; therefore, not here, as अग्नीदग्नीन् विहर; बहिं स्तृणीहि ॥ Some, therefore, read the aunvṛitti of the word विभाषा from the next sūtra, into this, and would have it an optional rule, of fixed jurisdiction (viyavasthita vibhāshā). Others say " all pluta rules are optional " (सर्व एव प्लुतः साहसमनिच्छता विभाषा विज्ञेयः) ॥ In उद्धर ३ उद्धर, अभिहर ३ अभिहर, there is Vedic diversity.

The words 'relating to sacrificial work' (यज्ञकर्मणि) are understood here also. Therefore not in आ श्रावय ॥

विभाषा पृष्टप्रतिवचने हेः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचनेः, हेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा हेः प्लुतो भवति ॥

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

Thus Q. अकार्षीः कदं देवदत्त ? Ans. अकार्षं ही ३ or अकार्षं हि ॥ Q. अलावीः कदारं देवदत्त ? Ans. अलाविषं ही ३ or हि ॥

Why do we say " in answer to a question " ? Observe कदं करिष्यति हि ॥

Why do we say हेः " of हि " ? Observe करोमि नतु ॥

निगृह्यानुयोगे च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि गृह्य, अनु योगे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमतात्प्रच्यावनं निग्रहः ॥ अनुयोगस्तस्य मतस्याविष्करणम् ॥ तत्र निगृह्यानुयोगे यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य हेः प्लुतो भवति विभाषा ॥

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

The word निग्रहः means the refutation of another's opinion. निगृह्य is a gerund, and means ' having refuted '. अनुयोगः is the expression of the same proposition which has been refuted. When a person has demonstrated the untenableness of another's assertion, and then employs the said assertion by way of taunt, reproach or reprimand, then the final syllable of such a sentence becomes pluta. The sūtra literally means " Having refuted (it) when asserting (the same) by way of censure. "

Thus an opponent asserts that " The word is not eternal. " (अनित्यः शब्दः). Proving by arguments the untenableness of this position, and after refuting it, the victor says by way of reprimand:— अनित्यः शब्द इत्यार्थो ३ or अनित्य शब्द इत्यात्थ ॥ ' This is then your assertion—that the word is not eternal '. Similarly अद्य आ-
द्भिमित्यार्थो ३ or अद्य आद्भिमित्यात्थ ॥ अद्यामावास्त्येत्यार्थो ३ or अद्यामावास्त्येत्यात्थ ॥

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

आम्नेडितं भर्त्सने ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्नेडितम्, भर्त्सने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्येति भर्त्सने द्विर्वचनमुक्तं तस्याम्नेडितं भवते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भर्त्सने पर्यायेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. 1. 8). Its final syllable becomes *pluta*. Thus चौरै चौरैश् चातिष्यामि स्वा ॥ So also वृषल वृषलैश् बन्धयिष्यामि स्वा, इस्य इस्योश् &c.

Though the *anuvṛitti* of the *sūtra* VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the *sentence* is not *pluta*, but of the *âmreḍita*.

Vārt :—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be *pluta* by alternation. Thus चौरैश् चौर or चौरै चौरैश् ॥ The word *âmreḍita* is employed in the *sūtra* as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by *both* words, so *pluta* may be of *both* words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically *âmreḍita*.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गइत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमाकाङ्क्षं भर्त्सने भवते ॥

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes *pluta*, when the word *अङ्ग* is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अङ्ग कूर्जौश् इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्म ॥ अङ्ग व्याहरौश्, इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्म ॥

Why do we say 'a verb'? Observe अङ्ग देवदत्त मिथ्या वदसि ॥

Why do we say "when this calls for a conclusion"? Observe अङ्ग पच ॥ Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word *भर्त्सने* of the last *sūtra* is understood here also. Therefore not here, अङ्ग अधीष्व, ओदनं ते दास्यामि ॥ Here *अङ्ग* has the force of solicitation. (VIII. 1. 33).

विचार्यमाणानाम् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विचार्य-माणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणेन वस्तुपरीक्षणं विचारः । तस्य विषये विचार्यमाणानां वाक्यानां टः प्लुतो भवति ॥

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is *pluta*, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments *pro* and *con* is called *vichāra* or judgment. Thus होतव्यं दीक्षितस्य गृहाश् इ न होतव्यौश्च "should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person". Similarly तिष्ठेद्युपाश्च, अनुग्रहे

वृषींश्च ॥ Here also it is being reflected upon whether शूपे तिष्ठेत् or शूपे अनुप्रहेत् ॥ i. e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamāna. किं शूपस्तिष्ठेत्, किं वा शूपं यजमानः शाययेत् ॥

पूर्वं तु भाषायाम् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वम्, तु, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायां विषये विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव झवते ॥

98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only pluta.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus अहि र्नी ३ रज्जुर्नु 'Is it a snake or a rope'? लोटो र्नी ३ कपोतानु 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

प्रतिश्रवणे च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिश्रवणे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिश्रवणमभ्युपगमः प्रतिज्ञानम् ॥ श्रवणाभिमुख्यं च तत्राविशेषास्त्वस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ प्रतिश्रवण यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

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

The word प्रतिश्रवण means "agreement, assent or promise". It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus गां मे देहि भोः, 1. हन्त ते दशभिः ३ ॥ 2. नित्यः दक्षिणे भवितुमर्हति ३ ॥ 3. देवदत्त भोः, किमार्थो ३ ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्नान्ते अभिपूजिते च ॥

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is pluta, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्नान्तः ॥ According to some, this rule does not ordain pluta, but only ordains the anudātta-ness of those syllables which become pluta by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That pluta which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudātta.

Thus अगमोः ३ पूर्वांश्च यामांश्च अग्निभूताश्च or अगमोः ३ पूर्वांश्च यामांश्च पट्टाश्च (i. e. अगमः पूर्वांश्च यामान् अग्निभूते or पटो) ॥ The words अग्निभूते, and पटो being finals in a

question, become anudâta as well as pluta. The other words अगमः &c become svarita and pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिपूजते we have शोभनः खल्वसि माणवका ३ ॥ Here the final of माणवक becomes anudâta and pluta.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते चिदित्येतस्मिन्निपाते उपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने वाक्यस्य देरनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudâta and pluta, when the particle चित् is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अनुदात्तं is understood here. This sūtra ordains pluta as well and not merely accent.

Thus अग्निचिद् भायाश्त् 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजचिद् भायाश्त् 'may he shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कथं चिद् आहुः ॥ Here चिद् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते ॥ उपरिस्विदासीत्येतस्य देरनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

102. In उपरि स्विद् आसीद् the end vowel is anudâta and pluta.

The word anudâta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been pluta here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sūtra really ordains accentlessness of this pluta.

Thus अधः स्विदासीश्त्, उपरि स्विदासीश्त् (Rig X, 129. 5). In the first portion आसीत् is pluta and udâta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudâta by the present sūtra.

स्वरितमाध्रेडितेसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितम्, आध्रे-डिते, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति आध्रेडिते परतः असूयायां सम्मतौ कोपे कुत्सने च गम्यमान ॥

वा० ॥ असूयादिषु वा वचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes pluta and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

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

माणवकां३ माणवक, अ३भिरूपकां३ अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसि ॥ Anger :—माणवकां३ माणवक, अ३विनीतकां३ अविनीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्म ॥ Blame :—शान्तीकां३ शान्तीक, याटीकां३ याटीक रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥

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

क्षियाशीः प्रैषेषु तिङ्ङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिया, आशी, प्रैषेषु, तिङ्ङ-
आकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरित इति वर्त्तते । क्षिया आचारभेदः । आशीः प्रार्थनाविशेषः । शब्देन व्यापारणं प्रैषः । एतेषु गम्यमानेषु तिङ्ङन्तामकाङ्क्षं यत्तस्य स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति ॥

104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes pluta and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word ‘svarita’ is understood here. The word क्षिया means ‘the error in usage’ or ‘want of good breeding’. (VIII.1.60) आशीः means ‘benediction’. प्रैषः means ‘order’ or ‘commanding by words’.

Thus (1) स्वयं रथेन याति३, उपाध्यायं पदार्तिं गमयति ॥ स्वयं भोदनं भुङ्क्ते३, उपाध्यायं सकृन्नून् पाययति ॥ In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकाङ्क्षा ॥

Benediction :—सुतांश्च लप्सीष्ठां३ धनं च तात ; छन्दोध्येषीष्ठां३ व्याकरणं च, भद्र ॥

Order :—कटं कुरूं३ मामं च गच्छ ; यवान् लनीहिं३, सकृन्श्च पिब ॥

Why do we say “when it requires another sentence as its complement”? Observe हीर्षं ते आयुस्तु ; अग्नीन् विहर ॥ There cannot be any counter-example of क्षिया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

अनन्त्यस्यापि प्रश्नाख्यानयोः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनन्त्यस्य, अपि, प्रश्न, आख्या-
नयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्त्यस्यापि अनन्त्यस्यापि पदस्य ङेः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्ने आख्याने च ॥

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and pluta, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word ‘padasya’ is understood here : and so also the word ‘svarita’. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and pluta, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. - In fact, *all* the words of a sentence become svarita and pluta hereby.

Thus in questioning we have :—आगमां३ः पूर्वां३न् ग्रामां३न् आग्नि भूतां३इ or पदा३इ ॥ Thus all words have become svarita and pluta. The final word

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

In *ākhyāna* or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, *all* words become svarita and pluta *necessarily*, by the force of this sūtra. Thus अगमांश्च पूर्वांश्च ग्रामांश्च भेदांश्च ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ दूराद्भूतादिषु प्लुतो विहितः तत्र ऐचः प्लुतप्रसङ्गे तदवयवभूतावि इतौ प्लुतौ ॥

106. In forming the pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, their last element इ and उ get the pluta.

The pluta ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or औ, cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of इ or उ ॥ The word प्लुतौ in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्लुत, and the aphorism literally means “इ and उ are pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ” ॥

Thus ऐश्तिकायन, औश्पगव ॥

The letters ऐ and औ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of अ+इ and अ+उ ॥ In making the pluta of these, the question arises, should both अ and इ (or उ) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, अ be taken as having one mātra (or *moras*), and इ and उ one mātrā, then the pluta इ and उ will have two mātrās, so that the whole pluta ऐ and औ will have *three* mātrās. In fact, the word प्लुत is used here as a Past Participle of प्लु, having the force of a verb; and इदुतौ प्लुतौ means इदुतौ ध्रुवते i. e. वृद्धिं गच्छतः, i. e. इ and उ are lengthened. And इ and उ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ऐ and औ *three* mātrās. Thus when अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mātrā, then the pluta of इ and उ will have *two* mātrās as we have said before. But when अ+इ (ऐ) and अ+उ (औ) are considered to have अ *half* mātra, and इ and उ one mātrā and a half, then इ and उ are made pluta, so as to have two and a half (2½) mātrās each, thus the whole of ऐ and औ, has still *three* mātrās. In fact, the definition of *pluta* is, that it is a vowel which has *three* mātrās: so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have *three* mātrās.

But according to Patanjali, this pluta of ऐ and औ has *four* mātrās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ each has *one* mātrā. The pluta of इ and उ will have

three mâttrâs. Thus अ + इ३ and अ + उ३, or the *whole* has *four* mâttrâs. Accord-
ing to this view a vowel may have *four* mâttrâs also.

एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्भूते पूर्वस्यार्द्धस्यादुत्तरस्येदुतौ ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचो,
अ-प्रगृह्यस्या, अदूराद्भूते, पूर्वस्य अर्धस्य, आत्, उत्तरस्य ईत्, उतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्भूते प्लुतविषयस्यार्द्धस्याकार आदेशो भवति स च प्लुतः उत्तरस्यकारोका-
रावादेशो भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विषयपरिगणं कर्तव्यं ॥ वा० ॥ प्रभान्ताभिपूजितविचार्यमाणप्रत्यभिवादायाज्यान्तेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ आमन्त्रिते छन्दसि प्लुतविकारोयं वक्तव्यः ॥

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

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

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII.
2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

Vârt:—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerat-
ing the rules to which it applies.

Vârt:—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97,
83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अगमा३ः पूर्वा३न् यामा३न् अग्निभूता३ई ॥ or पदा३ई ॥
अहं करोषि माणवका३ अग्निभूता३ई or पदा३ई ॥ So also VIII. 2. 97: होतव्यं दीक्षितस्य
गृह्णा३ई ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as :—आयुष्मान् एधि अग्निभूता३ई or पदा३ई ॥ So also
VIII. 2. 90:—as.

उक्षान्नाय वशान्नाय सोमपृष्टाय वेधसे ।

स्तौमै विधेमाग्रया३ई ॥ (Tait. S. I. 3. 14. 7).

This pluta आ is udâta, anudâta or svarita, according to the parti-
cular rule which has been applied, i. e. at the end of a question it is anudâta
or svarita, and every where else, udâta. The इ and उ are of course, always
udâta: because the anuvṛitti of udâta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules?
Observe विष्णुभूते विष्णुभूते३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा आगच्छ भो माणवक विष्णुभूते ॥

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

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

Why do we say 'when it is not a Pragṛhya'? Observe शोभने खलु स्यःखद्देशे ॥

Vārt:—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अग्राइइ पत्नीवाइः सद्भूदेवेन स्वष्ट्रा सोमं पिब ॥ Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

तयोर्यावच्चि संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः य, वौ, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरिदुत्तोर्यकारवकारादेशौ भवतो ऽचि संहितायां विषये ॥

Kārikā:—किं तु यणा भवतीह न सिद्धं श्लाविदुत्तोर्यदयं विदधाति ।
तौ च मम स्वरसन्धिषु सिद्धौ शाकलदीर्घविधी तु निवर्त्यौ ॥
इक तु यदा भवति प्लुतपूर्वस्तस्य यणं विदधात्यपवादम् ।
तेन तयोश्च न शाकलदीर्घो यणस्वरबाधनमेव तु हेतुः ॥

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

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

Thus अग्राइयाशा, पदाइवाशा, अग्राइयिन्द्रम्, पदाइवुदकम् ॥

Why do we say "when a vowel follows"? Observe अग्राइइ, पदाइउ ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम् 'in an uninterrupted flow of speech'? Observe अग्राइ इ इन्द्रम्, पदाइउ उदकम् in Pada Pāṭha.

This sūtra is made, because इ and उ being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these इ and उ be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vārtika इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णदीर्घ बाधनार्थं यणादेशो वक्तव्यः (Vārtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent यण् accent (VIII. 2. 4).

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

Ans.—If you say that pluta is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñāpaka in sūtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Śākala rule VI. 1. 127.

Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that यणदेश takes place of such a vowel following a pluta (See vārtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the यण-accent of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not pluta-elements, like the present इ and उ, but which are *independent* vowels following after a pluta vowel. As भोश् इ इन्द्र = भोश् यिन्द्र ॥ Here इ is a Nipāta.

अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

मतुवसो रु सम्बुद्धौ छन्दसि ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतु, वसोः, रु, सम्बुद्धौ, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मत्स्वन्तस्य वस्वन्तस्य च पदस्य रुरित्ययमादेशो भवति सम्बुद्धौ परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वन उपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भवद्भगवदधवतामोषावस्य ॥

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

The word संहितायां is understood here. A word ending in the affix मत् or वस्, changes its final त् or स् into रु, in the Chhandas, in the Vocative singular. Thus मत् :—इन्द्रं मरुत्व इह पाहि सोमम् (Rig. III. 51. 7) हरिवो मेदिनं त्वा ॥ Here मरुत्वः is Vocative Sg. of मरुत्वन् and हरिवः of हरिवन्, meaning "he who is possessed of Maruts or Hari horses". The म of मत् is changed to व by VIII. 2. 10; 15. The base मरुत् before this termination is Bha by I. 4. 19. The affix सु (nom. sg.) is elided by VI. 1. 68; the त् is elided by VIII. 2. 23, and the न् (of तुम् VII. 1. 70) is changed to रु by this sūtra. So also इन्द्रायाहि तूतुजानः उपब्रह्माणि हरिवः (Rig. I. 3. 6).

With वस् :—मीद्वंस्तोकाष्ट तनयाय घृळ (Rig. II. 33. 14), इन्द्रसाहः ॥ See VI. 1. 12, for the formation of मीद्वान्, साहान् with क्सु ॥

Why do we say 'of मत् and वस्'? Observe ब्रह्मन् स्तोत्रायामः ॥ Why do we say in the Vocative Singular? Observe य एवं विद्वानग्निमाधत्ते ॥ Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe हे गोमन्, हे पपिवन् ॥

Vart :—The affix वन् should also be enumerated. The affixes क्वनिष् and वनिष् are both meant here. Its final is also changed to रु in the Vocative Sg. As यस्त्वायन्तं वसुना प्रातरित्वः ॥ The word प्रातरित्वन् is formed by adding क्वनिष् to the root इ (इष्) preceded by प्रातः ॥ See III. 2. 75. The तुक् is added by VI. 1. 71.

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

The adhikâra of the word संहितायां does not exert any apparent influence in this sūtra. It however has influence in those subsequent sūtras, where the change in one word is occasioned by another word on account of sanhita or juxta-position, as in VIII. 3. 7.

See VIII. 2. 3 (Vârtika 2) by which the lopa is considered siddha in हरिवः, otherwise there would have been no उ change in हरिवो मे &c.

अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, अनुनासिकः, पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयम् ॥ इत उत्तरं यस्य स्थाने रुर्विधीयते ततः पूर्वस्य तु वर्णस्य वाऽनुनासिको भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

2. In the following sūtras upto VIII. 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—“But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which र् has been ordained”.

This is an adhikâra sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which र् has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where र् is the subject of discussion.

Thus sūtra VIII. 3. 5 says “In the place of the final of सम्, there is र् when सुद् augment follows”. The vowel अ of सम् becomes nasal ; as संस्कृत्तं, संस्कृत्तम्, संस्कृत्तव्यम् ॥

Why have we used the word अत्र in the sūtra ? It means “here i. e. in this division where र् is the subject of discussion”. Obj. This object would have been gained, without using the word अत्र ; since it is an adhikâra sūtra and would apply to र् ॥ Ans. No. Here र् is taught in connection with nasal, therefore, the rule would not apply to any other context. For had अत्र not been used, we could not have known the extent of the jurisdiction (adhikâra) of this nasal ; and we might have applied the rule of nasality to those beyond the jurisdiction of र्, such as VIII. 3. 13. The employment of अत्र prevents this doubt and shows that र् and nasality are co-extensive.

आतोऽटि नित्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अटि, नित्यम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अटि परतो रोः पूर्वस्थाकारस्य स्थाने नित्यमनुनासिकादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

Some (i. e. the Taittiriyas) read it as anusvâra. This is a Vedic diversity.

Why do we say "for a long आ"? Observe ये वा वनस्पतीरनु ॥ Why do we say "when a vowel or ह, य, व, or र follows"? Observe भवाँश्चरति, भवाँश्छादयति ॥

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

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

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

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

Thus VIII. 3. 5, teaches ह substitution of the ष् of सम् an anusvâra would be added. As संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 6, teaches ह substitution of the ष् of पुष् ॥ An anusvâra will be added here also, as, पुंस्कामा ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 7, teaches ह substitution of final न् ॥ Here also an anusvâra will be added, as भवाँश्चरति ॥

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

समः सुटि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, सुटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम इत्यतस्य रुर्भवति सुटि परतः संहितार्थां विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संपुंकार्नां सो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ समो वा लोपमेके ॥

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

The augment सुद् is added by VI. 1. 137 &c. Thus संस्कर्त्ता or संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तुम् or संस्कर्त्तुम्, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् or संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ The word is thus evolved: सम् + स् + कर्त्ता = सर् + स् + कर्त्ता (VIII. 3. 5). Here rule VIII. 3. 15 appears and requires र् to be changed to visarjannya. This visarga may optionally be retained unchanged by VIII. 3. 36. This, however, is not done in the present instance : but the visarga is *always* and *necessarily* changed to स् by VIII. 3. 34. In fact, the option of VIII. 3. 36 is a determinate option (vyavasthita vibhâshâ) and does not apply to the present case.

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

Why do we say “for the म् of सम्”? Observe उपस्कर्त्ता ॥ Why do we say “before सुद्”? Observe संकृति ॥

Vârt :—For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted स ॥ There would arise anomalies, if ह be substituted. Thus संस्कर्त्ता, पुंस्स्क्रामा, कांस्क्रान् ॥ In fact, according to this vârtika, ह is never substituted for सम् (VIII. 3. 5), पुम् (VIII. 3. 6) and कान् (VIII. 3. 12).

Vârt :—समो वा लोपमेके ॥ Some would have the elision of the स् after सम् ॥ This *Vârtika* is not given in the Kâsikâ, but the Padamanjari gives it, and so also the Mahâbhâshya.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Thus संस्कर्त्ता and संस्कर्त्ता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 to this latter, and have three स्, as संस्स्कर्त्ता or संस्स्कर्त्ता ॥ The anusvâra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्ता and संस्स्कर्त्ता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vârtika शरः खयः ॥ The three forms having anusvâra, will also double their anusvâra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvâra : and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त् will be doubled and trebled : and thus with one त्, two त् and three त्, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when भण् is nasalised.

पुमः खय्यम्परे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमः, खयि, अम्-परे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुनित्येतस्य रुर्भवति अम्परे खयि परतः ॥

6. ह is substituted for the म् of पुम्. (whereby the

उ is changed to ऊँ or उँ) before a surd mute (ख्य्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyâhâra).

Thus पुँस्क्रामा or पुँस्क्रामा; पुँस्पुनः or पुँस्पुनः; पुँस्फलं or पुँस्फलम्; पुँश्चली or पुँश्चली ॥ The visarga in पुँस्क्रामा required to be changed optionally to × jihvâ-mûliya by VIII. 3. 37, but it is not so done. It is changed *always* to स् here by VIII. 3. 34, also. The स् of पुँस् is dropped by VIII. 2. 23, and the preceding sound is म्, which comes to light in forms like पुमान् &c. For the sake of distinctness, Pâṇini has elected to exhibit the shorter form पुम् when in the beginning of a composition: because this shorter form पुम् is the real stem in composition. ख्य् pratyâhâra includes the ten hard consonants, and अम् pratyâhâra includes all vowels, semivowels and nasals. पुँस्क्रामा is formed by the affix ण = पुमांसं कामयते ॥

In that alternative when we read the preceding sūtra as समःस्सुदि, then the anuvṛitti of this स् will be current in the present sūtra also, and so there will be no scope for the operation of VIII. 3. 37. And though the anuvṛitti of ह् is also current, yet it will not apply here, because of its non-appropriateness in that alternative.

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुँदासः, पुँगवः (V. 4. 92). Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe पुँक्षीरः, पुँक्षुरः ॥ Why do we use the word परे in the sūtra? Had we not used it, the sūtra might have been open to this construction also. The म् of पुम् is so changed before a ख्य् letter which has an अम् letter, (whether *preceding* it or *following* it). So that the rule would have applied to पुमाख्यः, पुमाचारः ॥

नहृलुव्यप्रशान् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, छवि, अप्रशान् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य पदस्य प्रशान्त्वर्जितस्य रुभेवत्यम्परे छवि परतः ॥

7. ह् is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छ्व् letter (छ, ङ, थ, च, ट, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word अप्रशान् in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.

Thus भवाँच्छादयति or भवाँच्छादयति; भवाँश्चिनोति or भवाँश्चिनोति; भवाँष्टीकते or भवाँष्टीकते, (from the root टीकि 'to go'), भवाँस्तरति or भवाँस्तरति ॥

Why do we say 'before a छ्व् letter'? Observe भवान् करोति ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशाम् छादयति, प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अम् follows छ्व्'? See भवान् त्सरुकः ॥ त्सरुह is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called त्सरुकः (कन् V. 2. 64).

उभयथर्क्षु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभयथा, ऋक्षु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य पदस्य छविपरतः अम्पर उभयथा ऋक्षु भवति ॥

8. In both ways, in the Rig verses.

This ordains an option to the last sūtra, by which the र् substitution was compulsory. A word ending in र् followed by a letter of छव् class, which itself is followed by अन्, changes its final र् to र् optionally in the Rig Veda. Sometimes there is र् and sometimes र् ॥ Thus तस्मिन् स्वा दधाति or तस्मिन् स्वा दधाति; पशूँस्तौश्चक्रे ॥

Why do we say "in the Rig verses". No option is allowed here तस्मिन् स्वाद सुखादितान् ॥

दीर्घाददि समानपादे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, अटि, समानपादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्य पदान्तस्य नकारस्य रुभवत्यदि परतस्तौ चेन्निमित्तनिमित्तिनौ समानपादे भवतः ॥

9 र् is optionally substituted for that final र् of a word which is preceded by a long vowel, and is followed by an अट् letter (vowels and semi-vowels with the exception of ल्), when these (र् and अट्) come in contact with each other in the same stanza of the Rig Veda.

The नः of VIII. 3. 7 is understood here : and so also ऋक्षु ॥ The word समानपाद means एकपाद, i. e. when both words are in one and the same Pāda of the verse. Thus परिधीँ रति (Rig. IX. 107. 19) स देवाँ एहवक्षति (Rig. I. 1. 2) देवाँ अच्छाशीव्यत्; महँ इन्द्रो य भोजसा ॥

Why do we say 'preceded by a long vowel'? Observe अहन्नहिम् ॥ Why do we say "when followed by a vowel or य, व or र"? Observe इभ्यान् क्षत्रियान् ॥ Why do we say 'when both words are in the same Pāda of a verse'? Observe यातुधानान् उपस्पृशः ॥

The word उभयथा of the preceding sūtra is understood here also : so that it is an optional rule : and र् remains unchanged also, as आदित्यान् हवामहे आदित्यान् याचिषामहे ॥ See VIII. 3. 3.

नृन्पे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ नृन्, पे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृनित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुभवति पशब्दे परतः ॥

10. र् is optionally substituted for the र् of नृन् before प् ॥

The अ in प is for the sake of pronunciation only. Thus नृः पाहि or नृः पाहि; नृः प्रीणीहि or नृः प्रीणीहि ॥

Why do we say 'before प्'? Observe नृन् भोजयति ॥ Some read the अनुवृत्ति of उभयथा into this sūtra, so that it is an optional one. Thus we have नृन् पाहि also. The nominative case in नृन् has the force of Genitive.

स्वतवान्पायौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतवान्, पायौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतवानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति पायुश्चब्द परतः ॥

11. The न् of स्वतवान् is changed to रु before पायु ॥

As स्वः षः पायुर्गन्ते (Rig. IV. 2. 6). The word is स्वतवस्, the नुम् is added by VII. 1. 83. The word is derived from तु वृद्धौ with the affix असुन् (स्वन्तवो यस्यऽसौ स्वतवान्) ॥

कानाम्नेडिते ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कान्, आम्नेडिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति आम्नेडिते परतः ॥

12. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an âmreḍita.

The sūtra might have been कान् कानि; but the use of the longer form आम्नेडिते shows, that where there is 'doubling', and the word gets the designation of âmreḍita, then the rule applies. Thus कौस्कान् आमन्वयते, कौस्कान् भोजयति; or काँस्कान् &c. When the second कान् is not an âmreḍita, we have कान् कान् पश्यति? Here one is किं asking question, and the other is used in the sense of contempt. This word is read in the list of कस्कादि (VIII. 3. 48), and hence sūtra VIII. 3. 37, does not apply. Or the स् of समः सुसुदि (VIII. 3. 5), is understood here, and that स् is enjoined here and not रु ॥ It should not be objected that in the preceding sūtras also स् should be enjoined and not रु; because in those sūtras रु is appropriate but not so here.

Why do we say 'when an âmreḍita कान् follows'? Observe कान् कान् पश्यति where one is interrogatory and the other denotes contempt (II. 1. 64).

ढो ढे लोपः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढः, ढे, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढकारस्य ढकार लोपो भवति ॥

13. There is elision of ढ when ढ follows.

Though this sūtra is read in the division of Grammar which is governed by पदाधिकार, yet this elision takes place only then when the ढ is not at the end of a pada. Thus लीढ from लिह्+त ॥ The ह is changed to ढ by VIII. 2. 31, and the त्त is first changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40, and then to ढ by VIII. 4. 41. Thus लिह्+ढ ॥ The first ढ is elided by this sūtra. Similarly मीढम्, उप-शूढम् ॥ The change of ध into ढ by VIII. 4. 41, should be considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of this rule, otherwise this rule will find no scope.

Obj:—It will find scope before that ढ which is primary, as in श्वलिह्+ढौकते, where ढ of ढौकते is primary.

Ans.—No. Here the first ढ will be changed to ङ by जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39) and so there will be no occasion to elide it. The form will be श्वलिङ् ढौकते ॥ Nor is this ढ लोपः rule an apavāda to जश् rule, because it has its scope in लीढ &c. For the जश् rule depends upon one pada, and is antaranga, or being

prior to this the lopa is asiddha with regard to it. Therefore जदस्व will take place first. Moreover in लिङ्+ढ there is similarity of *sounds* (श्रुतिकृतं भानन्तर्यम्); though there may not be theoretical similarity (शास्त्रकृतं भानन्तर्यम्) when the change of ध into ढ by VIII. 4. 41, is considered asiddha. But this theoretical technical dissimilarity will be removed by the express text of the present sūtra. But in श्लिङ् ङौक्ते there is neither similarity of sounds (śruti kṛtamānantaryam) between ङ् and ङ्, nor similarity created by any technical rule; therefore ढ लोप has no scope here. It is Bahiranga as well as subsequent to जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39), and therefore doubly asiddha; and consequently it does not debar the जश् rule. So when ङ् is changed to ङ् by जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39) in श्लिङ्, then there remains no sort of ānantarya—neither of śruti nor of śāstra.

रो रि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, रि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफस्य रेफे परतो लोपो भवति ॥

14. र् is elided before a र् ॥

The sūtra is रः रि, and not रोः रि ॥ That is रोः रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of र्, and रोः would be the Genitive of रु ॥ The sūtra is not confined to रु only, but to every र् in general including रु ॥ Thus नीरक्तम्, दूरक्तम्, where it is simple र् of निरु and दुरु; and अग्नी रयः, and इन्द्र रयः where it is रु (अग्निः रयः, इन्द्रुः रयः). The lengthening is by VI. 3. 111. The word पदस्य is understood here, and the Genitive here has the force of विशेषण i. e. a quality, or avayava-shashṭhi; i. e. when रेफ is a *portion* of the pada. Thus a रेफ which is not at the end of a pada is also elided. Had the Genitive been construed as sthāna-shashṭhi, then रेफ would qualify पद, and the rule would mean “र् should be elided before a र् when at the end of a word.” ॥ See VIII. 1. 16. But we have the elision of the *penultimate* र् in अजर्घर् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्घाः ॥ See VIII. 2. 37. So also अपास्वाः from स्पर्ध in Intensive, Imperfect. The reduplicate is lengthened by VII. 4. 83, the ह्राप् is elided, and सिप् is elided by VI. 1. 68, the final ध् is changed to द् by VIII. 2. 39, and this द् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75.

खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खर, अवसानयोः, विसर्जनीयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफान्तस्य परस्य खरि परतो ऽवसाने च विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

15. The Visarjanīya is substituted for र्, before a खर् consonant or when there is a Pause.

The word रः is understood. The visarga is the substitute of र् final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause,

Thus वृक्षञ्छादयति (VIII. 3. 34, VIII. 4. 40), ह्रक्षञ्छादयति, वृक्षस्तरति, ह्रक्षस्तरति वृक्षष्टकारः, ह्रक्षष्टकारः, वृक्षष्टीकते, ह्रक्षष्टीकते, वृक्षश्चिनोति, ह्रक्षश्चिनोति ॥ Pause:—वृक्षः; ह्रक्षः ॥

Who do we say “before a खर् consonant or at a Pause”? Observe अग्निर्नयति, वायुर्नयति, नाकुटः (तु कुड्यां भवः), नार्पस्यः (तृपतेरपस्ये) ॥ In these two latter,

the Vṛiddhi being considered as Bahiranga, and the र् being the result of such Bahiranga Vṛiddhi, is asiddha, and is consequently not changed to visarga.

The word पदस्य is understood here, and the genitive should be construed here as sthâna-sashṭhi, so that for the final र् of a Pada there is visarga, and not for that र् which is not final.

रोः सुपि ॥ पदानि ॥ रोः, सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह इत्येतस्य रेफस्य सुपि परतो विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

16. Visarjaniya is substituted for the ह called र् (and not any other र्), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

Thus पयःसु, सर्पिःसु, यशःसु ॥ The word सुर् is here the Locative Plural affix. Though the र् would have been changed to visarga by the last sūtra also; the making of this a special sūtra is for the sake of niyama. That is, only ह becomes visarga, and not any other र् ॥ Thus गर्धु, भूर्धु, when the र् is not ह ॥ In पयस् &c, the स् becomes ह by VIII. 2. 66.

भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योशि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भो, भगो, अघो, अपूर्वस्य, यः, अशि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भो भगो अघो इत्येवंपूर्वस्य अवणेपूर्वस्य च रो रेफस्य यकारोदेशो भवति अशि परतः ॥

17. य् is substituted for the ह called र्, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अश् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

Thus भो अन्न, भगो अन्न, अघो अन्न, भो ददाति, भगो ददाति, अघो ददाति ॥ क् भास्ते, क्य भास्ते, ब्राह्मणा ददाति, पुरुषा ददाति ॥ The य् is elided by VIII. 3. 19, 20, 22 &c. With य, the forms will be भोयन्न, भगोयन्न, अघोयन्न ॥

Why do we say 'when preceded by भो &c'? Observe अग्निरन्न, वायुरन्न ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अश् pratyâhâra'? Observe वृक्षः, वृक्षः ॥ No, this is no valid counter-example, because no other word follows the visarga; while some word must follow it because the word sanhitâ (VIII. 2. 108) is understood here.

Ans.—If this be so, then अश् is employed in this sūtra for the sake of subsequent sūtras. Its employment here is superfluous. For letters other than अश् are खर् ॥ Before a खर् letter, the र् will be changed to visarga by VIII. 3. 15; and the यत्त्व of this rule will be considered as asiddha for the purposes of VIII. 3. 15, so there will necessarily be visarga. Thus अश् serves no purpose in this sūtra, but is for the sake of subsequent ones. Thus in VIII. 3. 22, the word हलि must be qualified by the word अश्, namely those consonants only which are in the class अश् ॥ Before any other consonant there will be no elision of य् ॥ Thus वृक्षं वृश्चति=वृक्षवृद् ॥ The denominative verb from this will be वृक्षवयति ॥ A secondary derivative from this root, with the affix

विच् will be वृक्षच् as in वृक्षच् करोति ॥ Here व् would require elision by VIII. 3. 22, before क्, but it is not so because अशि qualifies हलि ॥

Obj.—If so, why is the word हल् used in that sutra VIII. 3. 22, it would have been better to say हशि सर्वेषाम् instead of हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥

Ans.—The word हल् is used in that sutra for the sake of the subsequent sutra VIII. 3. 23, which applies to all consonants. Had हशि been used in VIII. 3. 22, then in VIII. 3. 23, हलि ought to have been used.

Moreover अशि is used in this sutra, so that rules VIII. 3. 18, 19 may not apply to वृक्षच् करोति ॥

This sutra applies to ह् called र्, therefore not here प्रातरच्, पुनरच् ॥

व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्योः, लघुप्रयत्नतरः, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोर्भोगोअघोअवर्णपूर्वयोः परान्तयोर्लघुप्रयत्नतर आदेशो भवति, अशि परतः, शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

18. व् and य् (in भगोय् &c and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śākatāyana.

That the effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna - tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. व् and य् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व् and य् in भोय्, भगोय्, अघोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter व् will replace the heavy व्, and so the lighter य् the heavy य् ॥

Thus भोयन्, भगोयन्, अघोयन्, कयास्ते or क आस्ते, अस्मायुद्धर or अस्मा उद्धर, असावादित्यः or असा आदित्यः, द्वावन् or द्वा अन्, द्वावानय or द्वा आनय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu prayatna - tara. In fact, य् and व् are to be slurred over.

लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, शाकल्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोः पदान्तयोरवर्णपूर्वयोर्लोपो भवति शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाशि परतः ॥

19. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śākalya.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उद्धर or अस्मायुद्धर, द्वावन् or द्वा अन्, असावादित्यः or असा आदित्यः ॥

The name of Śākalya is used to make it an optional rule. Therefore, where there is not the lighter articulation of व् and य् by the last sūtra, there

also in the other alternative the fuller sounds of व् and य् are heard. Thus there are three forms, *heavy* व् and य्, *light* व् and य् and *elision* of व् and य् ॥

When व् and य् are preceded by ओ, then there is elision by the next sūtra compulsorily.

ओतो गार्ग्यस्य ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, गार्ग्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारादुत्तरस्य यकारस्य लोपो भवति गार्ग्यस्याच्चार्यस्य मतेन भाषी परतः ॥

20. य् preceded by ओ is elided, according to the opinion of Gārgya, before an अश् letter.

There can be no व् preceded by ओ, so only य् is taken in explaining the sūtra. Thus ओ अत्र, भगो अत्र, भो इत्स, भगो इत्स ॥

The making of it a separate sūtra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (*nitya*) rule and not a vibhāshā rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha). The elision of laghu-prayatna य्, which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused, is hereby prohibited. So that laghu pratyatnatara य् does come also. As ओ अत्र or भोयत्र, भगो अत्र or भगोयत्र, भयो अत्र and भयोयत्र ॥

According to others every kind of य् (whether heavy or light) is to be elided: and भोयत्र is not valid in their opinion.

उञ्चि च पदे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्चि, च पदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवर्णपूर्वयोः ध्वोः पादान्तयोर्लोपो भवति उञ्चि च पदे परतः ॥

21. व् and य् (preceded by अ or आ, at the end of a pada), and followed by उ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* उ is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word उञ्चि, and not the उञ्, which is a root obtained by the samprasāraṇa of वेञ् ॥ Thus स उ एकविंशतिः, स उ एकामिः ॥

Why do we use the word पदे “उ when it is a pada”? So that the rule may not apply to उञ् the form assumed by वेञ् by samprasāraṇa as तन्त्वे उतं = तन्त्रयुतम् ॥ Obj. उञ् could never have meant the form assumed by वेञ्, for the samprasāraṇa of वेञ् is उ, the ञ् is merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of lakṣhaṇa-pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उञ् resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle उञ् ॥

Ans.—The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3. 32. So that इषुद् may come before a *word* beginning with a vowel, and not before a vowel which is an affix. Thus there is no double न् in परमदण्डिना ॥ This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional. Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19, would have been enough.

हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि परतो भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य यकारस्य पदान्तस्य लोपो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतन ॥

22. (The **य्** preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all Âchâryas.

Thus भो हसति, भगो हसति, अघो हसति; भौ याति, भगो याति अघो, याति, वृक्षा हसन्ति ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of व् and य् both is present here, yet we have taken य् only to the exclusion of व् ॥ Because after भो, भगो and अघो there is य् only, and never व्; and व् can come only when preceded by अ or आ: the only example of which given by Grammarians is वृक्षव् करोति (VIII. 3. 17). Here व् is not elided, because the word अग्नि qualifies the word हलि of this sūtra.

Q.—But व् should be elided in वृक्षव् हसति, because ह् is an अच् letter.

Ans.—There is no such example to be found in any standard author. Moreover Patanjali in his commentary on the Pratyâhâra sūtra लण् says that no words can end in ह्, य्, र्, व् or ल् ॥ So that the existence of the very word वृक्षव् is doubtful.

The word sarveshâm indicates that VIII. 3. 18, even does not apply, and there is no light articulation, but lopa there too.

मोऽनुस्वारः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, अनुस्वारः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारस्य पदान्तस्यानुस्वार आदेशो भवति हलि परतः ॥

23. The Anusvâra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus कुण्डं हसति, वनं हसति, कुण्डं याति, वनं याति ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sūtra. Therefore not here, स्वमन्त्र, किमन्त्र ॥ The म् must be at the end of pada; therefore not here; गम्यते, रम्यते ॥

नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, अपदान्तस्य, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाकारस्य मकारस्य चापदान्तस्यानुस्वारादेशो भवति झलि परतः ॥

24. The Anusvâra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus पयांसि, यशांसि, सर्पांसि, धन्वंषि with न् (VII. 1. 72); and भाकंस्यते, भाविकंस्यते, अधिजिगांसते with म् ॥

Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? Observe राजन् भुङ्क्व ॥ Why do we say 'before a झल् consonant'? See रम्यते, गम्यते ॥

मो राजि समः कौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, राजि, समः, कौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समो मकारस्य मकार आदेशो भवति राजतौ क्विप्रत्ययान्ते परतः ॥

25. म् is substituted for the म् of सम्, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्विप् ॥

Thus **सम्राट्, साम्राज्यम्** ॥ The substitution of **म** for **न** is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (cf VII. 1. 40). Why do we say 'before **राज्**'? See **संयन्** (VI. 4. 40 Vārt). Why do we say 'of **सम्**'? Observe **किं राट्** (V. 4. 70). Why do we say 'ending with **क्विप्**'? Observe **संराजिता, संराजितुम्, संराजितव्यम्** ॥

The **क्विप्** is added by III. 2. 61, the **ञ्** is changed to **ष्** by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to **ट्** at the end of a word, in **सम्राट्** ॥ **साम्राज्यम्** is formed by **व्यञ्** affix, as it belongs to Brāhmanādi class.

हे मपरे वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हे, मपरे, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारे मकारपरे परतो मकारस्य वा मकार आदेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यवलपरे यवला वा ॥

26. **म्** is optionally substituted for **म**, before **ह**, which itself is followed by a **म** ॥

The **म्** may be changed to anusvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with **ह्य** ॥ Thus **किं** or **किम् ह्यलयति**, 'what does be cause to shake'? **कथं ह्यलयति** or **कथमह्यलयति** ॥

Vart:—Before **ह्य, ह, and ह्**, the preceding **म्** may be changed to **य, व** or **ल** respectively. Thus **किं ह्यः** or **कियँह्यः**, 'what does it matter about yesterday'? **किं ह्यलयति** or **किँ ह्यलयति** 'what does he cause to shake'? **किं ह्यलयति** or **किँ ह्यलयति** 'what gladdens'.

नपरे नः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपरे, नः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारपरे हे परतःमकारस्य वा नकारादेशो भवति ॥

27. **न्** is optionally substituted for **म**, when it is followed by **ह** which has a **न्** after it.

म् becomes **न्** before a word beginning with **ह्य**; as **किन् ह्युते** or **किं ह्युते** 'what withholds'. **कथन् ह्युते** or **कथं ह्युते** ॥

ङ्णोः कुक् टुक् शरि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङ् णोः, कुक्, टुक्, शरि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङकारणकारयोः पदान्तयोः कुक् टुक् इत्येतावागमौ वा भवतः ॥

28. The augment **क्** is added to a final **ङ्**, and the augment **ट्** to a final **ण्**, before a sibilant, optionally.

Thus **प्राङ्क् शेते**, or **प्राङ् शेते**; **प्राङ्क् षष्ठः** or **प्राङ् षष्ठः**; **प्राङ्क् साये** or **प्राङ् साये** ॥ **षण्क् शेते** or **षण् शेते** ॥

The augments are **कुक्** and **टुक्** with an indicatory **क्**, showing that they are to be added to the end of the prior word (I. 1. 46), and not to the *beginning* of the second word. In sanhita reading, it would have made no difference *practically*, whether these augments were added to the *end* of the first, or the *beginning* of the second. But they are added to the end of the *first*, in order to indicate that VIII. 4. 63, will take effect. Thus we have **प्राङ्क् शेते** also. This **ङ्** change of **श** would not have taken place had the augment **क्** been added to

ष् of श्नेते; because in श्छोटि (VIII. 4. 63) the झ्य् letter must be at the end of a pada. So that if क् were added to श् of श्नेते, as क्शनेते, here too श् follows a झ्य् letter, but this झ्य् letter (क्) is not at the end of a pada, so श् will not be changed to छ (VIII. 4. 63). Thus श् is not changed to छ in the body of a word, like विरष्णिन् though ष् is a झ्य् letter, पुरा कूरस्य विसृपो विरष्णिन् ॥ विरष्णिन् = महन्, formed with the Preposition वि added to the root रष्, with the Uṇādi affix णिनि ॥

Moreover in प्राङ् साये, the स is not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. Had the augment क् been added to साये, as क्साये, the स would have been changed to ष, as प्राङ् क्षाये, for then VIII. 3. 111, would not have applied, as स was no longer at the beginning of a pada.

Moreover in वण्ट् साये, the स् is not changed to ष because of the prohibition of VIII. 4. 42. Had ङ् been the augment of साये, as ङ्साये, then there would have been the change of स् to ष by VIII. 4. 41.

डः सि धुट् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ डः, सि धुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डकारान्तात्पदादुत्तरस्य सकारादेः पदस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

29. After a word ending in ड्, there may optionally be added the augment ध् to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus श्वलिद् र्साये or श्वलिद् साये, मधुलिद् र्साये or मधुलिद् साये ॥

The word डः is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of ड्, because of the maxim उभयनिर्देशे पञ्चमी निर्देशो बलीयान् ॥

Q.—Why it is धुट् and not धुक्, in other words, why is this augment added to the beginning of the second word and not to the end of the first?

Ans.—This is done in order to prevent the ष्टु change by VIII. 4. 41. But being at the beginning of the second word, VIII. 4. 42 would prevent this change. श्वलिद् + साये = श्वलिद् र्साये, (VIII. 4. 41) but the correct form is श्वलिद् र्साये ॥ For the ह् of श्वलिद् is ढ substituted by VIII. 2. 31, which becomes ड् by VIII. 2. 39, for the ध् of the augment, त् is substituted by VIII. 4. 55, and for ड् there is ट् by the same rule.

नदच ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तात्पदादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

30. After a word ending in न्, धुट् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus भवान् र्साये, महान् र्साये or भवान् साये, महान् साये ॥ The ध् of the augment becomes त् by VIII. 4. 55. This त् is asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), and therefore न् is not changed to ह् by VIII. 3. 7. This is the reason why the augment is exhibited as धुट् and not तुट् ॥ In sūtra VIII. 3. 29 तुट् would have done as well but not so here. This view of the Kāśikā, however, is not approved by Padamanjari. The न् can never be changed to ह् here, because त् is followed

by स् which is not an अम् letter. The word अम्परे is understood in VIII. 3. 7. In fact, तुद् would have been a better augment.

शि तुक् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारस्य पदान्तस्य शकारे परतो वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

31. The augment त् may optionally be added to a word ending in न्, when a word beginning with श follows.

Thus भवाञ् च्छेते ॥ The augment is added to the end of the preceding word, and not to the beginning of the second word, in order to change श into छ ॥ In fact, the augment धुद् added to the second would have been as good as तुक्, namely both are त् ; but then छ change would not have taken place.

Obj.—If this be so, then why न् is not changed to ण्, since it is no longer final in a pada, when तुक् is added to it, in कुर्वन् च्छेते ॥

Ans.—This is to be thus explained. The sūtra स्तोः द्युना इचुः (VIII. 4. 40) should be divided into two parts, in order to prevent ण change. Thus the first part will be स्तोः द्युना, which will mean that स and तु followed by श and च्चु will not cause the change of न to ण ॥ The next sūtra will be इचुः, which will mean that the preceding स and तु are changed to श and च्चु respectively.

डमो ह्रस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ डमः, ह्रस्वात्, अचि, डमुद्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वात्परो यो डम् तदन्तात्पदादुत्तरस्याचो डमुडागमो भवति नित्यम् ॥ ङणनेभ्यो यथासंख्यं ङणना भवति ॥

32. After a word ending in ड्, ण् or न् which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant ड्, ण् or न् is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word डमः is in the Ablative singular here ; and ह्रस्वात् qualifies डमः ; and डम् itself qualifies the word पदस्य understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with डमः ॥ अचि is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here : it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. डम् is a pratyāhāra meaning ड, ण and न ; and so also डमुद् is a pratyāhāra containing the three augments ड्, ण् and न् ॥

In other words ड् is augment after ड्, ण् after ण् and न् after न् ; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus ड्ङ् is the augment after a word ending in ड्, as प्रत्यङ्ङास्ते ॥ ण्ङ् is the augment after a word ending in ण्, as

वणनास्ते ॥ नुद् is the augment after a word ending in न्, as कुर्वन्नास्ते, कुर्वन्नवोचत्, कृषन्नास्ते, कृषन्नवोचत् ॥

Why do we say 'ending in ङ, ण or न' ? See त्वमास्ते ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a light vowel'? Observe प्राडास्ते, भवानास्ते ॥ Why do we say "followed by a vowel"? Observe प्रत्यङ्करोति ॥

The Mahabhâshya thus comments on this aphorism :—

Vârti:—ङमुदि पदादिमहणम् "The ङमुद् augment is added to a vowel which stands at the beginning of a word". So that in दृण्डिन् + आ (Ins. Sing.), नुद् is not added to आ, because it is not the beginning of a Pada. Then should this vârtika be held to be necessary? No, because the word पदात् is understood here: so नुद् will not come in दृण्डिना ॥ But then it will come in परमदृण्डिन् + आ ॥ Because it is a compound of two nouns, and though the case-affixes have been elided, yet दृण्डिन् is here a Pada by reason of pratyaya lakshana; and hence there should be नुद् here added to आ ॥ Ans. This is no valid objection. दृण्डिन् is not here a Pada, on the maxim उत्तरपदत्वे चापदादिविधौलुमता लुप्त प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवति "When an affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्, the pratyaya-lakshana rule will not apply, when the object of it is to give the designation of Pada to the second member of a compound, with the exception of the rule applying to the beginning of a Pada". Thus in परमदृण्डिन् the word दृण्डिन् is not treated as a पद, because the rule to be applied is to the *end* here. But the second member of a compound is treated like a pada, when a rule is to be applied to the beginning of a Pada. Thus in दधिसेचौ, the second member सेच् is considered as a Pada for the purposes of the rule सात् पदाद्योः (VIII. 3. 111), and the स is not changed to ष ॥ This view proceeds upon the supposition that the word पदात् governs this sūtra. But the anuvṛitti of पदात् ceased with VIII. 1. 27, as we stated before. How are we then to get out of this difficulty? Are we to make the above vârtika necessary? No: because the anuvṛitti of पदे from VIII. 3. 21 runs into this sūtra. So that the sūtra means अजादौ पदे ङमुद् भवति ॥ "The augment ङमुद् is added to a vowel with which a Pada commences". Not therefore to the case-affix आ in दृण्डिना ॥

मय उञ्जो वो वा ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयः, उञ्जः, वः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मय उत्तरस्य उञ्जो वा वकारादेशो भवति अचि परतः ॥

33. व् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह and ञ), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus शमु अस्तु वेदिः or शम्बस्तु वेदिः, तद् उ अस्य रेतः or तद्बस्य रेतः, किम् उ आवपनम् or किम्बावपनम् ॥ The उ is a Pragrihya by I. 1. 14, and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व being considered asidha, the म् is not changed to anusvâra in किम्बावपनम्, शम्बस्तु &c, by VIII.3. 23.

When this उ is followed by इति, and preceded by a मय् consonant, then by I. 1. 17, it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऊँ ॥ When it is not a pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by यणोदेश (VI. 1. 77), or to व् by the present sūtra. In the case of यणोदेश व्, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, as किंविन्ति ॥ When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by the present sūtra as किंविन्ति or किमु इति ॥ So also with ऊँ substitute, where the वूँ will be nasal : as किंविन्ति, or ऊँ will remain unchanged, as किमु ऊँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

विसर्जनीयस्य सः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य, सः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य सकार आदेशो भवति खरि परतः ॥

34. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. Thus वृक्षच्छादयति, वृक्षच्छादयति, वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षस्थकारः, वृक्षस्थकारः, वृक्षश्चिनोति, वृक्षश्चिनोति, वृक्षष्ठीकते, वृक्षष्ठीकते, वृक्षस्तरति, वृक्षस्तरति ॥

By VIII. 3. 15, the र् was changed to visarga before a hard consonant, or at the end of a Pause. In the present sūtra, no special cause being mentioned, the स् change would take place, not only before a hard consonant, but at the Pause also, i. e. in वृक्षः, वृक्षः also. This however, is not the case, because the word संहितायाम् governs this sūtra ; so the स् change will be in Sanhitā only, and not in Pause, moreover we read the anuvṛitti of खरि here and so prevent the स् change in Pause.

शर्परे विसर्जनीयः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्परे, विसर्जनीयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्परे खरि परतो विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयोदेशो भवति ॥

35. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् ॥ In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus शशाः क्षुरम्, पुरुषः क्षुरम्, अङ्गिः प्साताम्, वासः क्षौमम्, पुरुषः त्सरुः, घनाघनः क्षोभणश्चर्षणीनाम् ॥

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न ; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvāmuliya and upadh-māniya changes also do not take place, in cases like अङ्गिः प्सातम्, वासः क्षौमम् ॥

वा शरि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शरि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयोदेशो वा भवति शरि परे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शर्परे शरि वा लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As वृक्षः शेते or वृक्षश्शेते, द्वृक्षः शेते or द्वृक्षश्शेते, वृक्षः षण्डे or वृक्षष्णण्डे, वृक्षः साये or वृक्षस्साये ॥ Cf. VIII. 4. 40, 41, for श् and ष् ॥

Vart.—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As वृक्षा स्थातारः or वृक्षाः स्थातारः or वृक्षास्स्थातारः ॥

कुप्पोऽकःपौ च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुप्पोऽकःपौ च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गपवर्गयोः परतो विसर्जनीयस्य यथासंख्यं कःप इत्यतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

37. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

Thus वृक्ष × करोति or वृक्षः करोति, वृक्ष × खनति or वृक्षः खनति, वृक्ष × पचति or वृक्षः पचति, वृक्ष × फलति or वृक्षः फलति ॥ The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvamûliya and the Upadhmanîya : two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

When the rule VIII. 3. 34. does not apply, then this sûtra will apply ; and will debar that. But VIII. 3. 35. will not be debarred. As वासः क्षीमश्, अङ्गिःःसातम् ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35. and 37, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other. (VIII. 2. 1). In fact, every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sûtra into two :—(1) कुप्पोः “The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant.” (2) × क × पौ च The jihvamûliya and upadhmanîya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case.”

सोपदादौ ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अ-पदादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकार आदेशो भवति विसर्जनीयस्य कुप्पोरपदाद्योः परतः पाशकल्पकक्राम्येषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सोपदादावित्यनव्ययस्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥ रोरेव काम्ये नाव्यस्येति नियमार्थं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपध्मानीयस्य कवर्गं परतः सकार आदेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

38 स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपदादौ means “when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a *word*,” in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix. This is possible only before the affixes पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus पयस्पाशम् (V. 3. 47) ; पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3. 67), पयस्कं, यशस्कम्, (V. 3. 70) ; पयस्काम्यति, यशस्काम्यति (III. 1. 9).

Why do we say ‘when not at the beginning of a word’? Observe पय× काम्यते, पय× पिबति ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable : as, प्रातः कल्पम्, पुनः कल्पम् ॥

Vart :—The visarga which comes from ह is only changed to स before काम्य, and not any other visarga. As पयस्काम्यात्, and यशस्काम्यति ; but not here, गीःकाम्यति धूःकाम्यति ॥

Vart :—स is the substitute of the Upadhmaniya when followed by a guttural. The root उञ्ज् (आजवे Tud 20) has Upadhmaniya as its penultimate : though it is written in the Dnâtipaṭha as उञ्ज् the ज् only represents the प् of ×प, and is not to be pronounced. This ×प is changed to स, when the final ज् is changed to a guttural, as उ स ग, and then this स is changed to ह, as in अभ्युद्गः, ससुद्गः ॥

These words, however, may be derived from the root गम् with the Prepositions अभि, उत्, and सम् उत्, by adding the affix ड ॥

इणः षः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदादाविति वर्त्तते । इण उत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य पकारादेशो भवति कुप्योरपदाद्योः परतः पाशकल्पकाम्येषु ॥

39. ष is the substitute of that visarga, which is preceded by इ or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with a hard guttural or a labial.

The word अपदादौ is understood here also. The affixes meant are the same पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus सर्पिष्पाशम्, यजुष्पाशम्, सर्पिष्कल्पम्, यजुष्कल्पम्, सर्पिष्कम्, यजुष्कम् ; सर्पिष्काम्यति, यजुष्काम्यति ॥

Why do we say 'by an affix'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति, अग्निः पचति, वायुः पचति ॥

The affix should begin with a guttural or a labial. Therefore not here, सर्पिस्ते, यजुस्ते ॥

In the succeeding sūtras, the anuvṛitti of स from VIII. 3. 39 and of इणः षः from this, are both current. The visarga will be changed to ष if preceded by इ or उ, otherwise it will be स ॥

According to some, this sūtra ordains ष in the room of the स taught in the preceding sūtra, and not of visarga : and so also in the following sūtras.

नमस्पुरसोर्गत्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-पुरसोः, गत्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस्पुरस् इत्येतयोर्गतिसंज्ञकयो विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति कुप्योः परतः ॥

40. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस् there is substituted स् before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74).

Thus नमस्कर्त्ता, नमस्कर्तुम्, नमस्कर्त्तव्यम् ; पुरस्कर्त्ता पुरस्कर्तुम्, पुरस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say "when they are Gati"? Observe पूःकरोति, पुरो करोति, पुरः करोति ॥ Here पुरः is a noun, Accusative Plural of पूः ॥

नमस् is Gati by I. 4. 74, and पुरस् is Gati by I. 4. 67. The anuvṛitti of अपदादौ ceases.

इतुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्-उद्-उपधस्य, च, अ-प्रत्यस्य ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोपधस्य उकारोपधस्य चाप्रत्यस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुम्मुहुसोःप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

41. *प्* is substituted, before a hard guttural or a labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, दुर्, बहिर्, अविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥ Thus निष्कृतम्, निष्पीतम्, दुष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, बहिस्, बहिष्कृतम्, बहिष्पीतम्, आविस्, आविष्कृतम्, आविष्पीतम्, चतुष्कृतम्, चतुष्कपालम्, चतुष्कन्वलम्, चतुष्कलम्, प्रादुष्कृतम्, प्रादुष्पीतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः करोति, पितुः करोति? For here in पितुः &c, the स् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the र् of पितुर्+स् is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ष् ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भ्रातुष्पुत्रः in Kaskâdi class (VIII. 3. 48) indicates by implication, that ष change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c: the only exception being भ्रातुः ॥ The reason of this may be that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekâdeśa उ (VI. I. III).

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of पुम् and मुहुस्; as पुंस्क्रामा, मुहुस्क्रामा ॥

Vârt:—वृद्धिभूतानां षत्वं वक्तव्यम् । The visarga is changed to ष even when इ or उ are vṛddhied; as नैष्कुल्यम्, दौष्कुल्यम् ॥

Vârt:—प्लुतानां तादौ च ॥ The visarga is changed to ष even when इ or उ are pluta, and then before dentals as well as gutturals and labials. Thus निष्कुलम्, दुष्कुलम् (VIII. 2. 86 for pluta). दुष्पुरुषः, वहीश्टरः ॥

These last two vârtikas may be dispensed with, because Vṛiddhi and Pluta are Bahiranga change, and so the visarga will be changed to ष in these cases also by the sūtra itself; except so far as त् is concerned.

तिरसोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, अन्यरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरसो विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां सकारादेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः ॥

42. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्त्ता, तिरस्कर्त्तुम्, तिरस्कर्त्तव्यम्, or तिरः कर्त्ता, तिरः कर्त्तुम्, तिरः कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ The word गतेः is understood here also. Therefore no option is allowed here, तिरः कृत्वा काण्डं गतः, where तिरस् does not mean 'disappearance'. (I. 4. 72).

द्विस्त्रिचतुरिति कृत्वोर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विः-त्रिः-चतुर्, इति, कृत्वोर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष इति संबद्ध्यते । द्विस् त्रिस् चतुर् इत्येतेषां कृत्वोर्थे वर्त्तमानानां विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां कुप्पोः परतः ॥

43. **प्** is optionally the substitute of the visargas of **द्विस्**, **त्रिस्** and **चतुर्** when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix **सुच्** (**स्**) is added to the three words **dvi**, **tri** and **chatur** in the sense of *kṛtvasuch* by V. 4. 18.

As **द्विः करोति** or **द्विष्करोति**, **त्रिः करोति** or **त्रिष्करोति**, **चतुः करोति** or **चतुष्करोति**, **द्विः पचति** or **द्विष्पचति**, **त्रिः पचति** or **त्रिष्पचति**, **चतुः पचति** or **चतुष्पचति** ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of *kṛtvasuch* or Numeral adverbs'? Observe **चतुष्कपालम्**, **चतुष्कण्टकम्**, where **ष्** is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. **चतुर्षु कपालेषु संस्कृतः** (IV. 2. 16 and IV. 1. 88). This sūtra is an example of *ubhayatra-vibhāshā*. With regard to **चतुर्** the visarga is a non-affix visarga, and hence VIII. 3. 41, would have made **ष्** compulsory, this makes it optional. With regard to **द्विस्** and **त्रिस्** the visarga is that of an affix (**सुच्** or **स्** V. 4. 18), and hence VIII. 3. 41, would not have applied. Thus with regard to **चतुर्** it is a *Prāpta-vibhāshā*, and with regard to **द्विस्** and **त्रिस्** it is an *Aprāpta-vibhāshā*.

Why have we used the words 'dvis, tris and chatur'? Objector's answer: so that the rule may not apply to **पञ्चकृत्वः करोति**, the visarga of *kritvasuch* (V. 4. 17) is not changed to **ष्** ॥

The anuvṛtiti of **उ** and **इ** is understood here from VIII. 3. 41: so that the visarga must be preceded by **इ** and **उ** for the application of this rule. In **पञ्चकृत्वः** the visarga is preceded by **अ**, and so there is no applicability of this rule.

In fact, by reading the anuvṛtiti of **इदुदुपधा** into this sūtra, and qualifying the visarga by the further epithet of 'belonging to a *word* that has the sense of *kṛtvasuch*'; we may dispense with the words **द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति** from the sūtra. The simple sūtra **कृत्वोर्ये** would have been enough. For there are no other Numerals that have a penultimate **इ** or **उ**, except these three. The chief objection to this view is, that in **चतुर्** the visarga is not the *affix सुच्*, but a portion of the word (See V. 4. 18): so the rule would not apply to **chatur**, if this word were not expressly mentioned.

The various objections and their solutions are given in the following verses.

कृत्वंसुजर्ये षत्वं ब्रवीति कस्माच्चतुष्कपाल मा
 षत्वं विभाषया भूत्रनु सिद्धं तत्र पूर्वेण ॥
 सिद्धे ह्ययं विधत्ते चतुरः षत्वं यद्यपि कृत्वोर्ये ॥
 लुप्ते कृत्वोर्थाये रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥
 एवं सति त्विदानीं द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् ॥
 अन्यो हि नेदुदुपधः कृत्वोर्थः कश्चिदप्यस्ति ॥
 अक्रियमाणे ग्रहणे विसर्जनीयस्तदा विशेष्येत ॥

चतुरो न सिध्यति तथा रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥

तस्मिंस्तु क्रियमाणे युक्ते चतुरो विशेषणं भवति ॥

प्रकृतं परं तदन्तं तस्यापि विशेषणं न्याय्यम् ॥

Kārikā :—कृत्वसुजर्थे षत्वं ब्रवीति कस्मात्? Why does the author teach षत्वं when these words have the sense of Numeral-adverbs? In other words, why the word कृत्वोऽर्थे is used at all in the sūtra? There is no necessity of using it at all, because द्विस्, त्रिस् are clearly adverbs as they are formed by the affix सुच् (V. 4. 18) and चतुर् being read in their company will also denote the *adverb* chatur, in which सुच् has been elided (V. 4. 18). So that all these three words are सुच्-formed, and all सुच्-formed words have the sense of Kṛtvasuch. One answer to this is that the rule of साहचर्य does not always hold good, as in दीधीवेवीटाम् (I. 1.6), the words दीधी and वेवी are verbs, while इट् is an augment. Though therefore द्विस् and त्रिस् are kṛtvortha words, yet चतुर् need not be so: and may be a simple Numeral. *Ans.* चतुष्कपाले मा षत्वं विभाषया भूत् ॥ The word कृत्वोऽर्थे is employed to indicate that there should be no optional षत्वं in चतुष्कपालं ॥ The षत्वं here is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. *Q.* ननु सिद्धं तत्र पूर्वेण ॥ Well this would be valid by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 41). That is, let in चतुष्कपाल also there be optional षत्वं, as चतुःकपाल and चतुष्कपाल ॥ Now rule VIII. 3. 41 will apply to चतुःकपाल and will change this visarga to ष, so that with regard to चतुष्कपाल, we shall have *always* ष ॥ *Ans.* सिद्धे ह्ययं विधत्ते चतुः षत्वं यदापि कृत्वोऽर्थे, लुप्ते कृत्वोऽर्थे रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि । If VIII. 3. 41 be considered as applying here (siddha), then when the affix सुच् is elided after चतुर्, and the र is changed to visarga, then the adverb चतुः also ends with a non-affix visarga, and will come under the compulsory षत्वं rule of VIII. 3. 41; for though we may have optionally two forms as चतुः करोति and चतुष्करोति, by the present sūtra, yet in the former the visarga would be changed to ष by VIII. 3. 41. Hence the necessity of employing the word कृत्वोऽर्थे ॥ *Q.* But we say that the र् in the adverb चतुर् is that of सुच्, thus चतुर्+स्=चतुर्+र् (VIII. 2. 66)=चतु+र् (the first र् is elided by VIII. 3. 14)=चतुर्; and that this र् when changed to visarga, will be an affix-visarga and so VIII. 3. 41 will not apply to the *adverb* चतुर् ॥ *Ans.* No. For उ would require to be lengthened by VI. 3. 111. and the form would be चतूर् ॥

एवं सति त्विदानीं द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् ॥ If this be so, then what is the purpose served by using the words द्विस् त्रिश्चतुरिति in the aphorism? The simple sūtra कृत्वोऽर्थे would have been enough. Because (अन्योहि नेदुदुपधः कृत्वोऽर्थः कादिचदप्यस्ति) there are no other numeral adverbs than these three which have a penultimate इ or उ ॥

आक्रियमाणे ग्रहणे विसर्जनीयस्तदा विशेष्येत । If we do not use the words द्विस्, त्रिस्, chaturiti in the sūtra, then the word kṛtvortha would qualify the word visarga, and the sūtra would mean "the visarga of an affix which has the sense of kṛtvasuch is changed optionally to ष" ॥ The result of this will be

that (चतुरो न सिध्यति तथारंफस्य विसर्जनयोहि) it will not apply to चतुः where the visarga is that of र् and not of the affix लुच् ॥

Therefore by using dvis &c, the word कृत्वोर्थे would qualify चतुर (तस्मिन् तु क्रियमाणे युक्तं चतुरो विशेषणं भवति) ॥

Ans.—प्रकृतं पदं तदन्तं तस्यापि, विशेषणं नाध्यम् ॥ Though we may not use dvis &c, the word कृत्वोर्था will not qualify visarga, but will qualify the word पद् whose context runs here; and the rule of तदन्त will apply; so that the sūtra कृत्वोऽर्थे will mean, पदस्य कृत्वोर्थे वर्त्तमानस्य यो विसर्जनीयः, तस्य सकारः षकारो ष ॥ “The visarga of that word which is employed in the sense of a Numeral adverb, is optionally changed to स् or ष before a guttural or a labial, provided that such visarga is preceded by इ or उ”.

The above is the opinion of Patanjali, who considers the words dvis &c, as redundant. The Kāśikā however controverts this opinion. According to him, if these words were not used in the sūtra, then the mere sūtra कृत्वोऽर्थे would be insufficient for the visarga of चतुः though used as an adverb, the षत्व will be compulsory by VIII.3.41; for the present sūtra will be considered as asiddha or non-existent for the purposes of VIII. 3. 41, (See VIII. 2. 1). But this however may be answered by saying that the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् applies in these chapters, with this modification, one subject-matter is considered as asiddha with regard to another subject-matter gone before; but one aphorism is not considered asiddha with regard to a previous aphorism, when belonging to the same subject matter. (प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः) ॥ Therefore the present sūtra VIII. 3. 43, would not be considered asiddha with regard to VIII. 3. 41. Or the present sūtra may be considered as an apavāda to VIII. 3. 41: and an apavāda is never asiddha with regard to an utsarga.

इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्-उसोः, सामर्थ्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् उच् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां षकारादेशो भवति सामर्थ्ये कुप्पोः परतः ॥

44. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here. Thus सर्षिष्करोति or सर्षिः करोति, यजुः करोति or यजुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say ‘when the two words are correlated’? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्षिः, पिब त्वष्टकम्, where सर्षिः is not in construction with पिब, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्ये here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words; and not “having the same meaning”, or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्ये is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean ‘compound’. For it being a पदविधिः the word समर्थः is

understood here (समर्थः पदविधिः II. 1. 1). The employment of the word सामर्थ्य here indicates that it is a different sâmarthya from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थीभावः or ऐकार्थ्य which is the sâmarthya of compounds where two or more words denote one object. The sâmarthya here means vyapekshâ, which is thus defined नानाभूतयोः, पदार्थयो र्यौ शब्दौ वर्त्तते, तयो र्यो योगः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas".

नित्यं समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, समासे, अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयुसोरिति वर्त्तते । समासविषये इयुसोर्विसर्जनीयस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं षत्वं भवति कुप्रेः परतः ॥

45. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to प् in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The words इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, धनुष्कपालम्, सर्पिष्पानम्, धनुष्फलम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका, परमधनुः कपालम् ॥ The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples.

Q.—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सर्प् by adding the Uṇâdi affix इस् (Uṇ II. 109), and यजुस् by the Uṇâdi affix उस् (Uṇ II. 117), therefore on the maxim प्रत्ययग्रहणे &c, the word इयुसोः would denote the mere forms सर्पिस् and यजुस् and not forms like परमसर्पिस् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sūtra?

The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sūtra, is an indicator (jñâpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस् : प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मान् स विहित स्तदादे-स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself". This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्पिष्करोति or परमसर्पिः करोति by the previous sūtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra?

Ans :—Because the word सामर्थ्य there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, कृकमि-कंस-कुम्भ-पात्र-कुशा-कर्णीषु, अन्-अव्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भकारादुत्तरस्य अनव्ययविसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं सकारोद्देशो भवति कृकमि कंस कुम्भ पात्र कुशा कर्णी इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

46. For the visarga of a word ending in अस, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णा follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृः—अयस्कारः, पयस्कारः (III. 2. 1) कम्ः—अयस्कामः, पयस्कामः, कंसः—अयस्कंसः, पयस्कंसः, कुम्भः, अयस्कुम्भः, पयस्कुम्भः ॥ So also अयस्कुम्भी, पयस्कुम्भी, on the maxim प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवति ॥ पात्रः—अयस्पात्रम्, पयस्पात्रम्, अयस्पात्री, पयस्पात्री ॥ कुशाः—अयस्कुशा, पयस्कुशा ॥ कर्णाः—अयस्कर्णा, पयस्कर्णा ॥ The form शुनस्कर्णः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48).

Why do we say अतः “a visarga preceded by short अ, or the visarga of the word ending in अः”? See गीःकारः, धूःकारः ॥ Why do we say ‘preceded by short अ’? Observe भाःकरणम् ॥ The form भास्कारः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48). See also III. 2. 2.

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe इवःकारः, पुनःकारः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; यशः करोति पयः करोति, यशः कामयते ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमपयः कारः, परमपयः कामः ॥

Q. The word कंस need not have been taken, because it is a form of the root कम्, since it is derived from कम् by adding the Uṇādi affix स (III. 62 Uṇ) ?

Ans.—The employment of कंस indicates the existence of the following maxim:—उणादयोऽद्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि “Words which end with उण् &c. are crude-forms that do not undergo or cause such operations as would depend on their etymological formation.”

अधः शिरसी पदे ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ अधः-शिरसी, पदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधस् शिरस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य सकार आदेशो भवति पदशब्दे परतः ॥

47. For the visarga of अधस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद् in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अधस्पद्म्, शिरस्पद्म् ॥ अधस्पदी, शिरस्पदी ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अधः पद्म् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पद्म् ॥

The word अधस्पद्म् is a compound formed under Mayūravyaṅsa-kādi class.

कस्कादिषु च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्कादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्क इत्येवमादिषु च विसर्जनीयस्य सकारः पकारो वा यथायोगमादेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः ॥

48. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavāda to Sūtra VIII. 3. 37. ष् is substituted after इ or उ, and स् everywhere else. Thus कस्कः, 2. कौतस्कुतः (with अण् of कुत आगतः). 3. आतुष्पुत्रः (VI. 3. 23) 4. ह्युनस्कर्णः (VI. 3. 21) 5. सद्यस्कालः; 6. सद्यस्की (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix क्विप्, because it belongs to Sampadādi class.) 7. साद्यस्कः (from सद्यस्त्री in the sense of तत्रभवः क्रतुः). 8. कांस्कान् (the ह is by VIII. 3. 12). 9. सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, 10. चतुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. बहिष्पूलम्, 13. यजुष्पात्रम् ॥ "The words 9 to 13 are exceptions to VIII. 3. 45, so that there might be ष, even when सर्पिस् &c are preceded by another word. Thus परमसर्पिष् कुण्डिका ॥ The counter-example then to VIII. 3. 45 will be परमसर्पिः फलम् ॥" This is the opinion of the Pārāyaṇikās. But in the Mahābhāshya, the counter-example under VIII. 3. 45 is परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका ॥ Another reason why these words are listed here, is that ष change will take place, even where there is no correlation or vyapekshā. As तिष्ठतु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकां आनय ॥ So also when there is correlation, as इदं सर्पिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ Here सर्पिस् is an incomplete word. The ष change, will take place even where there is no compounding. Where there is no compounding, and there is complete want of correlation, even there the ष will invariably come. And where there is correlation, but no compounding there the ष would have been optional by VIII. 3. 44, but it becomes invariable here, on account of these words being so listed. Thus we have these cases : (1) Without correlation, as तिष्ठतु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकामानय ॥ (2) Where there is correlation, as इदं सर्पिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ (3) Where there is composition, as सर्पिष्कुण्डिका ॥ (4) Where there is no composition and no correlation even, as, in example (1). (5) Where there is correlation but no compounding as in example (2). In all these cases there is ष *invariably* in case of these words. 14. अयस्काण्डः, 15. मेघस्विण्डः ॥ अविहितलक्षण उपचारः कस्कादिषु द्रष्टव्यः ।

Every change of visarga to स or ष, must be referred to Kaskādi class, if not governed by any other rule. Thus this is an Akṛtigaṇa. Upachāra is the name of स् and ष which replace the visarga.

The Pārāyaṇa is of two sorts, Dhātu-Par, and Nāma-Par. Those who devote themselves in committing to memory and reciting these are Pārāyaṇikas.

छन्दसि वा प्राप्नेडितयोः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वा, अ-प्र-आप्नेडितयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विसर्जनीयस्य वा सकारादेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः प्रसब्दं आप्नेडितं वर्जयित्वा ॥

49. स may optionally be substituted for the

visarga before a hard guttural and labial, in the Chhandas; but neither before प्र, nor before a doubled word.

Thus अयः पात्रम् or अयस्पात्रम् ॥ This is an example of non-compounds. In compounds, the स change is compulsory by VIII. 3. 46: because the option of the present sutra is asiddha there, and it finds its scope in cases other than compounds. If the maxim प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः be applied, then the two sutras VIII. 3. 46 and VIII. 3. 49 belong to the same प्रकरणं and one is not asiddha with regard to the other. Then we could give examples of compounds also under this sutra: but then such compounds will also be governed by VIII. 3. 46, and so the स would be compulsory.

विश्वतस्पात्रम् or विश्वतः पात्रम्, here the word विश्वतः is an Indeclinable and hence the rule VIII. 3. 46, does not apply to it. उरु णः कारः or उरु ण स्कारः ॥ Here नस् is substituted for अस्, and then the न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27. The word कारः is a घञ् formed word.

Why do we say "not before प्र and a doubled word"? Observe अग्निः प्र विद्वान् (Av. V. 26. 1), पुरुषः पुरुषः परि ॥

In सूर्यरश्मिर्हृदिकेशः पुरस्तात् (Rig. X. 139. 1), स नः पात्रकः (Rig. I. 12. 10), the स change has not taken place, as all rules are optional in the Vedas.

कः करत्करतिकृधिकृतेष्वनदितेः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कः-करत्-करति-कृधि-कृतेषु, अन्-अदितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कः करत् कारति कृधि कृत इत्येतेषु परतः अनदितेर्विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

50. The visarga is changed to स् in the Chhandas, before कः, करत्, करति, कृधि and कृतः but not so the visarga of अदितिः ॥

Thus विश्वतस्कः ॥ कः is the Aorist of कृ, the ळि has been elided by II. 4. 80: the ऋ of कृ is gunated before the affix तिप्, thus we have करत्, the त् is elided by VI. 1. 68; and the augment अद् is not added by VI. 4. 75. Similarly विश्वतस्करन् ॥ Here also करत् is the Aorist of कृ, with अद् by III. 1. 59. पयस्कारति, here कारति is the लट् of कृ; षप् is added instead of उ, as a Vedic anomaly. उरणस्कृधि, here कृधि is the Imperative of कृ, the सि is changed to हि, the vikaraṇa is elided, and हि changed to धि by VI. 4. 102. See VIII. 4. 27, for the change of न to ण ॥ सदस्कृतम्, here कृतम् is Past Participle of कृ ॥

Why do we say 'but not of अदितिः'? Observe यथा नो अदितिः करत् (Rig. I. 43. 2).

पञ्चम्याः परावध्यर्थे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, परौ, अध्यर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसित्येव । पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति परौ परतः अध्यर्थे ॥

51. The visarga of the Ablative case is changed to **स्** before **परि** meaning 'over'.

The word Chhandas is understood here also. Thus **दिवस्परि** प्रथमं जज्ञे (Rig X. 45. 1) **अग्निर्हिववतस्परि** ॥ **दिवस्परि**, **महस्परि** ॥

Why do we say 'of the Ablative'? Observe **अह्निरिव भोगैः पर्येति बाहुम्** ॥ Why do we say "before **परि**"? See **एभ्योवा एतल्लोकेभ्यः प्रजापतिः समैरयन्** ॥ Why do we say 'when **परि** means 'over'? See **दिवः पृथिव्याः प्रयोज उद्भूतम्** (Rig. VI. 47. 27). Here **परि** has the sense of "on all sides".

पातौ च बहुलम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पातौ, च बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पातौ च धातौ परतः पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य बहुलं सकार आदेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

52. **स्** may diversely be substituted for the visarga of the Ablative before the verb **पानु** in the Chhandas.

Thus **दिवस्पातु**, **राज्ञस्पातु** ॥ Sometimes, the change does not take place, as **परिषद्**: **पान** ॥

पष्ण्याःपतिपुत्त्रपृष्ठपारपदपयस्पोषेषु ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पष्ण्याः-पति-पुत्र-पृष्ठ-पार-पद पयस्-पोषेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीविसर्जनीयसकारादेशो भवति पति पुत्र पृष्ठ पार पद् पयस् पोष इत्येतेषु परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥

53. For the visarga of the Genitive, there is substituted **स्** in the Vedas, before **पति**, **पुत्र**, **पृष्ठ**, **पार**, **पद**, **पयस्**, and **पोष** ॥

Thus **वाचस्पतिं विश्वकर्माणमृतये**, (Rig. x. 81. 7), **दिवस्पुत्राय सूर्याय**, **दिवस्पृष्टे धावमानं सुपर्णम्**, **अगन्म**, **तमसस्पारम्**, **इडस्पदे समिध्यसे**, **सूर्ये चक्षु र्दिवस्पयः**, **रायस्पोषं यजमानेषु धत्तम्** ॥

Why do we say 'after a genitive case'? See **मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो हायं व्यभजत्** ॥

इडाया वा ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडायाः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडायाः षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्य वा सकार आदेशो भवति पत्यादिषु परतश्छन्दसि विषये ॥

54. **स्** is optionally substituted for the visarga of **इडायाः**, before **पति** &c, (VIII. 3. 53.) in the Chhandas.

Thus **इडायाः पतिः** or **इडायास्पतिः** **इडायास्पुत्तः** । **इडायाः पुत्तः** । **इडायास्पृष्ठम्** । **इडायाः पृष्ठम्** । **इडाया स्पारम्**, **इडायाः पारम्** । **इडायास्पदम्** । **इडायाः पद्म्** । **इडायास्पयः** । **इडायाः पयः** । **इडायाः पोषम्** । **इडायास्पोषम्** ॥

अपदान्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-पदान्तस्य, मूर्द्धन्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तस्येति मूर्द्धन्य इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । आपादपंरिसमाप्तिः ॥

55. Upto the end of the Pâda, is throughout to be supplied the following: "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of ———, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word".

Here ceases the Padādhikāra which commenced with VIII. I. 16. The two words अपदान्तस्य 'not final in a pada', and मूर्द्धन्यः 'cerebral' exert a governing influence on all sūtras upto the end of this chapter. Thus VIII. 3. 59, teaches "of an affix and a substitute". The whole of the present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense: i.e. "a cerebral sound is substituted always in the room of the स of an affix and of the स which is a substitute, when it does not stand at the end of a word'. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप, आम्रपु, वायुपु ॥

Why do we say 'not final'? See अग्निस्तत्र, वायुस्तत्र ॥ Though the अनुपृत्ति of ष was understood here, yet the employment of the word 'cerebral' is for the sake of ढ; as अकृद्धम, चकृद्धे (VIII. 3. 78).

सहेः साढः सः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः, साढः, सः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सहेर्द्रातोः साड् रूपस्य यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

56. ष् is substituted for the स् in साह, when this occurs in the form of साड् (साह्) ॥

Thus जलाषाद्, तुराषाद्, पृतनाषाद् ॥ साड् is derived from सह by the affix ण्व (III. 2. 63), there is वृद्धि of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ढ (VIII. 2. 31) and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137).

साढः सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साड् except this derived from सह; why then the word सहेः is used in the sūtra? There is another form साड् not derived from सह ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्त्तते = सडः, सडस्य अपत्यं = साडिः ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ढ is called सड; as घृड ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साड्'? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलासाहम्, तुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः "for the स"? So that the आ of साड् may not be changed to cerebral: the ड् is already cerebral.

इणकोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण् कोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण्कोरित्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः इणः कवर्गाच्चेत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ।

57. From this, upto the end of the chapter, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following:—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes".

The word इण is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels र् is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation. कु means the letters of the क class. Thus इणकोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप, आम्रपु, वायुपु, कर्तृपु, हर्तृपु, गीर्तृ, धूर्तृ, वाक्षु, त्वक्षु ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by इण् or कु"? Observe वास्यति, असौ ॥ Here the affix स of स्यति, and the substitute स in असौ (VII. 2. 106) are not changed to ष ॥

नुम्बिसर्जनीयशब्दवायेपि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुम्, विसर्जनीय-शब्दवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नुम्ब्यवायेपि विसर्जनीयव्यवायेपि शब्दवायेपि इण्कोरुत्तरस्यःसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

58. The substitution of ष् for स् takes place then also, when the augment न् (नुम्), the visarjanīya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters or the स् ॥

The word व्यवाय 'separation, intervention' applies to every one of the words नुम्, &c. Thus (1) when नुम् intervenes, as सर्षाषि, यज्ञषि, हवीषि (VII. 1. 72, VI. 4. 10). (2) When a visarjanīya intervenes, as सर्षिःषु, यज्ञुःषु, हविःषु (VIII. 3. 36) (3) When a Sibilant intervenes, as सर्षिष्पु, यज्ञुष्पु हविष्पु ॥

The षत्व takes place, when नुम् &c intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here, निस्से, निस्से from the root निस् 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, नुम् and स् (III. 4. 91).

The word इण्कोः is in the Ablative case, and it required that the स् should follow *immediately* after it. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra for the intervention of certain letters.

आदेशप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेश, प्रत्यययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशो यः सकारः प्रत्ययस्य च यः सकार इण्कोरुत्तरस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

59. ष् is substituted for that स् which is a substitute (of the ष् of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64), or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58), of being preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स् ॥ The sūtra âdeśa-pratyayoḥ is in the Genitive case. The force of the Genitive however is different in the word âdeśa, from what it is in pratyaya. In the first it is samânâdhikaraṇa-shashṭhī, in the latter avayava-yogâshashṭhī. That is that स् which is an âdeśa, and that स् which belongs to an affix. If we took it as avayavayogâ shashṭhī in both places, then the sūtra would mean "of that स् which is a portion of a substitute, or of an affix," and there would arise the following anomaly. In doubling a word by VIII. 1. 1, one view is that two are *substituted* in the room of one (See VIII. 1. 1). Thus बिसंबिसं, सुसलंसुसलं ॥ Here the स् in these words, is a *portion* of a substitute, and would be changed to ष्, if we translate the sūtra as above.

If we take the other view, and translate the sūtra as "of that स् which is a substitute or an affix", we land on the following anomaly. We must have forms like कारस्यति and हरिस्यति, and not the correct forms करिष्यति, हरिष्यति ;

for here स् is not an affix, but a *portion* of an affix. In fact, with regard to affixes, the sūtra would be confined to those affixes only which consist of a single स्, such as सिप् in the Vedic subjunctive लेद् ॥ That this is the proper interpretation of the sūtra is indicated by the sūtra VIII. 3. 60, (the next aphorism). The substitute घस् is taken in this sūtra. If therefore, the force of Genitive in आदेशस्य was=आदेशस्य यः सकारः and not=आदेशः यः सकारः, then there would have been no necessity of including the substitute घस् in the sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of घस् also. Similarly, if the force of the Genitive in प्रत्ययस्य was=प्रत्ययः यः सकारः, and not=प्रत्ययस्यः यः सकारः; then there would have been no necessity of excluding the affix सात् (V. 4. 52) from the operation of the present rule by VIII. 3. 111, because it is not an affix consisting of a single letter स् ॥

Having surmised this, we shall now give illustrations. First of that स् which is a substitute. It can only be the स् which replaces the ष् of a root in Dhātupāṭha. Thus सिषेत्, सुष्वाप् ॥ Of an affix, we have अग्निष्, वायुष्, कर्तृष्, हर्तृष्; वक्षत् in इन्द्रो मा वक्षत्; and यक्षत् in स देवान् यक्षत् ॥

Q.—In the case of वक्षत् and यक्षत्, the स् is not the *portion* of an affix, but the *whole* affix itself: the present sūtra should therefore not apply to this स् ॥

Ans.—Here we apply the maxim व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन् ॥

These words (वक्षत् and यक्षत्) are from the roots वच् and यञ्, in लेद् with तिप्, the इ is elided by III. 4. 97, the augment अद् (III. 4. 94), the affix सिप् by III. 1. 34; the च् of वच् is changed to a guttural, and the ज् of यञ् to ष् and then to a guttural.

The Uṇādi word अक्षरं (अश् + सर Uṇ III. 70) complies with this rule, but not so the word कृसरं and धूसरं (Uṇ III. 73) formed with the same affix सर ॥

शासि वसि घसीनां च ॥६०॥ पदानि ॥ शासि-वसि- घसीनाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शासि वसि घसि इत्येतेषां च इष्कोरुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

60. ष् is substituted for the स् of शास्, वस् and घस् when it is preceded by an इष् vowel or a guttural.

Thus अन्वशिषत्, अन्वशिषताम्, अन्वशिषन्, the Aorist of शास्; the च् is replaced by अद् (III. 1. 56), and the आ changed to इ by VI. 4. 34. So also शिष्टः, शिष्टवान् ॥ From वस् we have उषितः, उषितवान्, उषित्वा ॥ The Samprasāraṇa takes place by VI. 1. 15 as it belongs to yajādi class. From घस् we have जक्षतुः, जक्षुः in the Perfect. घस् is the substitute of अद् (II. 4. 40), the penultimate अ is elided by VI. 4. 98. So also अक्षन् in अक्षन्नेमीमदन्त पितरः (Rig. I. 82. 2). This is the Aorist form of अद्, the घस् is substituted for अद् (II. 4. 37): the Aorist sign is elided by II. 4. 80.

This sūtra is made to cover cases not governed by the last sūtra, namely, where the स् is not an âdeśa. Though the स् in वस् is the स् of a substitute, yet it is not governed by the preceding aphorism, because the word आवेशस्य there means 'the स् which is a substitute'. Here स् is not a substitute, but a portion of a substitute. The non-substitute वस् is not to be taken here : as it seldom occurs.

The word इक्कोः is understood here also. Therefore the rule would not apply to शास्ति, वसति and जघास ॥

स्तौतिण्योरेव षण्यभ्यासात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तौति-ण्योः, एव, पाणि, अभ्यासात् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ स्तौतिर्ण्यन्तानां च षण्भूते सनि परतः अभ्यासादिण उत्तरस्य आवेशसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यदिशो भवति ॥

61. ष् is substituted for स after ह् or उ in the reduplication of a Desiderative, if the स of सन् is changed to ष् ; but only in स्तु and in Causative of roots which in Dhâtupâṭha begin with a ष् ॥

This rule is confined to the Desideratives of स्तु and of स् beginning roots in the Causative, provided that the Desiderative sign स् is changed to ष् ॥ The rule applies to the स् of the substitute, and not to the affix स् as there can be no such स् after a reduplicate syllable. Therefore स् means that स which replaces the ष् of the roots.

Thus from स्तु we have तुष्टूषति ॥ Here the स of सन् is changed to ष् by the last sūtra, and therefore so also after the reduplicate उ, the स of स्तु is changed to ष् ॥

Of the Causatives of roots beginning with ष् in Dhâtupâṭha, we have सिषेवयिषति, सिषिञ्जयिषति, हुँव्वापयिषति ॥ In this last, the ह् is changed to उ by VII. 4. 67.

Though this ष् change would have taken place by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 59), yet the separate enunciation of this rule indicates that this is a niyama aphorism—the ष् change takes place only in these cases of स्तु and Causatives of Desideratives under the conditions mentioned in this sūtra, and *no where else*. Thus सिषिक्षति from the root षिच क्षरणे (Tud. 140). This is a root, which is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with a ष्, therefore the form ought to have been सिषिक्षति by VIII. 3. 59, but it is not so, because of the niyama of the present sūtra. So also सुसूषते from सूङ् प्राणिप्रसवे (Div. 24) : and सुसूषति from सू प्रेरणे (Tud 115).

If this is a niyama rule by the very fact of its separate enunciation, what is then the necessity of using the word एव in the aphorism ? Ans. इदतो-ऽवधारणार्थम् ; so that, the sūtra may mean "if स्तु and Causatives *only*, when षण् follows" ? and not "if स्तु and Causatives when षण् *only* follows". In the

latter view, we could not get the form तुष्टाव ; and the rule would have applied to सिस्सिक्वति also.

Why do we say "in the Desiderative व्"? So that the *niyama* may not be any where else. Had वणि not been used in the *sûtra*, the restriction would have been with regard to every affix, and the *sûtra* would have meant "if there is occasion of बस्व change after a reduplicate, it should take place only in the case of स्तु and the Causatives". Therefore व् change would not have taken place in सिषेच, as it is not a Causative.

Q.—को विनतेऽनुरोधः? Why have we used the word वण् with व्, and not the word सन्? That is, what compulsion was there to exhibit the Desiderative affix सन्, in this changed form? The word विनत is the name given in the Prâti-sâkhyas to व् and ण change.

Ans.—So that the restrictive rule may not apply to the अविनत form of सन् ॥ As सुषुप्सति ॥ The सन् is here कित् by I. 2. 8, and there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15. For had सनि been used in the *sûtra*, then the restriction would have been with regard to *all* Desideratives in *general*, whether the सन् was changed to व् or not. Therefore as there is restriction of VIII. 3. 59, in the case of सिस्सिक्वति where से is not changed to व् ; so there would have been restriction in सुषुप्सते, the स् could not have been changed to व् by VIII. 3. 59. Similarly in तिष्ठासति ॥

Q.—What is the necessity of exhibiting वण् with the anubandha न्? So that the rule should not apply to व् in general, but to the Desiderative affix व् only. As सुषुपिष इन्द्रम् ॥ This सुषुपिषे is the Perfect of स्वप्, the affix यास् is added as Chhandas irregularity instead of यद्; for यास् there is क्ते, the affix is कित् by I. 2. 5, and so there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15, and reduplication, and the augment इद् is added by VII. 2. 13, the ए is changed to अद्, as सुषुपिषद् इन्द्रं, the द् is elided by VIII. 3. 19. Here after the reduplicate सु, the स् is changed to व्, in सु by the *general* rule VIII. 3. 59, as the restriction of this *sûtra* does not apply in this case. But had व् in general been taken, then सुषुपिष has an affix व्, and therefore *sûtra* VIII. 3. 59, would have been restricted, and there would have been no change of सु to सु after the reduplicate, as it is not a causative. Hence वण् has been employed with an anubandha.

Why do we say 'after a reduplicate'?

Ans.—So that this restriction may apply to that व् which would have been caused by the इ or उ of an abhyâsa, and not to that which would have been caused by an upasarga. As अभिषिषिक्वति, though without the Preposition, the form is सिस्सिक्वते ॥

Q.—No, this cannot be the reason, because the व् caused by the upasarga is considered as asiddha, and hence there would be no restriction.

Ans.—Then we say, the abhyāsa is taken to be qualified by सन्, namely that abhyāsa which is *caused* by सन्, would give occasion to this rule and not any other abhyāsa. Therefore if a reduplication has been caused by यङ्, and then षण् is added to it, then the restriction of the present sūtra will not apply, and बल्व change will take place though the root may not be a Causative &c. Thus the यङ् of स्वप् is सोषुष्य (VI. 1. 19), the Desiderative of this root is सोषुषिषते, with इङ् augment, the elision of अ (VI. 4. 48) of य, the elision of य् by VI. 4. 49.

Q.—No this also cannot be the reason: because the बल्व change is antaranga, while the restriction niyama is Bahiranga. Therefore, the word abhyāsa is employed superfluously in the sūtra.

Ans.—The word abhyāsa is taken in the sūtra, so that the restriction may be with regard to that ष which might have been caused by the इ or उ of the abhyāsa; and not to that ष which might be occasioned by the इ or उ of a dhātu or verbal root. Thus प्रतिषिषति, अभीषिषति ॥ Here the root इ in the sense of बोधन, is turned to Desiderative with सन्; and by VI. 1. 2, the स is reduplicated, then by VII. 4. 79, the अ is changed to इ ॥ Thus इस्सि; here by the force of the इ of the abhyāsa सि, the स is changed to ष as इषिष; (VIII. 3. 59) then as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply, the root इ causes the बल्व of the abhyāsa, as इषिष ॥ Had the word अभ्यसात् not been used in the sūtra, the स of abhyāsa could not have been changed to ष, for then the sūtra would have meant “ष is substituted for स, only in the case of स्तु and Causatives in the Desiderative षण्”; and as इषिष is not a Causative-Desiderative, the restriction would have applied.

सः स्विदिस्वदिसहीनां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, स्विदि-स्वदि-सहीनाम्, च ॥ वृत्ति ॥ स्विदि स्वदि सहि इत्येतेषां ष्यन्तानां सनि षभूतं परतो ऽभ्यासादुक्तस्य सकारस्य सकारदेशो भवति ॥

62. स is substituted for the स् after the reduplicate of the षण् Desiderative of the Causatives of स्विद्, स्वद्, and सह् ॥

The स substitute of स् debarb the cerebral change. In other words, the स of these roots remains unchanged. As सिस्विरयिषति, सिस्वारयिषति and सिसाहयिषति ॥

प्राक्सिताद्ङ्यवाये ऽपि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्,सितात्, अद्, व्यवाये,अपि ॥ वृत्ति ॥ सेवसितेति वक्ष्यति प्राक्सातसंशब्दनाद्यादित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्राङ्ग्यवायेपि मूर्धन्यो भवति-त्येवं तद्वेदितव्यमपिशब्दान्ङ्यवायेपि ॥

63. (The substitution of ष् for स्, to be taught hereafter, will take place) for all roots upto सिक् exclusive in

VIII. 3. 70, even when the augment अद् intervenes (between the स and the efficient letter).

The root सिन्- occurs in sūtra VIII. 3. 70. Thus VIII. 3. 65 teaches ष change : as अभिपुणोति, परिपुणोति, विपुणोति, निपुणोति ॥ So also when अद् intervenes ; as अभ्यपुणोत्, पर्यपुणोत्, व्यपुणोत्, न्वपुणोत् ॥ The force of अपि is that the change takes place even when the augment अद् does not come, i. e. in cases other than the augment.

स्थादिष्वभ्यासेन चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थादिषु, अभ्यासेन, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक् सितादिति वर्चते ॥ उपसर्गात्सुनोतीत्यत्र स्यासेनयसेधेति स्यादयस्तेषु स्यादिषु प्राक् सितसं-
शब्दान्द् अभ्यासेन व्यव्राये मूर्द्धन्यो भवत्यभ्याससकारस्य च भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

64. In स्था &c upto सिन् exclusive (VIII. 3. 65 to VIII. 3. 70), this ष substitution takes place then also, when the reduplicate intervenes, and the स of the reduplicate is also changed to ष ॥

The words प्राक् सितात् are understood here also. The स्यादि roots are, स्था, सेनय &c in VIII. 3. 65 and ending with सेव् in VIII. 3. 70. The sūtra consists of two sentences : (1) The षत्व takes place in स्था &c. even when a reduplicate intervenes ; (2) The स of the reduplicates of स्था &c. is changed to ष ॥ The first is a *vidhi* rule, and the second is a *niyama* rule.

Thus परितष्टौ where the abhyāsa त् intervenes. This applies even to roots other than those which have been taught with a ष in the Dhātupāṭha. As अभिषिषेणयिषति, परिषिषेणयिषति (सेनया अभियातुमिच्छन्ति). This applies moreover to reduplicates which end in ष, as अभितष्टौ ; here the स would not have been changed to ष (by VIII. 3. 59) as it is not preceded by इ or उ ॥ Another *raison d'être* of this sūtra is that it prohibits षण् (VIII. 3. 61). As अभिषिषिक्षति, परिषिषिक्षति ॥

The word अभ्यासस्य is for the sake of *niyama*, as we have said above. स of स्था &c. and of no other roots is changed to ष ॥ As अभिसुसूषति from पू प्रेरणे with सन्, the augment is debarred by VII. 2. 12 : the root स् is unchanged by the *niyama* prohibition of VIII. 3. 61 ; the reduplicate स् remains unchanged by the restriction of the present sūtra.

उपसर्गात्सुनोति सुवतिस्यति स्तौति स्तोभति स्यासेनयसेधसिचसञ्जस्वञ्जाम् ॥ ६५ ॥
पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, सुनोति-सुवति-स्यति-स्तौति-स्तोभति-स्था-सेनय-सेध-सिच-
सञ्ज-स्वञ्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थात्रिमिच्चादुत्तरस्य सुनोति सुवति स्यति स्तौति स्तोभति स्या सेनय सेध सिच सञ्ज
स्वञ्ज इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

65. ष् is substituted for स, after an इ and उ of an upasarga in the following verbs : स्र (सुनोति), सू (सुवति), सो

(स्यति VII. 3. 71), स्तु (स्तौति VII. 3. 89), स्तुभ (स्तोभते), स्था, संनय (Denominative), सिध् (सेधति), सिच्, सञ्ज् and स्वञ्ज् ॥

Thus अभिपुणोति, परिपुणोति, अभ्यपुणोत्, पर्यपुणोत् ॥ सुवति, अभिपुवति, परिपुवति, अभ्यपुवत्, पर्यपुवत् ॥ स्यति, अभिव्यति, परिव्यति, अभ्यव्यन्, पर्यव्यन् ॥ स्तौति, अभिटौति, परिटौति, अभ्यटौत् ॥ स्तोभति, अभिटोभते, परिटोभते, अभ्यटोभत, पर्यटोभत ॥ स्था, अभिष्ठास्यति, परिष्ठास्यति, अभ्यष्ठात्, पर्यष्ठात्, अभितष्टौ, परितष्टौ ॥ सेनय, अभिषेणयति, परिषेणयति, अभ्यषेणयन्, पर्यषेणयन् ॥ अभिषिषेणयिषति, परिषिषेणयिषति ॥ सेध, अभिषेधति, परिषेधति, अभ्यषेधन्, पर्यषेधन् ॥ सिच्, अभिषिञ्चति, परिषिञ्चति, अभ्यषिञ्चन्, पर्यषिञ्चन्, अभिषिषिक्षति, परिषिषिक्षति ॥ सञ्ज, अभिषजति, परिषजति, अभ्यषजन्, पर्यषजन्, अभिषिषङ्क्षति, परिषिषङ्क्षति ॥ स्वञ्ज, अभिष्वजते, परिष्वजते, अभ्यष्वजन्, पर्यष्वजन्, अभिषिष्वङ्क्षते, परिषिष्वङ्क्षते ॥ सेध इति शब्दिकरणनिर्देशः सिध्यतिनिवृत्त्यर्थः ॥ उपसर्गादिति, किम्? इधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति, निगताः ॥ सेचका अस्माद्देशान्निः सेचको देश इति ॥ नायं सिचैरुपसर्गः ॥ अभिसावकीयतीत्यत्रापि न सुनोति प्रति क्रियायोगः किं तर्हि सावकीयं प्रति ॥ अभिसावयतीत्यत्र तु सुनोतिमेव प्रति क्रियायोगो न सावयतिमिति पत्वं भवति ॥

The root सिध् is exhibited in the sūtra as सेध with षष् विकाराणा, thus debarring सिध्-सिध्यति ॥

Why do we say "after an upasarga"? Observe इधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति (VIII. 3. 111). So निःसेचको देशः=निर्गता सेचका अस्माद् देशान् ॥ Here निः is not an Upasarga to सिच्, but to the noun सेचक ॥ Similarly in अभिसावकीयति, the upasarga अभि is not added to the root सु (सुनोति), but to the *third* derivative of सु (सुनोति). Namely, from सु we derive सावक with ण्वुल्, and from सावक we form the Denominative root सावकीय with क्यच्; and to this Denominative root अभि is added. The upasarga, however may be added to the root first, and then ण्वुल् and क्यच् added. In that case, the rule will apply. As अभिसावकीयति ॥ So also with the Causative, as अभिसावयति, for here the upasarga is added to the root सु and not to the causative form सावय ॥

The roots पुञ् अभिषवे belongs to Svâdi class, पु प्रेरणे to Tudadi class, षोऽन्तकर्मणि to Divâdi class, ष्टुञ् स्तुतौ to Adâdi class and ष्टुभ स्तंभे, to Bhuâdi Class. These have been shown in the sūtra in their declined form in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to their यङ् लुक्, as अभिसोषवाति ॥ See VII. 1. 6 for this rule of दित् exhibited roots. On the other hand, the roots सिच् &c. being not so exhibited, change their स in यङ् लुक् also, as अभिषेधिचीति ॥

The upasarga need not end with इ and उ for the purposes of this rule. Thus निष्पुणोति, दुष्पुणोति, where the upasarga is निस् and दुस् ॥

सदिरप्रतेः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदिः, अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदेः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्थान्निच्चात्प्रतरुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

66. The स of सद् is changed to ष after an Upasarga having an इ or उ, but not after प्रति ॥ .

The word सदिः is in the first case, but has the force of genitive. Thus षिषीदति विषीदति, न्यषीदत्, व्यषीदत् ॥ निषसाद्, विषसाद् ॥ The second स remains unchanged in the Perfect by VIII. 3. 118.

Why do we say 'but not after प्रति'? Observe प्रतिसिद्धिः ॥ Prof. Bohtlingk points out that the sūtra is सदेरप्रतेः as given by Sayānāchārya in his commentary on Rig Veda VI. 13. 1. Pāṇini, however, often uses the first case with the force of the Genitive, as in VIII. 3. 80.

स्तन्भेः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तन्भेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तन्भेः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्थात्रमिन्नादुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

67. The स् of स्तन्भ is changed into ष after an upasarga, having an इ or उ ॥

Thus अभिष्टभ्नाति । परिष्टभ्नाति । अभ्यष्टभ्नात् । पर्यष्टभ्नात् । अभितष्टम्भ । परितष्टम्भ । The word अप्रतेः of the last sūtra is not to be read here. Hence we have forms like :—प्रतिष्टभ्नाति । प्रत्यष्टभ्नात्, प्रत्यतितष्टम्भ ॥

अवाञ्चालम्बनाविदूर्ययोः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवात्, च, आलम्बन-आविदूर्ययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवशाद्वादुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तन्भेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति । आलम्बनेर्थे आविदूर्ये च ॥

68. The स् of स्तन्भ is changed into ष after the preposition अव in the sense of 'support' and 'contiguity'.

The word आलम्बनं means "support, refuge, that upon which any thing depends or leans". आविदूर्य means "the state of not being विदूर or far off, i. e. to be contiguous".

Thus अवष्टभ्यास्ते "He remains leaning upon a staff" &c, अवष्टभ्य तिष्ठति ॥ So also in the sense of to be near, as अवष्टभ्या सेना 'the army near at hand'. अवष्टभ्या शरत् ॥ See V. 2. 13.

Why do we say "when having the sense of support or contiguity"? Thus अवस्तब्धो वृषलः क्षीतेन 'the Śūdra is afflicted with cold'.

The present sūtra is commenced in order to make the ष change even while the preceding letter is not इ or उ ॥

वेश्च स्वनो भोजने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, च, स्वनः, भोजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैरूपसर्गाद्वाद्योत्तरस्य भोजनार्थे स्वनतेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

69. The ष is substituted for the स् of स्वन्, after वि and अव, when the sense is "to smack while eating".

Thus विष्वणति, व्यष्वणत्, विष्वणाण, अवष्वणति, अवाष्वणत्, अवष्वणाण ॥ That is, he makes sound while eating, he eats with a smack.

Why do we say 'when making a smacking sound in eating'? Observe विस्वनति घृदङ्गः "the drum sounds".

परिनिविभ्यः सेवसितसयसिबुसहसुट्स्तुस्वञ्जाम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-नि-वि-भ्यः, सेव-सित-सय-सिबु-सह-सुट्-स्तु-स्वञ्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरेषां सेव सित सय सिबु सह सुट् स्तु स्वञ्ज इत्येतेभ्यः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

70. प is substituted for the स् of सेव्, सित, सय, सिव्, सह, the augment सुद्, स्तु, and स्वञ्ज, after the prepositions परि, नि, and वि ॥

The root सेव् belongs to Bhuādi class. The word सित is the Past Participle of षिञ् बन्धने, and सय is the noun derived from the same root with the affix भच् ; सिव् is a Divādi root.

Thus परिषेवते । निषेवते । विषेवते । पर्यषेवते । व्यषेवते । न्यषेवते । परिषिषेविषते । विषिषेविषते । निषिषेविषते । सित । परिषितो । विषितो, निषितः । सय । परिषयो, निषयो, विषयः । सिव् । परिषीव्यति । निषीव्यति । विषीव्यति । पर्यषीव्यत् । न्यषीव्यत् । व्यषीव्यत् । पर्यसीव्यत् । न्यसीव्यत् । व्यसीव्यत् । सह परिषहते । निषहते । विषहते । पर्यषहत् । न्यषहत् । व्यषहत् । पर्यसहत् । न्यसहत् । व्यसहत् । सुद् । परिष्करोति । पर्यष्करोत् । स्तु । परिष्टौति । निष्टौति । विष्टौति । पर्यष्टौत् । न्यष्टौत् । व्यष्टौत् । पर्यस्तौत् । न्यस्तौत् । व्यस्तौत् । ष्वञ्ज । इंशसञ्जस्वञ्जामिति नलोपः । परिष्वजते । निष्वजते । विष्वजते । पर्यष्वजत् । पर्यस्वजत् । पूर्वैणैव सिद्धे स्तुस्वञ्जिग्रहणपुत्तरार्थम् । भङ्ग्यवायं विभाषा यथा स्यात् ॥

The nasal is elided in स्वञ्ज by VI. 4. 25. The स of स्तु and स्वञ्ज would have been changed to ष by VIII. 3. 65 also. Their inclusion here is for the sake of subsequent sūtra, by which the ष change is optional when the augment अह् intervenes.

सिवादीनां वाङ्मयवायेपि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिवादीनाम्, वा-अत्-व्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्तरसूत्रे सिव्सहसुद्स्तुस्वञ्जामिति सिवादयः । सिवादीनामङ्ग्यवायेपि परिनिविभ्य उत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

71. The ष्-change may take place optionally in the सिव् and the rest (of the last sūtra), even when the augment अ intervenes between the prepositions परि, नि or वि and the verb.

The सिवादि are the four roots सिव् सह, स्तु and स्वञ्ज, as well as the augment सुद् ॥ This is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāshā. In the case of स्तु and स्वञ्ज it is prāpta-vibhāshā, in the case of others it is aprāpta. The examples have already been given under the preceding sūtra, and so need not be repeated here.

अनुविपर्यभिनिभ्यः स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-वि-परि-आभि निभ्यः, स्यन्दतेः, अप्राणिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनु वि परि आभि नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु सकारस्य वा मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

72. ष् is optionally the substitute of the स् of स्यन्द्, after the prepositions अनु, वि, परि, अभि and नि, when the subject is not a living being.

The root स्यन्द् प्रक्षवणे is anudātta. Thus अनुष्यन्दते । विष्यन्दते । परिष्यन्दते । अभिष्यन्दते । तैलम् । निष्यन्दते । अनुस्यन्दते । विस्स्यन्दते । परिस्स्यन्दते ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is not a living being'? Observe अनुस्यन्दते मस्य उदके ॥ The option of this sūtra will apply, when the subject is a compound of living and non-living beings. Thus अनुस्यन्दते or अनुस्यन्दते मस्योदके ॥ The subject here is a Dvandva compound, and it is not in the singular number because of II. 4. 6. The word अप्राणिषु is a Paryudāsa and not a Prasajya-patishedha. If it be the latter sort of prohibition, then the force will be on the word *living*, and in a compound like मस्योदके, consisting of *living* and *non-living* beings, the prohibition will apply because it has a *living* being in it, and so there will be no बन्ध ॥ In the other view, the force is on the word *non-living*, and because the compound contains a non-living being, therefore the option will be applied, and the presence of the living being along with it will be ignored.

The anuvṛitti of परि, नि and वि is understood here from VIII. 3. 70. So these words could well have been omitted from the sūtra, which might have then been अन्वभिभ्यांच स्यन्दतेप्राणिषु, and by the force of च we would draw in the anuvṛitti of परि &c.

वेः स्कन्देरनिष्ठायाम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कन्देः, अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेःपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्कन्देः सकारस्य सुद्धर्न्यो वा भवति अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

73. ष् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द्, after the preposition वि, but not in the participles in त and तच्च् ॥

The root is स्कन्दिर् गति शोषणयोः ॥ Thus विस्कन्ता or विस्कन्ता, विस्कन्तुम् or विस्कन्तुम्, विस्कन्तव्यम् or विस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'but not in the Nishṭhā'? Observe विस्कन्नः

परेश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दाच्चोत्तरस्य स्कन्देः सकारस्य वा सुद्धर्न्यो भवति ॥

74. ष् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द् after the preposition परि every where.

Thus परिस्कन्ता or परिस्कन्ता, परिस्कन्तुम् or परिस्कन्तुम्, परिस्कन्तव्यम् or परिस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

The word परि could well have been included in the last sūtra as विपरिभ्यां स्कन्देर् &c. The very fact that it has not been so included, indicates that the prohibition of अनिष्ठायाम् does not apply to it. Thus परिस्कणः or परिस्कन्नः ॥

परिस्कन्दः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिस्कन्दः, प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिस्कन्द इति सुद्धर्न्याभावो निपात्यते प्राच्यभरतेषु प्रयोगविषयेषु ॥

75. The word परिस्कन्द is used without the cerebral change in the country of Eastern Bharata.

This is an anomaly. The **ष** required by the last sūtra is prohibited. The other form is परिष्कन्दः ॥ The word परिष्कन्द is formed by the affix अच् or it is a Nishthā, the त्त being elided. The word भरत qualifies the word प्राच्य ॥

Prof. Bohtlingk translates it "परिष्कन्द is seen in the usage of the Eastern People and the Bharata". He bases his construction on the sūtras II. 4. 66, and IV. 2. 113, where प्राच्यभरतेषु means "the Eastern People and Bharata".

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्निर्विभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, निस्, नि, विभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योः सकारस्य निस् नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वा मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

76. **ष्** is optionally substituted for the **स्** of स्फुर् and स्फुल् after the prepositions निस्, नि, and वि ॥

Thus निष्फुरति or निस्स्फुरति, निस्फुरति or निष्फुरति, विष्फुरति, विष्फुरति ॥ स्फुलति, निष्फुलति, निस्फुलति, निष्फुलति, विष्फुलति, विष्फुलति ॥

वेः स्कभ्नातेर्नित्यम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कभ्नातेः, नित्यं ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुतस्य स्कभ्नातेः सकारस्य नित्यं मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

77. **ष्** is always substituted for the **स्** of स्कम्भ, after the preposition वि ॥

Thus विष्कम्भति, विष्कम्भता, विष्कम्भितुम्, विष्कम्भितव्यम् ॥

इणः षीध्वंलुङ्लिटां धोङ्गात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षीध्वं, लुङ्लिटां, धः, अङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्द्धन्य इति वर्त्तते । इणन्ताद्गङ्गात्परेषां षीध्वंलुङ्लिटां यो धकारस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

78. The cerebral sound is substituted in the room of the **ध्** of षीध्वम्, and of the Personal-endings of the Aorist and the Perfect, after a stem ending in इण् (a vowel other than अ).

The word 'cerebral' is understood here from VIII. 3. 55. Thus च्योषीद्धम्, घोषीद्धम् ॥ Aorist :—अच्योद्धम्, अघोद्धम् (VIII. 2. 25); Perfect : चकृद्धे ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of इणकोः was current here from VIII. 3. 57, yet the repetition of the word इण् here indicates that the anuvṛitti of कु or the guttural ceases. As पक्षीध्वम्, यक्षीध्वम् ॥

Why do we say "the ध of षीध्वं, लुङ् and लिट्"? Observe स्तुध्वे, अस्तुध्वम्, where the ध is of लट् and लङ् ॥

Why do we say अङ्गात् 'after a stem'? Observe परिवेविषीध्वम्, from विष्ल-व्याप्तौ of the Juhotyādi class. There is Guṇa of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 75, the स् of सीयुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79, and षीध्वम् here is made up of the ष् of the root विष्, and ईध्वम् the affix; therefore षीध्वं here is not after the *anga* परिवे वि, for the *anga* here is परिवे विष्, and ईध्वम् is the affix. This result could have been

obtained, without using the word अङ्गान् in the sūtra, by the maxim अर्थवद् महणे नानर्थकस्य “a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning, denotes that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote a combination void of meaning”.

विभाषेतः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, इटः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणः परस्मादिट उत्तरेषां षीध्वंलुङ्लिटां या धकारस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति विभाषा ॥

79. The cerebral sound is optionally substituted for the घ् of षीध्वम् and of the Aorist and the Perfect after the augment इट्, when the stem ends in इण् ॥

Thus लू + इट् + षीध्वम् = लविषीध्वम् or लविषीद्धम् so also पविषीध्वम् or पविषीद्धम् from पू ॥ Aorist :—अलविध्वम् or अलविद्धम् ॥ Perfect :—लुलुविध्वे or लुलुविद्धे ॥

The word इण् is understood here and it qualifies the word इट्, so that the stem should end in an इण् vowel which should be followed by the इट् augment and this letter should be followed by षीध्वम् and the ध beginning affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect. If the stem does not end in an इण् vowel, the rule will not apply; as आसिषीध्वम् from the root आस उपवेशने ॥

Then in the word उपविशीयिद्धे, will the cerebral change not take place by the option of this sūtra or otherwise? This is from the root शीङ् क्षये in the Perfect with the augment इट् (VII. 2. 13.), and युट् (by VI. 4. 63). Some say that as the augment युट् intervenes between the stem ending in ई (इण् vowel), and the augment इट्, therefore this rule will not apply and there will not be the optional ट् ॥ Others hold that the anuvṛitti of अङ्गान् has ceased, and the anuvṛitti of इण् is only current, in this sūtra, and there is no intervention and so there will be the optional change into ट् ॥

समासेङ्गुलेः सङ्गः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अङ्गुलेः, सङ्गः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सङ्गसकारस्याङ्गुलेरुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

80. ष् is substituted for the स् of सङ्ग after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound.

Thus अङ्गुलिषङ्ग । अङ्गुलिषङ्गो यवागुः । अङ्गुलिषङ्गो गाः सादयति ॥ Why do we say in a compound? Observe अङ्गुले सङ्गं पठ्य ॥

The word सङ्गः is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive i. e. सङ्गस्य ॥

भीरोः स्थानम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीरोः, स्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानसकारस्य भीरोरुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

81. व् is substituted for the स् of स्थानं when preceded by भीरु in a compound.

Thus भीरुस्थानम् ॥ The word compound is understood here also; otherwise भीरो स्थानं पठ्य ॥

अग्नेः स्तुत्स्तोमसोमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, स्तुत्, स्तोम, सोमाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नेरुत्तरस्य स्तुत् स्तोम सोम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ अग्नेर्विधात् सोमस्येव्यते ॥

82. **प्** is substituted for the **स्** of **स्तुत्, स्तोम** and **सोम** when preceded by **अग्नि** in a compound.

Thus **अग्निष्टुत्, अग्निष्टोमः, अग्नीषोमः ॥**

Ishti:—The **ह** of **अग्नि** is lengthened before **सोम** and it is after such lengthened **ह**, that the **स्** of **सोम** is changed to **ष्**, otherwise not. As **अग्निःसोमौ माणवकौ ॥** So also **अग्निःसोमौ तिष्ठतः** (where ‘agni’ means fire, and ‘soma’ a kind of herb) “the fire and the soma plant are here.”

When there is no compounding we have **अग्ने सोमः ॥**

The word **अग्निष्टुत्** is formed by **क्विप्**, the *sacrifice* in which Agni is praised (**स्तूयते**) is so called. **अग्निष्टोमः** is also the name of a sacrifice: the first division (**संस्था**) of the Soma-yāga. **अग्नीषोमः** is a **देवता-द्वन्द्वः**: so where there is no **Devatā-Dvandva**, the **ष्** change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to **Āśvalāyana** there is lengthening and **ष्** change in the last case also, as **अग्नीषोमौ प्रणेष्यामि ॥**

ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, आयुषः, स्तोमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् आयुस् इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्तोमसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

83. The **स्** of **स्तोमः** is changed to **ष्** after **ज्योतिस्** and **आयुस्** in a compound.

As **ज्योतिष्टोमः, आयुष्टोमः**; but **ज्योतिः स्तोमं दर्शयति** where there is no compounding.

मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृ, पितृभ्याम्, स्वसा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृ पितृ इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्वसृसकारस्य समासे मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

84. The **स्** of **स्वस्** is changed to **ष्** after **मातृ** and **पितृ** in a compound.

As **मातृष्वसा, पितृष्वसा ॥** See VI. 3. 24.

मातृःपितृभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृः, पितृभ्याम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृर् पितृर् इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्वसृशब्दस्यान्यतरस्यां मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

85. The **स्** of **स्वस्** is optionally changed to **ष्**, after **मातृर्** and **पितृर्** in a compound.

Thus **मातृःस्वसा, or मातृष्वसा ; पितृःस्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥** The word **मातृर्** and **पितृर्** end in **र्**, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24). In fact, the word **पितृर्** is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a **र्**, the word **मातृः** therefore, by the rule of **साहचर्य** is also to be understood as a **र्** ending word.

Q.—Well, if this be so, when this **र्** is changed to a visarga, and the visarga changed to **स्** by VIII. 3. 36, then there would be no **ष्** change ?

Ans.—The व change would take place both after the visarga-ending or स-ending words, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् “That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means, in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place”. Therefore, these words are taken to end in र् ॥ For if they were taken to end in ष्, then the rule would not apply when they ended in a visarga. If they be supposed to end in a visarga, then the form पितुर्ध्याम् with a र् before ध्याम् in the sūtra is hard to explain.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वसा when the words are used separately in a sentence.

अभिनिसस्तनः शब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निसः, स्तनः, शब्द-संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभि निस् इत्येतस्मादुच्चारस्य स्तनतिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां शब्दसंज्ञायां गन्ध-मानायाम् ॥

86. The स् of स्तन् is optionally changed to ष् after the double preposition अभि निस्, when the word so formed is the name of a particular letter (i. e. visarga).

As अभिनिष्ठानो वर्णः, अभिनिष्ठानो विसर्जनीयः or अभिनिष्ठानो वर्णः or विसर्जनीयः ॥ The compound preposition अभि-निस् causes this change, and not any one of them separately. Thus Āpastamba:—द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वभाख्यातोत्तरं क्षीर्षभि-निष्ठान्तं, घोषवशाद्यन्तरन्तस्थम् “a name (nāma) should be such that it should consist of two-syllables or four-syllables, that its first portion should be a noun (nama-pūrva), and its second portion a verb (ākhyāta), that it should end in a long vowel (dīrgha) or a visarga (abhinisṭhāna), that the first letter of such a noun should be a ghosha or sonant letter (ghosha-vad-ādi), and a semi-vowel (antastha) should be in the body of it.” Thus the names द्वविषोरा, वरविषोरा fulfill these conditions and are good names.

Why do we say “when it is the name of a particular letter.?” Observe अभिनिस्तनति घृङ्गः ॥ The anuvṛtti of समासे ceases from this place.

उपसर्गप्रादुर्ध्यामस्तिर्यच्परः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, प्रादुर्ध्याम्, अस्तिः, यच्परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तात्प्रादुर्ध्यामस्तिर्यच्परस्य यकारपरस्याच्परस्य चास्तिस्कारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

87. The स् of the verb अस् is changed to ष्, when it is followed by a vowel or य् and is preceded by प्रादुः, or an upasarga having इ or उ in it.

The word यच् परः means ‘followed by य् or अच्’ ॥ The word प्रादुः is an Indeclinable, meaning ‘evidently’.

Thus अभिषन्ति, निषन्ति, विषन्ति, प्रादुःषन्ति; अभिष्यात्, निष्यात्, विष्यात्, प्रादुः-ष्यात् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by an *Upasarga* having an इ or उ?" Observe दाभस्यात्, मधुस्यात् ॥ Why do we say 'of the verb अस्'? Observe अनु-सूतम्, विसूतम् ॥

Q.—How is there any occasion for the application of the rule here? The context here relates to स, and the word "upasarga" qualifies that स, but here the upasarga is not applied to स् but to the whole verb सू, therefore this is no counter-example. In fact, what is the necessity of using the word अस् at all in the sūtra: for even without it, the word 'upasarga' would qualify that verb which consists of स् only, and such a verb is अस्, with its अ elided and no other verb? Nor is the employment of अस् necessary for प्रादुः, for it comes only in connection with the verbs कृ, भू and अस् ॥

Ans.—All that you urge, is true, yet the following counter-example should be given, as अनुसू, the son of Anusū will be आनुसेयः with ढक् as it belongs to Subhrādi class. Thus अनुसू + ढक् = आनुसू + एय = आनुस् + एय ॥ Here the ऊ is elided by VI. 4. 147. Now when ऊ is elided, the स् is the only verbelement that remains, अनु is upasarga, and एय is affix; so that had अस् not been taken in the sūtra, the rule would apply to this सू also.

Why do we say "when it is followed by a vowel or य्"? Observe निस्तः, विस्तः, प्रादुस्तः ॥

सुविनिर्दुर्भ्यः सुपिसूतिसमाः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, वि, निर्, दुर्भ्यः, सुपि, सूति, समाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु वि निर् दुर् इत्येतेभ्य उच्चरस्य सुपि सूति सम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूढ्रन्यादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—सुपेः षत्वं स्वपेर्मा भूदिसुष्वापेति केन न ।

हलादिशेषात्र सुपिरिटं पूर्वं प्रसारणम् ॥

स्यादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक्सितादुच्चरः सुपि ।

अनर्थके विपुपुपः पुपिभूतो द्विरुच्यते ॥

88. The सू of स्वप्, सूति, and सम is changed to ष after सु, वि, निर् and दुर् ॥

The word सुपि is exhibited in the sūtra as the form of स्वप् with vocalisation. Thus सुपुमः, निः पुमः दुः पुमः ॥ The word सूति is the क्तिन् ending form of सू; the rule applies to this form only, as सुपूतिः, विपूतिः, निःपूति and दुःपूतिः ॥ The word सम also means the noun सम and not the verb सम स्तम वैकल्ये ॥ Thus सुषमम्, विषमम्, निःषमम्, दुःषमम् ॥

Kārikā—Why is षत्वं taught with regard to the सुप् form of स्वप्? Ans. सुपेः षत्वं स्वपेर्मा भूत्, so that the षत्वं change should not take place in स्वप् form, as विस्वमः and विस्वमक् (III. 2. 172) ॥ Q. विसुष्वापेति केन न? For what reason the षत्वं change has not taken place in the reduplicate विसुष्वाप, for here also in the reduplicate, is the form सुप्, as विसुप्स्वप्, and then by applying हलादिशेष rule, the ष् is elided, and एकदेशविकृतस्थानन्यत्वात् applies? Ans. हलादि शेषान् न सुपिः, we

reduplicate the form स्वप्, as विस्वप्स्वप् and then elide प्, as विस्वस्वप्, and then vocalise, as विस्वस्वप् so that there being no form सुप्, there is no षत्व ॥ ईदं पूर्वं प्रसारणं, in fact, the vocalisation takes place first, and then elision according to an ishti. See VI 1. 17. Otherwise, in स्वप् स्वप्, as प् is elided, व् would also have been elided. Why is the स of विस्वप्वाप not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 64? स्थादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक् सितादुत्तरः सुपि, the rule VIII. 3. 64 does not apply, because that rule is confined only to verbs up to सित in VIII. 3. 70, while सुप् is after that verb. Moreover the प् of सुप् being elided, the mere सु is अनर्थक, and the maxim is अर्थवद् ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ॥ Q. If this maxim is applied, how do you form विष्णुपुः? Ans. अनर्थके विष्णुपुः सुपिभूताद्विहृच्यते, here the form पुप् is doubled, and not सुप् ॥ The root is first joined with the affix वि + स्वप्, then there is vocalisation विष्णुप्, then there is ष change, as विष्णुप्, then reduplication, as विष्णुप्सुप् ॥ Now षत्व being considered asiddha, the doubling should take place first? No, for we have already shown that for the purposes of doubling, the षत्व change is not asiddha (VIII. 2. 3 Vârt.)

निनदीभ्यां स्नातेः कौशले ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, नदीभ्याम्, स्नातेः, कौशले ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ नि नदी इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्नातिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति कौशले गम्यमाने ॥

89. The प् is substituted for स् of स्ना after नि and नदी when the word so formed denotes "dexterous."

Thus निष्णातः कटकरणे । निष्णातो रज्जुवर्त्तने । नद्यां स्नातीति नदीष्णः ॥ This last word is formed by the affix क added to स्ना preceded by the upapada नदी under sūtra III. 2. 4.

Why do we say when meaning dexterous? Observe निस्नातः, नदीस्नातः (नद्यां स्नातः)

सूत्रं प्रतिष्णातम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रम्, प्रतिष्णातम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिष्णातमिति निपात्यते । सूत्रं चेद्भवति । प्रतिष्णातं सूत्रम् ॥

90. The word प्रतिष्णातः is irregularly formed when meaning a sūtra.

Thus प्रतिष्णातः सूत्रम् i. e. शुद्धम् 'pure'. When it has not this meaning we have प्रतिस्नातं = 'bathed'

कपिष्ठलो गोत्रे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपिष्ठलः, गोत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपिष्ठल इति निपात्यते गोत्रविषये ॥

91. The word कपिष्ठल is irregularly formed denoting the founder of a gotra of that name.

Thus the son of Kapishṭhala will be कपिष्ठलिः ॥ The word gotra" here does not mean the grammatical "gotra," but the popular term 'gotra' denoting 'clans,' as described in the list of pravaras. Why do we say "when denoting the founder of a gotra"? Observe कपिस्थलम् The land of the monkeys.

प्रष्टो अग्रगामिनि ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रष्टः, अग्रगामिनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रष्ट इति निपात्यते अग्रगामिन्यभिधेये ॥

92. The word प्रष्ट is irregularly formed when denoting 'a chief' or 'one who goes in front'.

Thus प्रष्टोऽश्व meaning a 'best horse'. Why do we say when meaning 'going in front'? Observe प्रस्थे हिमवतः पुण्ये "On the sacred peak of the Himalaya". प्रस्थो ब्रीहीणाम् 'a measure of barley'.

वृक्षासनयोर्विष्टरः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृक्ष, आसनयोः, विष्टरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इति निपात्यते वृक्षे आसने च वाच्ये । विपूर्वस्य स्तृणान्तेः षत्वं निपात्यते ॥

93. The word विष्टर is irregularly formed in the sense of "tree" and "seat."

This word is formed by adding the affix अष् to the root स्तृ preceded by the preposition वि ॥ Thus विष्टरो वृक्षः ॥ विष्टरमासनम् ॥

Why do we say when meaning a 'tree' or a 'seat'? Observe औलपिवाक्यस्य विस्तरः ॥ See sūtra III. 3. 33. by which अष् is added here instead of धञ् ॥

छन्दोनाम्नि च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोनाम्नि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इति निपात्यते । विपूर्वास्सु इत्येतस्माद्धातोः छन्दोनाम्नि चेत्येवं विहित इति विष्टर इत्यपि प्रकृते विष्टार इत्यत्र विज्ञायते ॥

94. Also when it is the name of a metre, the irregular form विष्टर is used.

By Sūtra III. 3. 34 the word विष्टर is formed denoting a sort of metre called विष्टारपंक्तिः ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'the name of a chhandas'? Observe पटस्य विस्तरः ॥

In fact this sūtra makes unnecessary the sutra III. 3. 34. To avoid this difficulty, some say that the sūtra III. 3. 34 is not confined to the preposition वि, so that we can form प्रस्तारपङ्क्तिः संसारपङ्क्तिः ॥

गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवि, युधिभ्याम्, स्थिरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवियुधिभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्थिरसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

95. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to ष् after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गविष्ठिर, युधिष्ठिर ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 44. and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9. though the word गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of this sūtra.

विकुशमिपरिभ्यः स्थलम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि, कु, शमि, परिभ्यः, स्थलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि कु शमिं परि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थलसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

96. ष is substituted for स् in स्थल after वि, कु, शमि, and परि ॥

Thus विष्टलम्, कुष्टलम्, शमिष्टलम् and परिष्टलम् ॥ The word वि, कु and परि are compounded under II. 2. 18.; the word शमी forms a genitive by VI. 3. 63. In the aphorism the word शमि is shown with a short इ, indicating thereby that when the इ is not shortened, the cerebral change does not take place; as शमी-स्थलम्

अम्बाम्बगोभूमिसव्यापद्वित्रिकुशोकुशङ्कुङ्गुमञ्जिपुञ्जिपरमेवर्हिर्दिव्यग्निभ्यः स्थः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्या, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शोकु, शङ्कु, अङ्गु, मञ्जि, पुञ्जि, परमे, वर्हिस्, दिवि, अग्निभ्यः, स्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम्ब आम्ब गो भूमि अप द्वि त्रि कु शोकु शङ्कु अङ्गु मञ्जि पुञ्जि परमे वर्हिस् दिवि अग्नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थशब्दसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्थस्थिन्स्थृणामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The स् of स्थ is changed to ष after अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्य, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शोकु शङ्कु, अङ्गु, मञ्जि, पुञ्जि, परमे, वर्हिस्, दिवि and अग्नि ॥

Thus अम्बष्टः, आम्बष्टः, गोष्टः, भूमिष्टः, सव्येष्टः, अपष्टः, द्विष्टः, त्रिष्टः, कुष्टः, शोकुष्टः, शङ्कुष्टः, अङ्गुष्टः, मञ्जिष्टः, पुञ्जिष्टः, परमेष्टः, वर्हिष्टः, दिविष्टः, अग्निष्टः ॥

The word स्थ is shown in the sūtra in the first case, and means the word-form स्थ, and it is not the genitive case of स्था, for then the rule would apply to गोस्थानम्, भूमिस्थानम् &c.

Vārt:—The same change takes place in स्था, स्थिन्, and स्थृ ॥ As सव्येष्टाः । परमेष्टी । सव्येष्टा सारथिः ॥

सुषामादिषु च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुषामादि षु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुषामादिषु शब्देषु सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

98, The स् is changed to ष in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मणः = शोभनम् साम यस्य असौ ॥

1 सुषामा, 2 निःषामा, 3 दुःषामा, 4 सुषेधः, 5 निषेधः (निःषेधः), 6 दुःषेधः, 7 सुषंधिः, 8 निःषंधिः (निषंधिः), 9 दुःषंधिः, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्टु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्टु), 12 गौरिषकथः संज्ञायाम्, 13 प्रतिष्णिका, 14 जलाषाहम्, 15 नौषेचनम् (नौषेवनम्), 16 दुन्दुभिषेवणम् (दुन्दुभिषेचनम्; °षेवनम्) 17 एति संज्ञायानगात्, 18 हरिषेणः, 19 नक्षत्राद्वा, रोहिणीषेणः ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. III, others would never have taken ष, hence their inclusion in this list. The word सु is here a karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 94) and निर् and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and क्री; so VIII. 3. 65 does not apply to सेध preceded by निर् and दुर् ॥ The words निःषेधः and दुःषेधः = निर्गतः सेधः or दुर्गतः सेधः ॥ The word सेध here is a षञ् formed word, from षिधू हिंसा संराद्धोः; if it be derived from

विध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113. The words सुबन्धिः, दुःबन्धिः &c are derived from धा with the prepositions सु and सम्, and the affix क्रि (III. 3. 92); and the स of सम् is changed to ष्. The words सुष्टु, दुष्टु are Uṇādi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word गौरिषक्यः is a Bahuvrihi, the स of सक्रिय is changed to ष् and the Samāsānta षञ् is added (V. 4. 113). The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63. The word प्रतिष्णिक्ता is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root ञ्, and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106), and we have प्रतिष्णा with टप्; then क is added by V. 3. 73, and ञ् shortened (VII. 4. 13), and इ added by VII. 3. 44. The word नैषिचनं is formed by adding ल्युट् to सिच् ॥ दुन्दुभिषेवणं is also a ल्युट् formed word from सेवति or सीष्यति ॥

एति संज्ञायामगात् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, संज्ञायाम्, अगात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारपरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति इष्कोरुत्तरस्यागकारात्परस्य संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99 The स् followed by ए and preceded by इष् or कु is changed to ष्, when the word is a name, and when the स is not preceded by ग् ॥

Thus हरयः सेना अस्य = हरिषेणः, परितः सेना अस्य = परिषेणः, so also वारिषेणः, जानुषेणी ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हरिसक्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथ्वी सेना यस्य स = पृथुसेनो राजा (VI. 3. 34). Why do we say 'when the स is not preceded by ग्'? Observe विष्वक् सेनः ॥ The phrase इष्कोः is understoḍ here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेनः ॥

नक्षत्राद्वा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रवाचिनः शब्दादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा एति संज्ञायामगकाराद् मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

100 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ष् substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus रोहिणिषेणः or रोहिणिसेनः, भरणिषेणः or भरणिसेनः ॥ But not here शतभिषक् सेनः were the preceded letter is ग् ॥ These two sūtras 99 and 100 are really Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the सुषामादि Gaṇa. The author of Kāśikā has raised them to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral ष changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under this Sushāmādi gaṇa.

ह्रस्वात्तादौ तद्धिते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, तादौ, तद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति तादौ तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकः ॥ तिङन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

101. ष् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त ॥

The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely, तर, तम, तय, त्व, तल्, तस्, त्यप् ॥ As तर—सर्पिष्टरम् यजुष्टरम् । तम । तर्पिष्टमम । यजुष्टमम । तय । चतुष्टये ब्राह्मणानां निकृताः । त्व । सर्पिष्टम् । यजुष्टम् । तल् । सर्पिष्टा । यजुष्टा । तस् । सर्पिष्टो, यजुष्टः । त्यप् । आविष्यो बर्द्धते । ह्रस्वादिति किम् । गीस्तरा । धृस्तरा । तादाविति किम् । सर्पिस्ताद्भवति । प्रत्ययसकारस्य स्यात्पदाद्योरिति सव्यपि प्रतिषेधे प्रकृतिसकारस्य स्यात् । तद्धितइति किम् । सर्पिस्तराति ॥

Why do we say before affixes beginning with त ॥ Observe सर्पिस्ताद्भवति ॥

Q.—But this स would never have been changed to ष because of the prohibition in VIII. 3. III, how can you then give this counter-example?

Ans.—Though the स of the affix सात् is prohibited by VIII. 3. III, yet the counter-example is valid, because the स् of the base सर्पिस् is also not changed. Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe सर्पिस्तरति ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of finite verbs before Taddhita affixes. As भिन्दुस्तराम् । छिन्दुस्तराम् ॥ These are the Potential third person plural of भिन्द् and छिन्द् with the augment यासुइ; the Taddhita affix तरप् is added by V. 3. 56, and आम् is added by V. 4. 11.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated with regard to पुंस् as पुंस्यम् पुंस्ता ॥

निसस्तपतावनासेवने ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निसः, तपतौ, अनासेवने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निसः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति तपतौ परतोनासेवनेथे ॥

102. ष is substituted for the स् of निस before the verb तप् when the meaning is not that of 'repeatedly making red hot'.

The word आसेवन means doing a thing repeatedly and here it means making it red-hot repeatedly. Thus निष्टपतिः सुवर्णम् = सकृत् अग्निम् स्पर्शयति i. e. he puts the gold into fire only once.

Why do we say when not meaning repeatedly. Observe निस्तपति सुवर्णम् = पुनः पुनरग्निं स्पर्शयति ॥

In the sentences निष्टपं रक्षः, निष्टप्रा अरातयः the change has taken place either as a Vedic irregularity or because the sense of repeatedness is not implied here.

युष्मत्तत्ततश्चुःष्वन्तःपादम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मत्, तत्, ततश्चुः, पु, अन्तः पादम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मत् तत् ततश्चुस् इत्येतेषु तकारादिषु परतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति स चेत्सकारोन्तः पादं भवति ॥

103. The स् standing in the inner half of a stanza is changed to ष before the त of त्वम् &c. and तद् and ततश्चुस् ॥

The word युष्मद् here means the substitutes स्वम्, त्वाम्, ते, तव. As अग्निष्टु, नामासीत् ॥ स्वा, अग्निष्टु वद्ध्यामसि ॥ ते, अग्निष्टु विश्वमानय ॥ तव, अप्सवग्ने सधिटव, (Rig VIII. 43. 9) ॥ तत्, अग्निष्टुद्विश्वमापृणाति, (Rig X. 2. 4) ततश्चुस्, द्यावापृथिवी निष्टतक्षुः पु ॥ अन्तः-पदासि किम्, नित्यमात्मनो विदाभूदग्निस्तत्पुनराह जातवेदो विचर्षणिः ॥

Why do we say in the inner half of a stanza? Observe यन्मआत्मनो मिन्दाभूदग्निस्तत्पुनराह जातवेदो विचर्षणिः ॥ Here the word अग्निः is at the *end* of the first stanza while तत् is at the *beginning* of the second stanza, therefore the स of अग्निस् is not in the middle of a stanza.

यजुष्येकेषाम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, एकेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषि विषये युष्मत्तत्तक्षुः पु परत एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the opinion of some, the above change takes place in Yajurveda also.

Thus अर्चिर्भिष्टुम् or अर्चिर्भिस्त्वम् । अग्निष्टमम् or अग्निस्तेमम् । अग्निष्टत् or अग्निस्तत् । अर्चिर्भिष्टतक्षुः or अर्चिर्भिस्तक्षुः ॥

स्तुतस्तोमयोश्छन्दासि ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तुतस्तोमयोः, छन्दासि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ एकेषामिति वर्त्तते । स्तुत स्तोम इत्येतयोः सकारस्य छन्दासि विषये मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन छन्दासिविषये ।

105. The स of स्तुत and स्तोम, in the Chhandas, is changed to ष in the opinion of some.

Thus त्रिभिष्टुतस्य or त्रिभिस्तुतस्य, गोष्टोमं षोडशिनम् or गोस्तोमं षोडशिनम् ॥ This change would have taken place by the general rule contained in the next sūtra VIII. 3. 106, the special mention of स्तुत and स्तोम here is a mere amplification. The word छन्दासि of this sūtra governs the subsequent sutra also.

पूर्वपदात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्याग्निमिच्चादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति छन्दासि विषये एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ।

106. In the Chhandas, according to some, स् is changed to ष, when it stands in the beginning of a second word, preceded by a word ending in इ &c.

The words छन्दासि and एकेषा are both understood here. Thus द्विसन्धिः or द्विसन्धिः, त्रिसन्धिः or त्रिसन्धिः ; मधुष्ठानम् or मधुस्थानम्, द्विसाहस्रं चिन्वीत or द्विसाहस्रं चिन्वीत ॥

The word पूर्वपद here means the first member of a compound word as well as the prior word other than that in a compound. Thus त्रिःसपृद्धत्वाय or त्रिःसपृद्धत्वाय ॥

सुजः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुजः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सुमिति निपात इह गृह्यते तस्य पूर्वपदस्याग्निमिच्चादुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति छन्दासि विषये ।

107. The स of the Particle सु is changed to ष in the Chhandas, when preceded by another word having in it the change-effecting letter इ &c.

Thus अभी षु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) ऊर्द्धं ऊ षु णः (Rig. I. 36. 13). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 134, and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

सनोतेरनः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनोतेः, अनः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरनकारान्तस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

108. The स of the verb सन्, when it loses its न्, is changed to ष, under the same circumstances.

Thus गोषाः (Rig. IX. 2. 10), formed by the affix विट (III. 2. 67), the न् is elided by VI. 4. 41. So also नृषाः ॥

Why do we say 'when it loses its न्'? Observe गोसनि वाचमुदीरयन् (Atharv. III. 20. 10). Here the affix is इन् (III. 2. 27). See however गोषणि in Rig. VI. 53. 10.

Though this ष change would have taken place by VIII. 3. 106 also, the separate enumeration is for the sake of niyama or restriction. Some however read the word गोसनिः in the list of सवनानि words (VIII. 3. 110), and they hold that the proper counter-example is सिसानयिषति ॥ So also सिसनीः formed by adding क्तिप् to the Derivative root सिसनिसं, thus सिसनिस + क्तिप् = सिसं-निष् (the ष is elided by VI. 4. 48) + ०. add सु, सिसनिस + स् = सिसनिष् + ० [स् is elided by VI. 1. 68. Now the final स् (of the Desiderative affix सन्) is liable to be changed either to ष् or to र् (ह). The ष being asiddha, the ह change takes place.] = सिसनिर् = सिसनीः (the lengthening is by VIII. 2. 76). Here the Desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष, hence this word is not governed by VIII. 3. 61. This being the object of this sūtra, there will be ष change in सिषानयिषति in the Causative.

सहेः पृतनर्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः पृतना-ऋताभ्याम्, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतना ऋत इत्येताभ्यां ऋत्तरस्य सहिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

109. The स of सह is changed to ष, after पृतना and ऋत ॥

Thus पृतनाषाहम्, ऋताषाहम् ॥ Some divide this sūtra into two; as (1) सहेः; (2) पृतनर्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ So that the rule may apply to ऋतीषहः also. The word ऋति is lengthened by VI. 3. 116, in sañhitā: and the ष change takes place in sañhitā only. Otherwise the form is ऋतिसहम् ॥ The word च 'and' in the sūtra includes words other than those not mentioned in it. The word ऋतीषहम् would be valid by this also.

न रपरसृपिसृजिसृशिसृहिसवनादीनाम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, र-पर, सृपि, सृजि, सृशि, सृहि-सवनादीनाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफपरस्य सकारस्य सृपि सृजि सृशि सृहि सवनादीनां च मूर्द्धन्यो न भवति ।

110. The **प** substitution does not take place if **र** follows the **स**, as well as in **सृप**, **सृज**, **सृश** **सृह**, and in **सवन** and the rest.

Thus **विसंसिकायाः काण्डं जुहोति ॥** The word **विसंसिक** is formed by the affix **णुल्** (III. 3. 109), **विसन्धः कथयति ॥** This word is from the root **सृम्भु** **विश्वासे**, the **इद्** is not added by VII. 2. 15 and the nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24. before the **निष्ठहात् ॥ सृपः—पुरा कूरस्य विसृपः ॥** The word **विसृपः** is formed by the affix **कसृन्** (III. 4. 17), **सृजः—वाचो विसर्जनात् ॥ सृशः—दिविसृशम् ॥ सृहिः—निसृहं कथयति ॥**

The following is a list of **सवनादि** words:—

1 सवने सवने, 2 हृते हृते, 3 सोमे सोमे, 4 सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, 5 किसः किसः (किस्यतीति किसः), 6 अनुसवनमनुसवनम्, 7 गोसनि गोसनिम्, 8 अश्वसनिमश्वसनिम् ॥ In some books this is the list 9 सवने सवने, 10 सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, 11 अनुसवनमनुसवनम् (अनुसवने २), 12 संज्ञायां बृहस्प-तिसवः, 13 शकुनिसवनम्, 14 सोमे, सोमे, 15 हृते हृते (हृते २), 16 संवत्सरे सवत्सरे, 17 बिसं बिसम्, 18 किसं किसम् (किसं किसम्), 19 हुसलं हुसलम् 20 गोसनिम्, 21 अश्वसनिम् ॥

सात्पदाद्योः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सात्, पदाद्योः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ साशिति चैतस्य यङि परतो मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

111. The **प** substitution does not take place in the affix **सात्** and for that **स** which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus **सात्** here is the affix ordained by V. 4 52, and it would have been changed to **प** by VIII. 3. 59. The present sūtra prevents that. The **Padâdi स** refers to those verbs which in the **Dhâtupâṭha** are taught with a **प**, and for which a **स** is substituted. This also is an exception to VIII. 3. 59. Thus **अग्निसात् । इधिसात् । मधुसात् ॥** So also with **Padâdi स** as **इधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति ॥**

सिचो यङि ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचः, यङि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः सकारस्य यङि परतो मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

112. The **प** substitution does not take place in the **स्** of **सिच्** of the Intensive.

Thus **सेसिच्यते** and **अभिसिसिच्यते ॥**

Q.—The **स** of the reduplicate should be changed into **प** by VIII. 3. 65, in **अभिसिसिच्यते**, and the **स** of the root should be changed into **प** by VIII. 3. 64. Because **सिच्** is one of the roots taught in VIII. 3. 65, and therefore, as this

latter rule prevents the operation of VIII. 3. 111 i. e. पदादि स so far as it goes, so it would prevent also the operation of this rule and the form ought to be अभिषे विच्यते?

Ans.—The ष ordained by VIII. 3. 65 prevents only the operation of पदादि स of VIII. 3. 111, and not the स of this rule. Therefore the present prohibition is of universal application.

Why do we say in the Intensive. Observe अभिषिषिषति ॥

सेधतेर्गतौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेधतेः, गतौ ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गतौ वर्त्तमानस्य सेधतेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

113. The स of the verb सेध is not changed to ष when the meaning is that of moving.

Thus अभिसेधयति गाः, परिसेधयति गाः ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when meaning to drive'? Observe शिष्यमकार्यान्प्रति-
बेधयति ॥ Here the sense is that of preventing or prohibiting.

प्रतिस्तब्धनिस्तब्धौ च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध-निस्तब्धौ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध निस्तब्ध इत्येतौ मूर्द्धन्यप्रतिषधाय निपात्येते ।

114. The words प्रतिस्तब्ध and निस्तब्ध are anomalous.

In these words the स is not changed to ष, though so required by VIII. 3. 67.

सोढः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोढः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सहिस्य सोढूत्तो गृह्यते तस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

115. The स of सोढ form of the root सह is not changed to ष ॥

As परिसोढः, परिसोढुम्, परिसोढव्यम् ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 70.

Why do we say 'when सह assumes the form of सोढ' ॥ Observe परि-
षहते, विषहते ॥

स्तम्भुसिबुसहां चडि ॥ ११६ ॥ वदानि ॥ स्तम्भु-सिबु-सहाम्, चडि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु सिबु सह इत्येतेषां चडि परतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकः ॥ स्तम्भु सिबुसहां चाड उपसर्गादिति वक्तव्यम् ।

116. The ष change does not take place in the reduplicated Aorist of the roots स्तम्भ्, सिव् and सह ॥

The root स्तम्भ required ष change by VIII. 3. 67, and the roots सिव and सह by VIII. 3. 70. Thus पर्यतस्तम्भन्, अभ्यतस्तम्भन् ॥ सिवः—पर्यसीषिवन्, न्यसीषिवन् ॥ सहः—पर्यसीषहन्, व्यसीषहन् ॥

Vart:—This prohibition refers to the ष change that is caused by an Upasarga and not to the reduplicate change, as we have illustrated in the above example.

सुनोतेः स्यसनोः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुनोतेः, स्य-सनोः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति । स्यसनि च परतः ।

117. स् of सु (सुनोति) is not changed to ष् in the Future, Conditional and Desiderative.

Thus :—अभिसोष्यति, परिसोष्यति, अभ्यसोष्यत्, पर्यसोष्यत् ॥

What example will you give under Desiderative? सुसूषति ॥ This is not a valid example, for by VIII. 3. 61, the reduplicate will not be changed here. Then we shall give the example अभिसुसूषते ॥ This is not also a proper example, for it is governed by the restrictive rule of VIII. 3. 64. Then this is the example अभिसुसूः, निसुसू derived from the desiderative root अभिसुसूषति by the affix क्विप् ॥ Here the desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष (VIII. 3. 61) and therefore the second स would have been changed to ष as it comes after a reduplicate.

Why do we say before स्य and सन् ॥ Observe सुषाद् ॥

सदिष्वञ्जोः परस्य लिटि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदि-ष्वञ्जोः, परस्य, लिटि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सदि ष्वञ्ज इत्येतयोर्द्वौलिटि परतः सकारस्य परस्य मूर्द्धन्या न भवति ।

118. The स् of सद् and ष्वञ्ज after the reduplicate in the Perfect is not changed to ष् ॥

In the Perfect, when these words are reduplicated, there are two स's, as ससाद् and सस्वञ्ज ॥ After a preposition, the first स will be changed to ष, but not so the second. Thus अभिषसाद्, परिषसाद्, निषसाद्, विषसाद्, परिषस्वञ्जैः, परिषस्वजाति, परिषस्वजिरे, अभिषस्वजे ॥ The nasal of स्वञ्ज is elided though here, the लिट् affix is not क्तिन्, because it ends in a compound vowel (VI. 4. 24), (I. 2. 5 and 6).

The word स्वञ्ज does not occur in the sūtra, but has been inserted in it by the author of Kāśikā from the following Vārtika :—सद्यो लिटि प्रतिषेधे स्वञ्जे रूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

निव्यभिभ्योड्व्यवाये वा छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-वि-अभिभ्यः, अद्व्यवाये, वा, छन्दसि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि अभि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरस्य सकारस्याड्व्यवाये छन्दसि विषये मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति वा ।

119. The ष् is optionally substituted in the Chhandas after the prepositions नि, वि and अभि, when the augment अद् intervenes.

Thus न्यषीदत् or न्यसीदत् पिता नः; व्यषीदत्; or व्यसीदत् पिता नः; अभ्यषीदत् or अभ्यसीदत् ॥

The anuvṛitti of सद् and स्वंज is not to be read into this sūtra. It is, in fact, a general rule and applies to verbs other than these two. As व्यस्तौत्, न्यष्टौत्, अभ्यष्टौत् or अभ्यस्तौत् ॥

ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

रपाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ रपाभ्याम्, नः, णः, समानपदे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफपकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति, समानपदस्यौ चेन्निमित्तनिमित्तिनौ भवतः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋवर्णाच्चाति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. After र and ष, the ण् is the substitute of न्, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

These letters must be parts of the same pada or word, one being the 'occasion' for the application of the rule as regards the other. As आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, अवसूर्णम् ॥ So also after ष; as, कुष्णाति, पुष्णाति, मुष्णाति ॥

The letter ष् is included in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras: for न् will be changed into ण् when preceded by ष् by rule 41 of this Chapter, as well.

Why do we say "when occurring in the same word?" Observe अग्नि-
र्नयति, वायुर्नयति ॥

Vārt :—So also after the letter ऋ ॥ As तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम्, मातृणाम्, पितृणाम् ॥

This vārtika may well be dispensed with: because the र in the sūtra is the common sound र which we perceive both in र and ऋ; and so the र will denote both the vowel ऋ and the consonant र. See contra. VIII. 2. 42. Obj. But if even this be so, the letter ऋ has three parts, its first part is a vowel, in the middle is the र sound of a quarter mātṛā, and a vowel sound at the end. This vowel-sound will *intervene* between the र-sound and the subsequent न्, and will prevent the application of the sūtra, hence the vārtika is valid?

Ans. This vowel-sound will be no intervention, because it will be included in the exception अर् of the next sūtra. Obj. The vowel-sound at the end of ऋ is not a *full* vowel of one mātṛā, but is of half-mātṛā, being only a fragment of ऋ, and hence is not included in the pratyāhāra अर्, it has no separate

स्थान or प्रयत्न or homogeneity with any vowel. Hence this vowel-sound will prevent the application of this rule. Ans. The ण change, however, does take place in spite of such intervention of a fragment of a letter, as we know from the jñâpaka of VIII. 4. 39. In the kshubhnâdi list there we find नूनमन as an *exception*, implying that न is *generally* changed to ण after such a fragmentary interposition. Or we may take नूनमन as a jñâpaka, that after the *letter* ऋ also the ण change takes place.

अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्व्यवायेपि ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अट्-कु-पु-आङ्-नुम्-व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अट् कु पु आङ् नुम् इत्येतैर्व्यवायेपि रेफकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

2. The substitute ण् takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or य्, व्, ह् or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the augment नुम् intervenes, causing separation.

The pratyâhâra अट् stands for vowels and the letters ह य व र. Thus करणम्, हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, गुरुणा &c.

The कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अर्केण, मूर्खेण, गर्गेण, अर्घेण ॥

The पु means all the labials, e. g. दर्पेण, रेफेण, गर्भेण, चर्मणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आङ् means the particle आः e. g. पर्याणद्धम् from नह् (VIII. 2. 34) निराणद्धम् (cf VIII. 4. 14). The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अट् pratyâhâra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

So also when the anusvâra separates the letters e. g. वृहणम्, वृहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is ह्रादि (VII. 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvâra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sūtra ?

The word नुम् in the sūtra refers to anusvâra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like वृहणं from वृह वृह हिंसार्ये ॥ Here the anusvâra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvâra. Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into anusvâra, the rule does not apply. As प्रेन्वनम्, प्रेन्वनीयम् from इविः प्रीणनार्यः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अर्केण, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between र and न ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of व ॥

पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदान्, संज्ञायाम्, अगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य गकारवर्जिताद् नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

3. So also, न् is replaced by ण्, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that the first member does not end with the letter ग ॥

As **दुणसः**, **वाद्धीगसः** (a kind of antelope), **खरणसः**, **दूर्पणखा** ॥ See V. 4. 118 and IV. 1. 58.

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, **चर्मनासिका** ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न'? Observe; **ऋगयनम्** ॥

Some say, that this sūtra is a **नियम** or a restrictive rule, and not a **विधि** or original enunciation, so that the substitution takes place, only when the word is a *Name*, and not otherwise. A compound is one word or **समानपद**, though composed of two or more words or **पद** ॥ Therefore by VIII. 4. 11 the न will always be changed into ण when preceded by र or ष. But the present sūtra restricts its scope, to those cases only, when the compound denotes a *Name*, as not in **चर्मनासिका** ॥ The word **पूर्वपद** is a relative term and connotes an **उत्तरपद** ॥ The present sūtra therefore applies to those cases where the र or ष is in the **पूर्वपद**, and न occurs in the **उत्तरपद** ॥ It therefore, does not apply to **तद्धित** words, nor when both the letters occur in the **पूर्वपद** ॥ In the case of a **Taddhita**, there is a **पूर्वपद**, but there is no properly speaking **उत्तरपद** ॥ Thus **खरणस्यापत्यं** = **खारपायणः** (IV.1.99). Here the affix **अयन** is equivalent to **अपत्यं**, and **खरण** is the **Pūrvapada**. But the affix **अयन** not being a **Pada**, we cannot call it an **uttara pada**. Hence न will be changed into ण though **खारपायण** is not an **Appellative** but a generic term. So also **मातृभोगाय हितः** = **मातृभोगीणः** with **ख** affix. Similarly in **करणप्रियः**, the words र and न both occur in the **Pūrvapada** and are not affected by this rule, but by the general rule VIII. 4. 1. So also the proviso relating to न, only prohibits the change of न into ण, but does not prohibit the restrictive character of this sūtra.

According to others, this sūtra is an original enunciation or a **Vidhi** rule, and not a **Niyama** rule. They say that the word **समानपद** in VIII. 4. 1 is equivalent to **नित्यं पदं** i. e. a word integral and indivisible into component words. In other words, **समानपद** means, a 'simple-word'. The present sūtra therefore enunciates a new rule for a "compound-word". For in a compound or **समास**, there being a division of **पूर्वपद** and an **उत्तरपद**, we cannot say that a compound is a **समानपद** or indivisible word. Hence this sūtra is a **विधि** ॥

The sūtra should be thus divided:—**पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायाम्** one sūtra, and **अगः** another. So that every rule relating to ण change would be debarred with regard to न intervention.

वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकाशारिकाकोटराग्नेभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, पुरगा, मिश्रका-सिध्रका-शारिका-कोटराग्नेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामिति वर्त्तते । पुरगा मिश्रका सिध्रका शारिका कोटरा अग्ने इत्येतेभ्यः पूर्वपदेभ्य उत्तरस्य वनकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

4. The न of **वन**, is changed into ण, when preceded by the words **puragâ**, **miśrakâ**, **siḍhrakâ**, **śarikâ**, **koṭarâ**, and

agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्वपदान् and संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra, are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरगावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिद्धकावणं, कौट्यरावणम्, अद्यवणम् (II. 2. 31) शारिकावणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above is by VI. 3. 117. Though the word अद्यवणं is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantādi list (II. 2. 31).

The substitution of ण for न would have taken place by the preceding rule. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word वन, shows that this is a restrictive or नियम rule. The न of वन is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and no other. Thus कुबेरवनं, शतधारवनम्, असिपत्रवनम् ॥

प्रनिरन्तःशारेक्षुप्लक्षाम्रकार्ष्यखदिरपीयूक्षाभ्योसंज्ञायामपि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्र-निर-अन्तर्-शर-इक्षु-प्लक्ष-आम्र-कार्ष्य-खदिर-पीयूक्षाभ्यः संज्ञायां, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्र निर अन्तर् शर इक्षु प्लक्ष आम्र कार्ष्य खदिर पीयूक्षा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वननकारस्य संज्ञायाम्
संज्ञायामपि णकारादेशो भवति ।

5. The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, śara, ikshu, plaksha, âmra, kârshya, khadira, and pîyûkshâ.

Thus प्रवणे यष्टम् ; निर्वणे प्रतिधीयते, अन्तर्वणे, शरवणम्, इक्षुवणम्, प्लक्षवणम्, आम्रवणम्, कार्ष्यवणम्, खदिरवणम् and पीयूक्षावणम् ॥

The words प्रवणं and निर्वणं are प्रादिः compounds. अन्तर्वणं is an Avyayî-bhāva in the sense of a case-affix. The rest are Genitive compounds.

विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ओषधि-वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिवाचि यत्पूर्वपदं वनस्पतिवाचि तत्स्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वननकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति
विभाषा ।

वार्तिकः ॥ द्व्यक्षरद्वयक्षरेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ इरिकादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

Kârîka फली वनस्पतिज्ञेयो वृक्षाः पुष्पफलोपगाः ।

ओषधः फलपाकान्ता लता गुल्माश्च वीरुधः ॥

6. The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree.

When the pûrvapada is a word denoting ओषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ This is an optional rule. Thus :—पूर्वावनम् or पूर्वावणम् ;

मूर्धावणम् or मूर्धावनम् ॥ Here मूर्धा and मूर्धा are names of ओषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीष-
वनं or शिरीषवणम् ; बदरीवणं or बदरीवनं ॥

Vårt.—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in देवदारुवनम् ; भद्रशरुवनम् ॥

Vårt.—Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words झरका &c. As इरिकावनम्, तिमिरकावनम् ॥

Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति also ; yet in this sūtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

Kārika.—Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, ओषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुधः ॥

अहोऽदन्तात् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, अदन्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदन्तं यत्पूर्वपदं तत्स्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्याहो नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

7. The ण is the substitute of न of अहन्, when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change.

Thus पूर्वाहणः “fore-noon” ; अपराहणः “after-noon”.

Why do we say “ending in अ” ? Observe, निरहः, दुरहः ॥

The word अह् is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88. The word अह् being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus दीर्घाद्धी शरत् ॥ The word अहः in the sūtra is in the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वनं (VIII. 4. 4), वाहनं (VIII. 4. 8), यानं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samāsānta affix टच् (V. 4. 91), and अह् substitution by V. 4. 88. The word दीर्घाद्धी is a Bahuvrihi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix टच् does not apply to it. The feminine डीप् is added by IV. 1. 28, there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI. 4. 134.

वाहनमाहितात् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहनम्, आहितात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहितवाचि यत्पूर्वपदं तत्स्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वाहननकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

8. The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when the letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इक्षुवाहनम् ‘a sugar-cart’. शरवाहनम् “a reed-cart”. र्भवाहनम् ‘a hay-cart’.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called आहित ॥

Why do we say “denoting the thing carried”. Observe दाक्षिवाहनम् “a vehicle belonging to Dākshi”.

The word वाहन is formed by adding ल्युट् to वह, and lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipâtana of this sūtra.

पानं देशे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पानम्, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाननकारस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य देशाभिधाने णकार आदेशो भवति ।

9. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains a letter causing change; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान is formed by the affix ल्युट् III. 3. 113. Thus क्षीरपाणा उशीनराः = क्षीरपाणं येषां 'the milk-drinking Uśīnaras'. सुरापाणाः प्राच्याः 'the wine-drinking Prāchyas'. सौवीरपाणा बाह्लीकाः "the sauvīra-drinking Bāhlikas". कषायपाणा गान्धाराः &c.

Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe दक्षिपानं the drink of the Dākshis.

The words उशीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

वा भावकरणयोः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भाव-करणयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे करणे च यः पानशब्दस्तदीयस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति वा पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाप्रकरणे गिरिनद्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ।

10. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपानम् "drinking of milk" कषायपाणम् or कषायपाणम् 'drinking of kashāya'. सुरापाणम् or सुरापानम् &c are examples of भाव or condition.

Similarly क्षीरपाणः of क्षीरपानः कंसः 'a vessel for drinking milk' This is an example of करण or instrument.

Vārt : — Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c. Thus गिरिनदी or गिरिणदी; चक्रनदी or चक्रणदी, चक्रनितम्बा or चक्रणितम्बा ॥

प्रातिपदिकान्तनुभिवभक्तिषु च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातिपदिकान्त-नुम्-विभक्तिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेति वर्त्तते । प्रातिपदिकान्ते नुम्विभक्तौ च यो नकारस्तस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकार आदेशो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ युवादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

11. Optionally ण is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prātipadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).

Thus, to take the case a प्रतिपदिकान्त first. माषवापिणौ^१ or माषवापिनौ from माषवापिन् 'masha-sowing' formed by णिनि under III. 2. 81.

To take the example of a नुम् augment माषवापाणि or माषवापा नि, व्रीहिवापाणि or व्रीहिवापानि nom. pl. neut. The augment नुम् is here added by VII. 1. 72 from माषान् वपयन्ति = माषवाप with कर्मण अण्, the plural शि is added by VII. 1. 20, and then नुम् ॥

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, माषवापेण or माषवापेन, व्रीहिवापेण or व्रीहिवापेन ॥

The word प्रतिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prâtipadika'. But here it means 'final in a prâtipadika which is a second member, of compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गाणां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिणी if the word is derived from गर्गभगः 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word मातृ-भोगीणः 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place.

The word माषवापिणी or णी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim :—(II. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माषवापिन् (माष + वापिन्), and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prâtipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly नुम् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the *full* compound word.

Vârt :—Prohibition must be stated of the words युवा &c. 'As भार्ययूना (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), क्षत्रिययूना ॥ प्रपक्वानि is a gati-samas, दीर्घाद्धी शरत् ॥

एकाञ्चत्तरपदे णः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाच्, उत्तरपदे, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाञ्चत्तरपदं यस्य स एकाञ्चत्तरपदः । तस्मिन्नेकाञ्चत्तरपदसमासे प्रतिपदिकान्तनुम्बिभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

12. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prâtipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Thus वृत्रहणौ and वृत्रहणः 'the Vritra-killer'. क्षीरपाणि "Drinkers of milk": सुरापाणि 'drinkers of wine': being examples of नुम् VII. 3. 88, क्षीरपेण and सुरापेण are examples of case-terminations.

Why the letter ण is repeated in this sūtra, while its anuvṛitti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional rule, but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛitti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

कुमति च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गवति चोत्तरपदे प्रातिपदिकान्तदुम्बिभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

13. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prâtipadika, or be the augment नुम्, or occur in a vibhakti.

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class क्, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As वस्त्रयुगिणौ, वस्त्रयुगिणः, स्वर्गकामिणौ, वृषगामिणौ ॥ नुम्:—वस्त्रयुगाणि, खरयुगाणि ॥ विभक्ति:—वस्त्रयुगेण, खरयुगेण ॥

The word वस्त्रयुगिणौ is a compound of वस्त्र with युगिन् (the affix इनि is added first to युग and then the word so formed is compounded with vastra). Thus the न् becomes प्रातिपदिकान्त i.e. it becomes the final of a Nominal-stem, which stands as a second member in a compound.

उपसर्गादसमासेऽपि णोपदेशस्य ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, अ-समासे, अपि, णोपदेशस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण उपदेशे यस्यासौ णोपदेशः । णोपदेशस्य धातोर्यो नकारः तस्य उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारदेशो भवति असमासेऽपि समासेऽपि ।

14. Of a root which has ण in its original enunciation, when it comes after a cause of such change standing in an upasarga, even though the word be not a samâsa, the न is changed into ण ॥

The word णोपदेश means a root which is enunciated in the Dhâtupâṭha with an initial ण ॥ Thus प्रणमति 'he bows'. परिणमति, प्रणायकः 'a leader' परिणायकः &c.

Why do we say "after an Upasarga"? Observe प्रणायकः = प्रगता नायका अस्माद् देशान् 'a country without a leader'. Here the word प्र is not an upasarga, but a mere nipâta. See I. 4. 57, 58 and 59. In fact, प्र is upasarga here with regard to गत understood, and not with regard to नी ॥

Why do we say "even when it is not a compound?" Because by context, the anuvṛitti of the word पूर्वपद, which is current throughout this sub-

division, would have been understood in this sūtra also, and the rule would have applied to samāsas only, for there only we have pūrvapada. By using the word असमासे it is shown that the adhikāra of pūrvapada ceases, and the rule applies to non-compounds also where there is no पूर्वपद ॥

Why do we say "having ण in Upadeśa"? Observe प्रनर्दति, प्रनर्दितुष, प्रनर्दकः ॥ For the root नर्द is recited in Dhātupāṭha with न ॥ There are eight such roots नर्द, नाद्, नाथ्, नाध्, नन्द, नक्क, नृ, नृत् ॥ See VI. i. 65.

हिनुमीना ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिनु-मीना, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिनु मीना इत्येतयोर्ह्रस्वसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

15. The न of हिनु and मीना is changed into ण, when coming after an upasarga containing in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रहिणोति, प्रहिणुतः, प्रमीणाति, प्रमीणीतः ॥ The root हि belongs to Svādi class of verbs and takes the vikaraṇa नु technically इनु; and the root मी belongs to Kryādi class which takes the vikaraṇa ञ्ना ॥ In the sūtra the verbs are shown with the vikaraṇas affixed. Under certain circumstances the forms of the vikaraṇa is changed from नु to नो and ना to नी, but the rule still applies, because the substitute of an अच् or vowel is like the principal. See I. i. 57.

आनि लोट् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनि, लोट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादिति वर्तते । आनीत्येतस्य लोडादेशस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

16. The न of आनि, the affix of the Imperative, 1st Person, is changed into ण when it follows a letter competent to cause such a change standing in an Upasarga.

The word आनि is the termination of the Imperative. Thus प्रवपाणि, प-रिवपाणि, प्रयाणि, परियाणि ॥

Why do we say 'the Imperative'? Observe प्रवपानि मांसानि ॥ Here आनि is the neuter plural termination, and the word means प्रकृष्टा वपा येषु, तानि ॥

According to Padamanjari, the employment of the word लोट् in the sūtra is redundant. For without it also आनि would have meant the Imperative affix, and not the Neuter termination, on the maxim of अयन्नेद् ग्रहणे &c. Moreover in the noun प्रवपानि, प्र is not an upasarga at all, on the maxim यत् क्रियायुक्ताः प्राद्व्य-स्तं प्रति गति-उपसर्ग-संज्ञे भवतः ॥

नेर्गद-नद-पत-पद-घु-मा-स्य-ति-हन्ति-याति-वाति-द्वाति-प्साति-वपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-देग्धिषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, गद्-नद-पत-पद-घु-मा-स्य-ति-हन्ति-याति-वाति-द्वाति-प्साति-वपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-देग्धिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरित्येतस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारदेशो भवति गद् नद् पत पद घु मा स्याति हन्ति याति वाति द्वाति प्साति वपति वहति शाम्यति चिनोति देग्धि इत्येतेषु परतः ।

17. The ण् is the substitute of न् of the prefix नि, following a cause for such change standing in an upasarga, when these verbs follow, gad 'to speak', nad 'to be happy', pat 'to fall', pad 'to go', the ghu verbs, mâ 'to measure', sho 'to destroy', han 'to kill', yâ 'to go', vâ 'to blow', drâ 'to flee', psâ 'to eat', vap 'to weave', vah 'to bear', śam 'to be tranquil', chi 'to collect', and dih 'to anoint'.

Thus

गद्ः, प्रणिगद्ति, परिणिगद्ति	नद्ः, प्रणिनद्ति, परिणिनद्ति
पत्ः, प्रणिपत्ति, परिणिपत्ति,	पद्ः, प्रणिपद्यते, परिणिपद्यते
द्युः, प्रणिद्दाति, परिणिद्दाति, प्रणिदधाति, परिणिदधाति	
माङ्ः, प्रणिमिमीते, परिणिमिमीते	मेङ्ः, प्रणिमयते, परिणिमयते

Ishṭi:—By the word मा in the sūtra, both verbs माङ् and मेङ् are to be taken and not the roots नी or नि or मा ऋने, for they also take the form मा by VI. 1. 50.

स्यति प्रणिष्यति, परिणिष्यति	हन्ति प्रणिहन्ति, परिणिहन्ति
याति प्रणियाति, परिणियाति	वाति प्रणिव्राति, परिणिव्राति
द्वाति प्रणिद्वाति, परिणिद्वाति	प्साति प्रणिप्साति, परिणिप्साति

The last five roots belong to Adâdi class.

वपति प्रणिवपति, परिणिवपति	वहति प्रणिवहति, परिणिवहति
शाम्यति प्रणिशाम्यति, परिणिशाम्यति (VII. 3. 74)	
चिनोति प्रणिचिनोति, परिणिचिनोति	देग्धि प्रणिदेग्धि, परिणिदेग्धि

Ishṭi:—The above change takes place even when the augment अद् inter-venes.. As प्रण्यगद्द्, परिण्यगद्द् ॥

The roots स्यति &c, are exhibited in their declined form in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to यङ् लृक form of these roots (VII. 1. 6).

शेषे विभाषाकखादावषान्तउपदेशे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा, अकखादौ, अषान्ते, उपदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेरिति वर्तते उपसर्गादिति च । अककारखकारद्विरषकारान्तश्च उपदेशे यो धातुः शेषस्तस्मिन्परत उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नेर्नकारस्य विभाषा णकार आदेशो भवति ।

18. In the remaining verbs, optionally the न of नि is replaced by ण, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change; provided that, in the original enunciation, the verb has not an initial क or ख, nor ends with ष ॥

The words नः and उपसर्गात् are understood in the sūtra. The word शेषे means verbs other than those mentioned last. Thus प्रणिपचति or प्रनिपचात्, प्रणिभिनत्ति or प्रनिभिनत्ति ॥

Why do we say अक्रथादौ “not beginning with क or ख”? Observe प्रनि करोति, प्रनिखादति ॥ Here there is no change.

Why do we say अषान्तः “not ending in ष”? Observe प्रनिपिदष्टि ॥

Why do we say उपदेशे “in original enunciation”? So that the prohibition may apply to forms like प्रनिचकार, प्रनिचखाद्, प्रनिपेक्ष्यति (VIII. 2. 41). Here चकार &c, do not begin with क or ख nor does षिप् end with ष् but with क् (VIII. 2. 41) but in the Dhâtupâṭha the verb कृ and खद् begin with क and ख and पिष् ends with ष्, and hence the rule will not apply. So also in प्रणिदिष्टा and प्रणिदिष्यति from the root विश् ॥ Here though the verb now ends with ष by VIII. 2. 36, yet in the original enunciation or Dhâtupâṭha, it ends with ष् ॥

अनितेः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनितेर्नकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

19. The न of the verb अन् ‘to breathe’, is changed into ण, when preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change.

Thus प्र + अनिति = प्राणिति ‘he breathes’. पराङ्गिति ॥ For इद् augment, see VII. 2. 76.

अन्तः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्यानितिनकारस्य पदन्ते वर्तमानस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

20. The न of अन् is changed into ण, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change, provided it occurs at the end of a pada.

As हे प्राण् ! हे पराण् ! ॥ This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 37 *sub*, by which final न् in a pada is not changed into ण ॥ The word अन्तः in the sūtra is to be understood to be equivalent to पदान्तः, and the rule applies when the word is in the vocative case.

According to some अन्तः is taken to be a part of the last sūtra, and has the meaning of ‘proximity’. That is the न is changed to ण, if the र is not separated from the न् by more than one letter. Therefore there is no change in परि + अनिति = पर्यनिति ॥ In this view, another अन्त should be taken for the sake of final न्, in हे प्राण् ॥

According to others the form पर्यङ्गिति is valid, and they do not connect अन्तः with the last sūtra.

The word प्राण् is a द्विवृत्त formed word, and the न् final is not elided in the Vocative Singular because of the prohibition of VIII. 2. 8; in every other place, when the न् is padânta, it would be dropped; and therefore the illustration is given with Vocative singular, which alone satisfies the requirements of this sūtra.

उभौ साभ्यासस्य ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभौ, साभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साभ्यासस्यानितेरुपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्योभयोर्नकारयोर्णकार आदेशो भवति ।

21. Both the न s are changed into ण in the reduplicated forms of the verb अन्, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus in the Desiderative प्राणिणिषति and Aorist of the Causative प्राणिणत्, and so also पराणिणिषति and पराणिणत् ॥

If the maxim पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमद्विवेचने be not applied here; then we have the following dilemma in, प्राणि+स+ति ॥ Here the affix सन् requires reduplication, and the present sūtra requires ण change of न ॥ The णत्व being asiddha, the reduplication being made first, we have प्राणिनि+स+ति, and then the reduplicate ण intervenes between the cause प्र and the root-न् of नि, and so this न would not be changed to ण ॥ If however the above maxim be applied, we first apply the णत्व rule, as प्राणि+स+ति, and then reduplicate णि; and we get the form प्राणिणिषति even without this sūtra.

If we could get this form by the application of the above maxim, where is the necessity of the present sūtra? The sūtra is necessary in order to indicate that the above maxim is *anitya* or not of universal application. And because it is *anitya*, that the form औज्जदत् is evolved by reduplicating हन् (See VIII. 2. 1).

हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, अत्, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारपूर्वस्य हन्तिनकारस्य उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

22. The न, when preceded by अ, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रहण्यते, परिहण्यते, प्रहणनम् परिहणनम् ॥

Why do we say अत्पूर्वस्य 'when preceded by अ'? When अ is elided, the change does not take place. As प्रहन्ति, परिहन्ति (VI. 4. 98, and VIII. 3. 54).

Why do we say अत् "preceded by *short* अ"? Observe पर्यघानि and प्रघानि, the Aorist of हन् by the affix चिण् (III. 1. 60) प्रहन्+चिण्=प्रघन्+चिण् (VIII. 3. 54) =प्रघान्+चिण् (VIII. 2. 116)=प्रघानि 'he killed'. Here न being preceded by the long आ is not changed.

वमोर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वमोः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारमकारयोः परतो हन्तिनकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकारादेशो भवति ।

23. Optionally when व or म follow, the न of हान is changed to ण, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रहण्वः, परिहण्वः, or प्रहण्वः and परिहण्वः, प्रहणमः or प्रहणमः परिहणमः or परिहणमः ॥

This sūtra enjoins an option in certain cases, where it would have been obligatory by the last rule.

अन्तरदेशे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त्र्, अदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःशब्दादुत्तरस्य हन्तिनकारस्यापूर्वस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

24. The न preceded by short अ of the root हन् is changed into ण, when the root follows the upasarga अन्त्र्, and the word does not mean a country.

Thus अन्तर्हण्यते and अन्तर्हणनं ॥

Why do we say "when not meaning a country अदेशे?" Observe अन्तर्हणनी देशः ॥

The phrase अन्तूर्वस्य "preceded by short अ" of sūtra 22 ante, is to be read into this sūtra also. Observe, अन्तर्हन्ति ॥

Why do we say "short अ?" See, अन्तरघानि ॥ The word antar is an upasarga for the purposes of ण change, by the vārtika under I. 4. 65; therefore, it would have caused the ण change by VIII. 4. 22. The present sūtra is made, to show that the change takes place only then, when it does not mean a country.

अयनं च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयनम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरदेशइति वर्त्तते । अयननकारस्य चान्तः शब्दादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

25. The न of अयन is changed to ण, when preceded by the word अन्त्र्, and the word does not denote a country.

Thus अन्तरयणं शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say "not denoting a country?" Observe अन्तरयनो देशः ॥ This ण change would have taken place by VIII. 4. 29, this special sūtra is for आदेश purposes. The word अयन is formed by ल्युट् added to अय् or इण् ॥

छन्दस्युदवग्रहात् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, ऋत्-अवग्रहात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तावग्रहात्पूर्वपदादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

26. In the Chhandas, न of a second term is changed into ण, when the prior term ends with a short ऋ even when there is an avagraha or hiatus between the two terms.

In the Veda, न् becomes ण्, after a ऋ, after which in Padapāṭha, the word appertaining to it is divided. Thus in Pada-pāṭha the words नृमणाः &c, are separated, and are read as नृ, मणाः ॥ The word अवग्रहते = विच्छिद्य पठ्यते, as in Pada-pāṭha. ऋदवग्रहात् means 'after a short ऋ which is an avagraha'. The ऋ here, of course, means 'a word ending in ऋ', because ऋ alone cannot be a pūrva-pada. The णत्व took place during saṅhitā, and in Pada reading this ण would not have remained, hence this sūtra.

Why have we used the word avagraha in the sūtra? Because we have already said that the word saṅhitā governs all sūtras of this chapter. So the न् is changed to ण in the Saṅhitā state in these; and the ण is retained, when

in the state of avagraha. The word avagraha in the sūtra indicates the scope of the rule. The न is changed to ण after that ऋ only, which is capable of avagraha, namely that ऋ which stands at the end of a word (pada), and not that which is in the body of a word. Thus in नृमणाः, पितृयाणम्, the ऋ is capable of avagraha, as it is at the end of a word नृ or पितृ; but when it is not at the end of a word, it can never, become avagraha, and will not produce the ण change.

The word पूर्वपदान् is understood here. The word अवग्रह means a hiatus or separation. Thus पितृ याणम्, नृ मणाः ॥ Here ऋ is अवग्रह ॥ The change of न into ण is effected ordinarily then, when the terms, one containing the cause, and the other न, are in संहिता or conjunction. For the rules of Sandhi and the rules like these can apply only to words in saṅhitā. The present rule is an exception to it, and here, even when the words are not in संहिता, but there is an actual hiatus between the two, the change still takes place. The word संहिता of VIII. 2. 108, exerts regulating influence upto the end of the Book.

नञ्च धातुस्योरुषुभ्यः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, धातुस्य, उरु, षुभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नस् इत्येतस्य नकारस्य णकारदेशो भवति धातुस्थानिच्चादुत्तरस्थोरुषाञ्चानुपुशाब्शाच्च च्छन्दसि विषये ।

27. In the Chhandas, the न of (the Pronoun) नस् is changed into ण, when it comes after a root having a र or ष or after the words उरु and षु (सु) ॥

Thus अग्ने रक्षानः (Rig VII. 15. 13) 'O Agni! protect us'. शिक्षा णो अस्मिन् (Rig. VII. 32. 26) 'Teach us this'. उरुः—उरुणस्क्रुधि (Rig. VIII. 75. 11) षु—अभीषुणः सखीनाम् (Rig IV. 31. 3). ऊर्ध्व ऊषुणः ऊतये (Rig. I. 36. 13).

The word नस् is here the pronoun नस्, which is the substitute, in certain cases, of अस्मद् (VIII. 1. 21) and does not mean here the नस् substitute of नासिका ॥ In the next sūtra, however, both नस् are taken. धातुस्य means 'that which exists in a dhātu', namely र् and ष् when occurring in a root. The word उरु means the word-form उरु; and षु means सुम्, and is exhibited with ष-change. It does not mean the affix सु of the Locative Plural. Therefore, not here इन्द्रो धता गृहेषु नः ॥ The word रक्षा is the 2rd Person singular, Imperative, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 135. The root शिक्ष has the sense of ज्ञान in the Veda. कृषी is 2nd Person sg. Imperative of कृ (VI. 4. 102), the visarga of नः is changed to स् by VIII. 3. 50. In अभीषु there is lengthening by VI. 3. 134: so also in ऊषुणः &c.

उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थानिच्चादुत्तरस्य नसो नकारस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

28. The न of नस् is changed diversely into ण, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणः शृङ्गः; प्रणसः प्रणो राजा ॥ The change does not sometime take, place, as, प्र षो मुञ्चतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणसं मुखं ॥ The word छन्दसि does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रणसं मुखम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose'. See V. 4. 119.

This is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गान्तोत्परः "after an Upasarga, the न of नस् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into ण". There being several objections to this rule, the above rule is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāshya. For-ओत्परः may have two meanings:—(1) ओकारात् परः, that which comes after ओ; (2) ओकारः परोऽस्मात् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ण change would be required in प्रनो मुञ्चतं; in the second case, there should be no ण change in प्रणोवनिर्देवता ॥ In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः, so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

कृत्यचः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृति, अच ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यो यो नकारो ऽच उत्तरस्थोपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकः ॥ कृत्यस्य णत्वे निर्विण्णस्योपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

29. The न् of a Kṛit affix, preceded by a vowel, is changed into ण, when it follows an upasarga having the cause of change.

The following are the specific Kṛit affixes in which this change takes place :—भन (यु), मान (शानच् &c VII. 2. 82), भनीय, (III. 1. 96) भनि, (III. 3. 111) इनि (णिनि III. 2. 78 &c) and the substitutes of निष्ठा (VIII. 2. 42) ॥

Thus

भनः प्रयाणम्, परिमाणम्, प्रमाणम्, परियाणम् ॥ मानः प्रयायमाणम्, परियायमाणम् ॥

भनीय प्रयाणीयम्, परियाणीयम् ॥ भनि भप्रयाणि, अपरियाणि ॥

इनि प्रयायिन्, प्रयायिणौ, परियायिन्, परियायिणौ

निष्ठादेशः प्रहीणः, परिहीणः, प्रहीणवान् परिहीणवान् ॥ Long ई by VI. 4. 66.

Why do we say अचः 'preceded by a vowel?' Observe प्रभुप्रः, परिभुप्रः the Nishṭhā of भुञ् ॥ It is thus formed: भुञ् + क्त = भुञ् + त = भुञ् + न (VII. 2. 45, the root भुञ् is read as भुञ्जा कौटिल्ये in the dhatûpâṭha, having an indicatory ओ, thus giving scope to the rule). भुञ् + न = भुग् + न (VIII. 2. 30) = भुप्र ॥

Vārt:—The word निर्विण्णः should be enumerated in this place. As निर्विण्णोऽस्मि खलसंगेन ॥ निर्विण्णाहमत्रवासेन ॥

पेर्विभाषा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्ताद्यो विहितः कृत्यस्य तत्स्थस्य नकारयोपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा णकारदेशो भवति

30. The **न** of a Kṛit - affix ordained after a causative verb (**पयन्त**), is optionally changed to **ण**, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रयापणम् or प्रयापनम् , परियापणम् or परियापनम् , प्रयाप्यमाणम् or प्रयाप्यमानम् , प्रयापणीयम् or प्रयापनीयं, अप्रयापणिः or अप्रयापनिः, प्रयापिणौ or प्रयापिनौ ॥

Why have we used the word **विहितं** 'ordained' in explaining the sūtra ? Because the change takes place, even where the कृत् affix does not follow directly after the affix णि; where a third affix such as यक् intervenes. As प्रयाप्यमाणम् ॥ The णेः being in the ablative, under the ordinary rule of interpretation (I. 1. 72), the kṛit - affix should come immediately after णि.

हलश्चेजुपधात् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, इच्-उपधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादियौ धातुरिजुपधस्तस्मात्परो यः कृत्प्रत्ययः तस्यस्थस्य नकारस्याच उत्तरस्थोपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा णकारादेशो भवति ।

31. A kṛit - affix, coming after a verb, which begins with a consonant and has a penultimate **इच्** vowel, changes optionally its **न**, which is preceded by a vowel, into **ण**, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

The phrase **कृत्यचः** is understood here. Thus प्रकोपणम् or प्रकोपनम् , परिकोपणम् or परिकोपनम् ॥

Why do we say **हलः** 'beginning with a consonant' ? Observe प्रेहणम् and प्रोहणम् where the change is obligatory, under VIII. 4. 29. These are from ईह चेष्टायाम् and ऊह वितर्के ॥

Why do we say **इजुपधात्** 'having a penultimate इच् vowel' ? Observe प्रवपणम् and परिवपणम् ; no option.

By the rule **कृत्यचः** the change was obligatory, this rule makes it optional.

The **न** of the kṛit - affix must come after a vowel, otherwise there will be no change. See परिभुमः

The word **हलः** in the sūtra should be interpreted as **हलादेः**, and not as ordinarily "after what ends in हल्" ॥ For an इजुपधा verb implies that it ends with a consonant, and so the employment of the word **हलः** in the text would have been useless had it meant **हलन्तात्** ॥

इजादेः सनुमः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इजादेः, सनुमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादेः सनुमो हलन्ताद्धातोर्विहितो यः कृत्प्रत्यस्य नकारस्थोपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारो भवति ।

32. A kṛit - affix ordained after a verb beginning with an **इच्** vowel, having the augment **नुम** in it, and ending

with a consonant, changes its **न** into **ण**, when preceded by an upasarga having in it the cause of change.

The word **हल्**: of the last sūtra is understood here. But contrary to the construction put upon it in the last sūtra, here it means **हलन्तात्**, by the natural rule of construction as given in I. 1. 72. We must interpret it so here, because it is impossible for an **इजादि** root to commence with a **हल्**; while to have done so in the last aphorism would have been redundant.

Thus **प्रेङ्खणम्**, **परेङ्खणम्** from **इखि गत्यर्थः**; the **नुम्** is added because it is **इदित् ॥** **प्रेङ्गणम्**, **परेङ्गणम्**, **प्रोम्भणम्** **परोम्भणम् ॥** In **उम्भ पूरणे** the nasal is part of the root. The rule will not apply to **प्रेन्वनम्**, because **नुम्** here means the anusvāra generally (VIII. 4. 2) though the change would have been valid by the general rule, (VIII. 4. 29) this sūtra makes a **नियम** or restriction. That is, only in the case of **इजादि सनुम्** verbs the change takes place, not in other **सनुम्** verbs. Thus **प्रमङ्गनम्**, **परिमङ्गनम्** from the root **मणि सर्पणे ॥**

This rule does not affect rule VIII. 4. 30, relating to **प्यन्त** verbs, for those verbs cannot be said to end with a consonant. Moreover, we have used the word **विहितः** in explaining the sūtra, in order to indicate this fact, that the **कृति**-affix must be *ordained* after a consonant-ending verb. In the case of causative verbs, the **कृति**-affix is *ordained* after a vowel-ending (**णि**) verb, and the vowel is elided *after* the adding of the affix. So that *before* the adding of the affix, the verb did not end in a consonant.

वा निसनिक्षनिन्दाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, निस-निक्ष-निन्दाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादितवर्त्तते । निस निक्ष निन्द इत्येतेषां नकारस्थोपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकारादेशो भवति ।

33. The **न** of **निस निक्ष** and **निन्द** is changed to **ण** optionally, when preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change.

Thus **प्रणिंसनम्** or **प्रनिसनम्**, **प्रणिक्षणम्** or **प्रनिक्षणम्**, **प्रणिन्वनम्** or **प्रनिन्दनम् ॥**

These verbs are written with **ण** in the Dhātupāṭha, and therefore by rule VIII. 4. 14 ante, the change of **न** into **ण** would have been obligatory. The present sūtra makes it optional. The root **णिसि** means 'to kiss', **णिक्षि** रोषणे, and **णिदि** कुस्तायाम् ॥

न भाभूपूकमिगमिप्यायिवेपाम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भा-भू-पू-कमि-गमि-प्यायि-वेपाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भा दीप्तौ भू सत्तायाम् पू पवने कमि कान्तौ गमि गतौ प्यायि वृद्धौ वेप कम्पने इत्येतेषामुपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य कृत्स्थस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्यन्तानां भादीनामुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

34. The **न** of a **कृति**-affix is not changed to **ण**, though preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change,

when the affix is added to the following verbs: भा 'to shine', भू 'to be', पू 'to purify', कमि 'to be brilliant', गमि 'to go', प्यायि 'to increase', वेप 'to shake'.

This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 29. Thus:—

भा प्रभानम्, परिभानम् भू प्रभवन्म्, परिभवन्म् पू प्रपवनम्, परिपवनम् ॥

Ishti:—The verb पूञ् 'is to be taken and not the verb पूङ् ॥ In the case of the latter the change is obligatory, as, प्रपवणं सोमस्य ॥

कमि प्रक्रमन्म् परिक्रमन्म् ॥ गमि प्रगमन्म् परिगमन्म् ॥
प्यायि प्रप्यायन्म्, परिप्यायन्म् ॥ वेप् प्रवेपन्म्, परिवेपन्म् ॥

Vārt:—The above roots, even when in the Causative, do not change the न of their कृति-affix. As प्रभापन्म्, परिभापन्म् ॥

घात्पदान्तात् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ घात्, पदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारान्तान्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

35. After a ष final in a Pada, the न् is not changed to ण् ॥

Thus निष्पानम्, दुष्पानम् ; the visarga is changed to ष here by VIII. 3. 41. The rule VIII. 4. 29 is debarred. सर्पिष्पानम् (is a genitive compound contra II. 2. 14). So also यजुष्पानम् (II. 1. 32). The ष is in these two by VIII. 3. 45, and VIII. 4. 10 is debarred.

Why do we say "घात् after a ष?" Observe निर्णयः ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe कुष्णाति, पुष्णाति ॥ The word पदान्त is equivalent to पदे भन्त or Locative Tatpurusha ; and does not mean final of a Pada. Therefore the rule does not apply here. सुसर्पिष्केण (ins. sg.) सुयजुष्केण ॥ Here the क् is added by V. 4. 154. शोभनं सर्पिस्स्य = सुसर्पिष्क (a Bahuvrihi). The ष is by VIII. 3. 39. Before the affix क्, the word सुसर्पिस् is a Pada (I. 4. 17), and thus स् (ष्) is final of a Pada: but it is not final of a preceding member followed by another Pada. The rule, in fact, applies to compounds, the ष being final in the first term.

नशोः घान्तस्य ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशोः, घान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशोः षकारान्तस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

36. ण् is not the substitute of the verb नश 'to destroy', when ending in ष् ॥

When the ण् is changed to ष् in नश्, the न of नश् is not changed. Thus प्रनष्टः, परिनष्टः ॥ The नुम् ordained by VII. 1. 60, is elided by VI. 4. 24, and ण् changed ष् by VIII. 2. 36.

Why do we say घान्तस्य? Observe प्रणश्यति, परिणश्यति ॥ The word भन्त is taken in order that the prohibition may apply to words like प्रनष्ट्श्यति, which did end with ष् though the ष has been changed by other rules, and is no longer visible. For here the ण् of नश् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36, and then this ष् is changed to ऋ by VIII. 2. 41 ; and the नुम् is added by VII. 1. 60.

पदान्तस्य ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तो यो नकारस्तस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

37. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.

Thus वृक्षान्, वृक्षान्, अरीन्, गिरीन् ॥

पदव्यवायेपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदव्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेन व्यवायेपि सति निमित्तनिमित्तिनोर्नकारस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ पदव्यवाये ऽतद्विहिते वक्तव्यम् ।

38. The न् is not changed to ण् when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न् ॥

The word पदव्यवाय is a compound meaning पदेन व्यवाय 'separated by a Pada'. Thus माषकुम्भवापेन, चतुरङ्गयोगेन, प्रायनद्धम्, पर्यवनद्धम्, प्रगात्रयामः, परिगात्रयामः ॥ Here the Padas कुम्भ, अङ्ग, अव &c, intervening, the change does not take place.

Vārti:—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like आर्द्रगोमयेण, शुष्कगोमयेण ॥ Here गो takes the affix मयद् by IV. 3. 145, and the word गो is a Pada by I. 4. 17, and it intervenes between मय and the first word. The author of Mahābhāshya however does not approve of this Vārtika. According to him the word पदव्यवाय means पदे व्यवाय ॥

शुभनादिषु च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुभनादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभना इत्येवमादिषु शब्देषु नकारस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

39. The ण is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c.

The 'not' of sūtra 34 is to be read into this. Thus शुभनाति, so also in शुभनीतः, शुभनन्ति, the substitutes of अच् being like the principal I. 1. 57.

So नृनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, and VIII. 4. 26.

नन्दिन्, नन्दन and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दनः, गिरिनगरः ॥

The word नृन् when taking the Intensive affix यङ्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥

नृन्, नृमोति also belongs to this class. नर्तन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3. So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14. शरनिवेशः, शरनिवास, शराग्निः, दुर्भानूपः ॥ All these are Names.

After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः, आचार्यानी ॥

हरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर and हरि and कर्मर followed by वन do not cause change in the न् of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an धाकृतिगणः ॥

1 शुभना (शुभनाति), 2 नृनमनः; 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्दन, 5 नगर, एतान्युत्तपदानि संज्ञायां प्र योजयन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दनः, 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृतिर्यङि प्रयोजयति, नरीनृत्यते; 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन,

12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्र योजयन्ति, 17 परिनर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेशः, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शराग्निः, 23 शरानूपः, 24 आचार्यादणत्वं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी). क्षुभ्ना, 25 तृप्नु, नृनमन, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन- यङ् नृती, 27 गिरिनीदी. 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्यभोगीन, 29 चतुर्हायन, 30 इरिकादीनि वनोत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम् । इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मार. अकृतिगण.

स्तोः इचुना इचुः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोः, इचुना, इचुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारचवर्गाभ्यां सन्निपाते शकारचवर्गादेशौ भवतः ।

40. The letters स and the dentals when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to श and palatals respectively.

The rule of यथासंख्य does not apply here with regard to first part स्तो इचुना ॥ The स in contact with श is changed to श but it is also so changed when in contact with letters of च class. Similarly letters of त्त class coming in contact with श or a letter of च class, are changed to च class. The rule of यथासंख्य, however, applies to the substitutes, namely स is changed to श, and तु to चु ॥

1st. स in contact with शः as, वृक्षस् + शेते = वृक्षश्शेते, so also प्लक्षश्शेते ॥

2nd. स in contact with चुः—as, वृक्षस् + चिनोति = वृक्षश्चिनोति, प्लक्षश्चिनोति, वृक्षश्छा-
दयति, प्लक्षश्छादयति ॥

3rd. तु with शः—अग्निचित् + शेते = अग्निश्छेते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with चुः—अग्निचित् + चिनोति = अग्निश्चि चिनोति, so also सोमसुश्चिनोति, अग्निश्छादयति, अग्निश्चिञ्जयति, अग्निश्चिञ् झकारम्, सोमसुच्छादयति, सोमसुञ्जयति, सोमसुञ्जझ-
कारम्, अग्निश्चिञ्जकारः, सोमसुञ्जकारः ॥ Similarly मस्ज् gives मज्जति, the स is changed to द् by झलांजश् झशि VIII. 4. 53, and then this द् is changed to a palatal i. e. to ज् here; and द् obtained by जश् rule is not considered asiddha here. See VIII. 2. 3. So also from भस्ज् we have भज्जति ॥

5th. चकार followed by तकारः as, यज् + न (III. 3. 90) = यज् + ञ् = यज्ञः, याश्च + न = याश्चज्ञा ॥ In fact the instrumental case इचुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and चु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by इचु, or इचु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th.(a) स followed by चु is changed into शः as, भस्ज् + ति = भस्ज् + श + ति (III. I. 77, VI. I. 16) = भस्ज् + ति = भस्ज् + ति = (VIII. 4. 53) = भज्जति ॥ Similarly मस्ज् forms मज्जति, व्रश्च forms वृश्चति ॥

The aphorism शान् (VIII. 4. 44) which prohibits the change of तु into चु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been स्तो शोः इचुः i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

पुना पुः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुना, पुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारतवर्गयोः षकारदवर्गाभ्यां सन्निपाते षकारदवर्गादेशौ भवतः ।

41. The letters स् and dentals in contact with प् and cerebrals, are changed into प् and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with प् as, वृक्षस् + षण्डे = वृक्षष्ण्डे; प्लक्षष्ण्डे ॥

(2) स with ट्, as, वृक्षस + टीकते = वृक्षटीकते, वृक्षष्टकारः, प्लक्षटीकते and प्लक्षष्टकारः ॥

(3) तु with ष as पष् + ता = पेषा, पेषुम्, पेषव्यम्, कृषीष्ट, कृषीष्टाः (Atmane, Aorist 2nd per dual).

(4) तु with ट्, as, अग्निचित् + टीकते = अग्निचिदटीकते, सोमसुदटीकते, अग्निचिट्टकारः, अग्निचिड् डीनः, अग्निचिट्ठीकते, अग्निचिष्णकारः, सोमसुड्डीनः, सोमसुड्डीकते, सोमसुष्णकारः ॥

The root अत् अतिक्रमणहिसयोः, and अद् अभियोगे, are read in the Dhātupāṭha with त् and द् penultimate, in order that when the affix क्विप् is added to them, the final ट and ड being elided by संयोगान्त rule, the derivatives will be अत् and अद् ending in त् and द् ॥ Another reason is that the sūtra VI. 1. 3, should apply to their reduplicate. In these roots the त् and द् are changed, as अट्टति and अड्डति ॥

न पदान्ताद्द्वारनाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, पदान्तात्, टोः, अनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्ताद्द्वर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तोः षुल्वं न भवति नामिलेतद्द्वर्जायित्वा ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनाम्नवतिनगरीणामिति वक्तव्यम् ।

42. After, ट् final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्टु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus श्लिद् + साये = श्लिद्साये, मधुलिद्साये, श्लिद्तरति, मधुलिद्तरति ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईद् + ते = ईद् + टे = ईद्वे ॥

Why do we say टोः 'after ट्'? Observe सर्षिष् + तमम् = सर्षिष्टमम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix nām'? Observe षट् + नाम् = षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vārt.—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवति: ninety-six, and षण्णगरी 'six cities'.

तोः षि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, षि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य षकारे यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ।

43. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, अग्निचित् + षण्डे = अग्निचित्ष्ण्डे ॥ भवान्ष्ण्डे, महान्ष्ण्डे ॥

शात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारादुत्तरस्य तद्वर्गस्य यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ।

44. In the room of **नु** there is not a palatal substitute, when **श** precedes.

The words **न** and **तोः** are understood here. This is an exception to VIII. 4. 40. Thus, प्रच्छ + न (II. 3. 90) = प्रश् + न (VI. 4. 19) = प्रश्नः, विभ्रः &c.

यरोनुनासिकेनुनासिको वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यरः, अनुनासिकं, अनुनासिकः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यरः पदान्तस्यानुनासिके परतो वानुनासिकादेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यरोनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यवचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

45. In the room of a **यर** letter (every consonant except **ह** final) in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word **पदान्त** is understood here. Thus वाक् + नयति = वाग्नयति or वाङ्-नयति, भग्निचिद्नयति or भाग्निचिद्नयति, विष्टुञ्जयति or विष्टुञ्जयति, श्लिण्णयति or श्लिण्णयति ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, वेद् + मि = वेदि ॥ Here there is no option. So also क्षुभ्नाति ॥

Vart :—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus वाक् + मात्रम् = वाङ्मात्रम्, क्रियन्मात्रम् ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मय and मात्र that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal.*

अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, रहाभ्यां, द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उत्तरौ यौ रेकहकारौ ताभ्यामुत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवतः ।

46. There is reduplication of **यर्**, i. e. all the consonants except **ह**, after the letters **र्** and **ह्** following a vowel.

The word **यर्** of last sūtra is understood here. According to others, the **वा** is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus अर्कः, मर्कः, ब्रह्म्ना, अपह्नुते ॥

Why do we say अचः 'following a vowel'? Observe ह्नुते, झलयति ॥

अनञ्चि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, अञ्चि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवतो ऽनञ्चि परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यणो मयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ शरः खयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ अवसाने च यरो द्वे भवतः इति वक्तव्यम् ।

47. When a vowel does not follow, there is reduplication of **थर्** (all the consonants except **ह**), after a vowel.

The words **अचः** and **यरः** are understood here.

Thus शधि + अत्र = दध् + अत्र (VI. 1. 77) = दध् + अत्र दध् + अत्र (VIII. 4. 53) = दध् + अत्र, so also मद्धन् ॥

Why do we say अत्र: "after a vowel?" Observe स्मितम्, स्मातम् ॥

Vārt:—यणो मशो द्वे भवतः ॥ This Vārtika may be interpreted in two ways. First taking यणः as ablative and मशुः as genitive. "The letters of the pratyāhāra मशु are reduplicated after यण् letters." उल्का, बाल्मीकः ॥ Secondly taking यणः as genitive, and मशुः as ablative. "The letters यण् are reduplicated after मशु letters". As दध् + अत्र, मद्धन् ॥

Vārt:—शरः खयो द्वे भवतः ॥ This is also similarly explained in two ways. 1st "There is reduplication of खय् letters, after a sibilant for शर् letters". as स्थाल, स्थ्यात. Secondly. 'There is reduplication of a sibilant (शर् letters), after खय् letters, ss, वत्सरः, अप्सराः ॥

Vārt:—अवसाने च यरो द्वे भवतः ॥ There is reduplication of यर् when a Pause ensues. As वाक्, स्वक्, षट्, तत् &c.

These reduplications are curiosities, rather than practicalities.

नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आदिनी, आक्रोशे, पुत्रस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिनी परत आक्रोशे गम्यमाने पुत्रशब्दस्य न द्वे भवतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्परे चेति वक्तव्यम् । वा० ॥ वा हतजग्धपरइति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ चया द्वितीयाः शरि पौष्करसादेः ।

48. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādinī follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by the last sūtra. Thus पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication takes place. Thus पुत्रादिनी व्याघ्री 'a kind of tigress, that eats up her young ones'. = शिशुमारी व्याघ्री ॥

Vārt:—So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्र पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

Vārt:—Optionally so when the words हत and जग्ध follow. As पुत्रहती or पुत्रहती, पुत्रजग्धी or पुत्रजग्धी ॥

Vārt:—According to the option of Āchārya Paushkarasādi, the letters of चय् pratyāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of शर् pratyāhāra).

As बत्तः becomes वथ्सः अक्षरम् becomes अख्रम् and अप्सरा becomes अफ्सरा ॥

शरोच्चि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्ः, अच्चि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरोच्चि परतो न द्वे भवतः ।

49. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows.

The word न is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule 46 ante. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, आकर्षः, अक्षर्शः ॥

Why do we say अच्चि 'when a vowel follows? Observe इइर्इते ॥

त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु वर्णेषु संयुक्तेषु शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन न भवति ।

50. According to the option of Śākaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः, चन्द्रः, उष्ट्रः, राष्ट्रम्, भ्राष्ट्रम् ॥

सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, शाकल्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्याचार्यस्य मतेन सर्वत्र द्विर्चचनं न भवति ।

51. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, मर्कः, ब्रह्मा, अपह्नवुते ॥

दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, आचार्याणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्याचार्याणां मतेन न भवति ।

52. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As दात्रम्, पात्रम्, सूत्रम्, सूत्रम् ॥

झलां जश्झशि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलाम्, जश्, झशि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां स्थाने जशादेशो भवति झशि परतः ।

53. In the room of झल् letters, there is substitution of जश् letters, when झश् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus लभ् + ता = लब्धा, so also लब्धुम्, लब्धव्यम् ; दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम् ; बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम् ॥

Why do we say झशि, 'when a jhaś follows? Observe दत्तः, दत्थः. दध्मः ॥

अभ्यासे चर्च्च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासे, चर्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासे वर्त्तमानानां झलां चरादेशो भवति चकाराज्जश्च ।

54. The चर् is also the substitute of झल् letters occurring in a reduplicate syllable, as well as जश् ॥

In a reduplicate syllable, a sonant non-aspirate (जश्) as well as a surd non aspirate (चर्) is the substitute of a Mute letter. By applying the rule of

'nearest in place (I. I. 50), we find that sonant non-aspirate (जश्) is the substitute of all sonants; and is the substitute of all surds. In other words all aspirate letters become non-aspirate. The word जश् has been drawn into the sūtra by the word च 'also'.

Thus चिखनिषति ॥ Here सन् (Desiderative), is added to the root खन्, the ख is changed to छ by VII. 4. 62, and this aspirate छ is now changed to non-aspirate by the present sūtra. चिच्छिषति, टिठकारयिषति, तिष्टासति, पिफकारयिषति, वृभूषति, जिघत्सति, डुडौकिषते ॥

If there is चर् (non-aspirate surd) in the original, it will remain of course unchanged. As, चिचीषति, टिटीकिषते, तितनिषति ॥

The original जश् also remains unchanged. Thus जिजनिषति, वुवुधे, ववौ, डिड्ये ॥ Or to be more accurate a चर् is replaced by a चर् and a जश् by a जश् letter.

खरि च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खरि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खरि च परतो झलां चरादेशो भवति ।

55. In the room of झल्, there is the substitute चर्, when खर् follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words झलां and चरः are supplied from the last sūtra. Thus भेद् + ता = भेत्ता, भेत्तुम्, भेत्तव्यम् ; युयुध् + सते = युयुत्सते ; आरिप्सते, आलिप्सते from रभ् and लभ्, the इस् is added by VII. 4. 54, in the room of अ of रभ् and लभ्, and we have रिस्म् and लिस्म् then the first स is elided by VIII. 2. 29.

वावसाने ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अवसाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां चरिति वर्त्तते । अवसाने वर्त्तमानानां झलां वा चरादेशो भवति ।

56. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a झल् that occurs in a Pause.

The words भलां चर् is understood in the sūtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus वाक् or वाग्, स्वक् or स्वग्, श्वलिद् or श्वलिङ्, त्रिष्टुप् or त्रिष्टुब् ॥

अणोप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणः, अप्रगृह्यस्य, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणः अप्रगृह्यस्येत्यावसाने वर्त्तमाने वातुनासिकादेशो भवति ।

57. The anunâsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragrihya.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragrihya (I. I. 11 &c.) The अण् here

is a Pratyâhâra with the first ण् ॥ Thus ह्रिँ or ह्रि, मधुँ or मधु, कुमारीँ or कुमारी ॥

Why do we say 'of an अण् vowel?' Observe, कर्तुँ, हर्तुँ ॥

Why do we say 'which is not a pragrahya'? Observe अग्नी, वायू which are pragrahya by I. 1. 11.

अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुस्वारस्य, ययि, परसवर्णः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुस्वारस्य ययि परतः परसवर्ण आदेशो भवति ।

58. In the room of anusvâra, when यय् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus शङ्किता, शङ्कितुम्, शङ्कितव्यम्, उञ्छिता, कुण्डिता, नन्दिता, कम्पिता &c. These are from roots शक्ति शङ्कायाम्, उञ्छि उञ्छे, कुण्डि कुण्डे, दुनदि सप्तद्वौ, कपि चलने ॥ Here नुम् is added because they are उदित्, and this न् becomes anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24, and this anusvâra is changed to ङ् when followed by a guttural क् &c, to म् when followed by a palatal च् &c, and so on to ण्, न् and स् ॥

Why do we say when यय् follows? Observe आक्रंस्यते, आचिक्रंस्यते ॥

In कुर्वन्ति, वृषन्ति, the न is not changed into ण, though required by VIII. 4. 2. Because the ण्व is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24, the न is first changed into anusvâra (VIII. 2. 1). That anusvâra is again changed into न् by the present rule, न् being homogeneous with त् ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1), the ण is never substituted for न ॥

वा पदान्तस्य ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, पदान्तस्य ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तस्यानुस्वारस्य ययि परतो वा परसवर्णदेशो भवति ।

59. In the room of anusvâra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus तं कथं चित्रपक्षं डयमानं नभःस्थं पुरुषोऽवधीत् or तङ्कथञ्चित्रपक्षण्डयमानन्नभःस्थम्पुरुषोऽवधीत् ॥

तोर्लि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, लि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य लकारे परतः परसवर्णदेशो भवति ।

60. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अग्निचित् + लुनाति = अग्निचिल्लुनाति, सोमसुल्लुनाति; भवान् + लुनाति = भवॉल्लुनाति, महॉल्लुनाति ॥ Here त् has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal न् is changed to a nasal लँ ॥

उद्ः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्ः, स्था स्तम्भोः, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् उत्तरयोः स्था स्तम्भ इत्येतयोः पूर्वसवर्णदेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ उद्ः पूर्वसवर्णस्ये स्कन्देऽल्लन्स्त्थुपसंख्यानम् ।

वा० ॥ रोगे चेति वक्तव्यम् ।

61. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this स) ॥

As उद् + स्थाता = उद् + थ्याता = उद् + याता (VIII. 4. 65) = उन् + याता (VIII. 4. 55) = उन्थाता, उन्थातुम्, उन्थातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भ्, as, उत्तम्भता, उत्तम्भतुम् &c. (See I. 1. 67 and 54).

Why do we say of स्या and स्तम्भ? Compare उन्त्नात ॥

Vårt:—In the Vedas, the above substitution takes place in the case of स्कन्ध preceded by उद् ॥ As, अग्ने वृरुस्कन्धः ॥

Vårt:—So also when it means a disease. As उस्कन्धो नाम रोगः ॥ Or this form may have been derived from the root कन्ध्, and not स्कन्ध् ॥

झयो होन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ झयः, हः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झय उत्तरस्य हकारस्य पूर्वसवर्णादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

62. In the room of the letter ह्, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyâhâra झय् includes *all* Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here.

As वाक् + हसति = वाग्घसति or वाग् हसति, श्वलिङ् ढसति or हसति, अग्निचिद् धसति or हसति, त्रिष्टुब् भसति or हसति, सोमधुद् धसति or सोमसुद् हसति ॥

Why do we say झयः 'after a sonant Mute?' Observe प्राङ् हसति, भवान् हसति ॥

शङ्छोष्टि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शः, छः, अटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झय इति वर्त्तते । अन्यतरस्यामिति च । झय उत्तरस्य शकारस्याटि परतड्कारादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्वममीति वक्तव्यम् ।

63. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter छ् when a vowel or य, व or र follows such श ॥

Though झय् means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words झय् and अन्यतरस्यां are to be read into the sūtra. Thus वाक् + शेते = वाक्छते or शेते ॥ अग्निचिच्छते or अग्निचित् शेते, श्वलिद् शेते or छते, त्रिष्टुप्छते or शेते ॥

Vårt:—It should rather be stated when a letter of अम् pratyâhâra follows. The sūtra only gives अद् letters, the vârtika adds the letters ल्, and the nasals. Thus तन् श्लोकान् = तच् छ्लोकान्, तच्छमश्रुणा ॥

ह्लो यमां यमि लोपः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, यमाम्, यमि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरेषां यमां यमि परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

64. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

The word अन्यतरस्याम् should be read into the sūtra. Thus शय्या or शय्या, the middle य् being elided. In शय्या there are two यs, one of the affix वयप् (III. 3. 99); and the second of अयङ् (VII. 4. 22), and the third arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47). आदित्य (formed by doubling य् by the Vārtika under 47 ante), or आदित्य 'son of Aditi' In आदित्य there are two यs, one of ण्य (IV. 1. 85), and the second arises by doubling.

Similarly आदित्य देवता अस्य स्थाली पाकस्य = आदित्यः ॥ Then by VIII. 4. 47, there is a third य, as आदित्यः ॥ Here also we may elide the one middle य or both the middle य's. Thus आदित्यः or आदित्यः ॥

Why do we say हलः 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe अन्नम् when न् is preceded by a vowel.

Why do we say यमाम् "of यम् letters"? Observe अग्निः, अर्घ्यम् (V. 4. 25) where ष is not a यम् ॥

Why do we say यमिं "when यम् follows"? Observe शार्ङ्गम् here ह् is not followed by a यम् ॥

झरो झरि सवर्णे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ झरः, झरि, सवर्णे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य झरो झरि सवर्णे परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

65. A Mute or Sibilant (झर्) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

The word हलः is understood. Thus प्रतृत्तम्, अवरुत्तम् have three त, namely, one त substituted for आ by VII. 4. 47, the second त resulting from the change of द् to त by चर्त्त्व change, the third त is that of the affix. A fourth arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47) of these four, one or two middle ones may be dropped. मरुत्तत्त here are four त्स. A fifth may be added by doubling, and by this rule, one, two or three of them may be elided. मरुत् + दा + क्त = मरुत् + दत् + त (VII. 4. 47) the word मरुत् being treated as an Upasarga (I. 4. 59, vārt) = मरुत्तत्त ॥

Why do we say झरः 'of a jhar'? Compare शार्ङ्गम्, here ङ् which is not a झर् is not elided, though it is followed by a झर् letter. Why do we say झरि 'followed by a jhar'? See प्रियपञ्चः ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi compound = प्रियाः पञ्चास्य ॥ The word प्रिय stands first in the compound under II. 2. 35. (vārt). The full word is प्रियापञ्चन्, the ञ् is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we have प्रियपञ्चन्; and then this न् becomes a palatal ञ् ॥ Here ञ् is preceded by a हल् letter, and itself is a झर्, and is followed by a homogeneous

letter **ञ्**, but as **ञ्** is not **झर्**, the **च्** is not elided. The elided **ञ** is not considered sthânavat, and so **च्** is considered to be *immediately* followed by **ञ्** ॥

Why do we say **सवर्णे** 'when a homogeneous jhar follows'? Observe **तर्तुं, तर्तम् &c.**, where **प्** and **त्** are not homogeneous.

By using the word **सवर्णे**, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) is avoided. Had the rule been **झरो झरि** 'the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration would have applied, and the forms **शिण्डि पिण्डि** could not have been evolved by the elision of **ड** before **ढ** ॥ For the evolution of these forms see the commentary under I. 1. 58. These are the Imperative 2nd Person Singular of **शिष्** and **पिष्** ॥ The **ञ** of **अम्** is elided by VI. 4. 111: the **हि** is changed to **धि** by VI. 4. 101, the **ष्** is changed to **ड्** by VIII. 4. 53, the **न्** of **अम्** is changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24; this anusvâra is again changed to **ण्** by VIII. 4. 58; the **ध** is changed to **ढ**, and by the present rule, the preceding **ड्** is elided before this **ढ** ॥

उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्तात्, अनुदात्तस्य, स्वरितः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तादुत्तरस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरितादेशो भवति ।

66. The Svarita is the substitute of an Anudâtta vowel which follows an Udâtta vowel.

Thus **अग्निम् + ईले = अग्निमीले** ॥ Here **ई** which was **अनुदात्त** by rule VIII. 1. 28, becomes svarita by the present rule, as it comes after the udâtta **इ** of **अग्नि**.

So also **गार्ग्यः, वैस्त्र्यः** ॥ Here **यञ्** is added by IV. 1. 105, and being **ञिन्** the words are first acute. The final is anudâtta, which becomes svarita. So also **वैचति** and **वैडति**, the **ज्ञप्** and **तिप्** are anudâtta, the root is accented, the **अ** of **ज्ञप्** becomes svarita.

The rule VI. 1. 158, does not change this svarita into an Anudâtta, because for the purposes of that rule, the present rule is **असिद्ध**, or as if it had not taken place (VIII. 2. 1). Therefore both the udâtta and the svarita accent are heard.

नोदात्तस्वरितोदयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्त-स्वरित-उदयम्, अ-गार्ग्य-काश्यप-गालवानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोदयस्य स्वरितोदयस्य चानुदात्तस्य स्वरितो न भवति अगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥ उदात्तोदयः = उदात्तपरः ।

67 All prohibit the above substitution of svarita, except the **Âchâryâs Gârgya, Kâśyapa** and **Gâlava**; when an udâtta or a svarita follows the anudâtta.

This debars the preceding rule. That anudâtta which is *followed* by an Udâtta is **उदात्तोदयः** or **उदात्तपरः** ॥ The word **उदय** means **पर** in the terminology of ancient Grammarians. That anudâtta which is *followed* by a svarita is called **स्वरितोदयः** ॥ These are Bahuvrîhi compounds. Thus **उदात्तोदयः—गार्ग्य-**

स्तत्र, वीक्ष्य स्तत्र ॥ The word तत्र is first acute by लिन् accent, before this udatta, the य of these words does not become svarita. So with स्वरितोद्यः—गार्ग्यः कृः वीक्ष्यः कृः ॥ The word कृ is svarita being formed by the लिन् affix अन् (V. 3. 12); before this svarita the preceding य does not become svarita.

Why do we say “except in the opinion of Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava”? Observe गार्ग्यः कृः, गार्ग्यस्तत्र ॥ According to their opinion, the svarita change does take place.

The employment of the longer word उद्य instead of the shorter word पर is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the Book has approached the end. The very utterance of the word उद्य is auspicious. All sacred works commence with an auspicious word, have an auspicious word in the middle, and end with an auspicious word. Thus Pāṇini commences his sūtra with the auspicious word वृद्धिः ‘increase’ (in Sūtra I. 1. 1): has the word शिव ‘the well-wisher’ in the middle (IV. 4. 143), and उद्य at the end.

The mention of the names of those several Āchāryas is for the sake of showing respect (pujārtham).

अ अ इति ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, अ, इति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकोत्र विवृतो ऽपरः संवृतस्तत्र विवृतस्य संवृतः क्रियते । अकारो विवृतः संवृतो भवति ।

68. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ “In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*; but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneousness* mentioned in I. 1. 9, would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Aṣṭādhyāyī, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise”. (Dr. Ballantyne).

Thus वृक्षः, वृक्षः ॥ In this Grammar, the अ is regarded open or विवृत, when operations are performed with it: but in actual pronunciation it is contracted. The long आ and the pluta आ ३ are not meant to be included here in the open short अ; therefore those two are not contracted by this rule. Only

the *short* अ consisting of *one* mātra, with *its* various modifications is to be taken here. In other words the *six* shorts अ are only taken here, namely अ, अ, अ, अ, अ, अ ॥ For these six short open अस, there are substituted six contracted corresponding अ's See I. 1. 9.

॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ '

10. 10. 98.



THE
SIDDHANTA KĀUMUDĪ

OF

BHATTOJĪ DIKSHITA,

TRANSLATED AND EDITED INTO ENGLISH

BY

ŚRIŚA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.

VOL. III.

VAIDIC GRAMMAR.

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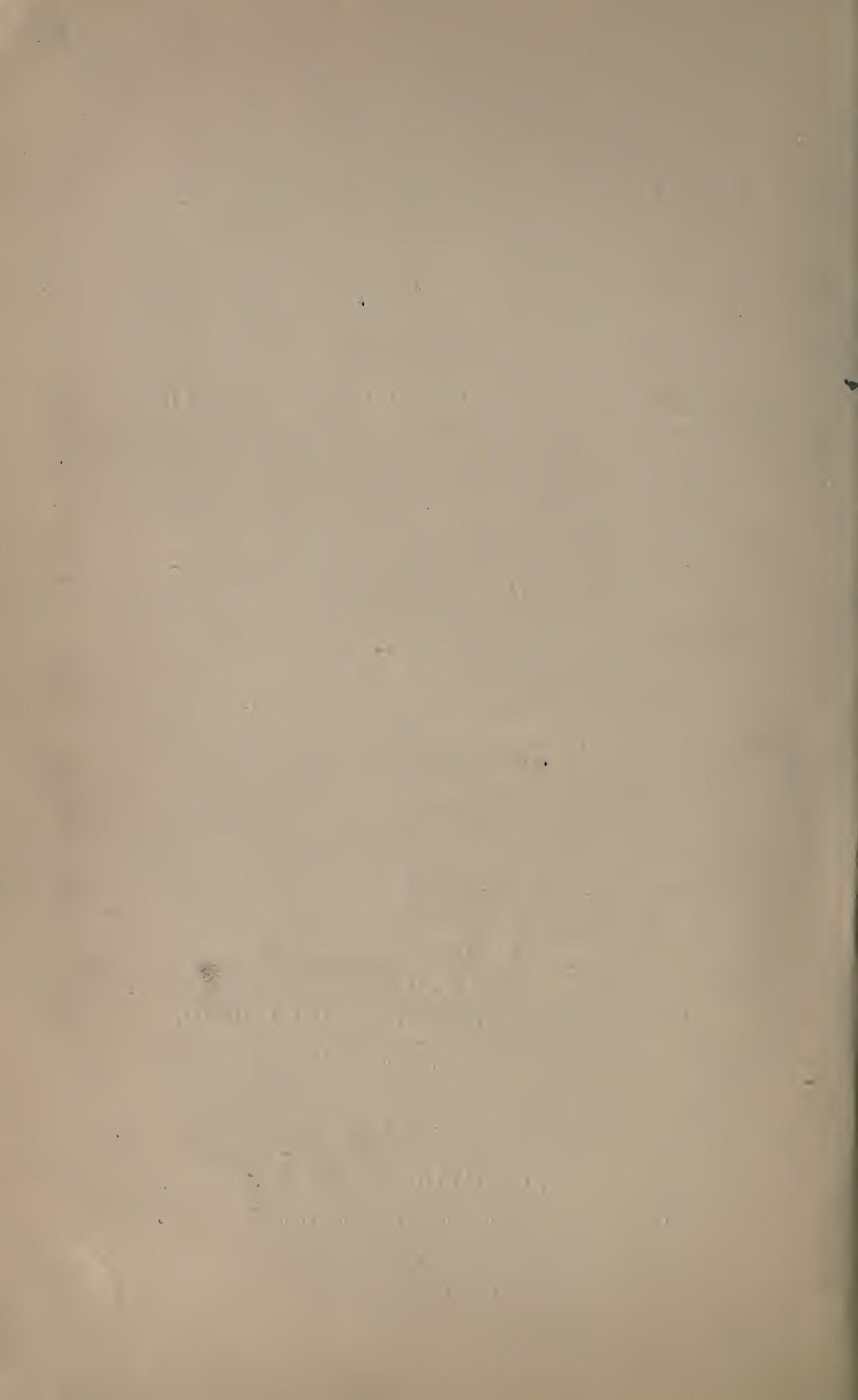
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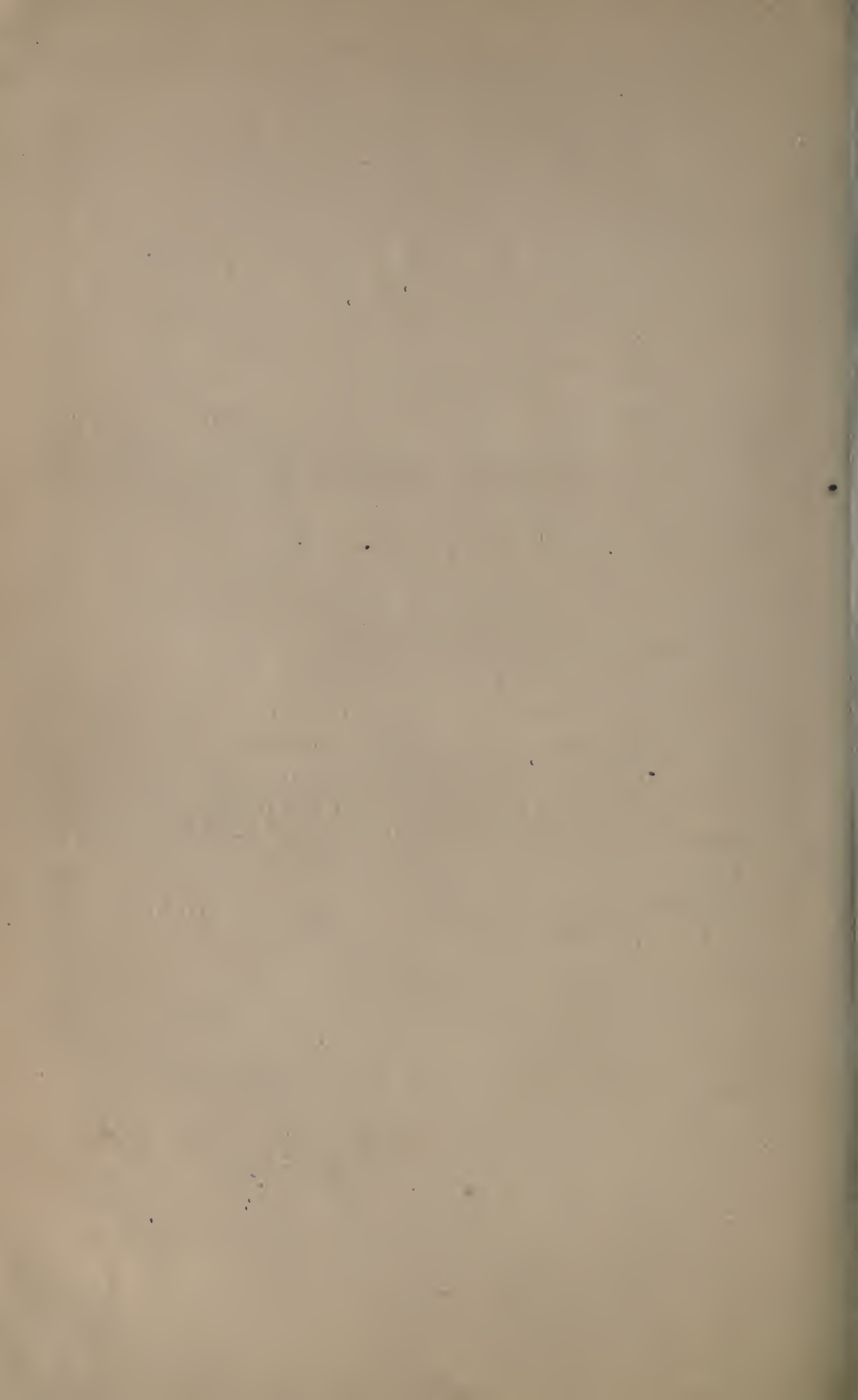
FOREWORD.

We are glad to present our subscribers the third volume of the Siddhânta Kaumudi. We had hoped to send also the second volume of the same along with it, if not earlier, but the press to which we gave the work more than two years ago for printing, showed the utmost want of sense of duty and businesslike capacity, for they have not printed more than 80 pages during all this time. Now that Messrs. E. J. Lazarus & Co. have undertaken to print also the second volume, after having so quickly printed the present, we hope to publish the remaining portion of the work by the end of this year. Our thanks are specially due to the Manager, E. J. Lazarus & Co., Medical Hall Press, Allahabad Branch, for the great interest and trouble he has taken in pushing the work through the press. We trust the remaining portion of the work under his management will be out soon.

ALLAHBAD :

S. N. V.

The 1st July, 1905.





THE SIDDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ.

VOLUME III.

वैदिकी प्रक्रिया ।

प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

THE VAIDIC GRAMMAR.

CHAPTER I.

In this volume Bhattoji Dikshita has collected together all the sūtras of Pāṇini which are peculiar to the Vedas. He has arranged them in eight Adhyāyas in the order as they are found in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The first chapter contains all those sūtras which occur in the First Book of Pāṇini.

३३८७ । कृन्दसि पुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनम् । १ । २ । ६१ ।

द्वयोरेकवचनं वा स्यात् । पुनर्वसुर्नक्षत्रं पुनर्वसू वा । लोके तु द्विवचनमेव ।

3387. In the Vedas, the two stars, Punarvasū, may optionally be singular, (and connote a dual).

In the Vedas, the star *punarvasū* which is always *dual* in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As पुनर्वसुर्नक्षत्रं or पुनर्वसू नक्षत्रमर्दितद्वैवता ॥ The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in the secular literature. In the latter, it must be in the dual as, गां गताखिव दिवः पुनर्वसू ॥ Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option. As पुनर्वसू माणवको.

३३८८ । विशाखयोश्च । १ । २ । ६२ ।

प्राग्वत् । विशाखा नक्षत्रम् । विशाखे वा ।

3388. In the Vedas, the two stars Viśākhā may optionally be in the singular number.

The word विशाखा is in the dual number as a rule. In the Vedas, it is found sometimes to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus विशाखा नक्षत्रम् or विशाखे नक्षत्रमिन्द्राग्नी देवता ॥

३३८९। षष्ठीयुक्तश्चन्दसि वा । १ । ४ । ९ ।

षष्ठ्यन्तेन युक्तः पतिशब्दश्चन्दसि घिसंज्ञो वा स्यात् । “ क्षेत्रस्य पतिना वयम् ” । इह वेति योमं विभज्य ऋटसीत्यनुवर्तते । तेन सर्वं विधयश्चन्दसि वैकल्पिकाः । “ बहुलं चन्दसि ” इत्यर्थादिरस्यैव प्रपंचः । “ यच्च भम् ” । नभोऽङ्घ्रिरोमनुषां वत्युपसंख्यानम् । + । नभसा तुल्यं नभस्वत् । भत्वाद् रुत्वाभावः । अङ्घ्रिस्वर्दाङ्घ्रिः । “ मनुष्वङ्घ्रिः ” । “ जनेऽसि ” इति त्रिद्वित उचितप्रत्ययो मनेरपि बाहुलकात् । वृषन् वस्वश्वयोः । + । वृषन्वृकं वसु यम्य स वृषणवसुः । वृषा अश्वो यन्मां वृषणश्वः । इहान्तर्वर्तिनीं विभक्तिमश्रित्य पदत्वे सति नलोपः प्राप्तो भत्वाद्वाऽर्थात्ते । अतएव “ पदान्तस्य ” इति शास्त्रनिषेधोऽपि न । “ अल्लोपोऽनः ” इति अल्लोपो न । अनङ्गत्वात् ।

3389. The word pati when used in connection with a noun ending in the sixth (or genitive) case is ghi, optionally, in the Chhandas (Veda).

The word pati is understood in this sūtra from the sūtra patiḥ sanāse eva (I 4. 8. S. 257). By that sūtra, pati would have been ghi only in composition. This sūtra makes an exception to that, when this word occurs in the Vaidic literature. Thus क्षेत्रस्य पतिना वयम् (Rig Veda. IV. 57. 1.)

This sūtra may be divided into two, (1) śhaṣṭhī yuktaśchhandasi (2) vā. In the latter we shall read the annuvṛitti of chhandasi. The sūtra will then mean:—(1) In the Chhandas the word pati is ghi when used in connection with a word in the sixth case. (2) In the Chhandas there is option. Thus this second rule would make all rules optional in the Vedas. In fact, the bahulam chhandasi, which recurs so often in Pāṇini would become but a special case of this universal rule vā chhandasi.

Note:—The word pati being treated as ghi, takes nā in the Instrumental by VII. 3. 120. S. 214.

Note:—कुलुञ्चानां पतये or पत्ये नमः salutation to the lord of the Kulunchas.

Why do we say ‘when used in connection with a noun in the genitive case’? Observe मया पत्या जरदृष्टिर्व्यथः ।

Why do we say ‘in the Chhandas’? Observe वामस्य पत्ये ।

Here we repeat the sūtra यच्चिभम् S. 231, for the purposes of certain vārtikas which apply to the Vedas.

३३८९ क । यच्चिभम् । १ । ४ । १८ ।

3389A. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with सु and ending in क, follows, not being Sarvanāmasthāna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

The word यच्चि is in the 7th case meaning ‘when य् or अच् follows,’ and by the last Vārt. of Sūtra I. 1. 72, it means; ‘when an affix beginning with ya or ach follow.’

Vārtika:—The words नभस्, अङ्घ्रिस् and मनुष् should be treated as Bha when the affix वत् (V. 1. 115. S. 1778) follows. Thus नभस्वत् ‘like the sky.’ अङ्घ्रिस्वत् ‘like the Angiras.’ मनुष्वत् ‘like the man.’ By being Bha, the स् is not changed into र् which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66 S. 162.)

The word मनुस् is formed by the affix उस् of the Unāli sūtra (II. 115) janerusi, by being diversely applied to √मन. The word मनुस् being treated as bha, the sūtra VIII 3, 59, S. 212 applies, and स is changed to ष ।

Vārt:—The word वृषन् is treated as Bha in the Vedas when the words वसु and अश्व follow. Thus वृषयवसुः वृषणश्वस्य मेने. Here had the word vṛshan been treated as pada, the न would not have been changed into ण (VIII. 4. 37. S. 198) ; and this न would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. Nor does the sūtra VI. 4. 134, S. 234 apply, because the word is not an aiga.

In secular language the forms are वृषयसुः and वृषाश्वः ।

३३९० । अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि । १ । ४ । २० ।

एतानि छन्दसि साधूनि । भवदसंज्ञाधिकाराद्यथायोगं संज्ञाद्वयं बोध्यम् । तथा च वार्तिकम् । उभयसंज्ञान्यपीति वक्तव्यमिति । + । “ स सुष्टुभास ऋकृता गणैः ” । पठत्यात् कुत्वञ्च । भत्वाज्जभत्वाभावः । जभत्वविधानार्थायाः पदसंज्ञायाः भत्वसामर्थ्येन बाधात् । “ नैनं हिन्वन्त्यपि वाजिनेषु ” । अत्र पठत्वाद् जभत्वम् । भत्वात् कुत्वाभावः । “ ते प्राग्धातोः ” ।

3390. The words like ayasmaya &c., are valid forms in the Chhandas (Veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to Pada and Bha show that they have been properly formed in the Chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and Pada.

Thus we have the following Vārtika—

Vārt:—It should be stated that in some places both these Pada and Bha designations apply simultaneously. Thus in the word ऋकृत् formed by ऋच् + वृत् the च् is first changed into क् by treating the word rich as a Pada. Then the word ऋक् is treated as Bha, and therefore the क् is not changed into ग् before वृत्. For had it been Pada, the form would have been ऋवृत् ‘Rigvat.’ These irregularly formed words occur only in the Chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus स सुष्टुभास ऋकृता गणैः (Rig Veda IV. 50. 5)

Similarly in the sentence नैनं हिन्वन्त्यपि वाजिनेषु (Rig Veda X. 71. 5) the word वाजिन is formed from वाच् + इन (=वाचां इनः ‘lord or master of speech’). Here वाच् being treated as a Pada, the च् is changed to j ; and then being treated as a Bha, the j is not changed to a guttural. Similarly अयस् + मय = अयस्मय ‘made of iron.’ Here the word अयस् is treated as Bha and hence the स is not changed into र. Thus अयस्मयं वर्म ‘iron-made coat of mail.’ अयस्मयानि पात्राणि ‘iron vessels.’ The present form of this word is अयोमयं ।

Now we repeat the sūtra I. 4, 80, S. 2230, for the purpose of showing its exception in the Vedas.

ते प्राग्धातोः । १ । ४ । २० ।

3390A. The particles called gati and upasarga are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are prefixes).

३३९१ । छन्दसि परेषुपि । १ । ४ । २१ ।

3391. In the Chhandas (Veda) these gati and upasarga are employed indifferently after the verbal root, as well as before it.

As वायविन्द्रश्च सुन्वत आयातमुपनिष्कतम् ॥ मच्चित्या धिया नरा (Rig. I. 2. 6).
In this we have आयातमुप instead of उपायातम् 'Vāyu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the Soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.'

३३९२ । व्यवहिताश्च । १ । ४ । ८२ ।

'हरिभ्यां याह्लोक आ' 'आ मन्त्रे रिन्द्र हरिभिर्याहि' ।

3392. In the Chhandas (Veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As हरिभ्यां याह्लोक आ (for हरिभ्यां आयाहि श्लोकः).

Here आ is separated from the word याहि by the intervening word श्लोक. So also in the sentence आ मन्त्रे रिन्द्र हरिभिर्याहि मयूर रोमभिः (Rig Veda III. 41. 1), "O Indra! come (आ याहि) on horses (हरि) which are spirited (मन्त्रेः=सादयितृभिः) and color of peacock's feather."

३३९३ । इन्धि-भवतिभ्यां च । १ । २ । ६ ।

आभ्यां परे ऽपि लिट् कित् । 'समीधे दस्यु हन्तमम्' । 'पुत्र ईधे अथर्वणः' । बभूव । इदं प्रत्याख्यातम् । 'इन्धेऽहन्दीधिपयत्वाद्भुवो वुको नित्यत्वात् ताभ्यां लिट्ः कित् च नानार्थकम्' इति । इति वैदिकप्रकरणे प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

3393. The Lit. or Perfect Tense affixes after the roots indh 'to kindle,' and bhū, 'to become,' also are kit.

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित् । These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root इन्धि ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by sūtra I. 2. 5. S. 2242, and the root भू is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित् after भू, not excepting the पित् terminations. Thus the verbs समीधे and ईधे are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root इन्ध् as in the following examples:—समीधे दस्युहन्तमम्, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and पुत्र ईधे अथर्वणः, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14), Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित् ॥ Similarly from the root भू, we have बभूव, बभूविथ ॥

This sūtra is considered unnecessary by Patañjali the author of Mahā-bhāṣya, who says "we could have done without this sūtra. Because the direct application of Perfect affixes to √इन्धि is confined only to the Vedas, while in the secular literature the Perfect will be formed by आम् as इन्ध्यां चकार; and so its conjugation would have been irregular, by Vaidic license (III. 4. 117. S. 3435). While भू always takes the augment वुक् in the Perfect, for after bhū, the वुक् comes invariably whether there be guṇa or there be not guṇa. So there is no necessity of saying that the Perfect affixes are कित् after these two roots."

CHAPTER. II.

३३९४ । तृतीया च होश्छन्दसि । २ । ३ । ३ ।

जुहोतेः कर्मणि तृतीया स्याद् द्वितीया च । 'यवाग्वा अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति' । अग्निहोत्र-शब्दोऽत्र हविषि वर्तते । 'यस्याग्निहोत्रसिधिश्रतममेध्यमापद्यते' इत्यादिप्रयोगदर्शनात् । अग्नये हूयते । इति व्युत्पत्तेश्च । यवाग्वाख्यं हविर्देवतोऽर्थेन त्यक्त्वा प्रतिपतोत्यर्थः ।

3394. In the Chhandas (Veda), the object of the verb हु 'to sacrifice,' takes the affix of the third case, and of the second as well.

This ordains the third case-affix; and by force of the word च 'and', the second case-affix is also employed: as यवाग्वाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति ।

Here यवाग्वा is in the Instrumental case, though it is the object of sacrifice. The word अग्निहोत्र here means "the oblation," for we find it used in this sense in sentences like this:—यस्याग्निहोत्रसंधिभ्रतसमेध्यमापद्यते । &c. The word agnihotra when in this sense, should be analysed as अग्नये हूयते "that which is sacrificed in honor of, or for the sake of Agni—i. e., an oblation." The sentence यवाग्वाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति therefore means "he throws (into the fire) the oblation called yavâgû, offering it in honor of the deity."

Note:—In the above example yavâgû is in 3rd case and agnihotra in the 2nd case. In this case the latter word means हविः or oblation. The verb जुहोति in this connection means प्रक्षिपति ॥ The whole sentence means "the oblation in the shape of yavâgû, he throws (into the fire)." Though the two words yavâgû and agnihotra are in different cases, yet they are syntactically one, and refer to one and the same object.

But this sâtra is considered unnecessary by Patanjali. According to him the word agnihotra in the above example means simply "agni or fire." As we find it used in the sentence यस्याग्निहोत्रं प्रक्वलितम् ॥

The word agnihotra, when meaning fire, is analysed as हूयते ऽस्मिन् "Agni in which sacrifice is poured" or, "sacrificial fire."

Therefore, when the example is यवाग्वा अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति, then agnihotra being equivalent to Agni, juhoti means priṇana or satisfaction. The whole sentence means यवाग्वा अग्निं प्रीणयति "he propitiates fire with yavâgû (barley)."

But when the sentence is यवागू अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति, both words being in the 2nd case, then agnihotra means havis or oblation, and juhoti means prakshepana, i. e., "he throws the yavâgû oblation (into the fire)" i. e., he throws into the fire the materials of oblations called yavâgû.

३३९५ । द्वितीया ब्राह्मणे । २ । ३ । ६० ।

ब्राह्मणविषये प्रयोगे दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि द्वितीया स्यात् । पठ्यपवादः । 'गामस्य तदहः सभायां दीव्येयुः' ।

3395. The object of the verb दिव् in the sense of 'dealing or 'staking,' takes the second case-affix, in the Brâhmaṇa literature.

This debars the Genitive case required by II. 3. 59. S. 620. Ex. गामस्य तदहः सभायां दीव्येयुः (Maitr. S. 1. 6. 11) In the Vedic literature, the simple verb दिव् takes the accusative, instead of the genitive. When, however, the root दिव् takes an upasarga, then it may optionally govern the genitive also, by II. 3. 59 S. 620.

३३९६ । चतुर्थ्यर्थे बहुलं कृन्दसि । २ । ३ । ६२ ।

पठ्ठी स्यात् । 'पुरुषमगश्चन्द्रमसे' । 'गोधा कालका दावाघाटस्ते वनस्पतीनाम्' वनस्पतिभ्य इत्यर्थः । पठ्ठर्थं चतुर्थीति वीच्यम् । + । 'या खर्वेण पिबति तस्ये खर्वः' ।

3396. In the Chhandas the sixth case-affix is employed diversely with the force of the fourth case-affix.

Ex. पुरुषमगश्चन्द्रमसः or चन्द्रमसे 'to the moon, a male deer.' गोधा कालका दावा घाटस्ते वनस्पतीनाम् or वनस्पतिभ्यः 'to you lords of the forest, are lizard, kálaka bird, &c.' So also वायुरस्म उपा मन्यत् (R. Ved. X. 136. 7).

Vart:—In the Veda, the 4th case affix is employed in the sense of the sixth: as या खर्वेण पिबति तस्ये खर्वोजायते 'whosoever woman drinks with a woman in her courses, gets herself in menstrual.'

३३९७ । यज्ञेश्च करणे । २ । ३ । ६३ ।

इह ह्रन्दि बहूलं पठ्ठी । घृतस्य घृतेन वा यजते ।

3397. The sixth case-affix is diversely employed in the Chhandas in denoting the instrument of the verb यज् 'to sacrifice.'

Ex. घृतस्य or घृतेन यजते 'he sacrifices with butter.'

३३९८ । बहुलं ह्रन्दि । २ । ४ । ३९ ।

अदो घस्तादिशः स्यात् । घस्तां नूनम् । लुङि "मन्त्रे घस" इति स्लेर्लुक् । अडभावः । सगिधश्च मे ।

3398. In the Chhandas (Vedas), घस्त् is diversely substituted for अद् ।

As घस्तां नूनम् ।

The words अद् and घस्त् are to be supplied in this sūtra from II. 4. 36. S. 3080, and II. 4. 37. S. 2427. घस्ताम् is the Aorist form of अद्; the Aorist sign च्ति is elided by II. 4. 80. S. 3403. The augment अद् is not added, because of VI. 4. 74. S. 2228, read with the बहुलं of this sūtra.

But the form घस्ताम् could have been obtained by II. 4. 37. S. 2427 also, for that sūtra also ordains घस् substitution for अद् । The proper example, under the present sūtra is not घस्ताम् ॥ Hence the other example सगिधः (Yajur Veda, Vaj S. XVIII. 9), which is free from this objection. The word गिधः = अदंनं "eating." सगिधः "companion in eating." It is formed by adding the affix क्तिन् (ति) to the अद्; as अद् + क्तिन्; then अद् is replaced by घस् by the present sūtra. Thus घस् + ति ॥ Then the penultimate अ of घस् is elided by VI. 4. 100. S. 3550, as घस् + ति ॥ Then स् is elided by VIII. 2. 26. S. 2281, as घ् + ति. Then त् is changed to घ् by VIII. 2. 40. S. 2280. Thus घ् + धि. Then घ् is changed to ग् by VIII. 4. 53. S. 52. The घ् is considered here as immediately in contact with घ् though technically speaking there is an elided अ between घ् and घ् ॥ But this zero is not sthānivat, because VIII. 4. 53, is a जश्त्व rule; and the zero âdes is not sthānivat for the purposes of जश्त्व rule (I. 1. 58. S. 51). Thus we get गिधः; which with स, a shortened form of समान (VI. 3. 84. S. 1012), gives us सगिधः ॥

३३९९ । हेमन्तशिशिरावहारत्रि च च्छन्दसि । २ । ४ । २८ ।

दृढः पूर्ववलिङ्गः । हेमन्तश्च शिशिरश्च हेमन्तशिशिरी । अहारत्रि । 'अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः अघः'

3399. Of the compounds 'hemantaśisirau' and 'ahorātre' the gender is like that of the first word, in the Chhandas. (Vedas).

This aphorism debars the general rule given in II. 4. 26. S. 812.

Similarly though the vikaraṇa शप् is ordained by II. 4. 72 S. 2423, to be elided after the roots of the Adādi class, yet by Vaidic diversity it is sometimes not so elided; as taught in the next sūtra.

३४०० । बहुलं कन्दति । २ । ४ । ७३ ।

“ वृत्रं हनति वृत्रहा ” । “ अहिः शयत उपरुक् पृथिव्याः ” अत्र लुक् न । अदादिभिरेऽपि क्वचिल्लुक् । “ त्राश्वं नो देवाः ” । “ जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः ”

3400. In the Chhandas (Vedas) there is diversely the luk-elision of the Vikaraṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

There is elision in other conjugations than Adādi: and there is sometimes even no elision in Adādi verbs. As वृत्रं हनति वृत्रहा 'the Vṛitra-Killer kills Vṛitra.' हन् + शप् + ति = हनति instead of हन्ति । So also, अहिः शयत उपरुक् पृथिव्याः, here शयते instead of शेते (Rig. Veda I. 32. 5.) "The Dragon lies low on earth." In these cases the Vikaraṇa शप् has not been elided.

In some cases the शप् is elided even in conjugations other than Adādi, as त्राश्वम् नो देवाः निजुरः वृकस्य (Rig Veda II. 29. 6.) "Protect us, God, let not the wolf destroy us." instead of त्राश्वाम् ।

Similarly श्लु elision of the vikaraṇa is required by II. 4. 75. S. 2489, in Juhotyāli class. But to this also, there is exception in the Vedas: as shown in the following sūtra.

३४०१ । बहुलं कन्दसि । २ । ४ । ७६ ।

“ दाति प्रियाणि चिद्वसु ” । अन्यत्रापि । “ पूर्णां विवष्टि ” ।

3401. In the Chhandas there is ślu-elision of शप् diversely.

The elision does not take place where ordained, and takes place where not ordained. दाति प्रियाणि (instead of ददाति) चिद्वसु (Rig Veda IV. 8. 3) "he gives even treasures that we love." See also Rig Veda I. 65, 4; VI. 24. 2; VII. 15. 12; VII. 42. 4.

Similarly the ślu-elision with its accompanying reduplication takes place in roots other than those of the Juhotyudi class. Thus देवो वो द्रविणोदाः पूर्णां विवष्ट्यासिवम् "The God who gives your wealth demands a full libation poured to him." (Rig Veda VII 16. 11). Here विवष्टि is from the √ व्रश् "to shine." It belongs to the Adādi class, but takes ślu elision. Hence वश् + शप् + ति = वश् + श्लु + ति = वश् वश् + ० + ति (VI. 1. 10. S. 2490) = विवश् + ति (the अ is changed to इ by VII. 4. 76. S. 2490, read with the bahulam chhandasi) = विवष् = ति (VIII. 2. 36 S. 294) = विवष्टि (VIII. 4. 41. S. 26).

३४०५ । मन्त्रे घसह्वरणशवृदहादृच् कृर्गामजनिभ्यो लेः । २ । ४ । ८० ।

लिरिति च्लेः प्राचां संज्ञा । एभ्यो लेर्लुक् स्यात् मन्त्रे । “ अन्नत्रमीमदन्त हि ” । घस्वा देशस्य 'गमहन' इत्युपधालोपे शासिवसीति घः । “ माहूर्मित्रस्य ” “ धूर्तिः प्रणङ्मर्त्यस्य ” ।

‘नशेर्वा’ इति कुत्वम् । “सुरुचो वेन आवः” । “मा न आधक्” । आत् इत्याकारान्तानां यङ्णम् । “आप्रा द्यावापृथिवी” । “परावर्गभारभृद्यथा” । “अक्रजुपासः” । “त्वे रयिं जगुवांसे अनुगमन्” । मंत्रप्रदयं ब्राह्मणस्याप्युषलक्षणम् । “अजत वा अस्य दन्ताः” । विभाषानुवृत्तं नैव । “न ता अगभ्याञ्चजनिष्टुहि सः” ।

इति वैदिकप्रकरणे द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ।

3402. In the Mantra portion of the Vedas there is elision of the sign of the Aorist (and Perfect), after the verbs घस् ‘to eat,’ हूर ‘to be crooked,’ णश ‘to destroy,’ वृ ‘to choose,’ ‘to cover,’ दह् ‘to burn,’ verbs ending in long आ, वृच् ‘to avoid,’ कृ ‘to make,’ गमि ‘to go’ and जनि ‘to be produced.’

The word लि is the name given by ancient grammarians to the affixes of the Perfect tense as well as the Aorist, or it might be a common term for all tense-affixes. Thus from घस् the substitute of अद् we have अक्षन् in the sentence, अक्षन् नमी मदन्ति हि “Well have they eaten and rejoiced.” (Rig. I. 82, 2).

NOTE:—Thus in the Aorist of अद्, there comes घस् (II. 4. 37. S. 2427); the sign of the aorist is elided by this sutra. The penultimate अ of घस् is elided by VI. 4 98. S. 2363; and च् is changed to कृ by VIII. 4. 55. S. 121, and स् is changed to च् by VIII. 3. 60. S. 2410; thus we get कृ, then we add the augment अद् which with the third person plural affix अन्, gives us अक्षन् ॥

From the verb हृश्च we have माहूर्मित्रस्य त्वम् । The माहूरि is the aorist 3rd Pers. Singular, of हृच् । Thus हृच् + क्लि + ति = हृच् + o + ति (S. 3402) = हूरि + त् (the elision of इ is by III. 4. 100. S. 2207). The गुण takes place by VII. 3. 84. S. 2168; and then the त् is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 242.

From नश्च we have प्रणक् in the following verse मानः शंसे अरयो धूर्ति प्रगद्धमर्त्यस्य । रक्षा यो ब्रह्मणस्पते । “Let not the foeman’s curse, let not a mortal’s onslaught fall on us: Preserve us Brahmanaspati.” (Rig. I. 18. 3.) The श्च of नश्च is changed to कृ by VIII. 2. 63. S. 431.

The word वृ in the sutra includes both वृङ् and वृञ्, as the word वेन in the following ब्रह्म जज्ञानं प्रथमं पुरस्ताद्विर्सां मतः सुरुचो वेन आवः । सलुध्न्या उपमा अस्य विष्टाः मतश्च योनिमसतश्च विष्टः । (Yajur veda 13. 3).

From दह् we have आधक् as in सरस्वत्यभिने । नैविवस्यो मापरफरीः पयसा मान आधक् । “Guide us Saraswati to glorious treasure: refuse us not thy milk, nor spurn us from thee.” (Rig. VI. 61. 14).

The word आत् means verbs ending in long आ, as प्रा ‘to be full.’ Thus, चित्रं देवानामुदगादनीकं चक्षुर्मिं स्य वरुणस्यारनेः । आप्रा द्यावा पृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्थु पश्च । (Rig I. 115. 1.) “The brilliant presence of the Gods hath risen, the eye of Mitra, Varuna and Agni. The soul of all that moveth not or moveth; the Sun hath filled the air and earth and heaven.”

The root वृच् gives us वर्क, as in the following verse:—मा नो अस्मिन्महाधने परा वर्गं भारभृद्यथा । संवेगं संरयिं जय । (Rig VIII. 64. 12). “In this great battle cast us not aside as one who bears a load; snatch up the wealth and win it.”

From कृ we have अक्रन् as in the following verse: अक्रन्नुपासोवयुनानि &c. (Rig Veda I. 92. 2.) “The Dawns have brought distinct perception as before.”

From गम we have अगमन् ; as in the following verse : दृतेव यन्तं बहुभिर्बस्येस्त्वरेयं जागृवांसो अनुभमन् । रुशंतमग्निं दशंतं दृहंतं वपायन्तं विग्रहा दीदवांसं । (Rig Veda VI. 1.3)."

From जन we have अजन्त; as अजन्त वा अस्य दन्ताः ॥ This is an example from the Brāhman literature, as the word मन्त्र in the sūtra refers also to the Brāhman literature,

But sometimes, the elision does not take place, because the word "option" is understood in this sutra. Thus न ता अगृभन् &c. (Rig Veda. V. 2. 4.) "These seized him not : he had been born already."

CHAPTER III.

३४०३ । अभ्युत्सादयांप्रजनयांचिक्रयारमयामकः पाचयांक्रियाद्विदामक्रचिति
ह्रन्दसि । ३ । १ । ४२ ।

आद्येषु चतुर्षु लुङि 'आम्' 'अकः' इत्यनुप्रयोगश्च । अभ्युत्सादयामकः । अभ्युदसीपद-
दिति लोके । प्रजनयामकः । प्राजीजनदित्यर्थः । चिक्रयामकः । अचैषीदित्यर्थं चिनोतेराभ्दृष्ट्यर्चनं
कुत्वं च । रमयामकः । अरीरमत् । पाचयांक्रियात् । पाच्यादिति लोके । विदामक्रन् । अवेदियुः ।

3403. The forms अभ्युत्सादयामकः, प्रजनयामकः, चिक्रयामकः, रमया-
मकः, पाचयांक्रियाद्, विदामक्रन् are irregularly formed in the Chhandas
with the augment आम्, and the auxiliary verbs अकर्, क्रियात्, and
अक्रन् ।

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorist (लुङ्) of the causatives of the roots सद् 'to sit', जन् 'to be born,' and रम् 'to sport;' to which the affix आम् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root चि 'to collect,' to which आम् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into क of the root. The auxiliary अक्रः; which is the 3rd Person Singular Aorist of कृ is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root पू 'to blow, to purify.' by adding the causative affix णिच्, annexing the affix आम् before the terminations of the Benedictive (आशी लिङ्) and then using after the form so obtained, the Benedictive of कृ, क्रियात्. The last is the Aorist of विद् 'to know,' to which आम् is added and the 3rd Person Plural of the Aorist of कृ i. e., the auxiliary अक्रन् is employed. These are the archaic forms; their modern forms are as follow :—अभ्युदसीपदत्, प्राजीजनत्, अचैषीत्, अरीरमत्, पाच्याद्, अवेदियुः ।

NOTE :—The word अभ्युत्सादयामकः is formed by adding the prepositions *abhi* and *ut* to the Causative root सादि । सादि with आम् becomes सादयां, to which is added अकः the 3rd pers. Singular Aorist of कृ "to do." Thus कृ + च्चि + तिप् = कर् + च्चि + त् = कर् + ० + त् (II. 4. 80. S. 3402) = कर् + ० + ० (VI. 1. 68. S. 252); which with the augment अद् becomes अकर् or अकः । This auxiliary अकर् is added to all the first four words. When this periphrastic Aorist is formed with आम् and अकर्, the special mood-affix of the Aorist is elided by II. 4. 81, S. 2238. The regular Causative Aorist is अभ्युदसीपदत् (सादयामकर् = असीपदत्). The

Causative सद्दि is shortened to सदि by VII. 4. 1. S. 2314. This is reduplicated before the Aorist affix चङ् by VI. 1. 11. S. 2315. Thus सदसद्. Then द् is elided by VII. 4. 60. S. 2179. Then applying VII. 4. 93. S. 2316, read with VII. 4. 79. S. 2317, the अ is changed to ई. Thus we have सीषेद् + चङ् + त् = सीषदत् ।

The word क्रियात् is the Benedictive form of कृ 'to do.' The vikāraṇa उ is not added because of the prohibition III. 4. 116. S. 2215, and then there is रि by VII 4. 28. S. 2367.

३४०४ । गुपेश्छन्दसि । ३ । १ । ५० ।

स्लेश्चङ् वा । ' गृहानञ्जुगुपतं युवम् ' । अगोप्तमित्यर्थः ।

3404. After the verb गुप् 'to protect,' चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुप् does not take the affix आय (II 2. 28). As इमान् नो मित्रावरुणौ यत् गृहान् अञ्जुगुपतम् 'Mitra and Varuṇa protected these our houses.' The other forms are अगोप्तम्, अगोपिष्टम् or अगोपायिष्टम्. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

३४०५ । नोनयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः । ३ । १ । ५१ ।

स्लेश्चङ् न । ' मा त्वायतो जरितुः काममूनयोः ' । ' मा त्वाग्निध्वनयोत् ।

3405. After the causatives of the verbs ऊन 'to decrease' ध्वन 'to sound,' इल 'to send' and अर्द्रे 'to go or to beg' चङ् is not the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

Thus मात्वायतो जरितुः काममूनयोः (Rig Veda I. 53. 3.) मात्वाग्निध्वनयोत् धूमगन्धिः (Rig Veda I. 162. 15.)

Thus we have ऊनयोः in the Vedas; अनिनत् in the classical literature; so also ध्वनयोत्, ऐलयोत् and आर्दयोत्; their classical forms being अदिध्वनत्, ऐलितत् and आर्दिदत्. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15, and Pāṇini VII. 2. 5.

३४०६ । कृमृदृरुहिभ्यश्छन्दसि । ३ । १ । ५२ ।

स्लेश्चङ् वा । ' इदं तेभ्यो करं नमः ' । अमरत् । अदरत् । ' यत्सानोः सानुमारुहत् ' ।

3406. After the verbs कृ 'to do,' मृ 'to die,' दृ 'to tear,' and रुह 'to rise,' अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकरत् 'he did'; अमरत् 'he died'; अदरत् 'he tore'; आरुहत् 'he rose.' The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकार्षित् अमत्, अदारीत् and अरुहत्.

Thus 'ये भूतस्य प्रचेतस इदं तेभ्यो करं नमः' (Rig. Ved. X. 85. 17). यत्सानोः सानुमारुहद्भ्यं स्पष्टकल्त्रम् (Rig, Ved. I. 10. 2).

३४०७ । छन्दसि निष्टक्यदेवहूयप्रणीयोच्चीयोच्छिष्यमर्यस्तर्थाध्वर्यखन्यखान्यदेव-यज्यापृच्छप्रतिपीव्यब्रह्मवाद्यभाष्यस्ताव्योपचाय्यपृष्ठानि । ३ । १ । १२३ ।

कन्ततेर्निस्पृवाश्चपि प्राप्ते एयत् । आद्यन्तयोर्विपर्यासे निःसः पत्वं च । 'निष्टक्यं चिन्वीत पशुकामः' । देवशब्द इ । पदे ह्यतेर्जुहोतेर्वा क्यदीर्घश्च । 'स्यर्चन्ते वा उ देवहूये' । 'प्र' 'उत्

आभ्यां नयतेः क्वप् । प्रणीयः । उन्नीयः । उत्पूर्वाच्छिपेः क्वप् । उच्छिष्यः । 'मड्' 'स्तृज्' 'ध्व' एभ्यो यत् । मर्षः । स्तर्षा । स्त्रियामेवायम् । ध्वर्यः खनेर्षगयती । खन्यः । खान्यः । यजेर्षः । 'शुन्धध्वं देव्याय कर्मणे देवयज्यायै' । आङ् पूर्वात्पृच्छेः क्वप् । 'आपृच्छयं धरुणं वाज्यर्षति' । सीव्यतेः क्वत्पत्वं च प्रतिषीव्यः । ब्रह्मणि वदेर्षत् । ब्रह्मवाद्यम् । लोके तु 'वदः सुपि क्वत्च' (२८५४) इति क्वव्यती । भवतेः स्त्रीतेश्च गयत् । भाव्यः । स्ताव्यः । उपपूर्वाच्छिनेतेर्षदाया-देशश्च एङ् उत्तरपदे । उपचाव्यएङ् । '+ हिरण्यं इति वक्तव्यम् +' । उपचेयएङ्मेवान्यत् । 'मड्' सुबने 'एङ् च' इत्यस्मादिगुणधलक्षणः कः ।

3407. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly :—निष्टक्यं, देवहूय, प्रणीय, उन्नीय, उच्छिष्य, मर्ष, स्तर्षा, ध्वर्य, खन्य, खान्य, देवयज्या, आपृच्छ्य, प्रतिषीव्य, ब्रह्मवाद्य, भाव्य, स्ताव्य and उपचाव्यएङ् ।

The formation of the above words is extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्टक्यं is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut,' with the preposition निस्, and the affix गयत्, instead of क्वप्, which is the regular affix, by III, 1. 110. S. 2859 ; निः + कृत् + गयत् = निः + तृक् + य (the root कृत् transformed into तृक् by transposition) = निष्टक्यं. As निष्टक्ये चिन्वीत् ष्युक्तामः ।

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

So also देवहूय is formed by adding to the root हूयते 'to call' or हू 'to invoke,' the affix क्वप् and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment त (VI. 1. 71), is not allowed, देव + हू or हू + क्वप् = देवहूयः । Thus स्वर्धन्ते वाङ् देवहूये (Rig. Ved. VII. 85. 2). So also प्र + नी (to lead) + क्वप् = प्रणीयः ; उत् + नी + क्वप् = उन्नीयः ; उत् + शिष् (to leave) + क्वप् = उच्छिष्यः ; म् (to die) + यत् = मर्षः ; सृ (to cover) + यत् = स्तर्षा ; it is always feminine. धृ (to bend) + यत् = ध्वर्यः ; खन् (to dig) + यत् = खन्यः ; खन् + गयत् = खान्यः ; देव (God) + यज् (to sacrifice) + यत् = देवयज्या ; always used as feminine. Thus in शुन्धध्वं देव्याय कर्मणे देवयज्यायै । आ + पृच्छ (to ask) + क्वप् = आपृच्छ्यः । Thus आपृच्छयं धरुणं वाज्यर्षति (Rig Ved VII. 107. 5). ष्ति + सीव (to sew) + क्वप् = प्रतिषीव्यः ; ब्रह्मण् + वद् (to speak) + गयत् = ब्रह्मवाद्यः ; in secular literature both क्वप् and गयत् come after this word (III. 1. 106. S. 2854.). भू (to be) + गयत् = भाव्यः ; स्तु (to praise) + गयत् = स्ताव्यः ; उप + चि (to collect) + गयत् + एङ् = उपचाव्यएङ्म्. *Vart*:—This last word is formed then only when the word एङ् follows : and when the sense is that of 'gold.' When it does not mean 'gold,' the form is उपचेयएङ्म्. The root एङ् is read along with मड् in the Tudâli class and means "to please." To this root is added the affix क (III. 1. 135. S. 2897).

३४०८ । कन्दसि वनसन् रक्षिमयाम् । ३ । २ । २७ ।

गभ्यः कर्मस्युपपत्तं हन्त्यात् । 'ब्रह्मसिनि' त्वा सन्नसिनिस् 'उत् नो गोपणिं धियम्' । 'ये पर्यां परिश्रजयः' । चतुरस्रां परिश्रजी । 'हृदिर्मर्थोनामभि' ।

3408. In the Vedic literature, the affix इन् comes after the verbs वन् 'to honor' सन् 'to worship' रत् 'to protect' and मत् 'to agitate,' when the object is in composition.

'Thus ब्रह्मवनिं त्वा ब्रह्मवनिम् (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3) ; उत नो गोषनिं (Rig Ved. VI. 53. 10), यो ते प्रवानो पथिरक्षी (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) इन्द्रा यातूनाम-भवत् पाराशरो हविर्मथोनाम् (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

३४०९ । कुन्दसि सहः । ३ । २ । ६३ ।

शिवः स्यात् । एतनाषाद् ।

3409. In the Chhandas, the affix शिव comes after the verb सह् 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case affix.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood here. As एतन + सह् + शिव = एतनासाह्; nom. sing. एतनाषाद् 'a name of Indra.' The dental स is changed into cerebral ष by VIII. 3. 56, and the ह् into ट by VIII. 2. 31. The final अ of एतन is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig Veda. I. 175. 2, III. 29. 9, VI. 19. 7, IX. 88. 7, X. 103. 7.

३४१० । वहश्च । ३ । २ । ६४ ।

प्राग्भत् । दित्यवाद् । योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः ।

3410. The affix शिव comes after the verb वह् 'to carry,' in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As प्रष्ठवाह् 1st sing. प्रष्ठवाद् 'carrying a *prashtha* measure;' so, दित्यवाद् ।

The division of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of वह् only is carried and not of सह्. See Yajur Veda, XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

३४११ । कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु ज्युट् । ३ । २ । ६५ ।

स्यु वह्ज्युट् स्याच्छन्दसि । कव्यवाहनः । पुरीषवाहनः । पुरीष्यवाहनः ।

3411. In the Chhandas, the affix ज्युट् comes after the verb वह् when it is in composition with the words कव्य 'oblation of food to deceased ancestors,' पुरीष 'faeces' and पुरीष्य 'water.'

As कव्यवाहनः पितृणाम् (Yajur Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the *pitras*;' पुरीषवाहनः 'carrier of water;' पुरीष्यवाहनः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44). The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ई ।

३४१२ । हव्येऽनन्तःपादम् । ३ । २ । ६६ ।

अग्निर्नो हव्यवाहनः । पादमध्ये तु 'वहश्च' इति शिवरेव 'हव्यवाग्निरजरः पिता नः'

3412. The affix ज्युट् comes in the Chhandas, after the verb वह् 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word हव्य 'an oblation to gods,' provided that, the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pāda (fourth part of a stanza).

As अग्निश्च हव्यवाहनः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods,' (Rig Veda I. 44. 2.)

When this word occurs in the middle of a páda, or at the beginning, the form is हृद्यवद्, which is derived by adding the affix विद्य (sútra 3410). As हृद्यवाद्गिनरजरः पिता नः 'the never-decaying *Āgni* or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father.' (Rig Veda. III. 2. 2.)

३४१३ । जनसनखनक्रमगमो विट् । ३ । २ । ६७ ।

'विद्यवतोः—' (३४८३) इत्यात्वम् । अद्जागोजाः । 'गोषा इन्द्रो नृपा अमि' । 'सनेतेरनः' (३६४४) इति पत्वम् । 'इयं शुष्मेभिर्विमखाह्वारुजत्' । 'आ दधिक्राः शयसा पञ्च कृष्टीः' । अणेगाः ।

3413. The affix विट् (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs जन् 'to be born,' सन् 'to bestow,' खन् 'to dig,' क्रम् 'to pace' and गम् 'to go,' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long आ ।

The words हृद्यसि. उपसर्गे and सुषि are understood in this sūtra. The verb जन् includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen;' so also सन् means both 'to give' and 'to worship.'

Of the affix विट् the latter ट् is indicatory, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41. S. 2982, by which rule the final nasal of जन्. सन् &c., is replaced by long आ when the affix विट् follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67. S. 375.

As अप् + जन् + विट् = अद्जाः (Rig Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41. S. 2982); गोजाः 'born in the heaven & e. God' (Rig. Veda. IV. 40. 5). So also from सन्—गोषाः 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII. 3. 108. S. 3645); गोषा इन्द्रो नृपा अमि 'O Indra! bestower of cows! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig Veda IX. 2. 10). From खन्—विहखाः 'digger of lotus stalk;' कूपखाः 'digger of well.' From क्रम्—दधिक्राः 'who gets milk' as, आ दधिक्राः शयसा पञ्च कृष्टीः (Rig Veda. IV. 38, 10 and 40. 5). From गम्—अणेगाः उन्नेतृणाम् 'the leader.'

३४१४ । मन्त्रे श्वेतवहोऽक्यशस्पुरोडाशो विवन् । ३ । २ । ७१ ।

'+ श्वेतवहादीनां हृद्यदस्यति वक्तव्यम् + ' यत्र पदत्वं भावि तत्र विवनेऽपवादे हृद्यवत् इत्यर्थः । श्वेतवाः । श्वेतवाहो । श्वेतवाहः । उवायानि उक्थेयां शंसति उक्थया यजमानः ॥ उक्थशासो । उक्थशासः । पुरो दाशयते पुरोडाः ।

3414. In the Mantra the affix विवन् comes after the words श्वेतवह, उक्थशस् and पुरोडाश् ॥

The above words contain both the verb and the upapáda; the fact of their being so given indicates that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix विवन् comes after the verb वद् preceded by the upapáda श्वेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As श्वेता एनं वहन्ति = श्वेतवाद् nom. sing. श्वेतवाः 'a name of Indra,' (whom white horses carry). See VIII. 2. 67. S. 3416.

The affix विवन् is applied to the verb शंस 'to praise' when preceded by

the word उक्थ as object or instrument; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उक्थानि उक्थैर्या शंसति = उक्थशास्, nom. sing. उक्थशाः (Rig Veda II, 39. 1.) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer.'

The शिवन् is applied after the verb दाश 'to give,' preceded by पुरो, and द is changed into ड, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो दाशन्ति एनं = पुरोडाश, nom. sing. पुरोडाः (Rig Veda III. 28. 2) 'an offering.'

Vart :—The augment इस् is added to the words श्वेतवाह् &c., when the *pada* affixes follow. Thus before *pada* terminations श्वेतवाह् becomes श्वेतवस् । Therefore its Instrumental dual is श्वेतवोभ्याम्, pl. श्वेतवोभिः ।

The augment इस् is not applied before सर्वनामस्थान and भ terminations. As श्वेतवाहो, श्वेतवाहः : । The whole declension this of word is given below :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	श्वेतवः	श्वेतवाहौ	श्वेतवाहः
Acc.	श्वेतवाहम्	Do.	Do.
Instr.	श्वेतवाहो	श्वेतवोभ्याम्	श्वेतवोभिः
Dat.	श्वेतवाहे	Do.	श्वेतवोभ्यः
Abl.	श्वेतवाहः	Do.	Do.
Gen.	Do.	श्वेतवाहोः	श्वेतवाहाम्
Loc.	श्वेतवाहि	Do.	श्वेतवःसु
Voc.	श्वेतवाः or श्वेतवः		

३४१५ । अवे यज्ञः । ३ । २ । ७२ ।

अवयाः । अवयाजो । अवयाजः ।

3415. In the Mantra the affix शिवन् comes after the verb

यज् 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word अच् ।

As अवयाज, nom. sing. अवयाः (Rig Veda I. 173. 12) 'the name of a Vedic priest;' as त्वं यज्ञे वरुणस्यावया अग्नि 'Thou art the priest of Varuṇa in the sacrifice.'

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the *anuvritti* of यज् only runs. This word is thus declined :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	अवयाः	अवयाजौ	अवयाजः
2nd.	अवयाजं	अवयाजौ	अवयाजः
3rd.	अवयाजा	अवयोभ्याम्	अवयोभिः

३४१६ । अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाश्च । ८ । २ । ६७ ।

एते संवृद्धौ कतदीर्घा निपात्यन्ते । चाटुश्रयशाः ।

3416. The ह substitution of VIII. 2. 66 S. 162 takes place for the final of the Nominatives and vocatives of अवयज्, श्वेतवाह् and पुरोडाश giving the irregular forms अवयाः, श्वेतवाः and पुरोडाः ॥

They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, be-

cause VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हे अश्वोः, हे प्रवतवाः, हे पुरोडाः ॥ By force of च in the sūtra, we form उक्त्रशाः also similarly.

३४१० । त्रिजुपे कृन्दसि । ३ । २ । ७३ ।

उप उपपदे यजेयिच । उपपद ।

3417. The affix त्रिच् comes after the verb यज् when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपपदमिदं वदन्ति 'they carry it up with the उपपद formulas.' उपपद is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

३४१८ । आतो मनिक्कनिक्वनिपश्च । ३ । २ । ७४ ।

सुप्युपसर्गो चापपदे आदन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्च कृन्दसि त्रिपये मनिनादयस्त्रयः प्रत्ययाः स्युः । चाद्विच् सुडामा । सुधीवा । सुपीवा । भूरिदावा । दृतपावा । त्रिच् । कीलालपाः ।

3418. The affixes मनिन् (मन्), क्कनिप् (वन्), वनिप् (वन्) and त्रिच् come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long आ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include त्रिच्. Thus सुडा + मनिन् = सुडामन्, 1st sing. सुडामा (Rig. VI. 20. 7) 'one who gives liberally'; सुधी + क्कनिप् = सुधी + वन् (VI. 4. 66 = सुधीवन्, 1st sing. सुधीवा 'having good understanding'; सुपा + क्कनिप् = सुपीवन्, 1st sing. सुपीवा 'a good drinker,' भूरि + दा + वनिप् = भूरिदावन्, 1st sing. भूरिदावा (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; दृतपावन् 1st sing. दृतपावा (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker.'

The affix त्रिच् is also included in this aphorism. As कीलाल + पा + त्रिच् = कीलालपाः (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'nectar-drinker.'

३४१९ । बहुलं कृन्दसि । ३ । २ । ८८ ।

उपपदान्तरेऽपि हन्तैर्बहुलं क्कियात् । मातृहा । पितृहा ।

3419. In the Chhandas, the affix क्किप् diversely comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in III. 2. 87. S. 2998.

This aphorism ordains क्किप् in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in III. 2. 87. S. 2998. As मातृहा सप्तमं नरकं प्रविशेत् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also पितृहा 'patricide.'

Diversely we find also मातृघातः and पितृघातः ।

The Past participle Nishṭhā is generally formed by त्त, but in the Vedas, it is formed by the affixes of the Perfect tense also, and the Perfect itself is formed sometimes by the affixes कानच् and क्कसु as already taught in the sūtras III. 2. 105 S. 3093; III. 2. 106 S. 3094; III. 2. 107 S. 3095. They are repeated here again.

३४१९ क । कृन्दसि लिट् । ३ । २ । १०५ ।

भूत समान्ये । 'अहं द्यावापृथिवी आततान' ।

3419 A. In the Chhandas, the affix लिट् comes after a verb, with the force of Past participle, and Past tense in general,

As अहं व्याघारयिषी आसतान 'I stretched the heaven and the earth.' Here the word आसतान has the force of nishthā.

३४१९ ख। लिटः कानज्वा । ३ । २ । १०६ ।

3419 B. In the Chhandas, the affix लिट् is optionally replaced by the affix कानच् e.e., the affix has the force of the Perfect.

As अग्निं चिक्वानः 'he consecrated the fire;' सोमं सुपुवाणः 'he pressed the soma juice.'

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada termination. See I. 4. 100. तूतुजान (Rig Veda I. 3. 6).

३४२० ग। क्वसुश्च । ३ । २ । १०७ ।

कृन्दिसि लि : कानच्सूटा स्तः । ' चक्राणा वृष्णा ' । ' यो नो अग्ने अरिवाँ अघायुः ' । '+ इन्द्रस्यघण्टात्परिष्कायां कञ्चकच्यः +' । क्वाच्छन्दसि (३१५०) । उप्रत्ययः स्यत् । अघायुः । '+ अरजधिकारे जवसवी कृन्दसि वाच्यौ +' । ' ऊवांस्तुमे जवः ' । ' देवस्य सवितुः सवे ' ।

3419 C. In the Chhandas the affix क्वसु is optionally the substitute of लिट् e.e., the kvasu formed word has the force of the Perfect.

As जक्षिवस् 1st sing. जक्षिवान् 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); पपिवस् 1st sing. पपिवान् 'drunk.'

Thus चक्राणा वृष्णा पौंस्यम् (Rig Veda VIII. 7. 23).

यो नो अग्ने अरिवाँ अघायुः (Rig Veda I. 147. 4).

Here the word अरिवान् is formed from the root रा 'to give,' with the affix क्वसु having the force of Perfect. The Negative Particle अ is added. Thus रा + क्वसु = रा रा + वस् = र रा + इद् + वस् (VII. 2. 67 S. 3096) = ररिवस्. The Nom. Sing. is ररिवान् "a generous man." अरिवान् "a miser, an enemy,"

By S. III. 1. 8. S. 2657. the affix क्वच् is added to a noun in order to denote a wish for one's own self. The following vārtika makes an exception in the Vedas.

Vārt :—In the Vedas, the affix क्वच् is added after the word अघ, even when the wish is with regard to another. As मा त्वा वृका अघायवो विदन्. Here अघायु (pl अघायवः) is formed by kyach, उ being added by III. 2. 170. S. 3150, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 120. 7. Thus अघ+क्वच् = अघ+य = अघ+य+उ (III. 2. 170. S. 3150) = अघा+यु (VII. 4. 37. S. 3590.)

By sūtra III. 3. 56. S. 3231. the affix अच् is added to roots ending in इ or ई, but in the Vedas this affix is added even after roots in उ or ऊ by the following Vārtika.

Vārt :—The words जव and सव are formed by the affix अच् and they occur in the Vedas. As ' ऊवांस्तु मे जवः, ' देवस्य सवितुः, सवे (Rig Veda V. 82. 6.)

These roots जु and सु would have otherwise taken the affix अप्. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI. 2.

३४२० । मन् वृषेपपचमनविदभूवीरा उदात्तः । ३ । ३ । १६ ।

वृषादिभ्यःक्तिन्स्यात् । स चोदात्तः । 'वृष्टिं दिवः' । 'सुममिष्टये' । 'पचापक्तीकृत' । 'इयं ते नद्यसी मतिः' । वितिः । भूतिः । 'अग्ने आ याहि वीतये । 'राती स्यामोभयासः' ।

3420. In the Mantra literature, 'kṭin' acutely accented comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action :—'vrish' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhū' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'râ' (to give).

The construction of this sūtra is anomalous.* Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृष्टिः 'raining'; इष्टिः 'wishing'; पक्तिः 'cooking'; मतिः 'thinking'; वितिः 'knowing'; भूतिः 'being'; वीतिः 'consuming'; रातिः 'giving'.

As "स नो वृष्टिं दिवः" (Rig Veda 11. 6. 5).

सुसमिष्टये (Rig Veda VI. 70. 4).

पचात्यक्तीरुत (Rig Veda IV. 24. 7).

नव्यसी मतिः (Rig Veda VIII. 74. 7).

भूतिमूदिमः (Rig Veda I. 161. 1).

अग्न आयाहि वीतये (Rig Ved. VI. 16. 10).

राती स्यामोभवासः (Rig. Ved. VII. 1, 20).

३४२१। छन्दसि गत्यर्थेभ्यः। ३। ३। १२९।

ईषदादिपूपपदेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि युरत्यात्। खलोऽपत्रादः। सूषसदनोऽग्निः।

3421. The affix 'yuch' comes in the Chhandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'ishad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debars the affix खत् of III. 3. 126, 127 S. 3305 and 3308. Thus सूषसदनोऽग्निः। सूषसदनमन्तरिज्ञम्। See T. S. 7. 5. 20. 1.

३४२२। अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते। ३। ३। १३०।

गत्यर्थेभ्यो येऽन्वे धातवस्तेभ्योऽपि छन्दसि युच्स्यात्। 'सुवेदनामकणोद्ब्रह्मणे गाम्'।

3422. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after other verbs also, than those meaning 'to go'.

Thus सुदेह नाम कणोद् ब्रह्मणे गां; so also सुवेद नाम कणोद् ब्रह्मणे गां ॥ (Rig Veda X. 112, 8).

३४२३। छन्दसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः। ३। ४। ६।

धात्वर्थानां संबन्धे सर्वकालेष्वेते वास्युः। पक्षे यथास्वं गत्ययाः। लुङि। 'देवो देवेभिरागमत्'। लोडर्थे लुङ्। 'इदं तेभ्योऽकरं नमः'। लङ्। 'अग्निमद्य होतारब्रह्मणीतार्थं यजमानः'। लिट्। 'अद्या ममार'। अद्य निरयत इत्यर्थः।

3423. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words धातुसम्बन्ध and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. By saying 'optionally', other tense affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus देवो देवेभिरागमत् (Rig. I. 1. 5). 'O God Agni! come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist आगमत् has the force of the Imperative. ये भूतस्य प्रचेतस इदं तेभ्योऽकरं नमः 'I make salutation &c. &c.' (Rig. X. 85. 17). Here अकरं is Aorist (लुङ्) and has the sense of the Present.

So also अग्निमद्य होतारमवृणीतायं यजमानः। Here लङ् is used instead of लट् ।

So also अद्या ममार = अद्या मियते । Here लिट् is used instead of लट् ।

NOTE:—अगमत् is formed with the affix अङ् of the Aorist because the root गम्लृ has an indicatory लृ in the Dhātupāṭha and belongs to Pūshādi class.

अकरम् here च्लि is replaced by अङ् by sūtra VII. 2. 13. S. 2293. Thus कृ + अङ् + म्. Then there is guṇa by VI. 4. 16 S. 2406. With the augment अ we get अकरम् “I did.”

अवृणीत from वृञ् ‘to choose’; add लङ्, and षना विकारणा because the root belongs to Kryādi class. Then there is long ई by VI. 4. 113. S. 2497. Thus we have अवृणीत ॥

३४२४ । लिङ्गं लेट् । ३ । ४ । ७ ।

विध्यादौ हेतुहेतुमद्भावाद्वा च धातोर्लेट् स्याच्छन्दसि ।

3424. The affix ‘Leṭ’ is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

The formation of लेट् is shown in the subsequent sūtras. In the first place, the vikaraṇa सिप् is sometimes added between the Personal-endings and the root. Secondly, the Personal-endings themselves lose their इ thus ति becomes त्, सि becomes स् । Thirdly, the word takes the augment अट् and आट् between the Personal-endings and the root. Fourthly, the सिप्, vikaraṇa sometimes causes Vrid-dhi also.

३४२५ । सिब्बहुलं लेटि । ३ । १ । ३४ ।

3425. सिप् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when लेट् follows.

३४२६ । इतश्च लोपः परस्मैपदेषु । ३ । ४ । ९७ ।

लेटस्तिङामितो लोपो वा स्यात्परस्मैपदेषु ।

3426. In the Parasmaipada affixes the ‘i’ is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The वा of the the preceding Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra III. 4. 96. is understood here also.

३४२७ । लेटोऽडाटौ । ३ । ४ । ९८ ।

लेटः ‘अट्’ ‘आट्’ एतावागमौ स्तः । तौ च पितौ । ‘+ सिब्बहुलं णिट्कृत्यः +’ वृद्धिः । ‘प्र ण आर्युषि तारिषत्’ । ‘सुपेशस्करति जोषिषद्धि’ । ‘आ माविषदर्थसानाय अरुन्’ । सिप् इलोपस्य चाभावे । ‘पताति विद्युत्’ । ‘प्रियः सूर्ये प्रियो अग्ना भवति’ ।

3427. The augments ‘aṭ’ and ‘âṭ’ are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments अट् and आट् are पित् and are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुष् + सिप् + अट् + त् = जोषिषत्; तारिषत्, मान्दिषत्; similarly पत् + आट् + ति = पताति; च्यावयाति । See III. 1. 34 for the addition of सिप् in the above.

Vart :—The vikaraṇa सिप् is treated as णित् and therefore causes Vrid-dhi.

Thus from the root तृ we have तारिषत्, as तृ + तिप् = तृ + सिप् + तिप् = तृ + इट् + सिप् + तिप् = तार + इ + सि + ति = तारिषत् । Thus प्र ण आर्युषि तारिषत् ।

Similarly जोषिषत् from जुषी प्रीतिसेवनयोः; as in सुपेशस्करति जोषिषद्धि ।

Similarly असाविषत् from दुप्रसवेऽवर्षयोः, as in the following—
आ साविषदशंसानाय शरुम् (Rig Veda X. 99. 7.)

But when there is no सिप् added, and the इ of the Personal-endings is not elided, then we have forms like पतति दिव्युत् and प्रियः मूर्धेप्रियो अग्नाभवति (Rig Veda V. 37. 5)

In fact लेट् is a composite Mood, and may be considered to have six tenses as shown below :—

I.—Present.—लेट्

I. भवति	भवतः	भवन्ति
भवाति	भवातः	भवान्ति
II. भवसि	भवथः	भवथ
भवासि	भवाथः	भवाथ
III. भवामि	भवावः	भवामः
	भवाव	भवाम

II.—Imperfect.

I. भवत्	भवतः	भवन्
भवात्	भवातः	भवान्
II. भवः	भवथः	भवथ
भवाः	भवाथः	भवाथ
III. भवाम्	भवावः	भवामः
	भवाव	भवाम

III.—Present Conditional.

I. भविषति	भविषतः	भविषन्ति
भविषाति	भविषातः	भविषान्ति
II. भविषसि	भविषथः	भविषथ
भविषासि	भविषाथः	भविषाथ
III. भविषामि	भविषावः	भविषामः
	भविषाव	भविषाम

IV.—Imperfect Conditional.

I. भविषत्	भविषतः	भविषन्
भविषात्	भविषातः	भविषान्
II. भविषः	भविषथः	भविषथ
भविषाः	भविषाथः	भविषाथ
III. भविषाम्	भविषावः	भविषामः
	भविषाव	भविषाम

V.—Strong Present Conditional.

I. भाविषति	भाविषतः	भाविषन्ति
भाविषाति	भाविषातः	भाविषान्ति
II. भाविषसि	भाविषथः	भाविषथ
भाविषासि	भाविषाथः	भाविषाथ
III. भाविषामि	भाविषावः	भाविषामः
	भाविषाव	भाविषाम

VI.—Strong Imperfect Conditional.

I. भाविषत्	भाविषतः	भाविषन्
भाविषात्	भाविषातः	भाविषान्

II. भाविषः	भाविष्यः	भाविष्य
भाविषाः	भाविषाघः	भाविषाघ
III. भाविषाम्	भाविषावः	भाविषामः
	भाविषाव	भाविषाम

३४२८ । स उक्तमस्य । ३ । ४ । ९८ ।

लेहुत्तमसकारस्य वा लोपः स्यात् । करवाव । करवावः । टेरेत्वम् ।

3428. The 's' of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करवाव or करवावः, करवाम or करवामः । The first person is used in the sūtra to indicate that the स् is not elided in any other person.

३४२९ । आत ऐ । ३ । ४ । ९९ ।

लेट आकारस्यै स्यात् । 'सुतेभिः सुप्रयसा मादयेते' । आतामित्याकारस्यैकारः । विधिसामर्थ्यादाट ऐत्वं न । अन्यथा हि ऐटमेव विदध्यात् । 'यो यजाति यजात इत्' ।

3429. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'â' of आताम् and आयाम् in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्त्रयेते, मन्त्रयेषे, करयेते, करयेषे । Why is not the augment आद् changed into ऐ ? Because otherwise the rule enjoining आद् would be superfluous, and the sūtra enjoining आद् ought to have enjoined ऐद् at once.

सुतेभिः सुप्रयसा मादयेते (Rig Veda IV. 41. 3). Here the affix आताम् is changed to एते ॥ The regular form एते the आ is changed to ऐ by III. 4 79. S. 2233.

The आ of the augment आद् is not changed to ऐ as we have already said above, and here we have the forms यजाति &c. यो यजाति यजात इत् (Rig Veda VIII. 31. 1).

३४३० । वैतोऽन्यत्र । ३ । ४ । ९९ ।

लेट् एकारस्य 'ऐ' स्याद्वा । 'आत ऐ' (३४२९) इत्यस्य विषयं विना । 'पशूनामीशे' । 'ग्रहागृह्यान्ते' । 'अन्यत्र' किम् । 'सुप्रयसा मादयेते' ।

3430. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e', in other places than those mentioned in the last sūtra.

Thus श्ये, ईंशे &c, in the following examples :—सप्ताहानि श्ये, ब्रह्मेव पशूनामीशे, मदया एव वो ग्रहा गृह्यान्ते, मच्छेदत्यान्त्ये वः पात्राण्युच्यन्ते । And in the alternative we have simply ऐ, as एत्तं क्व च ते मनो तत्तम दधसउत्तरम ।

NOTE :—ईंशे from the root ईंश ऐश्वर्ये । It is the 1st Pers. Sing. The Atmanepada Personal ending इद् of the 1st Pers. Sing. is changed to ऐ । This इ is not elided by. III. 4. 97. S. 3125, because that sūtra is confined to Parasmaipada इ ॥ The इ is changed to ऐ by III. 4. 79. S. 2233, then ऐ changed to ऐ by this sūtra.

गृह्यान्ते from ग्रहि in the Passive. The ण of the Passive is added, and then the 3rd Pers. Plural भि or अन्ति । The Personal ending takes the augment आद् and becomes आन्ति ॥ The र of ग्रह is changed to ऋ by VI. 1. 16. S. 2412, and the इ of आन्ति is changed to ऐ by III. 4. 79. S. 2233, and this ऐ is changed to ऐ by the present sūtra.

३४३१ । उपसंवादाशङ्कयोश्च । ३ । ४ । ८ ।

पशवन्थ आशङ्कावां च लेट् स्यात् । 'अहमेव पशूनामीशे' । 'नेज्जिह्वायन्तो नरकं पताम' ।
हृत्तः प्रनः शानच्भौ (२५५७) ।

3431. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or where apprehension is implied, the affix 'Let' is employed after a root, in the Chhandas Literature.

The word उपसम्वाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do.' Thus यदि मे भवानिदं कुर्याद् अहमपि भवत इदं दास्यामि 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you.' Agreements like these are called उपसम्वाद; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called आशङ्का 'apprehension or fear.'

Thus अहमेव पशूनामीशे ॥ This is the reply of Rūdra, when he was solicited by the Devas, to conquer Tripura. The word पशु means "bound souls, jivas treading the round of Samsāra." पताम is Let the final स् is elided by III. 4. 98 S. 3428. मदग्रा एव वा ग्रहा गृह्यान्ते ॥ मरुदवन्थान्येव वः पात्रायुच्यन्ते ॥ नेज्जिह्वायन्तो (or. नेज्जिह्वायन्तो) नरकं पताम ॥ (Nir. I. 11. Bohtlingk) = जिह्वाचरखेन नरकपात आशङ्कते ॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the Subjunctive (Let) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not optionally, which anuvṛitti was understood in the last sūtra.

By III. 1. 83, S. 2557, in the Imperative 2nd Pers. Singular, शानच् is sometimes substituted for the vikaraṇa प्रना, after the Kryādi roots ending in consonants. By the next sūtra, शायच् is optionally the substitute in the Vedas.

३४३२ । छन्दसि शायजिप्ति । ३ । १ । ८४ ।

अपिशब्दाच्छानच् । '+ हृप्रहोर्मश्छन्दसि +' इति ह्रस्व भः । 'गृभाय जिह्रुया मधु' । 'वधान देव सवितः' । 'अनिदिताम्—' (४१५) इति वन्धातेर्नलोपः । 'गृभ्यामि ते' । 'मध्वाजभार' ।

3432. In the Chhandas, शायच् is also the substitute of रना after roots ending in consonants, when हि follows.

Thus गृभाय जिह्रुया मधु, (Rig Veda VIII. 17. 5.) "take up the honey with the tongue." The affix शानच् is also employed by force of the word api in the aphorism as वधान पशून् 'bind the beasts.'

Vārt :—In the Chhandas, भ is substituted for the ह of हृ and ग्रह ॥ Thus गर्दभेन संभरति ; मरुदवत्य गृभ्याति ; सामधेन्योजगिरे, उद्यामञ्चि-याभञ्च ब्रह्मदेवा श्रवीवधन् ॥

NOTE:—गृभाय is derived from ग्रह् 'to seize'; the र् is vocalised by ग्रहिज्या etc. VI. 1. 16 S. 2412; and हृ changed to भ by the vārtika above given. Thus ग्रह् + प्रना + हि = गृह् + ना = गृभ् + ना = गृभ् + आय (शायच्) = गृभाय 'take up thou.'

NOTE:—वधान is formed by शानच्; added to the root वन्ध 'to bind' the nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24 S. 415; the Imperative affix हि is elided by VI. 4. 105 S. 2202. Thus वन्ध् + प्रना + हि = वध् + प्रना + हि = वध् । आन् + हि = वध् + शान + ० = वधान "bind or tether."

Other examples of the change of ह into भ by the above vārtika are given below :—

गृभ्यामि ते (Rig Veda X. 85. 36). मध्वाजभार

३४३३ । व्यत्ययो बहुलम् । ३ । १ । ८५ ।

विकरणानां बहुलं व्यत्ययः स्याच्छन्दसि । 'आगडा शुष्णस्य भेदति' । भिनत्तीति प्राप्ते । 'जरसा मरते पतिः' । म्रियत इति प्राप्ते । 'इन्द्रो वस्तेन नेषतु' । नयतेलोद् शप्सिपां द्वौ विकरणा ॥ 'इन्द्रेण युजा तरुषेम वृत्रम्' । तरेमेत्यर्थः । तरतेर्विध्यादौ लिङ् । उःशर्षिषप्चेति त्रयो विकरणाः । सुप्तिङुपयर्हलिङ्गनराणां कालहनच्स्वरकर्तृयङां च ।

व्यत्ययमिच्छति शास्त्रकृदेवां सोऽपि च सिध्यति बाहुल्येन ।

'धुरि दक्षिणायाः' । दक्षिणस्यामिति प्राप्ते । 'चपालं ये श्रवयूपाय तदति' । तत्तन्तीति प्राप्ते । उपयष्टः परस्मैपदान्पनेपदे । 'ब्रह्मचारिणमिच्छते' । इच्छतीति प्राप्ते । 'प्रतीपमन्य ऊर्मिर्बुध्यति' । बुध्यत इति प्राप्ते । 'मधोःस्वप्ता इवासते' । मधुन इति प्राप्ते । नरः पुरुषः । 'अथा स वीरिदं शभिर्विदूषाः' । विदूषादिति प्राप्ते । कालः कालवाची प्रत्ययः । 'श्वोऽग्नीनाधास्यमानेन' । लुटो विषये लट् । 'तमसो गा श्रुद्वत' । श्रुद्वदिति प्राप्ते । 'मित्र वयं च सूरयः' । मित्रा वयमिति प्राप्ते । स्व व्य-

त्ययस्तु यद्यते । कर्तृशब्दः कारकमात्रपरः । तथा च तद्वाचिनां कृतद्धितानां व्यत्ययः । अत्रादायश्रवणियप्रयेऽच् । अवयहे विशेषः । यङो यशब्दादारभ्य 'लिङ्पाशिष्यङ्' (३४३४) इति ङकारेण । प्रत्याहारः । तेषां व्यत्ययो भेदतीत्यादिरुक्त एव ।

3433. In the Chhandas there is diversely an interchange of the various vikaraṇas शप् and the rest, which have been ordained under special circumstances.

The word व्यत्यय means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange; taking of two vikaraṇas at a time, and so on. Thus भेदति = भिद + शप् + ति ; in stead of भिनत्ति from the root भिद 'to split', belonging to the Rudhâdi class; e. g. आगडा शुष्णस्य भेदति (Rig VIII. 40. 11) "He (Indra) breaks the eggs (children) of Shushṇa"; so also, जरसा मरते पतिः (Rig. X. 86. 11.); here there is मरते = (म + शप् + ते) instead of म्रियते; the root म्र belonging to the Tudâdi class. So also there are two vikaraṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रो वस्तेन नेषतु 'May Indra lead by this abode'; here there is नेषतु 3rd per. sing. of the Imperative (लोद्) of the root नी 'to lead'; there are two vikaraṇas सिप् and शप् instead of नेषतु = (नी + शप् + तु); इन्द्रेण युजा तरुषेम वृत्रम् (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तरुषेम (तृ + उ + सिप् + शप् + अम) is the 1st per. sing. of the Optative (लिङ्) of the root तृ and is formed by three vikaraṇas; the classical form being तरेम 'may we cross.'

Kārikā:—In the Vaidic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the application of (1) सुप् (case-affixes), (2) तिङ् (Personal-endings), (3) उपयष्ट (Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes), (4) rules of gender, (5) person or (6) tense (7) rules of interchange of consonants, or (8) of vowels, (9) rules of accent (10) rules relating to कृत and तद्धित affixes and (12) rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyāhāra ङङ् (III. I. 22 to III. I. 86). All these irregularities are explained by the author by the word बहुलम् ॥ In fact, the word *bahulam* not only covers, but explains and justifies all Vaidic anomalies

NOTE:—The word शास्त्रकृत् "science-maker," in the above kārikā refers to Pāṇini.

Thus:—

(1). Irregular application of case-affixes: धुरि दक्षिणायाः (Rig Veda I. 164. 9.)

Here **दक्षिणावाः** (Genitive) is used instead of the Locative **दक्षिणस्याम्** ॥

(2). Irregular application of Personal-endings : **चपालं ये अश्वयूवाय तक्षति** (Rig Vela I. 162. 6). Here **तक्षति** is used instead of **तक्षन्ति** ॥

(3). Irregular use of Parasmaipada and Atmanepadas : as, **वृक्षत्राणिमिच्छते** । Here Atmanepada **इच्छते** is used instead of Parasmaipada **इच्छति** ॥ Similarly **प्रतीपमन्य ऊर्मर्युध्यति** instead of **युध्यते** ॥

(4). Irregular use of Genders, as **मधोस्तृप्ता इवासते** । Here the word **मधु** which is Neuter gender, is declined as Masculine. The classical form is **मधुनः** ॥

(5). Irregular use of Person. The word **नरः** in the Kârikâ means Person. As **अथा सर्वरिः वंशमि विदूयाः** instead of **विदूयात्** ॥ Here 2nd Person is used for 3rd Person. This word is the Benedictive Mood of the root **यु** "to mix," with the prefix **वि** ॥

(6). Irregular use of Tenses. The word **काल** in the Kârikâ means the affixes denoting *time*. Thus **श्वेदाग्नीन् आधास्यमानिन** । Here **लृट्** is used instead of **लुट्** । It is formed from **धा** with the affix **गानच्** (III. 3. 14. S. 3107) and the Mood. affix **स्य** (III. 1. 33. S. 2186), and the augment **सुक्** (VII. 2. 82. S. 3101).

(7). Irregular interchange of consonants : as, **तमसो गा अदुक्षत्** । Here **द** is, not changed to **घ** । The proper form is **अधुक्षत्** ।

(8) Irregular vowels : as, **मित्र वयं च सूरयः** instead of **मित्रा वयम्** ॥

(9). Irregular use of Accents. This will be illustrated later on.

(10). Irregular use of Kârakas. The word **कर्त्तुं** in the Kârikâ means Kâraka ; and includes the Kṛit and Taddhita affixes. Thus from the root **अद्** 'to eat' with the upapada **अन्न**, a compound is formed by adding the affix **अण्** । Thus **अन्न + अद् + अण् = अन्न + आद = अन्नादः** । But in the Vedas, affix **अच्** is used. Thus **अन्न + अद् + अच् = अन्न + अद = अन्नादः** । Here though the resulting form in both cases is the same, yet in analysis they will be different. Thus in one case it would be **अन्न + आदाय**, in the other **अन्न + अदाय** ॥

(11). The **यङ्** in the Kârikâ is a Pratyâhâra formed with the **य** of III. 1. 22, and the **ङ्** of **अङ्** in III. 1. 86. There is irregular use of these affixes also in the Vedas. These affixes are :—

1. **यङ्** Intensive affix. 2. **णिच्** Causative and Chârâdi class affix. 3. **यक्** Kandan yâdi class affix. 4. **आयः** 5. **ईयङ्** 6. **णिङ्** 7. **स्य** and **तामि** of the Future Tense &c. 8. **सिप्** of Let. 9. **आम्** of Perfect. 10. **त्वि** and **सिच्**, **क्त्**, **चङ्**, and **अङ्** and **चिण्** of the Aorist. 11. **यक्** of the Passive, 12. The vikaranis **अप्**, **अयन्**, **अनु**, **अ**, **अनम्**, **उ**, **अना**, and the Benedictive **अङ्** । The irregular use of these has already been illustrated in the examples like **भेदति** &c.

३४३४ । लिङ्याशिष्यङ् । ३ । १ । ८६ ।

आशीर्लिङ् परे धातेरङ् स्याच्छन्दसि । 'वच उम्' (२४५४) । 'मंत्रं धेचेमाग्नये' । + **दृशेरयत्क्यः+** । 'पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च' अङि तु 'अदृशङ्' (२४०६) इति गुणः स्यात् ।

3434. The affix **अङ्** is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (**आशीर्लिङ्**) follow.

This debars ष्ट. The affixes of the Benedictive are *ārdhadhātuka* by III 4. 116. S. 2215; but in the Vedas they are *sārvadhātuka* as well; see III. 4. 117. S. 3435. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs स्या. गा, गम, वच्, वद् शक् and रुह; as उपस्थेयम्; सत्यमुपगेयम्, गमेम जानते गृहान्, मंत्रं वोचेमागये; विदेयमेनां मनसि पविष्टां; व्रतम् चरिष्यामि तच्छक्रेयम्; स्वर्गं लोकमारुहेयम्.

Vāre :—The affix अक् is employed in the Chhandas after the verb वृश् in the Benedictive. Had there been अद्, it would have caused *guṇa* by rule VII. 4. 16. S. 2406; to prevent this, अक् is ordained; as पितरं च वृशेयं मातरं च (Rig. Veda I. 24. 1). 'May I see the father and the mother.'

३४३५ । छन्दस्युभयया । ३ । ४ । १९७ ।

धात्वाधिकार उक्तः प्रत्ययः सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकोभयसंज्ञः स्यात् । 'वर्धन्तु त्वा सुष्टुतयः' । वर्धयन्त्वित्यर्थः । आर्धधातुकत्वाविणलोपः । 'विशृगिरे' सार्वधातुकत्वात् षुः शृभावश्च । 'हुषुवोः—' (२३८७) इति षष् । आद्रुगमहनजनः किकिनौ लिट् च' (३९५९) । आदन्ताद् वर्यान्ताद्रुमादेशे किकिनौ स्तः । तौ च लिट् वत् । 'वभिर्ब्रजम्' । 'पपिः सोमम्' 'दृदिर्गाः । जग्मिर्बुवा' । 'जग्मिर्वृत्रयमित्रियम्' । जजिः । लिट् वद्वावादेव सिद्धे 'रुच्छत्युताम्' (८३८३) इति गुणबोधनार्थं कित्त्वम् 'बहुलं छन्दसि' (३५७८) इत्युत्थम् । ततुरिः । जगुरिः ।

3435. In the Vedas this distinction of '*sārvadhātuka*' and '*ārdhadhātuka*' is not always maintained, and the affixes ordained after roots are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* affixes. Sometimes the लिट् and शित् are treated as if they were *ārdhadhātuka*. Thus वर्धन्तु त्वा सुष्टुतयः । Here the लिट् affixes of the लोट् are treated as *ārdhadhātuka* and consequently there is the elision of the णिच् by rule VI. 4. 51. S. 2313; the proper form of this word would be वर्धयन्तु । Sometimes *ārdhadhātuka* affixes are treated like *sārvadhātuka* affixes; as विशृगिरे; here the affixes of the लिट् are treated as *sārvadhātuka* and so there is the Vikarāṇa षुः and the उ is changed into व । Thus, वि + शृ + षु + इरे = वि + शृ + नु + इरे (III. 1. 74. S. 2386.) = वि + शृ + न्व् + इरे (VI. 4. 87. S. 2387.) = विशृगिरे । Similarly, सुन्विरे । The लिट् is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as *ārdhadhātuka* and *sārvadhātuka* at one and the same time; as उपस्थेयम् प्ररणं बृहन्तम् । Here, by treating the ष् suffix as *ārdhadhātuka*, there is elision of स् in the लिट् (VII. 2. 79. S. 2211) and by treating it again as *ārdhadhātuka* the आ of स्या is changed into ष । So also in वर्धन्ति the affix is treated as *sārvadhātuka* and there is no substitution of भू for अस् as required by II. 4. 52. S. 2470.

In this connection, we read here again the sūtra III. 2. 171. S. 3151.

३४३५ क । आद्रुगमहनजनः किकिनौ लिट् च । ३ । २ । १९७ ।

3435. A. In the Chhandas, the affixes 'ki' and 'kin' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' &c' come after the verbs that end in long 'ā' or short or long 'ṛi' and after the verbs gam 'to go,' han 'to kill,' and jan 'to be produced,' and these affixes operate like 'Lit' causing reduplication of the root.

द्वित्रिवज्जम् (Rig Ved. VI. 23 4). From the root भृज् + कि = द्वभिः । Reduplication because treated as लिट् ।

पपिः सोमम् (,, ,,), From पा + कि = पपिः ।

दृदिर्गाः (,, ,,). From दा + कि = दृदिः

जग्मिर्गुवा (Rig Veda VII. 20. 1.) From गम् + किन् = जग्मिः । The penultimate अ is elided by VI. 4. 98. S. 2263.

जग्मिर्वृत्रमग्नित्रियम् (Rig Veda. IX. 61. 20). From हृन् + किन् = जग्मिः । ह changed to घ by VII. 3. 54. S. 358.

जग्निःवीजम् (T. S. VII. 5. 20. 1.) From जन् + किन् = जग्निः

Q. "Now all the above roots either end in vowel or in simple consonants, and therefore by असंयोगाल् लिट् कित् (I. 2. 5. S. 2242) the affixes कि and किन् (the real affix is इ) would be कित्; why are these affixes enunciated with an indicatory क्?" Ans. They are read as कित् in order to prevent *guna* in the case of roots ending in long ऋ; for by VII. 4. 11. S. 2383, लिट् alone would not have been कित् after long ऋ ॥ The usefulness of the affixes being कित् is illustrated in the next two examples.

मित्रावरुणा ततुरिम् (Rig Veda. IV. 39. 2). ततुरिम् = तारकं । दूरे अध्वाजगुरिः (Rig Veda X. 108. 1).

Here from the roots तृ प्लवन तरणयोः and गृ निगरणे both ending in long ऋ we get the forms ततुरिः and जगुरिः by the affix कि ॥ Had the affix been merely इ without indicatory क्, it being like लिट् would have caused *guna* of ऋ by VII. 4. 11. S. 2383; but the indicatory क् prevents it.

Thus तृ + कि = तुर + कि (the ऋ is replaced by उर् by VII. 1. 103. S. 3578.) Then there is reduplication. And we should get तुर तुर + इ ॥ But by I. 1. 59 S. 2243, the उर् substitution does not take place first. It is after reduplication that VII. 1. 103. S. 3578. finds scope. Thus त + कि = तृ तृ + कि = तर्तृ + कि (VII. 4. 66. S. 2244.) = ततृ + कि (VII. 4. 60. S. 2179). At this stage will apply sūtra VII. 4. 11, and we have ततुरिः ॥

Similarly we get जगुरिः ॥

३४३६ तुमर्थं सेसेनसेअसेनअसेकसेनथ्यै अथ्यैनुअथ्यै अथ्यैनुशथ्यै शथ्यैन्तवैतवेङ्-
तवेनः । ३ । ४ । ६ ।

से । 'वले रायः' । सेन् । 'ता यामेवे' । असे । 'शरदो जीवसे धाः' । असेचित्वादाद्युदानः क्से । प्रथे । कसेन् । 'गत्रामिव अयसे' । अथ्ये । अथ्यैन् 'जटरं पृणथ्ये' । पत्र अद्युदानः कथ्ये । कथ्यैन् । आहुयथ्ये । पत्ने निस्वरः । शथ्ये । 'राधसः सह मादयथ्ये' । शथ्यैन् । 'वायवे पिथथ्ये' । तवे । दातयाउ । तवेङ् । सूतवे । तवेन् । कर्तवे ।

3436. In the Vedas the following affixes come after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz:—'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', 'adhyai', 'adhyain', 'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'śadhyai', 'śadhyain', 'tavai', 'taven', and 'taven.'

In the Vaidic literature, the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes. These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of the following five affixes:—(1) से = से, सेन् and क्से ॥ (2) असे = असे, असेन् and कसेन् ॥ (3) अथ्ये = अथ्ये, अथ्यैन्, कथ्ये, कथ्यैन्, शथ्ये and शथ्यैन् ॥ (4) तवे ॥ (5) तवे = तवेङ् and तवेन् ।

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz. न, क, श and इ । The forces of क्श and इ have already been explained; the indicatory न makes the word take the *udatta* accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197. S. 3686). Thus से is acute (III. 1. 3. S. 3701); सेन has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. 1. 197); असे has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); असेन throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory श makes the numbers 11 and 12 Sârvadhâtuka, and the root takes the proper Vikarana of its class before these affixes; while before तवे, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. 1. 200. S. 3688. VI. 2. 51. S. 3785.)

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is meant by तुमर्थे 'the sense of the affix तुम्'. The word तुमर्थे is here equivalent to भाव or 'action'; for the *pratyayas* or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुमुन्, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, i. e. it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) से—वत्ते (from वच् + से) रायः । (2) सेन—तावामेवे रथानाम् (Rig. V. 66. 3). from इ, एषे । (3 and 4) असे and असेन—अस्मि शतं शरदे। जीवसे धाः (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also क्वत्वे वत्ताय जीवसे' (Rig. X. 57. 4). With असेन the word will be जीवसे । (5) वसे—प्रेषे भगाय from इ, इषे । प्र + इषे = प्रेषे (6) कसेन गर्भामिव श्रियसे (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) which would have given us श्रियसे । (7 and 8) अध्ये, अध्येन कठरं पृणध्ये । The accent is on the last in one case and on the first in the other. (9) कध्ये—इन्द्रानी आहुवध्ये (Rig VI. 60. 13). (10) कध्येन श्रियध्ये । (11 and 12) शध्ये, शध्येन—पिबध्ये (Rig VI. 27. 5); the accent however is on पि । सह मादयध्ये (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) तवे—सोममिन्द्राय पातवे । (14) तवेइ—तं ते गर्भं हृद्यामहे दशमे मासि सूतये (Rig. X. 184. 3). (15) तवेन=गंतवे (Rig. I. 46. 7); कर्तवे (Rig. I. 85. 9); इतवे ॥

३४३७ । प्रये रोहिष्ये अव्यथिय्ये । ३ । ४ । १० ।

एते तुमर्थे निपात्यन्ते । प्रयातुं रेदुमव्यथितुमित्यर्थः ।

3437. The words 'prayai,' 'rohishyai,' and 'avyathishyai' are irregular Vaidic Infinitives.

Thus (1) प्रये देवेभ्यो महीः (Rig. I. 142. 6); प्र + या + कै = प्रये = प्रयातुम् । (2) अषामोवधीनां रोहिष्ये । रुह् + इष्ये = रोहिष्ये = रोहणाय । (3) अ + व्यथ् + इष्ये = अव्यथिय्ये = अव्यथनाय ।

३४३८ । दृशे विख्ये च । ३ । ४ । ११ ।

द्रष्टुं विख्यातुमित्यर्थः ।

3438. The words 'driśe' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vaidic Infinitives.

Thus दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यम् (Rig. I. 50. 1) = द्रष्टुम् । विख्ये त्वा हरामि = विख्यातुम् ।

३४३९ । शकि णमुल्कमुलौ । ३ । ४ । १२ ।

शक्नोतालुपदे तुमर्थे एतौ स्तः । 'विभाजं नाशकत्' । 'अपलुपं नाशकत्' । विभक्तु-मपलोप्तुमित्यर्थः ।

3439. The affixes 'namul' and 'kamul' are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'śak' (to be able.)

Of the affix णमुल् the real affix is अम् ; the letter ण causes vṛddhi (VII. 2. 115); and ल regulates the accent (VI. 1. 193). - So also of कमुल् the letter क prevents guṇa and vṛddhi substitution (I. 1. 5.)

Thus अग्निं वै देवा विभाजं नाशक्नुवन् 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni.' विभज् + णमुल् = विभाजं = विभक्तुम् । So also अपलुपं नाशक्नुवन्, instead of अपलोप्तुम् ।

३४४० । ईश्वरे तोसुःकसुनौ । २ । ४ । १३ ।

'ईश्वरो विचरितोः' । 'ईश्वरो विलिखः' । विचरितुं विलेखितुमित्यर्थः ।

3440. The affixes 'tosun' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the word 'īśvara' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोऽभिचरितोः = अभिचरितुम् । ईश्वरो विलिखः = विलिखितुम् । ईश्वरो वितुदः = वितर्दितुम् ।

३४४१ । कृत्यार्थं तवैकेकेन्यत्वानः । ३ । ४ । १४ ।

'न स्तच्छित्तवै' । 'अवगाहे' । 'दिदृक्षेण्यः' । 'भूर्यस्यष्ट कर्त्वम्' ।

3441. The affixes 'tavai,' 'ken,' 'kenya' and 'tvan' are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the 'Kṛitya-affixes.'

The force of *kṛitya* affixes is to denote 'action' (भाव) and 'object' (कर्मन्). Thus अन्वेतवै = अन्वेतव्यम् ; परिधातवै = परिधातव्यम् ; नावगाहे = नावगाहितव्यम् ; दिदृक्षेण्यः (Rig. I. 106. 5) = दिदृक्षितव्यम् ; शुश्रूषेण्यः = शुश्रूषितव्यम् ; कर्त्वम् ; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्तव्यम् ।

The affix तवै was mentioned in sūtra III. 4. 9, also ; there it had the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle. For its accent, see VI. 1. 200 ; 2. 51.

३४४२ । अवचक्षे च । ३ । ४ । १५ ।

'रिपुणा नावचक्षे' । अवख्यातव्यमित्यर्थः ।

3442. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus रिपुणा नावचक्षे (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नावख्यातव्यम् । अव + चक्ष् + एण् = अवचक्षे । The sūtra II. 4. 54. S. 2436, is not applied here.

३४४३ । भावलक्षणे स्यैकप्रद्विचरिदुतमिजनिभ्यस्तोसुन् । ३ । ४ । १६ ।

'आसंस्थातोः सादन्ति' । आसमाप्तेः सादन्तोत्यर्थः । उदंताः । अपकर्ताः । प्रवदितोः । प्रचरितोः । द्योताः । आतमितोः । 'काममाघिजनितोः संभवाम' ।

3443. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz :— 'sthâ' (to stand), 'izâ' (to go), 'kriñ' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्थं is not to be read into this sūtra. The word भावलक्षणं qualifies the sense of the root (भावो लक्ष्यते येन).

Thus, स्या—आ संस्थातेर्वेद्यां सोदन्ति=आममाप्तेः सोदन्ति । इण्—पुरा सूर्यस्योदेतेराधेयः । कञ्—पुरा वत्सानामपाकतेः । वद्—पुरा प्रवदितो रग्नौ प्रहोतव्यम् । चर्—पुरा प्रचरितो-
राग्नीधीये हेतव्याः । (Gopatha Brahmana II. 2. 10) । हु—आ हेतोरप्रमत्तलिप्यति ।
तम्—आ तमितोरासीत (Taitt. Br. I. 4 4. 2) जन्—आ विजनिताः सम्भवाम (Taitt.
S. II 5. 1. 5).

३४४४ । सृपितृदोः कसुन् । ३ । ४ । १७ ।

भावलक्षण इत्येव । 'पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपो विरिष्णन्' । 'पुरा जत्रुभ्य आतृदः' ।
इति तृतीयोऽध्यायः ।

3444. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes after the verbs 'srip' (to creep) and 'trid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus विसृपः । पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपः (Yaj. I. 28.); आतृदः । पुरा जत्रुभ्य आतृदः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40. S. 450.

CHAPTER IV.

३४४५ । रात्रेश्चाजसौ । ४ । १ । ३१ ।

रात्रिशब्दाङ्गीरस्यात् अजस्रविषये क्वन्दसि । 'रात्री व्यल्यदायति' । लोके तु कटिकारादिति ङीष्न्तोदात्तः ।

3445. The affix 'ñip' comes after the word 'râtri' in the Chhandas, and in denoting a Name, except when the affix 'jas' (nominative plural) is added.

Thus रात्री व्यल्यदायति, या रात्री सृष्टा, 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 । In the classical literature, the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 45) with acute on the final.

NOTE:—According to Kâtyâyana, ñip is not added, not only when we apply the nominative plural termination जस्; but in all other terminations beginning with जस् also. Thus रात्रिं सहेषित्वा; here in the accusative singular case also the ङीष् is not employed.

But how do you explain the form रात्र्यः in the following तिमिरपटलेर-
द्युषुषिटाश्च रात्र्यः? This 'râtrya' is the nominative plural of 'râtri' which is formed by the feminine affix ñip; and not by ñish. The forms evolved by adding ङीष् or ङीष् are one and the same, except with regard to accent; that formed by ñish has udâta accent on the final: the other has it on the initial. The word रात्रि is formed by the kṛit affix त्रिष् (Un. IV. 67), and therefore, it is a word which is governed by IV. 1. 45 because it is a word falling in Bahuvâdi class, by virtue of the general subrule "a word ending with the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, other than क्तिन् belongs to Bahuvâdi 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 ङीष् in forming the feminine.

३४४६ । नित्यं क्वन्दसि । ४ । १ । ४६ ।

बहुविध्यक्वन्दसि विषये नित्यं ङीष् । 'वहुषु हित्वा' । नित्यपदणमुत्तराद्यम् ।

3446. The affix 'nīsh' is always employed in the Vaidic literature, in forming the feminine of the word 'bhu' and the rest.

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

The word नित्य 'always' is used in the aphorism, more for the sake of the sub-sequent 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 आरस्ससामय्यादेव नित्यात्रिधिः सिद्धः, योगारम्भश्चिन्त्य योजनः ॥

३४४६ । भुयश्च । ४ । १ । ४७ ।

हीष्मत् छन्दसि । प्रभ्यां । प्रभ्यां । विप्रसंभ्य इति हुप्रत्ययान्तं सूत्रेऽनुक्रियते । उत इत्यनुवृत्तेः । उवतादेशस्तु मोत्रः ।

'+सुद्रनाच्छन्दसि लिच् +', नित्स्वरः । 'रथीरभून्सुद्रनानी' । हीषो नित्वमानुक्चागमः ।

3447. The affix 'nīś' is always employed in the Chhandas in forming the feminine, after the word 'bhu.'

Thus प्रभ्यां, (Rig. Ved. V. 38. 1). प्रभ्यां (Rig Ved. I. 188. 5).

But why not so in the case of स्वपंभूः? Because it ends in long ऊ, while विभ्वी &c. are feminine of विभु, &c. ending in short उ as these two words are formed by the affix हु (उ) of III. 2. 180. In fact the word उतः "after a word ending in short उ" of sūtra IV. 1. 44 governs this also. The word भुवः is the ablative case of भु irregularly formed by the substitution of उवङ्; this form being confined to sūtras only.

Vart:—In the Chhandas, the affix हीष् with the augment आनुक् is added to the word सुद्रन; and the affix is treated as if it had an indicatory ल् ॥ The force of the indicatory ल् is to make the vowel preceding the affix, take the acute accent (VI 1. 193 लिति). Thus रथीरभून् सुद्रनानी गविष्टी ॥ (Rig Veda X. 120. 2.)

३४४८ । दीर्घं जिह्वी च छन्दसि । ४ । १ । ५९ ।

संयोगोवधत्वादप्राप्नो हीष्बिधीयते । 'आसुरी वै दीर्घजिह्वी देवानां यज्ञवाद्' ।

3448. The form दीर्घजिह्वी 'long tongued' is irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The word दीर्घजिह्वी is the feminine of दीर्घजीह्व, but as the latter has a conjunct consonant for its penultimate, the feminine affix हीष् would not have applied to it by IV. 1. 54. The present aphorism enjoins हीष् ॥ Thus दीर्घजिह्वी in the sentence आसुरी वै दीर्घजिह्वी देवानां यज्ञवाद् ॥

NOTE ;—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 हीष् is necessary and not optional, as was the case in the preceding Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtras.

३४४९ । कद्रुकमण्डल्यो श्छन्दसि । ४ । १ । ७१ ।

उङ् स्यात् । 'कद्रुश्च वै कमण्डलूः' ।

'+ गुग्गुलुमधुजतुपतयालूनामिति यक्तव्यम् +'. गुग्गुलूः । मधूः । जतूः । पतयालूः ॥ 'अव्ययात्प' (१३-४) ।

‘+ आधिपत्यस्योपसंख्यानं कृन्दसि +’ । ‘आधिपत्ये वधन्ते’ ।

3449. The feminine affix ‘ūn’ comes in the Vedas after the words ‘kadru’ (tawny), and ‘kamandalu’ (a water pot).

Thus कद्रुश्च वै सुपर्णो च ॥ मास्मकमण्डलं वृद्राय दद्यात् ॥

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

Vart:—So also after the words गुग्गुलु, मधु, जतु and पतयालुः ॥ Thus गुग्गुलूः, मधूः, जतूः, and पतयालूः ।

Vart:—The त्यप् is added to the word आविस् in the Vedas. As, आवि-
प्यो वधन्ते ॥

३४५० । कृन्दसि ठञ् । ४ । ३ । १९ ।

वर्षाभ्यः । ठकौःपवादः । स्वरे भेदः । वार्षिकम् ।

3450. In the Chhandas, the word ‘varshâ’ takes the affix ‘ṭhañ’ in the remaining senses.

This debars ठक्. The form will have difference in accent. As नभश्च
नभस्पश्च वार्षिकाश्रू ॥ The word ऋतु here means “month,” i. e. Nabha and
Nabhasya are two rainy months.

३४५१ । वसन्ताच्च । ४ । ३ । २० ।

ठस्याच्छन्दसि । वसन्तिकम् ।

3451. In the Chhandas, the affix ‘ṭhañ’ comes in the re-
maining senses after the word ‘vasanta.’

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16, S. 1387.) Thus मधुश्च माधवश्च वसन्तिकाश्रू ॥

३४५२ । हेमन्ताच्च । ४ । ३ । २१ ।

कृन्दसि ठञ् । हेमन्तिकम् । योगविभाष उतरार्थः । शौनकादिभ्यश्चकृन्दसि’ (१४८६) । णिनि
प्रोक्तार्थं । काशोरपवादः । शौनकेन प्र क्तमधीयते शौनकिनः । वाजसनेयिनः । ‘कृन्दसि’ किम् ।
शौनकीया शिवा ।

3452. In the Chhandas, the affix ‘ṭhañ’ comes in the re-
maining senses, after the word ‘heimanta.’

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus सहश्च सहस्पश्च हेमन्तिकाश्रू ॥ The mak-
ing of two separate Sûtras of 20 and 21, is for the subsequent sūtra, in which,
the anuvṛitti of the word हेमन्त only is taken.

Here we must refer again to IV. 3, 106. S. 1486.

३३५२ क । शौनकादिभ्यश्चकृन्दसि । ४ । ३ । १०६ ।

3452. A. The affix ‘ṇini’ comes in the sense of enounced by
him, after the words ‘śaunak’ &c., in denoting the Chhandas
enounced by them.

This debars छ् and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकिनः “who study (IV. 2. 64) the
Chhandas enounced by Śaunaka.” Similarly वाजसनेयिनः ।

Why do we say “in denoting *chhandas* ?” Observe शौनकीया शिवा “the
Orthography of Śaunaka.” The affix here is छ् (IV. 2. 114. S. 1337).

३४५३ । द्वयश्चकृन्दसि । ४ । ३ । १५० ।

विकारे मयद् स्यात् । शरमयं बहिः । ‘यस्य पर्यामयो जुहुः’ ।

3453. In the Chhandas, after a dissyllabic word, the affix 'mayat' comes in the sense of 'its product or part.'

This ordains मयट् in the sacred literature in the sense dealt with in IV. 3. 143. S. 1523. Thus पर्णमयः, दभंमयः शरमयः in the following यस्य पर्णमयो जुष्टुर्भवति, दभंमयम् वासो भवति, शरमयम् बर्हिर् भवति ।

३४५४ । नो त्वदुर्ध्वित्वात् । ४ । ३ । १५१ ।

उत्पानुकारवान् । मौञ्जं शिक्रम् । वर्धं चर्म तस्य विकारे वार्धि रज्जुः । वैल्वो यूपः, सभाया यः' (१६५७) ।

3454. The affix 'mayat' does not come in the Chhandas after a dissyllabic word, having a short vowel 'u' in it nor after the words 'vardhra' and 'bilwa.'

Thus मौञ्जं शिक्रम् from मुञ्ज by अण् ॥ वार्धि बालप्रययिता भवति; वैल्वे ब्रह्म वर्चसकामेन कार्यः ॥

The word उत्तत् means 'having उत् or short u (I. 1. 70).'

The word मुञ्ज is ādy-udātta by तृणधान्यानां (Phit II. 4): and therefore it takes the universal अण् (IV. 3. 134).

The word वर्धं meaning 'skin' is ādyudātta by Phit II. 19, and therefore takes अण्, the feminine being formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15), as वार्धि "rope made of leather." वैल्वः means the yūpa in which sacrificial victims are tied.

By the sūtra सभाया यः (IV. 4. 105. S. 1657) the affix य is added to सभा in denoting excellence. But in the Chhandas, the affix ट् is added under similar conditions: as taught below.

३४५५ । ढश्छन्दसि । ४ । ४ । १०६ ।

सभेयो युवा ।

3455. The affix 'qh' comes in the Chhandas after the word 'sabhâ,' in the sense 'of excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars य of the preceding sūtra IV. 4. 105. S. 1657. Thus सभेयः in सभेयोस्य युवा यजमानस्य वारो जायताम् 'let a refined, youthful hero be born to this sacrificer.'

३४५६ । भवे छन्दसि । ४ । ४ । ११० ।

सम्प्रयन्ताद्दुषार्थं यत् । 'मेधाय च विदुष्य च' । यथायथं श्रेयिकाणामणादीनां चाप-वादीष्यं यत् । पक्षे तेऽपि भवन्ति । सर्वविधीनां छन्दसि विकल्पकत्वात् । तद्यथा मुञ्जवात्राम पर्यतस्तत्र भवे मौञ्जवतः । 'सोमस्येव मौञ्जवतस्य भक्तः' ॥ आचतुर्थसमाप्तेश्छन्दोर्गधिकारः ।

3456. The affix 'yat' comes in the Chhandas, after a word in the locative case in construction, in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars अण् च &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 मेधयः and विदुष्यं in the following hymn of the Yajur Veda (16. 38): नमो मेधाय च विदुष्य च ॥ All the sūtras henceforward up to the end of the fourth chapter, are Vaidic sūtras, the word छन्दसि being understood in them all. The word भवे governs all the sūtras up to IV. 4. 118. S. 3464.

In the alternatives the affixes अण् &c., will also be employed. Thus there is a mountain called मुञ्जवान् Muñjavat; from it we get the Derivative word मोञ्जवतः in the sense of तत्र भवः, as in the sentence सोमस्येव मोञ्जवतस्य भवः: "The eater of Soma plant produced on Muñjavat Mountains."

३४५७ । पाथोनदीभ्यांङण् । ४ । ४ । १११ ।

'तमु त्वा पाथ्ये वृषा' । घने दधीत नाद्यो गिरो मे' । पाथसि भवः पाथ्यः । नद्यां भवो नाद्यः ।

3457. The affix 'dyaṅ' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'pâthas' and 'nadi,' whereby the last vowel, with the consonant following, is elided.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पाथसि भवः = पाथ्यः 'watery, celestial,' so also नाद्यः "of the river, fluvial." As in the following hymns 'तमुत्रापथ्यो वृषा,' (Rig Ved. VI. 16. 15) 'च नेो दधीत नाद्या गिरो मे' (Rig Ved II. 35. 1). पाथः means firmament, and water.

३४५८ । वैशन्तहिमवद्भ्यामण् । ४ । ४ । ११२ ।

भवे । वैशन्तोभ्यः स्वाहा । हिमवतीभ्यः स्वाहा ।

3458. The affix 'aṅ' comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there' after the words 'veśanta' and 'himavat.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus वैशन्तोभ्यः स्वाहा हिमवतीभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

३४५९ । स्रोतसो विभावा इङ्यो । ४ । ४ । ११३ ।

जते यत् । इङ्योस्तु स्वरे भेदः । स्रोतसि भवः स्रोत्यः - स्रोतयः ।

3459. The affixes 'dyat' and 'dya' come optionally in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word, 'srotas' and before these affixes the final syllable 'as' of srotas is elided.

This debars यत् which comes in the alternative. As स्रोतसि भवः = स्रोत्यः or स्रोतयः (Rig Ved. X. 104. 8) 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 स्रोतस्यः ॥

३४६० । सगर्भयूयमनुनायन् । ४ । ४ । ११४ ।

अनुभ्राता सगर्भ्यः । अनुमखा सयूय्यः । 'यो नः सनुय उत वा जिघ्रुः' । नुतिर्नुतम् । 'नपुंसके भाषेकः' (३०६०) । सगर्भद्वयस्त्रयोऽपि कर्मधारयाः । 'रुमानस्य कृन्दसि—' (१०१२) इति सः । ततो भवार्यं यत् । यतोऽपवादः ।

3460. The affix 'yan' comes in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'sagarbha,' 'sayûtha' and 'sanuta.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (VI. 1. 197). Thus अनुभ्रतः सगर्भ्यः 'a younger brother'. अनुमखासयूय्यः 'a younger friend'. युता भवन्ति आस्मिन् So also यो नः सनुयः उत वा जिघ्रुः thief lit. 'who stays in a concealed place', sanuta meaning 'concealed' (see Rig Veda II. 31. 9). From the root नु with the Passive त we get नुतम् ॥ The word समान is always changed into स in the Chhandas

(VI. 3. 84). All three are karmadhâraya compounds, as समानश्चासौ गर्भश्च = सगर्भः तत्रभवः = सगर्भ्यः ।

३४६१ । तुग्राहृन् । ४ । ४ । ११५ ।

भवेऽर्थे । यत्ने यदपि । 'आ यः शमं वृषभं तुग्यासु' इति षड्ढुचाः । 'तुग्यासु' इति शाब्दान्तरे । 'घनाकाशयन्त्रवरिष्ठेषु तुग्यशब्दः' इति वृत्तिः ।

3461. The affix 'ghan' comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word tugra.

This debars यत्, which comes in the alternative. Thus तुग्यः as त्व मग्ने वृषभम् तुग्यासां ॥ Which assumes the form तुग्य तुग्या also. As आचः शमम् वृषभं तुग्यासु (Rig Veda I. 33. 15) Tugrya meaning 'sunk in the waters'. Another reading is तुग्यासु ॥ The word तुग्य means 'food, firmament, sacrifice and varishtā'.

३४६२ । अयाद्यत् । ४ । ४ । ११६ ।

3462. The affix 'yat' comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra.'

Thus अये भवं = अयम् ॥ Why this separate rule, for यत् would have come after अय by the general rule IV. 4. 110? The repetition is to show that यत् is not debarred by च and छ of the next sūtra, which would have been the case, had this sūtra not existed.

३४६३ । घक्चौ च । ४ । ४ । ११७ ।

चाद्यत् । अये भवेऽयः-अयिः-अयीः ।

3463. The affixes 'ghach' and 'chha' come in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra.'

Thus अयम् by (यत्), अयीयम् (by छ) and अयिष्यम् (by चच्). And अयिष्यम् (by चन्) from IV. 4. 115. See R. V. 1. 13. 10 इहत्वष्टारमःपुष्यम् ॥

३४६४ समुद्राभाद् घः । ४ । ४ । ११८ ।

'समुद्रिया अप्सरसो मनोविणम्' । 'नानदतो अभियस्येव घोषाः' ।

3464. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas in the senses of 'what stays there,' after the words 'samudra' and 'abhra.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus समुद्रियः and अभियः, as in समुद्रिया अप्सरसो मनोविणम् and नानदतो अभियस्येव 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, and shows that the rule of pūrva-nipāta is not of universal application.

३४६५ । बर्हिषि दत्तम् । ४ । ४ । ११९ ।

प्राग्घिताद्यदित्येव । 'बर्हिष्येषु निधिषु प्रियेषु' ।

3465. The affix 'yat' comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'given,' after the word 'barhis' in the 7th case in construction.

The anuvṛitti of तत्र भवः ceases. Thus बर्हिष्येषु निधिषु प्रियेषु ॥ R. V. 10. 15, 5.

३३६६ । दूतस्य भागकर्मणी । ४ । ४ । १२० ।

भागोऽशः । दूतस्य ।

3466. The affix 'yat' comes in the Chhandas after the word 'dāta' 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 यत्ने अग्ने दूत्यम् ॥ According to VI. 1. 213, the accent will be दूत्यम् but the accented Text reads दूत्यम् ॥

३४६७ । रक्षीयातूनां हननी । ४ । ४ । १२१ ।

'या तेऽग्ने रक्षस्या तनूः' ।

3467. The affix 'yat' 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 रक्षस्य' and यातव्यं meaning 'that which kills the demons called Rakshas and Yātus.' As या ते अग्ने रक्षस्या तनूः 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.

३४६८ । रेवतीजगतीहविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये । ४ । ४ । १२२ ।

प्रशंसने यत्स्यात् । रेवत्यादीनां प्रशंसनं रेवत्यम् । जगत्यम् । हविष्यम् ।

3468. The affix 'yat' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'praising,' after the words 'revati,' 'jagati' and 'havishya' in the sixth case in construction.

The word प्रशस्य means प्रशंसन 'praising, extolling,' formed by adding the Krit affix यत् to the root, with the force of भाव or 'condition.' Thus रेवत्यम्, जगत्यम् 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. 1. 4) हविष्यानाम् प्रशंसनं = हविष्यम् (हविष्य + यत् IV. 4. 122 = हविष् + यत् the final अ being elided by VI. 4. 148 = हविष् + यत् the य् being elided by VIII. 4. 64).

३४६९ । असुरस्य स्वम् । ४ । ४ । १२३ ।

'असुर्यं देवेभिर्धायि विश्वम्' ।

3469. The affix 'yat' 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 असुर्यं वा गतत् पात्रं यच्चक्रथत् कुन्नालकृतम् 'this vessel made on a wheel by a potter belongs to the Asuras.' असुर्यं देवेभिर्धायि विश्वम् ॥ See Maitr S. I. 8. 3. So also असुर्या नाम ते लोकाः (Ishop. 3).

३४७० । मायथामण् । ४ । ४ । १२४ ।

आसुरी माया ।

3470. The affix 'an' 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 ॥

३४७१ । तद्धानासामुपधानो मन्त्र इतीष्टकासु लुक्च मतोः । ४ । ४ । १२५ ।
वर्चस्वानुपधानो मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानां वर्चस्याः । ऋतव्याः ।

3471. The affix 'yat' comes in the Chhandas, after a nominal stem, in the 1st case in construction, ending with the affix 'matup,' 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. तद्धान् is formed by adding मतुप् to तद् meaning 'having that,' and refers to a noun formed by the affix मतुप् ॥ 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 (âsâm), after a word which ends with matup (tadvân), 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 वर्चस्वान् is a Mantra containing the word वर्चस् ॥ The bricks put up or collected (उपधीयते) with the recitation of वर्चस्वान् Mantra, will be called वर्चस्या (वर्चस्वन् + यत् = वर्चस् + यत् the affix वत् (मत्तुप्) being elided = वर्चस्य, fem. वर्चस्या) ॥ Thus वर्चस्या उपदधाति 'he collects Varchasya bricks i. e. on which Varchasvân mantra has been pronounced' So तेजस्या उपदधाति ॥ So पयस्याः, रेतस्याः ॥

NOTE :—Why do we say तद्धान् ? 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. वर्चस्वानुपस्थान मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानाम्, here there will be no affix. Why do we say Mantra ? Observe अंगुलिमानुपधानो हस्त आसाम् 'these bricks are collected with hand having fingers,' here there will be no affix. Why do we say इष्टकासु ? Observe वर्चस्वानुपधानो मन्त्र एषां कपालानाम्, here there will be no affix, the thing collected being potsherds and not bricks.

३४७२ । अश्विमान् । ४ । ४ । १२६ ।

'अश्विनीरुपदधाति' ।

3472. The affix 'an' comes in the Chhandas, after the words aśvimân, to denote bricks put up with the Mantra containing the word Aśvin, and the affix matup is elided.

Thus अश्विमानुपधानो मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानां = अश्विनः fem, अश्विनीः ॥ The word is thus formed. अश्विमान् + अण् = अश्वि + अण् the matup being elided IV., 4 125 = अश्विन् + अण् VI. 4. 164 = अश्विन् ॥ Thus आश्विनीरुपदधाति '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.

३४७३ । वयस्यासु मूर्ध्ना मत्तुप् । ४ । ४ । १२७ ।

तद्वानाहामिति सूत्रं सर्धमनुवर्तते । मतेरिति पदमाद्यर्थं वञ्चयन्तं बोध्यम् । मत्तुवन्तो यो मूर्धशब्दस्ततो मत्तुस्यात् । प्रथमस्य मतेर्लुक्च । वयशब्दवन्मन्त्रोपधेयास्त्रिष्टकासु । यस्मिन्मन्त्रे मूर्धध्वःशब्दो स्तः । तेन 'उपधेयासु मूर्धन्वतीरुपदधाति' इति प्रयोगः ।

3473. The affix 'matup' is added in the Chhandas, to the word 'mûrdhanvat,' in expressing bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word 'vayas.'

The whole of the sūtra 3471 is understood here. The word मतेः should be repeated, and is to be construed in the Ablative case. The sūtra means "After the word mûrdha ending in matup, i. e. after the word murdhavat, there is added a second matup, and there is elision of the first matup when the bricks are collected with vayas mantra." The word वयस्या means the bricks, the Upadhāna mantras of which contain the word वयस् ॥ The affix मत्तुप्, debars 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 sūtra ordains मत्तुप्, after मूर्धन्वान् ॥ Thus मूर्धन्वतीरुपदधाति 'he collects Mûrdhanvatī bricks.' The words वयस्याः and मूर्धन्वत्यः denote the same object. See VI. 1. 176.

३४७४ । मत्स्ये मासतन्वोः । ४ । ४ । १२८ ।

नभोभ्यम् । तदस्मिन्नस्तीति नभस्यो मासः । श्रौजस्या तनूः ।

3474. The affix 'yat' 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 नभसि चिद्यन्ते यस्मिन् मासे = नभस्यः 'the month of clouds' i. e. June-July.

Similarly श्रौजस्या तनूः 'the bodies full of vigor.'

३४७५ । मधोर्ज च । ४ । ४ । १२९ ।

चाद्यत् । माधवः - मधव्यः ।

3475. The affix 'ña' as well as 'yat' comes with the force of matup, in the Chhandas, after the word 'madhu.'

Thus माधवः or मधव्यः

३४७६ । श्रौजसोऽहनि यस्त्रौ । ४ । ४ । १३० ।

श्रौजस्यमहः । श्रौजसीनं वा ।

3476. The affixes 'yat' and 'kh' come with the force of matup, after the word 'ojas,' when a day is meant.

Thus श्रौजस्यम् or श्रौजसीनं = अहः 'the day' lit. full of heat.

३४७७ । वेशोयशश्चादेर्भगाद्यस्त्रौ । ४ । ४ । १३१ ।

वेशो बलं तदेव भगः । वेशोभग्यः । यशोभग्यः । वेशोभगीनः । यशोभगीनः ।

3477. The affixes 'yal' and 'kh' come in the Chhandas, with the force of matup, after the word bhaga, having the words 'veśas' or 'yaśas' in the beginning.

The rule of yathâ-saukhya does not apply here.

The ल् of यल् shows that the accent falls on the vowel preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). Thus वेशोभगो विद्यते यस्य स = 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 Dvanîva compound of वेशस् 'force' and भगः 'fortune.' The word वेशोभग्यः would then mean 'possessed of power and fortune.' With ख, वेशोभगीनः, यशो भगीनः ।

NOTE :—Kâsikâ does not read ख into this sūtra. That is more reasonable.

३४७८ । ख च । ४ । ४ । १३२ ।

योतविभाग उत्तरार्ध । ऋनिरावर्धच ।

3478. The affix 'kh' also comes after the words 'veśobhaga' and 'yaśobhaga,' in the Chhandas, with the force of matup.

Thus वेशोभगीनः and यशोभगीनः ॥

Note according to the Kâsikâ :—This sūtra has been separated from the last in order to prevent the application of the ययासंख्य rule (L. 3. 10). For had the sūtra been वेशोपश आदेर्भगाद् यल्खा, as it occurs in the 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 ॥

३४७९ । पूर्वैः कृतमित्यौ च । ४ । ४ । १३३ ।

'गम्भीरभिः पथिभिः पूर्विकेभिः' । 'ये ते पन्थाः सञ्चितः पूर्व्यामः' ।

3479. The affixes 'in' and 'ya' as well as 'kh' come in the sense of 'made by them,' after the word 'pûrva' (forefathers), in the Instrumental case in construction.

The ख is read into the sūtra by force of the word च ; the anuvṛitti of मन्वर्ध ceases. Thus पूर्वैः कृतं=पूर्विकः 'made by the ancestors' i. e. a road. So also पूर्वः and पूर्विकः ॥ The word पूर्वैः in the plural means पूर्वपुरुषैः "past generations, ancestors." These words occur generally in the plural, and mean "roads widened by the forefathers." Thus गम्भीरभिः पथिभिः पूर्विकेभिः ॥ So also, ये ते पन्थाः सञ्चितः पूर्व्यामः (Big I. 35. 11). Another reading of this sūtra is पूर्वैः कृतमित्यौचः the affixes then will be इनि (इन्), and य ; and ख will be drawn in by virtue of च ॥ The examples then will be पूर्विकेन् ; 3rd pl. पूर्विकेभिः (with इन्), as पथिभिः पूर्विकेभिः ; or पूर्विकेः (ख), or पूर्व्यैः (व) ॥

३४८० । अद्भिः संस्कृतम् । ४ । ४ । १३४ ।

यस्येदमप्यं ह्यिः ।

3480. The affix 'yat' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'sanctified,' after the word 'apas' in the third case in construction.

Thus अण् 'offering purified with water.' As यस्येदमण्यं हविः (Rig Ved. X 86. 12). The case of construction is indicated in the sūtra itself.

३४८१ । सहस्रेण संमितौ घः । ४ । ४ । १३५ ।

'सहस्रियासोऽर्षां नेर्मयः' । सहस्रेण तुल्य इत्यर्थः ।

3481. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'like,' after the word 'sahasra,' in the third case in construction.

The case of construction is indicated by the sūtra. Thus सहस्रेण संमितः = सहस्रियः 'like unto thousand.' As in the following verse:—सहस्रियासोऽर्षां नेर्मयः (Rig Ved. I 168. 2). The word संमित means तुल्य 'equal to.' Some read the word समित instead of समित, but the meaning will be the same.

३४८२ । मतौ च । ४ । ४ । १३६ ।

सहस्रशब्दान्मत्वर्थे घः स्यात् । सहस्रमस्यास्तीति सहस्रियः ।

3481. 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 विनि and इनि and अण् of V. 2. 102 and 103.

३४८३ । सोममर्हति यः । ४ । ४ । १३७ ।

सोम्यो ब्राह्मणः । ब्रह्मर्ह इत्यर्थः ।

3483. The affix 'ya' comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma,' in the second case in construction, when the sense is that of 'who deserves that.'

Thus सोममर्हति = सोम्यो ब्राह्मणः "The Brāhmaṇa who deserves Soma" i. e. honorable and learned, and worthy of performing sacrifices. The difference between यत् and य is in accent.

३४८४ । मये च । ४ । ४ । १३८ ।

सोमशब्दाद्वाः स्वान्मयइधे । सोम्यं मधु । सोममयमित्यर्थः ।

3484. The affix 'ya' comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma,' with the force of the affix mayat.

The force of the affix मयद् is that of ततः आगतः (IV. 3. 74 and 82). विकारावयव (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 ॥

३४८५ । मधोः । ४ । ४ । १३९ ।

मधुशब्दान्मयइधे वत्स्यात् । मधव्यः । मधुमय इत्यर्थः ।

3485. The affix 'yat' comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'madhu,' with the force of the affix mayat.

Thus मधव्यान् स्तोत्रान् = मधुमवान् ॥

३४८६ । यज्ञोः ममूहे च । ४ । ४ । १४० ।

चान्मयइधे यत् । यतव्यः । ' + अक्षरसमूहे क्त्वस उपसंख्यानम् + ' । क्त्वः शब्दादक्षरसमूहे वर्तमानात्स्वार्थे यदित्यर्थः । 'ओप्रावय' इति चतुरक्षरम्, 'अस्तुओपद्' इति चतुरक्षरम्, 'येयजामहे' इति पञ्चाक्षरम्, 'यज' इति द्वक्षरं द्वपक्षरो अण्कार एष वै सप्तदशाक्षरकृत्वस्यः ।

3486. The affix 'yat' 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: "सप्तदशाक्षरश्छन्दस्यः पञ्चापतिपञ्चो मन्त्रे विहिता," The 17 letters here referred to being ओ आवय, four; अस्तु शौवद, four; यज, two; ये यजामहे five; and वयद् two.

Vart :—The affix यत् comes after वसु without changing the sense. As हस्तौ गृहीतस्य बहुभिर्वसव्यैः ॥ Here वसव्यैः is equal to वसुभिः ॥ Similarly अग्निरीशे वसव्यस्य=वसोः ॥

३४८७ । नक्षत्राद्दुः । ४ । ४ । १४१ ।

स्वार्थे । 'नक्षत्रियेभ्यः स्वाहा' ।

3447. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas after the word 'nakshatra,' without altering the meaning.

The anuvṛitti of समूह does not extend to this sūtra. Thus नक्षत्रियेभ्यः स्वाहा = नक्षत्रेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

३४८८ । सर्वदेवात्तातिल् । ४ । ४ । १४२ ।

स्वार्थे । 'सविता नः सुवतु सर्वतातिम्' । 'प्रदक्षिण्यद्वेवतातिमुराणः ।

3488. 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 सर्वतातिम् (Rig Ved. X. 3. 14), and प्रदक्षिण्यद्वेवतातिमुराणः (Rig Ved IV. 6. 3).

३४८९ । शिवशमरिष्टस्य करे । ४ । ४ । १४३ ।

करोतीति करः । पचाद्यच् । शिवं करोतीति शिवतातिः । 'यामिः शन्ताती भवयो ददाशुषे' । अथी अरिष्टतातये' ।

3489. The affix 'tâtil' comes, in the Chhandas, after the word 'śiva,' 'śam,' and 'arishṭa' in the sixth case in construction when the sense is 'he does.'

The word करः is equivalent to करोति formed by अच् (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 शन्तातिः and अरिष्टतातिः ॥ As यामिः शन्ताती भवयो ददाशुषे' (Rig. I. 112 20) शन्ताती being dual of शन्तातिः, and -meaning सुखस्य कर्तारा; so also अथी अरिष्टतातये' । (Rig Ved. X. 60. 8.)

३४९० । भावे च । ४ । ४ । १४४ ।

शिवादिभ्यो भावे तातिः स्याच्छन्दसि । शिवस्य भावः शिवतातिः । शन्तातिः । अरिष्टतातिः । इति चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ।

3490. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas, after the words 'śiva,' 'śam' and 'arishṭa,' being in the 6th case in construction, the sense being that of condition.

Thus शिवस्य भावः = शिवतातिः 'the condition of blissfulness.' शन्तातिः 'the state of happiness or peace,' अरिष्टतातिः ॥ Here these words have the force of Verbal nouns.

CHAPTER V.

३४९१ । सप्तनोञ् छन्दसि । ५ । १ । ६१ ।

'तदस्य परिमाणम्' (१७२३) इति 'वर्गं' इति च । 'सप्तसामान्यसृजत्' । सप्तवर्गमित्यर्थः । '+ शृङ्कतोर्ङिनिश्चन्द्रासतस्य परिमाणमित्यर्थे वाच्यः +' । पञ्चदशिनोऽर्धमासाः । त्रिंशिनो मासाः । '+ विंशतेःश्वेति वाच्यम् +' । विंशिनोऽङ्गिरसः । '+ युष्मदस्मदोः सादृश्ये वस्तुव्याच्यः +' । 'त्वाघतः पुरुषसो' । 'न त्वाघां अन्यः' । 'यज्ञं विप्रस्य माघतः' ।

3491. The affix añ comes after the word saptan, in the Chhandas, in the sense of "this is its measure," when the meaning is that of a Varga.

As सप्त सामान्यसृजत् ॥ "They created the seven seven-fold monarchies." The phrase तदस्य परिमाणं (V. 1. 57 S. 1723) and वर्गं (V. 1. 60 S. 1726) are understood here.

Thus सप्तन् + अञ् = साप्त् + अञ् (the टि portion is elided by VI. 4. 144 S. 679) = साप् ॥ Its Plural in जस् is साप्तानि by the ordinary rules of declension of Neuter nouns.

Vart:—The affix ङिनि comes in the Chhandas, after the words ending in शत् and शन्, as पञ्चदशिनोर्द्ध मासाः "Half-months have a measure of 15 days". त्रिंशिनो मासाः "Months are of thirty days".

Vart:—So also after the word विंशति, as विंशिनोऽङ्गिरसः "Angirases consist of or comprise twenty Gotras."

Vart:—The affix वस्तुप् comes after युष्मद् and अस्मद् in denoting similarity. As 'त्वाघतः पुरुषसो' । न त्वाघां अन्यः (Rig Veda VI. 21. 10). यज्ञं विप्रस्य माघतः (Rig Veda I. 142. 2).

३४९२ । छन्दसि च । ५ । १ । ६७ ।

प्रातिपदिकमात्रात् 'तदहंति' इत्यर्थे यत्स्याच्छन्दसि । 'सादन्यं विदथ्यम्' ।

3492. The affix yat (य) comes in the sense of 'deserving that' in the Chhandas, after every prâtipadika.

This debars टञ् &c. Thus उदक्या वृत्तयः, यूँयः पलाशः, गँत्यो देशः ॥ See VI. I. 213.

सादन्यंविदथ्यम् (Rig. Veda. I. 91. 20).

The word सादन्य is derived from सदन "house." He who deserves a house is a सादन्यः ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137 S. 3539. विदथ means 'sacrifices' that which deserves a sacrifice is विदथ्यम् ॥

३४९३ । वत्सरान्ताच्छ्छन्दसि । ५ । १ । ९१ ।

निर्वृतादिष्वर्थेषु । इदृत्सरीयः ।

3493. The affix chha (iya) comes in the Chhandas, in the five-fold senses taught in V. 1. 79, 80, after a stem ending with vatsara.

This debars ठञ् ॥ Thus इद्वत्सरीयः, इदावत्सरीयः ॥

३४९४ । संपरिपूर्वात् ख च । ५ । १ । ९२ ।

चाक्कः । संवत्सरीयः । संवत्सरीयः । परिवत्सरीयः । परिवत्सरीयः ।

3494. The affixes 'kha' (in) and 'chha' (iya) come in the Chhandas in the fivefold senses taught in V. 1. 79, 80, after the word vatsara, when preceded by sam and pari.

Thus संवत्सरीयः and संवत्सरीयः, परिवत्सरीयः and परिवत्सरीयः ॥

३४९५ । कुन्दसि घस् । ५ । १ । १०६ ।

ऋतुशब्दान्तदस्य प्राप्तमित्यर्थे । 'भाग ऋत्वियः' ।

3495. In the Chhandas, the affix 'ghas' (iya) comes after the word 'ritu' in the same sense of 'season has come for it.'

This debars अण्. As भाग ऋत्वियः (Rig Ved. I. 135. 3). Here there is no Guṇa by VI. 4. 146, because by sūtra I. 4 16, ऋतु before the affix घस् gets the designation of षट्, hence the guṇa rule which applies to भ (I. 4. 18) does not apply.

३४९६ । उपसर्गाच्छुन्दसि धात्वर्थे । ५ । १ । ११८ ।

धात्वर्थविशिष्टे साधने वर्तमानात् उपसर्गात् उत्तरे स्वाच् वतिः स्यात् । 'यदुद्धृते निवतः । उद्धृताभिर्गता नित्यर्थः ।

3496. In the Chhandas, the affix 'vati' is added to an Uपा-sarga (Preposition), in the sense of a verbal root.

As the word उद्धृतः and निवतः in the following Rik (X. 142. 4.)

यदुद्धृते' निवतो यासि बभूवत् पृथगेपि प्रगर्धिनीव सेना ॥ "When thou O Fire! goest burning high (उद्धृतः = उद्धृतान्) and low (निवतः = निर्गतान्) trees &c.

३४९७ । यट् च कुन्दसि । ५ । २ । ५० ।

नान्तादसंख्यादेः परस्य इटस्यद् स्यान्मद् च । पञ्चथम्-पञ्चमम् ।

3497. The 'that' is the augment of 'dat,' in the Chhandas, after a Numeral ending in 'n' and not preceded by another numeral: as well as the augment 'mat.'

Thus पंचथः, सप्तथः or पञ्चमः, सप्तमः ॥ As पर्यामयानि पञ्चथानि भवन्ति and पञ्चममिन्द्रियमस्यापाक्रामन् ॥ See V. 2. 56.

३४९७ क । कुन्दसि परिपन्थिपरिपरिणौ पर्यवस्यत्तरि । ५ । २ । ८९ ।

'पर्यवस्यता शत्रुः' । 'अपत्यं परिपन्थिनम्' । 'मा त्वा परिपरिणौ विदन्' ।

3497 A. In the Chhandas, the words paripanthin and pariparin are anomalously formed by the affix ini (in) and have the sense of "an antagonist."

अपत्यं परिपन्थिनम् (Rig Ved. I. 42. 3).

मात्वा परिपरिणौ विदन् (Yaj. Ved. IV. 34). See S. 1889.

३४९८ । बहुलं कुन्दसि । ५ । २ । १२२ ।

मत्वर्थे विनिः स्यात् । अग्निस्ते श्रीजस्वी । '+ कुन्दोविन्प्रकरणे अष्टामेखनाट्टयोभयज्जा-हृदयानां दीर्घश्चेति वक्तव्यम् +' । इति दीर्घः । 'महिष्ठमुभयाविनम्' । शुनमाप्ताव्य चरत्' । '+ कुन्दसीवनिपी च वक्तव्यो +' । ई । 'रथोरभूत्' । 'मुमङ्गलीरियं वधूः' । 'मघवानमीमहे' ।

3498. In the Chhandas, the affix vini is added diversely in the sense of matup.

As अग्ने तेजस्वन् ॥ Sometimes it is not added, as सूर्यो वर्चस्वान् ॥

Part:—In the Chhandas, the final अ of द्वय, उभय and हृदय is lengthened optionally before विनि; and it comes after अष्टा, मेखला and रुजा also: as अष्टावी, मेखलावी, द्वयावी, उभयावी, रुजावी, हृदयावी ॥ As महिष्ठमुभयाविनिम्; शुनमष्टा व्यचरत् ॥ The word “aṣṭrā” is a synonym of “daṁṣṭrā” and means ‘tooth.’

Part:—In the Chhandas, the affixes ई, and वनिप् come in the sense of मतुप् ॥ Thus ई:—रथोरभून् सुद्वलानी गविष्ठी (रथी:) Rig Ved. X. 102. 2. सुमङ्गलीरिषं वधू: Rig Ved. X. 85. 33. वनिप्:—मघवःनमीमहे: Rig Ved. X. 167. 2.

NOTE:—The affixes इरन् and इरच् come respectively after मेधा and रध: as मेधिर, रधिर: ॥

३४९८ । तयोर्दाहिलौ च छन्दसि । ५ । ३ । २० ।

इदं तदोपस्थासंख्यं स्तः । ‘इदा हि वे उपस्तुतिम्’ । तर्हि ।

3499. After these two (nominal stems idam and tad), come respectively the affixes dā and rhi, in the Chhandas, and also the other affixes.

The affix दा comes after इदम् and हि after तद् ॥ Thus इदा (V. 3. 3. S. 1949), तर्हि (VII. 2. 102. S. 265) So also इदानीम् and तदानीम् ॥ As इदा हि वृमुपस्तुतिमिदा वामस्य भुक्त्यै (Rig Veda VIII. 27. 11).

NOTE:—इदम् + दा = इ + दा (इदम् is replaced by इ by V. 3. 3. S. 1949).

३५०० । या हेतौ च छन्दसि । ५ । ३ । २६ ।

किमस्या स्याद्धेतौ प्रकारे च । ‘कथा ग्रामं न पृच्छसि’ । ‘कथा दाशेम’ ॥

3500. The affix ‘thā’ comes in the sense of ‘cause’ also (as well as ‘manner’), in the Chhandas, after the word kim.

The word प्रकार वचने is read into the sūtra by force of च ॥ Thus कथा wherefore? why? for what reason?, कथा ‘how.’ The former is an example of हेतु ‘reason or cause’, the second of प्रकार ‘manner.’ As in the following sentences: कथा ग्रामं न पृच्छसि Rig Ved. X. 146. 1. केन हेतुना ग्रामं न पृच्छसि ॥ कथा दाशेम (Rig Ved. I. 77. 1).

NOTE:—किम् + था = क + था (किम् is replaced by क by VII. 2. 103. S. 342, because the affix था is a vibhakti as defined in V. 3. 1. S. 1947).

३५०१ । पश्च पश्चा च छन्दसि । ५ । ३ । ३३ ।

अथस्यास्तात्यर्थं निपातो । ‘पश्च हि सः’ । ‘नो त पश्चा’ ।

3501. The words paścha and paśchā are anomalous in the Chhandas, having the force of astāti.

By च, the word पश्चात् is also included. As पुरा व्याघ्रो जायते, पश्च, पश्चा- or पश्चात् सिंहः ॥ As पश्चात् पुंस्तोदधरादुदंक्तात् (Rig Veda X. 87. 21) पश्चेदमन्यदंभव- द्यजंत्रम् (Rig Veda X. 149. 3). नात पश्चा (Rig Ved. II. 27. 11).

३५०१ क । तुच्छन्दसि । ५ । ३ । ५८ ।

वृजन्तान्ब्रह्मन्ताच्च इष्टनीयसुनी स्तः । ‘आसुतिं करिष्ठः’ । ‘दोहीयसी धेनुः ।

3501A. The affixes ishtan and iyasun come in the Chhandas after a Nominal stem ending in tri. S 2000.

आसुतिं करिष्ठः (Rig Ved. VII. 97. 7) Thus कर्तृ + इष्ठ = कर् + इष्ठ (तृ elided by VI. 4. 154. S. 2008) दोहीयसो धेनुः ॥ Thus दोग्धी + ईयसुन् = दोग्ध + ईयसुन् (ङीप् elided by VII. 1. 88. S. 368 = दोग् + ईयसुन् (तृ elided by VI. 4. 154. S. 2008).

३५०२ । प्रत्नपूर्वाश्वेमात् थाल् छन्दसि । ५ । ३ । १११ ।

इत्वार्ये । 'तं प्रत्नथा पूर्वथा विश्वथेमथा' ।

3502. In the Chhandas, the affix thāl comes in the sense of 'like this', after pratna, pūrva, viśva, and ima (idam).

Thus :—तं प्रत्नथा पूर्वथा विश्वथेमथा ज्येष्ठताति बर्हिषदं स्वर्बद्रम् ॥ (Rig Veda V. 44. 1). 'Him (Indra), as the ancients, as the predecessors, as all creatures, and as these living men have worshipped &c.'

३५०३ । अमु च छन्दसि । ५ । ४ । १२ ।

किमत्तिडव्ययघादित्येव । 'प्रतं नय प्रतरम्' ।

3503. In the Chhandas, the affix amu (am) also is added after 'kim' &c., under similar conditions as in V. 4. 11. S. 2004.

To the word किम्, words ending in ए, finite verbs and indeclinables, when taking the comparative affixes तर and तम् is added the affix अम् in the Vedas, when these words are used as adverbs. By the force of the word च 'also' in the sūtra, the affix आम् is also included. Thus प्रतन्नय प्रतरम् (Rig Veda X. 45. 9). प्रतरम् नयामः ॥ or प्रतराम् वस्यः । प्रतर means प्रकृष्टतर ॥

The words ending in आम् and अम् are indeclinables, as they are included in the class of Svarādi (I. 1. 37. S. 447).

३५०४ । वृकज्येष्ठाभ्यां तिलतातिलौ च छन्दसि । ५ । ४ । ४१ ।

स्वार्थे । 'यो नो दुरेवो वृकतिः' । 'ज्येष्ठतातिं बर्हिषदम्' ।

3504. In the Chhandas, the affix til and tātīl come after vṛik and jyeshṭha when excellence is denoted.

The word प्रशंसायाम् is to be read into this sūtra. This also debars रूपम् V. 3. 66. S. 2021. Thus वृकतिः or वृकतातिः, as, योनो मरुतो वृकतातिमत्यः (Rig Veda, II. 34. 9). Similarly ज्येष्ठतातिः ॥

यो नो दुरेवो वृकतिः (Rig Ved. IV. 41. 4). ज्येष्ठतातिं बर्हिषदम् (Rig Ved. V. 44. 1).

३५०५ । अनसन्तान्त्रपुंसकाच्छन्दसि । ५ । ४ । १०३ ।

तत्पुरुषाट्टरस्यात्समासान्तः । 'ब्रह्मसामं भवति' । देवच्छन्दसानि ।

3505. In the Chhandas, the affix tach comes after a Tatpurusha compound in the Neuter Gender ending in 'an' or 'as.'

Thus हस्ति + चर्मन् = हस्तिचर्मम् as in हस्तिचर्मं जुहोति, so also कश्यपचर्मं ऽभिर्विवति ॥ So also when a word ends in अम् as, देवच्छन्दसानि (देव + छन्दस् = देव + छन्दस् + टच् = देवच्छन्दसम्) so also मनुष्यच्छन्दसानि ॥

Why do we say "when ending in अन् or अम्"? Observe बिल्वदारु जुहोति ॥ Why do we say "in the Neuter"? Observe सूत्रामाणं पृथिवीं द्यामनेहसम् ॥

NOTE :—The word वा “ optionally ” should be read into the sūtra. Therefore टच् is optionally added, as ब्रह्मसाम or ब्रह्मसामम्, देवच्छन्दः or देवच्छन्दसम् ॥

३५०६ । बहुप्रजाश्छन्दसि । ५ । ४ । १२३ ।

‘ बहुप्रजा निर्ऋतिमाविर्वेश ’ ।

3506. The form bahuprajas is valid in the Vedas.

Thus बहुप्रजा निर्ऋतिमाविर्वेश ॥ Rig Ved. I. 164. 32. In the classical literature, the form is बहुप्रजः; as बहुप्रजो ब्राह्मणः ॥

३५०७ । छन्दसि च । ५ । ४ । १४२ ।

दन्तस्य दत्त्वाद्बहुर्वाहो । ‘ उभयतो दतः प्रति गृह्णाति ’ ।

3507. For danta is substituted dat in the Vedas, when final in a Bahuvrihi.

Thus पत्रदन्तमालभेत, उभयदत आलभेत or उभयतो दतः प्रति गृह्णाति ॥

३५०८ । ऋतश्छन्दसि । ५ । ४ । १५८ ।

ऋदन्ताद्बहुर्वाहेर्न कप् । हता माता यस्य हतमाता ।

हृत्त्वि पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।

3508. The affix ‘kap’ does not come after a Bahuvrihi ending in short ‘ri’ in the Vedas.

Thus हता माताऽस्य = हतमाता, हतपिता, हतस्वसा, सुहोता ॥

CHAPTER VI.

३५०९ । क । एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य । ६ । १ । १ ।

‘ + छन्दसि वेति बह्व्यम् + ’ । ‘ यो जागार ’ । ‘ दाति प्रियाणि ’ ।

3509. A. In the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel, there are two. S. 2175.

Vart :—In the Chhandas there is optionally reduplication of the root in the Perfect and other tenses. As दाति प्रियाणि (Rig Ved. VI. 8. 3) or ददाति प्रियाणि ॥ मघवा दातु or ददातु, नस्तुतो वीरवद् धातु or दधातु ॥

Vart :—The root जाग् is optionally reduplicated in the Perfect. As, यो जागार (or जजागार) Rig Ved. X. 44. 14.

३५१० । तुजादीनां दीर्घाऽभ्यासस्य । ६ । १ । ७ ।

तुजादिराकृतिगणः । ‘ प्रभरा तूतुजानः ’ ‘ सूयं मामहानम् ’ । ‘ दाधार यः एधिधीम् ’ ‘ स तूताव ’ ।

3509. In the room of a short vowel of the reduplicate of the roots ‘tuj’ &c, a long is substituted.

There is no list of तुजादि verbs given any where. The word आदि in तुजादि therefore should be construed as “ verbs like tuj.” So that wherever we may find a word having a long vowel in the R duplicate, we should consider it a valid form. Thus प्रभरा तूतुजानः तुज् + कानच् III. 2. 105 = तूतुजानः Rg. I. 61. 12). सूयं मामहानं । दाधार यः एधिधीम् Rig Ved. III. 32. 8. स तूताव Rig Ved. I. 94. 2. This lengthening only takes place in the Vedas before some special affixes.

३५१० । बहुलं छन्दसि । ६ । १ । ३४ ।

दृः संप्रसारणं स्यात् । 'इन्द्रमा हुव ऊतये' ।

'+ ऋचि त्रेरुत्तरपदादिलोपश्च छन्दसि +' ऋक्छन्दोपरे त्रेः संप्रसारणमुत्तरपदादेर्लोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् । तृचं सूक्तम् । 'छन्दसि' क्रिम् । ऋचानि ।

'+ रयेर्मतीषहुलम् +' । रेवान् । रयिमान्पुष्टिवर्धनः ।

3510. In the Chhandas, the semivowel of the root hve is diversely vocalised.

Thus हुवे or हृयामि, as इन्द्रमाहुव ऊतये (Rig Ved. I. 111. 4), देवो सरस्वतीं हुवे ॥ The form हुवे is Atmanepada, Present tense, 1st Pers. sing. the vikarapa शप् is elided, then there is vocalisation and substitution of उवङ् ॥ So also हृयामि मरुतः शिवान् । हृयामि विश्वान् देवान् ॥ So also हवः as शुधीहवम् (Rig. I. 2. 1.) 'hear the invocation.'

Vart :—There is vocalisation of the semivowel of चि when followed by ऋच्, and there is elision of the ऋ of ऋच् when it refers to Metres. As तिस्र ऋच यस्मिन् = तृचं सूक्तं ॥ तृचं साम ॥ The word तृच् takes the san-âsânta affix श्च by V. 4. 74. Why do we say when referring to a metre? Observe ऋचानि ॥

Vart :—In the Chhandas there is diversely vocalisation of the semivowel of रयि followed by the affix मत्प्, as रयि + मत् = रइ + मत् = र + इ + मत् = र + इ + वत् (VIII. 2. 15) = रेवत्; as, आ रेवानेतु नो विशः ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as रयिमान् पुष्टिवर्धनः ॥ The म here is not changed to व as required by VIII. 2. 15.

३५११ । चायः की । ६ । १ । ३५ ।

चायतेर्बहुलं कीत्ययमादेशः, स्याच्छन्दसि । 'न्य १ न्यञिचक्युर्न निचिक्युरन्वम्' । लिट्युषि रूपम् । बहुलपठणानुत्तेनेह । 'अग्निं ज्योतिर्निवाय्य' ।

3511. For chây is diversely substituted kî in the Chhandas.

Thus विधुना निचिक्युः, न्यन्त्विचक्युर्न निचिक्युरन्वम् ॥ These are forms ending in the affix उस् of the Perfect. Sometimes there is no substitution. As अग्नि-ज्योतिर्निवाय्य ॥ Thus चाय् + उस् = की + उस् = चिकी + उस् = चिक्युः । So also चाय् + क्त = चाय् + ल्यप् = चाय्य ।

३५१२ । अपस्पृधेयामानृचुरानृहुश्चिच्युषेतित्याजआताः श्रितमाशीराशीतः । ६ ।

१ । ३६ ।

एते छन्दसि निपात्यन्ते । 'इन्द्रश्च विष्णो यदपस्पृधेयाम्' । स्पधेर्लडायाम् । 'अक्रमानृ-चुः' । 'वसून्यानृहुः' । 'अवैर्हृश्च लिट्युषि' । चिच्युषे । च्युडो लिटि चासि । 'यस्तित्याज' । त्यजेर्णलि । 'आतास्त इन्द्र सोमाः' । 'अता नो यहाः' । 'श्रीञ् पाके निष्ठायाम्' । 'नाशिरं दुहे' । 'मध्यत आशीतः' । श्रीञ् एव क्विप् निष्ठायां च ।

3512. In the Chhandas, the following irregular forms are met with :—अपस्पृधेयाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, आताः, श्रितम्, आशीः and आशीतः ॥

The word छन्दसि is understood here. From the root स्पृच् 'to challenge', is formed अपस्पृधेयाम् being the Imperfect (लङ्), 2nd Pers. Dual, Atmanepada : there is reduplication of the root, vocalisation of र, and the elision of अ irregularly. As, इन्द्रश्चविष्णो यदपस्पृधेयाम् (Rig Ved. VI. 69. 8). In the classical language

the form is अपरुर्ध्याम् ॥ Some say, it is derived from स्पृह् with the preposition अप्, the vocalisation of र, the elision of अ, and the non-prefixing of the augment अट् in the Imperfect (VI. 4. 75). The counter-example of this will be अपास्पृह्याम् ॥

From अर्च and अर्ह 'to respect, to worship', are derived आर्चुः and आर्हुः in the Perfect before the 3rd per. pl. उस्, there being vocalisation of र and the elision of अ irregularly. Then there is reduplication, then ऋ changed to अ, then the lengthening of this अ, then the addition of the augment न, as : अर्च् + उस् = ऋच् + उस् = अ + ऋच् + उस् = अ + अ + उस् (VII. 4. 66) = आ + ऋच् + उस् (VII. 4. 70) = आ + न + ऋच् + उस् (VII. 4. 71) = आर्चुः ॥ The irregularity consists in the samprasârana with the elision of अ ॥ Thus घवया अर्कमानुः (Rig Ved. I. 19. 4). न यमून्याहुः ॥ The classical forms will be आर्चुः, आर्हुः ॥

The form चिच्युषे is the Perfect 2nd per. sing. of the root च्युङ् 'to go': there is vocalisation of the reduplicate, and the non-addition of the augment इट् before the affix से ॥ This is the irregularity. The regular form is चुच्युषिषे ॥

The form तित्याज् as in "यस्तित्याज्" (Rig Ved. X. 71. 6), is the Perfect of त्यज्, the vocalisation of the reduplicate is the irregularity. The regular form is तत्याज् ॥

From the root शीञ् 'to cook', is derived आता before the Nish'hâ affix, शी changed to आ irregularly. As आतास्त इन्द्रसोमाः ॥ The form अितं is also derived from the same root by shortening the vowel with the same affix. As सोमो गीरी अधिशितः, अिता नो ग्रहाः ॥ Some say the आ substitution of शी takes place when the word refers to सोम, in the plural, and अि when it refers to other than सोम ॥ Sometimes the word आतः is seen in the singular, referring to objects other than सोम । Thus यद्रि आतो जुहेतान् ॥ In fact, the exhibition of the word आताः in the plural in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary.

The words आशीर् and आशीर्तः are from the same root शी, with the prefix आङ् and taking the affixes क्विप् and क्त respectively. Before these शी is replaced by शीर्, and the non-addition of न in the Nish'hâ is irregular, As, "नाशीरं दुहरे" (Rig Ved. III. 53. 14), क्षीरेर्मध्यत आशीर्तः ॥ (Rig Ved. VIII. 2. 9.)

३५१३ । खिदेःकृन्दसि । ६ । १ । ५२ ।

'खिद देन्ये' । अस्यैच आ स्यात् । चिखाद । चिखेदेत्यर्थः ।

3513. There is optionally the substitution of â in the room of the diphthong of the verb khid 'to suffer pain,' in the Chhandas.

The word विभाषा is understood here. Thus चित्तं चिखाद or चिखेद ॥ In the classical literature we have चित्तं खेदयति ॥

३५१४ । शीर्षंशकृन्दसि । ६ । १ । ६० ।

शिरःशब्दस्य शीर्षत् स्यात् । 'शीर्षो जगतः' ।

3514. The word śīrshan is found in the Chhandas.

This word is another form of शिरः and means 'head.' This is not a substitute of शिर in the Vedas, for both forms are found therein. Thus शीर्षो

जगतः (Rig Ved. VII. 66. 15). In the classical literature there is only one form शिः ॥

The Sûtras VI. 1. 104 and 105 declare. "The substitution of a long vowel homogeneous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel other than अ of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative." "The substitution of a long vowel homogeneous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a Nominative or Accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel other than अ or by the Nom. Pl. affix जस् ॥" The following sūtra makes an exception in the Vedas.

३५१५ । वा कुन्दसि । ६ । १ । १०३ ।

दोर्धाञ्जसीचि च पूर्वसवर्णदोर्धा वा स्यात् । वाराहो । वाराह्यो । 'मानुषीरोलते विशः' । उत्तरसूत्रद्वयोर्धादं वाक्यभेदेन संबध्यते । तेनामिपूर्वत्वं वा स्यात् । शमी च शम्यं च । 'सूर्यं सुषिरामिव' । सप्रसारणाच्च' (३३०) इति पूर्वरूपमपि वा । इज्यमानः । यज्यमानः ।

3515. In the Vedas, the long vowel may optionally be the single substitute of both vowels, in contravention to the prohibition mentioned in VI. 1. 104 and VI. 1. 105.

Thus मारुतीः or मारुत्यः, पिण्डीः or पिण्ड्यः, वाराहो or वाराह्यो; उपानहो or उपानह्यो ॥

'मानुषीरोलते विशः' (Rig Ved. V. 8. 3).

The two sūtras subsequent to this in the Ashtādhyāyī, namely VI. 1. 107 and VI. 1. 108 are also influenced by the present sūtra. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 107 declares. "There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the Accusative singular अम् ।" But this is optional in the Vedas. Thus शमीम् or शम्यम्; and सूर्यं सुषिरामिव (Rig Ved. VIII. 69. 12).

Similarly VI. 1. 108 declares. "There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semi vowel and the subsequent vowel." In the Veda this rule is optional, as इज्यमानः or यज्यमानः ॥

३५१६ । शेश्कुन्दसि बहुलम् । ६ । १ । १० ।

लोपः स्यात् । 'या ते गात्राणाम्' । 'ताता पिण्डानाम्' ।

'+ एमन्नादिषु कुन्दसि पररूपं वक्तव्यम् +' । अपांत्वेमन् । अपां त्वाऽमन् ।

3516. In the Chhandas, the elision of case-ending i (śi) of the nominative and accusative plural neuter, is optional.

Thus या ते गात्राणाम् (Rig Ved. I. 162. 19.) ताता पिण्डानाम् (Rig Ved I. 162. 19).

Note.—In the Vedas, the para-rūpa' substitution takes place when एमन् &c. follow. Thus अपां त्वा एमन् = अपां त्वेमन् ॥ So also अपां त्वा आऽमन् = अपां त्वाऽमन् ॥

३५१७ । भय्यप्रवय्ये च कुन्दसि । ६ । १ । ८३ ।

त्रिभेत्यस्मादिति भयः । वेतेः प्रवय्या इति स्त्रियामेव निपातनम् । प्रवेयमित्यन्यत्र । 'कुन्दसि' किम् । भेयम् । प्रवेयम् ।

'+ ह्रदय्या आप उपसंख्यानम् +' ह्रदे भवा ह्रदय्या आपः । भवे कुन्दसि यत् ।

3517. The forms bhayya and pravayyâ are found in the Chhandas.

The word भय्य is derived from भी+यत्, and प्रवय्या from प्र+वी+यत् ॥ The guṇa ए is changed to अय् ॥ Thus भय्यं किलासीत् ॥ वत्सतरी प्रवय्या ॥ The यत् is added to भी with the force of Ablative by virtue of the diversity allowed by कृत्यलुटो बहुनं (III. 3. 113) ॥ Thus विभेति अस्माद् = भय्यम् “frightening or fearable.” The word प्रवय्या is always used in the feminine : in other places प्रवेय is the proper form. Why we do say ‘in the Vedas’? Observe भेयम्, प्रवेयम् in the classical literature.

Vārt :—The word हृदय्या should also be enumerated when referring to water. As हृदे भवा = हृदय्या ऋषः ॥ The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 110 (हृदे+य=हृदय्+य) ॥ ३५९ । प्रकृत्यान्तःपादमव्यपरे । ६ । १ । ११५ ।

अक्षपादमध्यस्य एद् प्रकृत्या स्यादति परे न तु वकारयकारपरेऽति । ‘उपप्रयन्तो अध्वरम्’ । ‘सुजाते अप्रवसूचते’ । ‘अन्तःपादम्’ किम् । ‘एतास एतेऽर्चन्ति’ । ‘अध्वपरे’ किम् । ‘तेऽवदन् तेऽयजन् ।

3518. The final ‘e’ or ‘o’ and the following ‘a’ when occurring in the middle half of a foot of a Vaidic verse, retain their original forms, except when the ‘a’ is followed by ‘v’ or ‘y.’ ॥

The word एद् is understood here, but it should be construed here in the nominative case and not in the Ablative. The word प्रकृति means ‘original nature, cause.’ The word अन्तर is an Indeclinable, used in the Locative case here and means ‘in the middle.’ The word पादः ‘the foot of a verse’ refers to the verses of the Vedas, and not to the verses of the classical poetry. The word अति is also understood here. Thus उपप्रयन्तो अध्वरम् (Rig Ved. I. 74. 1.); सुजाते अप्रवसूचते (Rig Veda. V. 79. 1).

Why do we say ‘in the inner half of a foot of a verse?’ Observe कया मती कुत एतास एतेऽर्चन्ति (Rig. Ved. I. 165. 1) ॥ Why do we say “when व् or य् does not follow अ ?” Observe तेऽवदन् (Rig. X. 109. 1) ॥ Why do we say ए or ओ ? Observe अन्वग्निरुपसामयमव्यत् ॥ Some read this sūtra as नान्तः पादमव्यपरे ॥ According to them, this sūtra supersedes the whole rule of juxtaposition or संज्ञिता (VI. 1. 72).

३५९ । अव्यादवद्यादवक्रमुरव्रतायमवन्त्ववस्युषु च । ६ । १ । ११६ ।

एषु व्यपरेऽप्यति एद् प्रकृत्या । ‘वसुभिर्नोऽव्यात्’ । ‘मित्रमहो अवद्यात्’ । ‘मा शिवासो अवक्रमुः’ । ‘ते नो अव्रत’ । ‘शतधरो अयं मणिः’ । ‘ते नो अवन्तु’ । ‘कुशिकासो अवस्यवः’ । यद्यापि । बहुवैस्तेनोऽवन्तु रथतः’ सो यमागात्’ तेऽरुणेभिः’ इत्यादी प्रकृतिभावा न क्रियते तथापि बाहुजकात्समाधेयम् । प्रातिशाख्ये तु वाचनिक एवायमर्थः ।

3519. The ‘e’ or ‘o’ retain their original form in the middle of a Vaidic verse, when the following words come after them (though the ‘a’ in these has a ‘v’ and ‘y’ following it):—अव्यात्, अवद्यात्, अवक्रमुः, अव्रत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्यु ॥

Thus अग्निः प्रथमोवसुभिर्नो अव्यात् ॥ मित्रमहो अवद्यात् (Rig IV. 4. 15), मा शिवासो अवक्रमुः (Rig VII. 32. 27); ते नो अव्रताः (Not in the Rig Veda). Prof. Bohtlingk gives the following examples from the Rig Veda :—सीत्तन्तो अव्रतम् (VI. 14. 3) संवहन्तो अव्रतान् (IX. 73. 5), कर्ते अव्रतान् (IX. 73. 8), शतधरो अयं मणिः, ते नो अवन्तु,

(Not in the Rig Veda according to Prof. Bohtlingk the अ of अवन्तु is generally elided in the Veda after ए or आ) कुशिकामो अवस्यवः (Rig III. 42. 9).

Though in the Rig Veda we find examples like ते नोऽवन्तु रथतूः (Rig Ved. X. 77. 8), and सोऽयमागात् and तेऽरुणोभिः (Rig Ved. I. 88. 2) &c. where there is no Prakriti-bhāva, but *sandhi*, yet these are to be explained by bahulam i. e. as a Vaidic diversity. But in the Prātisākhya, there is an express rule to this effect; and not left to mere inference as here.

NOTE :—1. अव्यात् is Benedictive 3rd Per. Sing. of अव 'to protect.'

2. अवद्यात् is Ablative singular of अवद्य ॥

3. अवक्रमुः is the Perfect, 3rd Per. Plural of क्रम् preceded by the Preposition अव । There is no reduplication as a Vaidic irregularity. Some read अवचक्रमुः (with reduplication) in the text, but no such word is found in the Rig Veda.

4. अवत is the Aorist of वृङ् and वृञ्; the 3rd Per. Pl. भि is replaced by अत । (The Aorist sign is elided by II. 4. 80. S. 3402).

5. अवम् is from इदम् ।

6. अवन्तु is Imperative 3rd Per. Pl. of अव 'to protect.'

7. अवस्युः is a Noun, from अव्+असुन्=अवस् । Then ङ added क्वच् as अवस्य । Then उ is added by III. 2, 170, and we get अवस्युः ॥

३५२० । यजुष्युरः । ६ । १ । ११७ ।

उरःशब्द एङन्तेऽनि प्रकृत्या यजुषि । 'उरो अन्तरिक्षम्' । यजुषि पादाभावादनन्तःपादाय वचनम् ।

3520. In the Yajur Veda, the word 'uras' when changed to 'uro' retains its original form when followed by a short 'a' which is also retained.

Thus उरो अन्तरिक्षम् (Yajur Veda Vajasan. IV. 7). Some read the sūtra as यजुष्युरोः ॥ They take the word as उरु ending in उ, which in the Vocative case assumes the form उरो ॥ They give the following example उरो अन्तरिक्षं सजूर ॥ But in the Yajur Veda VI. 11, the text reads उरोरन्तरिक्षं सजूः ॥

In the Yajur Veda, there being no stanzas, the condition of अन्तःपादं of VI. 1. 115, does not apply here, and hence the necessity of a separate sūtra; otherwise VI. 1. 115, would have covered this case also.

३५२१ । आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्टेऽम्बेऽम्बालेऽम्बिकेपूर्वे । ६ । १ । ११८ ।

यजुष्यति एङ् प्रकृत्या । 'आपो अस्मान्मातरः शुन्ययन्तु' । जुषाणो अग्निराज्यस्य । 'वृष्णो अंशुभ्याम्' । 'वर्षिष्टे अधि नाके' । 'अम्बे अम्बाले अम्बिके' । अस्मादेव वचनात् 'अम्बार्थ' । (२६७) इति ह्रस्वो न ।

3521. In the Yajur Veda, the short 'a' is retained after आपो, जुषाणो, वृष्णो, वर्षिष्टे, and also in and after 'ambe' or 'ambāle' when they stand before 'ambike.'

Thus आपो अस्मान् मातरः शुन्ययन्तु (Yaj. IV. 2). जुषाणो अत्पुत्राज्यस्य (Yaj. V. 35), वृष्णो अंशुभ्यां गभस्ति पूतः (Yaj. VII. 1). वर्षिष्टे अधिनाके ॥ The Vajasaneyi Sanhita has वर्षिष्टेऽधि (V. S. I. 22). The Taittiriya Sanhita has वर्षिष्टे अधि ॥ (I. 1. 8. 1. 4, 43, 2. 5. 5. 4) अम्बे अम्बाले, अम्बिके (V. S. 23. 18 where the reading is अम्बे अम्बिकेऽम्बालिके) but Tait. S. VII. 4. 19. 1, and Tait. Br. III. 9. 6,

3 has अम्बे अम्बाल्यम्बिके ॥ The words अम्बे &c. though in the Vocative, do not shorten their vowel by VII. 3. 107, because they have been so read here.

३५२२ । अङ्ग इत्यादौ च । ६ । १ । ११९ ।

अङ्गशब्दे य एङ् तदादौ चाकारे य एङ्पूर्वः सोऽपि प्रकृत्या यजुषि । 'प्रणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अदीव्यत्' । 'अङ्गे अङ्गे अशोचिषम्' ।

3522. In the Yajur Veda, when the word 'ange' is followed by 'ange' the subsequent short *a* is retained, as well as the preceding 'e' or 'o.'

Thus ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अदाध्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निदीध्यत्, ऐन्द्रः उदानो अङ्गे अङ्गे निधीतः, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अशोचिषम् (Yaj. 6. 20).

३५२३ । अनुदात्ते च कुधपरे । ६ । १ । १२० ।

कवगंधकारपरे अनुदात्तेऽपि परे एङ् प्रकृत्या यजुषि । 'अयं सो अग्निः' । 'अयं सो अध्वरः' । 'अनुदात्ते' किम् । 'अधोऽग्रे रुद्रे' । अथशब्द आद्युदात्तः । 'कुधपरे' किम् । 'सोयमग्निमन्तः' ।

3523. In the Yajur Veda, when an anudatta *a* is followed by a Guttural or a *dh*, the antecedent 'e' or 'o' retains its form, as well as this subsequent *a*.

Thus अयं सो अग्निः (Yaj. 12. 47), अयं सो अध्वरः ॥ Why do we say when अ is gravely accented? Observe अधोऽग्रे, here अग्रे has an acute accent on the first syllable. Why do we say "when followed by a Guttural (कु) or a ध"? Observe सोऽयमग्नि मन्तः ॥

३५२४ । अवपथासि च । ६ । १ । १२१ ।

अनुदात्त अकारादौ अवपथाःशब्दे परे यजुषि एङ् प्रकृत्या । 'त्रीरुद्रेभ्यो अवपथाः' । वपेस्यासि लडि 'तिङ्ङितिङः' (३६३५) इत्यनुदात्तत्वम् । 'अनुदात्ते' किम् । 'यदुद्रेभ्योऽवपथाः' । निपातेर्यद्वि- (३६३७) इति निघातो न ।

3524. In the Yajur Veda, when the gravely accented *a* of *avapathās* follows *e* or *o* the vowels retain their original form.

Thus त्री रुद्रेभ्यो अवपथाः ॥ The word अवपथाः is 2nd per. Singular Imperfect of वप् in the Atmanepada. Thus अ+वप्+शप्+थास् ॥ The अ is grave by VIII. 1. 28. When it is not gravely accented, the अ drops. As यदुद्रेभ्योऽवपथाः ॥ Here अ in not grave by virtue of VIII. 1. 30.

३५२५ । आहोऽनुनासिकश्छन्दसि । ६ । १ । १२६ ।

आहोऽपि परेऽनुनासिकः स्यात् । स च प्रकृत्या । 'अभ्र आ अपः' । 'गभीर आ उपपुत्रे' । '+ इपात्तादीनां छन्दसि प्रकृतिभावो वक्तव्यः +' । 'ईपा अहो हिरण्यः' । 'ज्या इयम्' । 'पूषा अविष्टु' ।

3525. For the adverb 'â' is substituted in the Chhandas the nasalised 'añ' when a vowel follows it, and it retains its original form.

Thus अभ्र आ अपः (Rig Veda V. 48. 1); गभीर आ उपपुत्रे जिघांसतः (Rig Veda VIII. 67. 11.)

Vart :—In the Vedas ईवा अन्नः &c. are found uncombined. As, ईवा अन्ना, का ईमिरे विशंगिना, यथा अद्भुतः, पथा अगमन् &c.

त्वा इयम् (Rig Ved. VI. 75. 3.) पूषा अविष्टु (Rig Ved. X. 26. 1).

३५२६ । स्यश्कुन्दसि बहुलम् । ६ । १ । १३३ ।

स इत्यस्य सोर्लोपः स्याद्भक्ति । 'एष स्य भानुः' ।

3526. In the Chhandas, the case-affix of the nominative singular is diversely elided after *syā*, when a consonant follows it.

Thus उत स्य याजी त्रिपिणं तुरपयति । योवायां बद्धो अपिकञ्च आसनि (Rig Veda IV. 40. 4), एष स्य ते मधुमा इन्द्र सोमः (Rig Veda IX. 87, 4). Sometimes it does not take place: as यत्र स्यो निपतेत् ॥ The स्य means 'he.'

३५२७ । इस्वाच्चन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे । ६ । १ । १५१ ।

इस्वात्परस्य चन्द्रशब्दस्योत्तरपदस्य सुडागमः स्यान्मन्त्रे । 'हरिश्चन्द्रो मरुद्गणः' । सुश्चन्द्रस्य ।

3527. In a Mantra, the 'suṭ' is added to 'chandra,' when it is a second member in a compound and is preceded by a short vowel.

Thus हरिश्चन्द्रो मरुद्गणः (Rig Ved. IX. 66. 26). सुश्चन्द्रो गुप्मान् ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel? Observe सूर्याचन्द्रमसाविव ॥ Why do we say 'in a Mantra'! Observe, सुचन्द्रा पौर्यामासो ॥ The उत्तरपद can only be in a compound (samāsa) as it is well-known to all; and it does not mean, 'the second word,' as the literal meaning might convey. Therefore the rule does not apply here सुक्रमसि चन्द्रमसि ॥

३५२८ । पितरामातरा च, कुन्दसि । ६ । ३ । ३३ ।

दुन्दे निपातः । 'आ मा गन्तां पितरामातरा च' । चाद्विपरीतमपि । 'नमातरापितरा नू चिदिष्टी' ।

'समानस्य कुन्दस्यूर्ध्वप्रभृत्युदकेषु' । समानस्यसः स्यान्ूर्धादिभिश्च उत्तरपदे । सगर्भ्यः ।

'+ कुन्दसि स्त्रियां बहुलम् +' । विश्वदेवयोरद्वादेशः । 'विश्वाची च दृताची च'; 'देवद्वीचीं नयत देवयन्तः'; 'कद्वीची' ।

3528. In the Vedas the form 'Pitarāmātarā' is also valid.

In the ordinary language मातापितरौ is the proper form. The Vaidic form is derived by adding अद्भु to the first member, and आ is added to the second by VII. 1. 39: and then Guṇa by VII. 3. 110. Thus आ मा गन्तां पितरामातरा च ॥

By force of च 'also', the converse is also valid. As न मातापितरा नू चिदिष्टी ।

3528A. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas, but not before मूर्धन, प्रभृति and उदके ॥ (See VI. 3. 84. S. 1012.)

Thus सगर्भ्यः = समानो गर्भः "uterine brother."

Vart :—In the Vedas, the finals of विश्व and देव are replaced by अद्भु diversely before the feminine nouns: thus in "विश्वाची च दृताची च"; there is no substitution in विश्वाची, but in कद्वीची there is this substitution. कद्वीची is derived from किम्+अं=कदि+अं= ॥ Then is added डीप्, and then like अश्वाची ॥ This vārtika is an exception to VI. 3. 92, S. 418.

देवद्वीचीं नयत देवयन्तः (Rig Ved. III. 6. 1.) कद्वीची (Rig Ved. I. 164. 17).

३५२९ । सध मादस्ययोश्कुन्दसि । ६ । ३ । ९६ ।

सहस्य सधादेशः स्यात् । 'इन्द्र त्वास्मिन्सधमादे' । सोमः सधस्यम् ।

3529. *Sadhr* is substituted for *saha* in the Chhandas when *mada* and *stha* follow.

Thus सधमादोद्युम्न्य एकास्ताः रुधस्याः ॥ Another example is आत्वा वृहन्तो ह्रयो युजाना, अर्थागिन्द्र सधमादो वृहन्तु (Rig. III. 3. 7) सहमाद्यन्ति देवा अस्मिन् = यज्ञः ॥ 'इन्द्र त्वास्मिन्सधमादे' (Rig Ved. VIII. 2. 3).

३५३० । पयि च च्छन्दसि । ६ । ३ । १०८ ।

पयिश्च उतरपदे कोः कवं कादेशश्च । कवपयः-कापयः-कुपयः ।

3530. The substitution of *ka*, and *kava* for *ku* takes place in the Chhandas before *patha*.

Thus कवपयः, कापयः and कुपयः ॥

३५३१ । साढ्यै साढ्वा साढेति निगमे । ६ । ३ । ११३ ।

सहेः बत्वाप्रत्यये आढ्यं द्वयं तृनि तृतीयं निपात्यते । 'मरुद्भिरुपः एतनासु साढ्या' अचोर्मध्यस्यस्य डस्य लः ढस्य ह्रश्च प्रातिशाख्ये विहितः । आह हि ।

'द्वयोश्चास्य स्वरयोर्मध्यमेत्य संपद्यते स ङकारो लकारः ।

ह्रकारतामेति स एव चास्य ङकारः सन्नूप्रया संप्रयुक्ते ॥' इति ।

3531. 'Sādhyai' 'sādhwā' and 'sādhā' are irregularly formed in the Vedas.

Thus साढ्यै समन्तात्, साढ्वा शत्रून् ॥ The words साढ्यै and साढ्वा are both formed by तत्रा affix added to सह् the ओ substitution not taking place. In the first, ल्वा is changed to ष्यै ॥ The third word साढ्या is formed by तृन् affix added to सह् ॥ In the classical literature सोढ्या and सोढ्वा are the proper forms.

'मरुद्भिरुपः एतनासु साढ्या (Rig Ved. VII. 56. 23).

In the Prātisākhya it is ordained that a ङ situated between two vowels is changed to ल ; and a ङ so situated becomes ह्रल् ॥ As says the kārīkā.

Kārīkā :—The letter ङ falling between two vowels has become ल in the pronunciation of this Professor.

So also ङ similarly situated is pronounced by him as an Ushman letter i. e., ल्ह ल्ह ॥

३५३२ । कुन्दसि च । ६ । ३ । १२६ ।

अष्टन आत्वं स्यादुतरपदे । अष्टापदी ।

3532. In the Chhandas also, the long vowel is substituted for the final of 'ashtan' before a second member.

Thus अष्टापदी ॥ The form अष्टापदी is the feminine in ङीप् (IV. 1. 8) of अष्टपात् (V. 4. 138 the अ of पाद being elided in a Bahuvrihi), पद being substituted for पात् by VI. 4, 130.

३५३३ । मन्त्रे सोमाश्चेन्द्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ । ६ । ३ । १३१ ।

दोषः स्यान्मन्त्रे । 'अश्रवावतीं सोमावतीम्' । इन्द्रियावान्मदिन्तमः । 'विश्वकर्मणा विश्वदेव्यावता' ।

3533. In a Mantra, the final vowels of सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय and विश्वदेव्य are lengthened when the affix 'matup' follows.

Thus सोमावती, अशवावती इन्द्रियावती, विश्वदेव्यावती ॥

अशवावतीं सोमवतीम् (Rig Ved. X. 97. 7.)

विश्वकर्मणा विश्वदेव्यावता (Rig Ved. X. 170. 4).

३५३४ । ओषधीश्च विभक्तावप्रयमायाम् । ६ । ३ । १३२ ।

दीर्घः स्यान्मन्त्रे । 'यदोषधीभ्य अदधात्वोषधीषु' ।

3534. In a Mantra, the final of 'oshadhi' is lengthened before the case-endings, but not in the Nominative.

Thus यद् ओषधीभ्यः अदधात्वोषधीषु ॥

३५३५ । ऋचि तुनुग्रमत्तुतङ्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम् । ६ । ३ । १३३ ।

दीर्घः स्यात् । 'आ तू न इन्द्र' । 'नू मूर्तः' । 'उत वा घा स्यालात्' । मत्तु गोमन्तमीमहे । 'भरता जातवेदसम्' । तडिति थादेशस्य डित्त्वपक्षे ग्रहणम् । तेनेह न । 'शृणोत यावाणः' । 'कूमनाः' । 'अत्रा ते भद्रा' । 'यत्रा नश्चक्रा' । 'उरुष्याणः' ।

3535. In the Rig Veda, the finals of the particles तु, नु, घ, मत्तु, the tense-affix तङ्, कु, the ending 'tra' and the word उरुष्य are lengthened.

Thus तु—आ तू न इन्द्र वृत्रहन् (Rig IV. 32. 1) नु—नू मूर्तः ॥ घ—उत वा घा स्यालात् ॥ मत्तु—मत्तु गोमन्तमीमहे ॥ तङ्—भरता जातवेदसम् (Rig X. 176. 2). तङ् is the त substitute of घा, when it is treated as डित्, therefore it does not apply here, शृणोत यावाणः (I. 2. 4.) कु—कूमनस्; त्र—अत्रा ते भद्रा । 'यत्रानश्चक्रा' उरुष्या षोऽनेः ॥

NOTE :—The घ in the sūtra is the sound घ and not the technical घ (तरप् and तमप). स्याल means "the wife's brother." भरत is Imperative Second Person Plural. शृणोत is the Imperative Second Person Plural formed by the affix तप् (VII. 1. 46. S. 3568). Since this affix is पित् the present rule does not apply to it. उरुष्य is Imperative 2nd Per. Singular and is derived from the Kandwādi root उरुष्य (formed by यक्). The affix हि is elided by VI. 4. 105. S. 2202. The न of the Pronoun नस् is changed to ण after उरुष्य by VIII. 4. 27. S. 3649.

३५३६ । इक्रः सुजि । ६ । ३ । १३४ ।

ऋचि दीर्घ इत्येव । 'अभीषुणः सखीनाम्' । 'सुजः' (३६४४) इति घः । 'नश्च घातुस्यो रुषुभ्य' (३६४६) इति णः ।

3536. In a Mantra, the finals of the preceding member ending in 'i' or 'u' are lengthened before the particle 'su.'

Thus अभीषु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) उर्ध्वं ऊषुण उतये (Rig I. 36 13). The ण is changed to घ by VIII. 3. 107 : S. 3644, and ह् changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27. S. 3649.

३५३७ । द्वयचोऽतस्तिडः । ६ । ३ । १३५ ।

मन्त्रे दीर्घः । 'विद्मा हि चक्राजरसम्' ।

3537. A tense affix ending in 'a' is lengthened in the Rig Veda, when the Verb consists of two syllables.

Thus विद्मः हि त्वा सत्पतिं गृह गोनाम् &c. See Rig. III. 42. 6, विद्मः हि चका जरसम् । &c. But not here देवा भवत वारिजनः, as the verb consists of more than two syllables: not also here आ देवान् वदति यद्वि च as the verbs do not end in अ ॥

NOTE:—विद्मः is Present First Person Plural. म replaces मः by III. 4. 82. चक्र is 2nd Person Plural of the Perfect of कृ ॥

३५३८ । निपातस्य च । ६ । ३ । १३६ ।

'एवा हि ते' ।

3538. In the Rig Veda the final of a participle is lengthened. Thus एवा हि ते, अच्चाते, अच्चा जरितारः (Rig Ved. I. 2. 2).

३५३९ । अन्येषामपि दृश्यते । ६ । ३ । १३७ ।

अन्येषामपि पूर्वपदस्यानां दीर्घः स्यात् । पूरुषः । दण्डादण्डि ।

3539. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

Here we must follow the usage of the Śiṣṭhas. Where the lengthening is not ordained by any rules of Grammar, but occurs in the writing of standard authors, there we should accept such lengthening as valid. Thus पूरुषः दण्डादण्डि ।

३५४० । कुन्दस्य भयया । ६ । ४ । ५ ।

नामि दीर्घो वा । 'धाता धातृणाम्' इति बहुवृत्तः । तैत्तिरीयास्तु ह्रस्वमेव पठन्ति ।

3540. In the Chhandas, the finals are optionally lengthened before the Genitive plural 'nām.'

In some places they are seen as lengthened, in others not. As धाता धातृणाम् (Rig Ved. X. 128. 7). So also चतसृणाम् and चतसृणाम् ॥

The Rig Vedins read with long ऋ, the Taittiriyaś read it with short अ ॥

३५४१ । वा षपूर्वस्य निगमे । ६ । ४ । ९ ।

षपूर्वस्याचो नोपधाया वा दीर्घाःसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । ऋभुवाणम् । ऋभुवणम् । 'निगमे' किम् । तदा । तदाणो ।

3541. The lengthening of the penultimate vowel of a stem ending in 'n' before the affixes of the strong-case, is optional in the Nigama, when 'sh' precedes such a vowel.

Thus ऋभुवाणम् or ऋभुवणमिन्द्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'in the Nigama'? In the classical literature we have तदा, तदाणो, तदाणः always.

३५४२ । जनितं मन्त्रे । ६ । ४ । ५३ ।

इडादौ वृत्ति णिलोपो निपात्यते । 'यो नः पिता जनितः' ।

3542. In a Mantra, the word 'janitā' is formed irregularly by the elision of 'ni' before the affix 'tri' with the augment 'it.'

Thus यो नः पिता जनिता (Rig Veda X. 82. 3.) ॥ Otherwise जनयिता in the classical literature. It is an exception to VI. 4 51.

३३४३ । शमिता यज्ञे । ६ । ४ । ५४ ।

शमयितेत्यर्थः ।

3543. 'Sāmitā' is formed irregularly by the "elision of 'ni' before an 'it' augmented affix, when meaning a sacrificial act.

Thus शतं हविः शमितः ॥ It is formed by वृच् and is in the Vocative case. Why do we say 'when referring to a sacrificial act'? See शतं हविः शमयितः ॥ See Satpatha Br. III. 8. 3, 4 and 5.

३५४४ । युपुवोर्दीर्घश्चन्द्रसि । ६ । ४ । ५८ ।

ल्यपीत्यनुवर्तते । वियूय । वियूय ।

'आडजादीनाम्' (२२५४) ।

3544. In 'yu' and 'plu,' long is substituted for 'u' before 'lyap' in the Chhandas.

Thus दान्त्यनुपूर्वं वियूय ; यत्रा यो दक्षिणा परिष्णूय ॥ Why do we say, in the Chhandas? Observe संयुत्य, आयुत्य in the classical literature.

By VI. 4. 72 the augment आद् is added to verbs beginning with a vowel, in the Aorist, the Imperfect and the Conditional. In the Vedas, it comes before verbs beginning with consonants also.

३५४५ । च्चन्द्रस्यपि दृश्यते । ६ । ४ । ७३ ।

अनजादीनामित्यर्थः । आनद् । आवः । 'न माह्योगे' (२२२८) ।

3545. The 'āt' augmen is found in the Chhandas also.

It is found there before the roots beginning with a vowel as well as before consonant roots. Thus आनद्, from नश् in the Aorist. The च्चि is elided by II. 4. 80, when VIII. 2. 63 does not apply, then श् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36 which becomes इ and finally द् ॥ आनक्, from नश् when VIII. 2. 63 applies and आयुनक् ॥ आवः is Aorist of वृच्, the affix being elided by II. 4. 80. आनक् from नश् (II. 4. 80) and आयुनक् is the Imperfect of युच् ॥

The augments अद् and आद् are elided when the Particle मा is added. See VI. 4. 74. But not necessarily so in the Vedas as taught below.

३५४६ । बहुलं च्चन्द्रस्यमाह्योगेऽपि । ६ । ४ । ७५ ।

अडाटौ न स्तः माह्योगेऽपि स्तः । 'जनिष्ठा उयः सहसे तुरायः ।' 'मा वः क्षेत्रे परबीजान्यवाप्सुः'

3546. There is diversity in the Chhandas : the augment 'at' or 'āt' is added even with 'mā,' and "sometimes not added even when there is no 'mā'.

Thus in जनिष्ठा उयः (Rig. X. 73. 1), काममूर्वीत् (Rig. I. 53. 3) and काममर्दीवीत् the augment is not added though there is no मा ॥ In मा वः क्षेत्रे परबीजान्यवाप्सुः; मा अभित्याः, मा आवः, the augment is not elided, though the particle मा is added.

३५४७ । इरयो रे । ६ । ४ । ७६ ।

'गर्भे प्रथमं दधे आपः' । रेभावस्वाभीयत्येनासिद्धत्वादालोपः । अत्र 'रेशब्दस्येति कृते पुनरपि रेभावः । तदर्थं च सूत्रे द्विवचनान्तं निर्दिष्टमिरयोरिति ।

3547. 'Re' is diversely substituted for 'ire' in the Veda.

Thus कं स्वित्प्रथं प्रथमं दधे आपः (Rig. X. 82. 5) या स्व परिदधे ॥ In दधे, the आ of धा is elided, before the affix इरे by VI. 4. 64, the रे substitution being considered as *asiddha* (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of the elision of आ ॥

Here इट् augment is first added to रे after the सेट् roots and the affix thus becomes इरे, then रे is substituted again for this इरे by this sūtra, thus the affix is brought back to its original condition. To show this repetition—रे—इरे—रे the sūtra has exhibited the word इरयोः in the dual number.

३५४८ । कुन्दस्य भयथा । ६ । ४ । ८६ ।

भूसुधियोर्यगस्यादियङ्हुवडौ च । 'वनेषु चित्रं विभ्वम्' । विभुवं वा । 'सुधो हव्यमग्नेः' सुधियो वा ।

'+ तन्वादीनां कुन्दसि बहुलम् +' । 'तन्वं पुषेम' । तनुवं वा । त्र्यम्बकम्-त्रियम्बकं वा ।

3548. In the Chhandas, in the case of a stem in 'bhū' and 'sudhī' are found sometimes the इयङ्, उवङ्, and sometimes the semi-vowel substitution.

As विभ्वः, विभुवम्, सुधः and सुधियः ॥ वनेषु चित्रं विभ्वं विशे (Rig Veda IV. 7. 1) विभुवम् ॥ सुधो हव्यमग्ने for सुधियो हव्यमग्ने ॥

Vārtika:—There is diversely the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in the Chhandas, after तनु &c. and the rest. This ordains substitution even after words which are not roots.

As, तन्वं पुषेम (Rig Ved. X. 128. 1) or तनुवं ॥ त्र्यम्बकम् or त्रियम्बकम् "Three-eyed."

तनिपत्याश्कुन्दसि । ६ । ४ । ८६ ।

यतयोःपथालोपः कृडिति प्रत्यये । 'वितत्रिरे' कवयः । 'शकुना इव पत्तिम' । भाषायां विते-निरे । पतिम ।

3549. In the Chhandas, the root-vowel of 'tan' 'to stretch' and 'pat' to fall, is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicatory 'k' or 'n'.

As वितत्रिरे कवयः ॥ It is the 3rd Person Plural Perfect of तन् ॥ The vowel अ of तन् is elided. Though the elision is *asiddha* yet the rule VI. 4. 120 requiring the substitution of ष and the elision of the reduplicate त does not apply: because then the present sūtra would be nullified. शकुना इव पत्तिमः (Rig Ved. IX. 107. 20). This is also लिट् ॥ In the classical language we have वितेनिरे, पतिम् ॥

३५५० । घटिभसोहलि च । ६ । ४ । १०० ।

'सग्धिश्च मे' । 'ब्रह्मां ते हरी धानाः' । 'हुभ्रसुभ्यां हेधिः' (२४२५) ।

3550. The root-vowel of 'ghas' and 'bhas' is elided in the Chhandas, before any affix, whether beginning with a vowel or a consonant, which has an indicatory 'k' or 'n'.

Thus सग्धिश्च मे सपीतिश्च मे, ब्रह्मां ते हरी धानाः ॥ सग्धिः is thus derived: क्तिन् is added to the root अद्; then by II. 4. 39, घस् is substituted for अद्; thus घस् + ति = घस् + ति (अ being elided by the present sūtra) = घ् + ति (स् being elided by

VIII. 2. 26), then त is changed to ध, and च to ग and we have धिः ॥ Then समानाः धिः=सधिः (समान changed to स VI. 3. 84). The word वय्याम् is the Imperative of भस्, thus भस्+श्लु+ताम्=भ भस्+ताम्=व भस्+ताम् (VI. 4. 100)=वभ्+ताम् (VIII. 2. 26)=व व्+धाम्=वय्याम् ॥ This rule of elision being a nitya, and a subsequent rule, ought to have operated first, but, as a Vaidic anomaly, the reduplication takes place first. See VII. 2, 67.

Why do we read "before an affix beginning also with a consonant"? Because the elision takes place before a vowel affix also, as वषति=भस्+श्लु+क्ति=व भस्+अति (VII. 1. 4)=वषति (VIII. 4. 55).

Why having an indicatory क् or क्? Observe अंगून् वमस्ति ॥ The च has been added into the aphorism by the Vārtikakāra.

३५५१ । श्रु शृणुषूकृवृभ्यश्कृन्दसि । ६ । ४ । १०२ ।

'श्रुधी हवम्' । 'शृणुधी गिरः' । 'रायसूर्धि' । 'उरुणस्कृधि' । अवावृधि ।

3551. धि is substituted for हि in the Vedas, after श्रु, शृणु, पू, कृ and वृ ॥

As श्रुधी हवम् (Rig Ved. I. 2, 1.) शृणुधि गिरः (Rig Ved. VIII. 84. 3.) रायसूर्धि (Rig Ved. I. 35. 12). उरुकृदुरुणस्कृधि and अवावृधि ॥

In शृणुधी, the हि is not elided after the उ or गु, as it was required by VI. 4. 106, since the present aphorism specifically mentions it. The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. The forms other than शृणुधि are irregular; शप् being added diversely by III. 1, 85, and then elided diversely by बहुलंकृन्दसि II. 4. 73.

NOTE:—सूर्धि is from पू 'to protect'. The शप् is elided; for the final ऋ there is उर by VII. I. 102. S. 2495 and it is lengthened by VIII. 2. 77 S. 354 उरुणस्कृधि from कृ; the न of नस् is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27 S. 3649 and the visarjanīya is changed to स by VIII. 3. 50. S. 3635.

३५५२ । वा कृन्दसि । ३ । ४ । ८८ ।

हिरपिद्वा ।

3552. In the Chhandas the substitute 'hi' is optionally treated as not having an indicatory 'p.'

The result is that in the Chhandas, the second person singular of होद् has two forms, as प्रीणाहि or प्रीणोहि; युयुधि or युयोधि, धि being substituted for हि in the Vedas (by VI. 4. 103 S. 3553) as in the following verse:

अग्ने नयं सु पर्यारयेऽश्रस्मान्विश्वानिदेव द्युयुनानि विद्वान् ।

यु यो ध्यस्सज्जं हुराणमेनोभूयिंष्टान्ते नमऽउक्तिमिवधेम ॥

Rig Veda I. 189. 1: Yajur Veda, 40. 16.

३५५३ । अडितश्च । ६ । ४ । १०३ ।

होर्धि स्यात् । राश्रन्धि । रमेर्यन्धयेन परस्मैभदम् । शवः श्लुरभ्यासदीर्घश्च । 'अस्मि प्रयन्धि' 'युयोधि जातवेदः' । धमेः शपो लुक् । धातेः शवः श्लुः । 'अडितः' क्स् । प्रणीहि ।

3553. 'Dhi' is substituted for 'hi' when the tense-affix is not 'nit'.

Under III. 4. 88 S. 3552 हि is also पित् in the Vedas : and when it is पित् it is not डित् by 1. 2. 4. Thus रारन्धि, प्रयन्धि and युयोधि in the following सोमरारन्धि ; अस्मभ्य तद्धयंश्च प्रयन्धि; युयोध्यस्मञ् जुहुराणमेनः ॥

Why do we say 'when it is not डित्' ? Observe प्रीयोहि ॥

(1) रारन्धि is irregularly formed Parasmaipada of रम ; the श्च being replaced by श्लु, and the reduplicate lengthened as a Vedic form. The स् is not elided, by VI. 4. 37 as the affix is not डित् ॥ (2) प्रयन्धि is from यम the श्च is elided (3) युयोधि from यु (योति), the श्च being replaced by श्लु; युयोधि जातवेदः (Rig Ved. VIII. 11. 4).

३५५४ । मन्त्रेष्वाम्नादेरात्मनः । ६ । ४ । १४१ ।

आत्मनश्चब्दस्यादेर्लोपः स्यादाडि । 'त्मना देवेषु' ।

3554. In the Mantras, the beginning of 'âtman' is elided, when the affix of the Instrumental Singular follows.

आड् is the name of the Instrumental singular affix, given by ancient Grammarians. Thus त्मना देवेषु (Rig Ved. VII. 7. 1).

३५५५ । विभाषर्ज्ञोऽशुन्दसि । ६ । ४ । १६२ ॥

ऋजुशब्दस्यर्तः स्याने रः स्याद्वा इष्टमेयस्सु । 'त्वं रजिष्टमनुनेषि' । ऋजिष्ठं वा ।

3555. Before the affixes ishṭha, iman and iyas, the 'ri' of 'riju' may optionally be changed to 'ra' in the Chhandas.

As रजिष्ठः and ऋजिष्ठः, in त्वं रजिष्टमनुनेषि (Rig Ved. I. 91. 1).

३५५६ । ऋत्व्यवास्व्यवास्तवमाध्वीहिरण्ययानिच्छन्दसि । ६ । ४ । १७५ ।

ऋतो भवमत्व्यम् । वास्तुनि भवं वास्तव्यम् । वास्त्वं च । मधुशब्दस्याणि स्त्रियां यणा-देशो निपात्यते । 'माध्वीर्नः सन्त्वोपधीः' । हिरण्यशब्दाद्धितस्य मयटो मशब्दस्य लोपो निपात्यते । 'हिरण्येयेन सधिता रथेन' ।

इति षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।

3556. In the Chhandas the following are irregularly formed : Ritvya, Vâstvya, Vâstva, Mâdhvî, and Hiranyaya.

The word ऋत्व्य is derived from ऋतु, and वास्तव्य from वास्तु with the affix यत्, उ being changed to व ॥ ऋतो भवम् = ऋत्व्यम्, वास्तो भवम् = वास्तव्यम् ॥ वास्त्य is from वस्तु, as वस्तुनि भवः = वास्त्वः with the affix अण् ॥ माध्वी from मधु with the affix अण् in the feminine as 'माध्वीर्नः सन्त्वोपधीः' Rig Ved. I. 90. 6. हिरण्य is from हिरण्य with the affix मयट्, the ऋ being elided, as 'हिरण्येयेन सधिता रथेन' (Rig Ved. I. 35. 2.)

CHAPTER VII.

'ग्रीहो रुट् (२४४२) ।

By VII. 1. 6 S 2442; the augment रुट् is added to the-tense-affix अत् the 3rd Person Plural Atmanepade. But in the Vedas the augment is added to other affixes also.

३५५७ । बहुलं कन्दसि । ७ । १ । ८ ।

रुडामः स्यात् । 'लोपस्त आत्मनेपदेषु' (३५६३) इति षष्ठे तलोपः । 'येनयो दुह्ने' । लोपाभावे घृतं दुहते । 'अदृशमस्य' । 'अतो भिस् ऐस्' (२०३) ।

3557. The augment 'rut' is diversely applied in the Chhandas.

The त् of अत् is elided by VII. 1. 41. S. 3563, in one alternative. Thus धेनवो दुह्ते ॥ When then there is no elision, we have छतं दुह्ते । So also अद्दशमस्य ॥ देवा अद्दुह्ते ; गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अद्दुह्ते ॥ Here अद्दुह्ते is the Imperfect (लङ्) plural of दुह् ॥ Thus दुह् + भ् = दुह् + रत् = अद्दुह्, the त् being elided by VII. 1. 41. Sometimes, the augment does not take place, as अद्दुहत् ॥ Owing to the word बहुल, 'diversely', the augment र् is added to other affixes also, than भ् ॥ As अद्दशम् in अद्दशमस्य केतवः ॥ This is the aorist in अद् of the root दृश् by III. 1. 57. the guṇa ordained by VII. 4. 16, does not take place.

By VII. 1. 9 S. 203 ; ऐस् is substituted for भिस् in the Instrumental Plural after nouns ending in अ. But not always so, in the Vedas.

३५५८ । बहुलं छन्दसि । ७ । १ । १० ।

'अग्निर्देवेभिः' ।

3558. In the Chhandas the substitution takes place diversely.

That is ऐस् is substituted for भिस् even after stems which do not end in short अ; as नद्यैः ; and some times the substitution does not take place even after stems ending in short अ, as, देवेभिः, in देवोदेवेभिरागमत् (Rig Veda I. 1. 4).

३५५९ । नेतराच्छन्दसि । ७ । १ । २६ ।

स्वमोरदङ् न । 'वात्रंघ्रमितरम्' । 'छन्दसि' किम् । इतरत्काष्ठम् । 'समासेऽनञ्पूर्वं त्वो ल्यप्' (३३३२) ।

3559. In the Chhandas, *at* (or *ad*) is not the substitute of *sz* and *am* (Nom. and Acc. Sg.) endings, after *itar*.

As इतरमितरमण्डमजायत ; वात्रंघ्रमितरम् ॥ Why in the Vedas ? See इतरत् काष्ठम्, इतरत् कुडम् ॥

By VII. 1. 37. S. 3332, ल्यप् is substituted for *ktvâ* in a compound the first member of which is an Indeclinable but not नञ् ॥ In the Vedas, this is optional.

३५६० । त्वापि च्छन्दसि । ७ । १ । ३८ ।

यजमानं परिधापयित्वा ।

3560. In the Chhandas the 'ktvâ' also, as well as *lyap*, is substituted for *ktvâ*, after an Indeclinable compound, other than one preceded by the Negative 'nañ.'

Thus कृष्णं वासो यजमानं परिधापयित्वा ॥

३५६१ । सुपां सुनुङ्पूर्वसवर्णाच्छेयाडाद्यायाजालः । ७ । १ । ३९ ।

'अज्ञवः सन्तु पन्थाः' । पन्थान इति प्राप्ते सुः । 'परमे व्योमन्' । 'व्योमनि' इति प्राप्ते ऊर्णुक् । धीती । मती । सुष्टुती । धीत्या मत्या सुष्टुत्येति प्राप्ते पूर्वसवर्णादीर्घः । 'या सुरथा रथीतमा दिविसृष्टा अश्विना' । 'यो सुरथो दिविसृष्टी' इत्यादौ प्राप्त् आ । 'नताद्ब्राह्मणम्' । नतमिति प्राप्त् आत् । 'यादेव विष्म तात्वा' । यर्मिति प्राप्ते । 'न युष्मे वाजवन्धवः' । 'अस्मे इन्द्रावृहस्पती' । युष्मास्वस्मभ्यमिति प्राप्ते शे । उरुवा । ध्रुवाया । उरुणा ध्रुवानेति प्राप्ते या ।

'नाभा पृथिव्याः' । नाभाविति प्राप्ते डा । 'ता अनुश्लोच्यावयतात्' । अनुष्ठानमनुष्ठा । व्यवस्था-
वदङ् । आङो ह्या । साधुया । साव्यिति प्राप्ते याच् । 'वसन्ता यजेत' । वसन्त इति प्राप्ते आल् ।
'+इयाडियाजीकाराणामुपसंख्यानम्+' । उर्विया । दार्विया । उरुणा दारुणेति प्राप्ते इया । सुत्वे-
त्रिणेति प्राप्ते डियाच । 'द्विति न शुक्कं सरसी शयानम्' । डेरीकार इत्याहुः । तत्राद्युदात्ते पदे
प्राप्ते व्यत्ययेनान्तोदानता । वस्तुतस्तु ङीपन्ताङ्ङेर्लुक् । ईकारादेशस्य तूहादरणान्तरं म्गम् ।
'+आङयाजयारामुपसंख्यानम्+' । 'प्रवाहवा सिद्धतम्' । बाहुनेति प्राप्ते आङादेशः । 'चेर्हिति'
(२४५) इति गुणः । स्वप्नया । स्वप्नेनेति प्राप्तेऽयाच् । 'स नः सिन्धुमिव नावया' । नावेति प्राप्तेऽ-
यार् । रिस्वरः ।

3561. The following irregular endings are substituted for the various case-endings in the Chhandas: (1) 's' of the Nom. Sg. for 'as' of the Plural, (2) the *luk*-elision of the case-endings, (3) the single substitution of the homogeneous long vowel for the end vowel of the stem, (4) â, (5) ât, (6) e (é) for the ending of the Nom. Plural, (7) yâ, (8) â (dâ), with the elision of the last vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it in the stem, (9) yâ (dyâ) with the similar shortening of the stem, (10) yâ, (yâch) and (11) 'â' (accent of 'la').

Thus (1) अनृक्षरा ऋजवः सन्तु पन्थाः (for पन्थान्) Rig Veda X. 85. 23.

Vart.—It should be stated that case-endings replace case-endings promiscuously, as धुरि दक्षिणायाः (for दक्षिणायाम् Rig I. 164. 9).

Vart.—One personal ending replaces another personal ending in the Vedas चपालं ये अश्वयूपाय तक्षति (for तक्षन्ति) Rig. I. 162. 6.

(2) लुक्-elision :—As परमे व्योमन् (Tait-up. II. 1. 1) for व्योमनि । Here is elision of डि ॥

(3) Lengthening :—धीती, मती, सुष्टुती for धीत्या, मत्या and शुष्टुत्या ॥

(4) आ substitute :—As या सुरथा रथीतमोभा देवा दिविस्पृशा । अश्विना ता हामाहे ॥ (Rig Ved. I. 22. 2). Instead of यी, सुरथी, दिविस्पृशी, उभौ, &c, we have या, सुरथा, &c.

(5) आत्-नताद् ब्राह्मणम् for नतम् ॥ यादेव विष्ण ता त्वा here या is for यम् ॥

(6) शे-न युष्मे (for युष्मासु) वाजबन्धवः, Rig. VIII. 68. 19. अस्मे (for अस्मभ्यम्) इन्द्राष्टहस्पती; Rig. IV. 49. 4.

(7) या-उरुया, धृष्णुया for उरुणा and धृष्णुणा ॥

(8) डा-नाभा (for नाभौ) पृथिव्याः Rig. I. 143. 4.

(9) आ-अनुष्टया उच्यावयतात् for अनुष्ठया Ait Br. II. 6. 15. अनुष्ठानेन भवान् विशसनं करोतु । The word अनुष्ठा (feminine) is derived from स्या with the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106) and the preposition अनु । In the Instrumental Singular, the टा is replaced by ह्या ॥ But is not the affix अङ् of III. 3. 106 set aside in the case of स्या by the specific affix क्तिन् of III. 3. 95? Not always, for Pāṇini himself has used forms like व्यवस्था (I. 1. 35) showing that स्या takes the affix अङ् also.

(10) याच्—साधुर्वा for साधु; the elision of सु which was otherwise required does not take place.

(11) आल्-वसन्ता यजेत for वसन्ते ॥

Art :—The following substitutes should also be enumerated, (a) इया, (b) डियाच् with the elision of the final vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it, and (c) long ई ॥ As (a) उर्विया परिधानम्, for उरुणा, so also डार्विया for डारुणा ॥ (b) सुर्वत्रिया for सुर्वत्रिणा, and सुगात्रिया for सुगात्रिणा ॥ (c) वृतिं न शुष्कं सरसी शयानम् (Rig Ved. VII. 103. 2) for सरसि ॥

The word सरसी however may be otherwise explained. The ordinary explanation is that डि (Loc. Sing.) is replaced by, long ई of this Vārtika. The word ought to have udāta on the first syllable, but anomalously the accent falls on the last. Thus say those who give this example. But as a matter of fact सरसी here is the feminine in डीप् of सरस् ॥ The Loc. Sing. डि is elided after it by clause (2) of this sūtra; and it is not an example of the addition of long ई to सरस् ॥ Well, what is then the example of ई substitution of this vārtika? That must be found out.

NOTE:—Sāyana also explains सरसी in this way वृतिं न ॥ वृतिमिव शुष्कं नीरसं सरसी महत्सरः; सरसी गौरादिलक्षणे डीप्; सरस्यां “सुपां सुलुक्” इति सप्तम्यां लुक् । महति सरसि निर्जले घर्मकाले शयानं निवसन्तं मण्डूकगणः ॥

Vārt:—So also (a) आइ (b) अयाच् and (c) अयार्: as प्रवाहया सिसतम् (Rig Ved. VII. 62. 5), for प्रवाहुना । The उ is gupatad to ओ by VII. 3. 111, and ओ is changed to अच् before आ (b) स्वर्प्या सच सेवनम् for स्वप्नेन, (c) सिन्धुमिव नार्वया (Rig Ved. I, 97, 8) for नावा ॥ The र् in अयार् regulates the accent.

The word आच्छे in the sūtra is compounded of three words आ + आत् + शे, the word आत् = आ + आत् ॥

३५६२ । अमो मश् । ७ । १ । ४० ।

मिवादेशस्यामो मश् स्यात् । अकार उच्चारणार्थः । शित्वात्सर्वादेशः । ‘अस्ति सित्चः-’ (२२२५) इति ईद । ‘वधीं वृत्रम्’ । अवधिषमिति प्राप्ते ।

3562. For the Personal ending *am* of the First Person Singular (in the Acrist) *ma* (I. 1. 55) is substituted in the Chhandas.

The अम् here is the substitute of मिप्, and not the accusative singular affix. The अ in मश् is for the sake of pronunciation only. As वधीं वृत्रम् (for अवधिषम्) Rig. I. 165. 8: ॥ The अद् augment is diversely elided (VI. 4. 75). The indicatory श् of मश् shows that the whole of the affix अम् is to be replaced. The long ई is added by VII. 3. 96. The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the change of म् into anusvāra as in VIII. 3. 25.

NOTE:—Thus हन् + च्चि + मिप् = वध् + च्चि + मिप् (II. 4. 43) = वध् + सिच् + मिप् (III. 1. 44) = वध् + इ + सिच् + मिप् = वध् + इट् + सिच् + अम् (III. 4. 101) = वध् + इट् + सिच् + म् (Present Sūtra) = वध् + इट् + सिच् + ईद + म् (VII. 3. 96) = वध् + इट् + ईद + म् (VIII. 2. 28) = वधीम् (VI. 1. 101).

३५६३ । लोपस्त आत्मनेपदेषु । ७ । १ । ४१ ।

छन्दसि । ‘देवा अदुह’ । अदुहतेति प्राप्ते । ‘दक्षिणतः शये’ । शेत इति प्राप्ते । ‘आत्मने-इति किम् । ‘उत्सं दुहन्ति’ ।

3563. In the Chhandas the *ta* of the Atmanepada Personal ending is elided.

As देवा अदुह for अदुहत् (see VII. 1. 8) ; दक्षिणतः शये for शेते ॥ Owing to the anuvritti of अपि from VII. 1. 38, this substitution sometimes does not take place ; as : आत्मानमदृतंकुरुते ॥ Why in the Atmanepada ? Observe उत्सं दुहन्ति कलशं चतुर्बिलम् ॥

३५६४ । ध्वमो ध्वात् । ७ । १ । ४२ ।

ध्वमो ध्वादित्यादेशः स्याच्छन्दसि । 'अन्तरेवोष्माणं वारयध्वात्' । वारयध्वमिति प्राप्ते ।

3564. In the Chhandas, 'dhvât' is substituted for the Personal ending 'dhvam'.

As अन्तरेवोष्माणं वारयध्वात् for वारयध्वम् ॥ Ait Br. II. 6. 14.

३५६५ । यजध्वैनमिति च । ७ । १ । ४३ ।

एनमित्वास्मिन्परं ध्वमोऽन्तलोपो निपात्यते । 'यजध्वैनं प्रियमेधाः' । 'वकारस्य यकारो निपात्यते' इति वृत्तिकारोक्तिः प्रामादिकी ।

3565. यजध्वैनम् is irregularly formed in the Vedas for यजध्वमेनम् ॥

The word यजध्वम् followed by एनम् loses its final म् in the Vedas. As यजध्वैनं प्रियमेधः (Rig. VIII. 2. 37). The Kâśika adds "that व is also irregularly changed into य" : the form would then be यजध्वैनम् ॥ This is, however, a mistake.

३५६६ । तस्य तात् । ७ । १ । ४४ ।

लोटाऽमध्यमपुरुषबहुवचनस्यस्थाने तात् स्यात् । 'गात्रमस्यानूनं कृणुतात्' । कृणुतेति प्राप्ते । 'सूर्यं चतुर्गमयतात्' । गमयतेति प्राप्ते ।

3566. For the ending *ta* of the 2nd Pers. Pl. Imperative is substituted 'tât' in the Chhandas.

As गात्रं गात्रमस्या नूनं कृणुतात् (for कृणुत), and ऊवध्वं गोहं पार्थिवं खनतात् (for खनत) Ait Br. II. 6. 15, 16. अस्मारक्ष संसृजतात् (= संसृजत) † सूर्यं चतुर्गमयतात् (= गमयत).

३५६७ । तप्तनप्तनथनाश्च । ७ । १ । ४५ ।

तस्येत्येव । शृणोत यावाणः । शृणुतेति प्राप्ते त् । 'सुनोतन पचत ब्रह्मवाहसे' । 'दधातन द्विविणं चित्रमस्मै' । तनप् । 'मरुतस्यञ्जुष्टन' । जुषध्वमिति प्राप्ते व्यत्ययेन परस्मैपदं श्लुषच । 'विश्वे देवासो मरुतो यतिष्ठन' । यत्संख्याकाः स्थत्यर्थः । दच्छब्दाच्छान्दसो इति । अस्तेस्तस्य थनादेशः ।

3567. Also *ta* and *tana* (before both, on account of the indicatory *p* the preceding vowel of the verbal stem is strengthened, or if weak, not shortened), *tana* and *thana* are substituted for the *ta* of the 2nd Pers. Pl. Imperative in the Chhandas.

Thus (1) शृणोत यावाणः (for शृणुत),

(2) सुनोतन पचत ब्रह्मवाहसे (Rig. Ved. V. 34. 1). सुनोतन = सुनुत ॥ दधातन द्विविणं चित्रमस्मै (Rig Ved. X. 36. 13). The indicatory प् makes तप् and तनप्, non-ङित् affixes (I. 2. 4).

(3) तनः—मरुतः तञ्जुष्टन (Rig Ved. VII. 59. 9). for जुषध्वम्, the Paras- maipada and Ślu are anomalous.

(4) थनः—विश्वेदेवासो मरुतो यतिष्ठन ॥ The pronoun यत् becomes यति by taking the affix इति ; and अस् 'to be,' अस् + त = अस् + थन = स्यन ॥ Padamanjari says,

“The Rig Vedins read यतिष्ठन् instead of यतिष्ठन् in Samhitā Pāṭha, of कोवस्तो मरुतो यतिष्ठन् ; and in Pada Pāṭha they read it as यतिस्थन् ॥ In this case, it is derived from अस् “to be.” Kāśikā derives it from इष् “to wish.”

३५६८ । इदन्तो मसि । ७ । १ । ४६ ॥

मसोत्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः । इकार उच्चारणार्थः । मसित्ययमिकाररूपचरमावयवविशिष्टः स्यात् । मस इगोगमः स्यादिति यावत् । ‘नमो भरन्त एमसि’ । ‘त्वमस्माकं तव स्मसि’ । इमः स्म इति प्राप्ते ।

3568. The Personal ending *mas* becomes in the Chhandas *masi* ending with an *i*.

Thus नमो भरन्त एमसि (Rig Ved. I. 1. 7), for इमः । त्वमस्माकं तव स्मसि (Rig Ved. VIII. 92. 32) for स्मः ॥

The word मसि in the Sūtra is read without any case ending. The इ in it is for the sake of utterance only. “मस्” assumes in the Vedas a form which ends in इ । In other words the augment इक् is added to the affix मस् ॥ The sūtra might have been मस इक् ॥

३५६९ । त्वो यक् । ७ । १ । ४७ ।

‘दिवं सुपर्णो गत्वाय’ ।

3569. In the Chhandas the Absolutive affix ‘ktvā’ gets at the end, the augment ‘ya.’

Thus दिवं सुपर्णो गत्वाय (Rig Ved. VIII. 100. 8).

३५७० । इष्टीनमिति च । ७ । १ । ४८ ।

क्त्वाप्रत्ययस्य ईनमन्तादेशो निपात्यते । ‘इष्ट्वीनं देवान्’ । इष्ट्वीति प्राप्ते ।

3570. In the Chhandas the Absolutive ‘isṭvīnam’ is irregularly used for ‘isṭvā.’

To the root यज् is added क्त्वा, and the final आ is replaced by ईनम् ॥ As इष्ट्वीनम् देवान् for इष्ट्वा देवान् ॥ The च in the sūtra indicates that there are other forms like this, as पीत्वीनम् for पीत्वा ॥

३५७१ । स्नात्वाद्यश्च । ७ । १ । ४९ ।

आदिशब्दः प्रकारार्थः । आकारस्येकारो निपात्यते । ‘ईखच्चः स्नात्वी मलादिव’ । ‘पीत्वो सोमस्य वायुधे’ । स्नात्वा पीत्विति प्राप्ते ।

3571. ‘Snātvī’ &c. are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

Thus स्नात्वी मलादिव, for स्नात्वा ; पीत्वो सोमस्य वायुधे for पीत्वा ॥ The word आदि ‘et cetera’ means “of the form of,” namely words having the form like ‘स्नात्वी, as पीत्वो &c.

३५७२ । आञ्जसेरसुक् । ७ । १ । ५० ।

अवर्णान्तादङ्गात्परस्य जसोऽसुक्स्यात् । देवासः । ब्राह्मणासः ।

3572. After a stem ending in *a* long or short, the affix *as* of the Nom. Pl. gets, in the Chhandas the augment *as* (*asuk*) at the end.

Thus ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः for ब्राह्मणाः and सोम्यः ॥ Rig VI, 75, 10. ये पूर्वसो य उपरासः (Rig X. 15. 2) for पूर्वे and उपरे ॥ So also पुतासः (R. I. 3. 4).

NOTE :—The form जसेः instead of जसः is out of respect for ancient grammarians.

३५७३ । श्रीयामण्योश्छन्दसि । ७ । १ । ५६ ।

आमो नुद । 'श्रीणामुदारो धरुणोरयीणाम्' । 'सूत यामणीनाम्' ।

3573. In the Chhandas after the words 'śī' and 'grāmaṇi' Gen. Pl. 'ām' gets the augment 'n.'

As श्रीणामुदारो धरुणो रयीणाम् (Rig Ved. X. 45. 5).

NOTE :—This sūtra could be well dispensed with : by I. 4. 5. श्री is optionally a Nadi word in the Genitive plural. We make the option of that sūtra a vya vasthita-vibhāshā, by saying श्री is *always* Nadi in the Vedas, and *optionally* every where else. As regards सूत यामणीनाम्. we have सूताश्च यामणीश्च सूतयामणि, the Genitive Pl. of which by VII. 1. 54 will be सूतयामणीनाम्, ॥

The necessity of this sūtra will, however, arise if the compound be सूताश्च ते यामण्यश्च सूतयामण्यः ॥

३५७४ । गोः पादान्ते । ७ । १ । ५७ ।

'विद्यमा हि त्वा गोपतिं शूर गोनाम्' । 'पादान्ते' क्रिम् । 'गवां शता पृथयामेषु' । पादान्तेऽपि क्वचिन्न । छन्दसि सर्वेषां वैकल्पिकत्वात् । 'विराजं गोपतिं गवाम्' ।

3574. After *go*, when standing at the end of a Rik verse, the augment *na* comes before the Gen. Pl. *ām*.

As विद्यमाहि त्वा गोपतिं शूरगोनाम् (Rig Ved. X. 47. 1); but गवां गोत्रमुदसृज्य यदङ्गिरः in the beginning of a Pāda. "All rules have exceptions in the Vedas" is an established maxim, so at the end of a Pāda, sometimes this rule does not apply, as हन्तारं शत्रूणां क्वधि विराजं गोपतिं गवाम् । गवां शता पृथयामेषु (Rig Ved. I. 122. 7).

३५७५ । छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते । ७ । १ । ७६ ।

अस्थ्यादीनामनङ् । 'इन्द्रो दधीचो अस्थिभिः' ।

3575. In the Chhandas also, the stems *asthi*, *dadhi*, *sakthi* and *akshi* are found to take the substitute *anm* before endings other than those mentioned in VII. 1. 75 S. 322.

Thus the substitute is ordained before endings beginning with a vowel. In the Vedas it comes before affixes beginning with a consonant. As इन्द्रो दधीचो अस्थिभिः (Rig Ved. I. 84. 13).

३५७६ । ई च द्विवचने । ७ । १ । ७७ ।

अस्थ्यादीनामित्येव । 'अस्त्रीभ्यां ते नासिकाभ्याम्' ।

3576. The acutely accented 'ī' is substituted for the final of *asthi*, *dadhi*, *sakthi* and *akshi*, in the Chhandas, when the case-affixes of the dual follow.

As अर्क्षीभ्यान् ते नामिकाभ्याम् ॥ (Rig ved. X. 163. 1). In अर्क्षी the augment नुम् is not added to the stem before the vowel-beginning ending, because VII. 1. 73, which ordained नुम्, is superseded by the present sūtra, and being once superseded, it is superseded for good. (सकृद् गती विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेव) ॥

३५७७ । दृक्स्ववःस्वतवसां कृन्दसि । ७ । १ । ८३ ।

एषां नुम्स्यात्सो । 'कीट्टिन्द्रः' । स्ववान् । स्वतवान् । उदीप्ठपृथस्य' (२४६४) ।

3577. दृश्, स्ववस् and स्वतवस् take the augment *num* before the affix *su* (Nominative and Vocative Singular) in the Vedas.

Thus ईदृङ्, तादृङ्, पादृङ्, मदृङ्, स्ववान् स्वतवान्, ॥ The ष् of ईदृश् (formed by III. 2. 60), is elided by VIII. 2. 23; and ङ् substituted for न् by VIII. 2. 62. The lengthening in स्ववान् and स्वतवान् is through VI. 4. 14.

कीट्टिन्द्र (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 3).

For स्ववान् see Rig, Ved. I. 35. 10; III. 54, 12, VI. 47. 12;

For स्वतवान् see Rig Ved. IV. 2. 6.

By VII. 1. 102 S 2494 उर् is substituted for the final long ऋ of a root when it is preceded by a labial consonant belonging to the root. In the Vedas however, there is diversity.

३५७८ । बहुलं कृन्दसि । ७ । १ । १०३ ।

ततुरिः । जगुरिः । पपुरिः ॥

3578. In the Chhandas, the *ur* substitution for 'ri' of a root-stem is diverse.

That is, it takes place even when the preceding letter is not labial, and does not take place even when the letter is labial. Thus ततुरिः (Rig Ved. I. 145. 3) दूरे ह्यध्वा जगुरिः, and पपुरिः from तृ, गृ and पृ ॥ All these words ततुरि, जगुरि and पपुरिः are formed by the affix क्तिन् (III. 1. 171).

३५७९ । ह्रु ह्रुश्कृन्दसि । ७ । २ । ३१ ।

ह्रुर्निष्ठायां, 'ह्रु'आदेशः स्यात् । 'अह्रु'तमसि हविर्धानम्' ।

3579. *Hru* is substituted for *hvar* (Bhāṇādi 978) in the Chhandas before the Participial-affix.

As ह्रुत्तस्य चाह्रुत्तस्य च, अह्रुत्तमसि हविर्धानम् (Vaj San. 1. 9). But ह्रुत्तम् in the classical literature.

३५८० । अपरिहृष्टताश्च । ७ । २ । ३२ ।

पूर्वेषु प्राप्तस्य देशस्याभावो निपात्यते । 'अपरिहृष्टताः सनुयाम वाजम्' ।

3580. The word 'aparihṛitāḥ is irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The ह्रु substitution required by the last sūtra, does not take place here. As अपरिहृष्टतः सनुयाम वाजम् (Rig I. 100. 19). The word being found in the plural number in the Vedas, it is so shown in the sūtra also.

३५८१ । सोमे ह्रितः । ७ । २ । ३३ ।

Veda I. 162. 19) (= विशसिता), उत शंता सुविप्रः (Rig Veda I. 162. 5) (= शंसिता), प्रशास्ता पोता (Rig Veda I. 94. 6). (= प्रशासितम्) ॥

The forms 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 are from the roots सू and वृ (वृङ् and वृङ्) with the affix लृच् and the augment उद् and ऊद् ॥ As तरुतारं or तरुतारं रथानाम् Rig Veda X. 178. I. (= तरितारम् or तरीतारम्), वरुतारम् or वरुतारम् रथानाम् (= वरितारम् or वरीतारम्); वरुत्रोभिः सुशरणो अस्तु (Rig Veda VII. 34. 22). वरुत्रीः is exhibited in this form of Nom. pl. of the feminine वरुत्री merely for the sake of showing one form in which it is found: another form is अहोत्राणि विवरुत्रयः । Here the plural is formed irregularly, by taking the word as वरुत्रि ॥ The feminine form could have been easily obtained from वरुत्र, by adding डोप्, the special mention is explanatory. The rest 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 are from उत्-ञ्वल, चर्. क्षम्, वम् and अम्, formed with the vikaraṇa शप् and the affix of the 3rd Per. Sing तिप्, इ being substituted for अ of शप्, or शप् is elided and the augment इद् is added ॥ As अग्निञ्ज्वलति (= उञ्ज्वलति), स्तोमं क्षमिति (= क्षमति), स्तोत्रं क्षरिति (= क्षरति), यः सोमं वमिति (= वमति), अभ्यमिति वरुणः (= अभ्यमति) ॥ Sometimes we have अभ्यमीति, as रावमभ्यमीति ॥

We should read here again VII. 2. 64. S. 2527.

३५८२ क ॥ बभूयाततन्यजग्मभवर्थेति निगमे । ७ । २ । ६४ ।

विद्यता तमुत्सं यत आबभूथ । येनान्तरिक्षमुर्वाततन्यं । 'जग्मभा ते दक्षिणामिन्द्र हस्तम्' । त्वं ज्योतिषा वितमो ववर्थ । भाषायां तु । वभूत्रिय । आतेनिय । जग्हिम । ववरियेति ।

3582A. In the Nigama (Veda) are found the irregular forms बभूय, आततन्य, जग्म and ववर्थ ॥

As, विद्यता तमुत्सं यत आ बभूथ । येनान्तरिक्षमुर्वाततन्य (Rig Veda. III. 22. 2), जग्मभाते दक्षिणामिन्द्र हस्तम् (Rig Veda X. 47. 1). त्वं ज्योतिषा वितमो ववर्थ ।

In the classical literature, we have बभूविय, आतेनिय, जग्हिम and ववरिय respectively.

३५८३ । सनिससनिवांसम् । ७ । २ । ६६ ।

सनमित्येतत्पूर्वात्सनतेः सनेतेर्वा क्सोरिट् । एत्वाभ्यासलोपाभावश्च निपात्यते ।

'+ पावकादीनां कृन्दसि +' प्रत्ययस्थात्कादित्वं नेति वाच्यम् । 'हिरण्यवर्णाः शुवयः पावकाः' ।

3583. The form *sasanivānsam* with *sanin* is irregularly formed.

This is derived from सनेनि or सनति root with the affix Kvasu. As अञ्जित्त्वाने सनिं ससनिवांसम् ॥ The augment इद् is added, there is no change of अ of सन्- to ए, nor the elision of the reduplicate before वम् ॥ The other form is सेनिवांसम् when not preceded by सनिम् ॥ This form ससनिवांसम् is Vedic, in the classical literature we have सेनिवांसम् ॥

Vārt :—The feminine of पावक &c. in the Vedas does not take इ for अ ॥ As हिरण्यवर्णाः शुवयः पावकाः, यामु अ लोमकाः; ऋद्धकाः &c. But पाविकाः, अलोमिकाः in the classical literature. (See VII. 3. 45. S. 464).

३५८४ । घोर्लोपो लेटिवा । ७ । ३ । ७० ।

'दधद्रुत्तानि दाशुषे' । 'सोमे! ददद्गन्धर्वाय' । 'यदग्निरग्नये ददात्' ।

3584. The final of 'dâ' and 'dhâ' ('ghû roots) may optionally be elided in the Subjunctive 'let'.

As दधद्रूढा दागुणे (Rig. I. 35. 8.) सोमो ददद् गन्धर्वाय (Rig. X. 85. 41.) But also यदग्निरग्नये ददात् ॥

३५८५ । मीनात्तेनिगमे । ७ । ३ । ५१ ।

श्रिति ह्रस्वः । 'प्रमिनन्ति व्रतानि' । लोके प्रमीणाति । 'अस्तिचितोऽपृक्ते' (२२२५) ।

3585. In the Chhandas 'mî' is shortened before a 'sit' affix.

As प्रमिनन्ति व्रतानि (Rig. X. 10. 5.) The न becomes ण (प्रमिणन्ति according to Kâsika) by VIII. 4. 15. Why in the Chhandas? Observe प्र मीणाति ॥

By VII. 3. 96. S. 2225 a single consonantal sârvadhâtuka affix gets the augment ईद्, after अस् (अस्ति) and after the Aorist character सिच् ॥ But in the Chhandas, there is diversity.

३५८६ । बहुलं छन्दसि । ७ । ३ । ९७ ।

'सर्वमा इदम्' ।

अस्तेलङ्, तिप्, ईडभाव अपृक्तत्वाच्चलङ्घ्यादिलोपः । रुत्व विसर्गौ । संहि तायां तु 'भोभगो - (१६७) इति यत्वं । 'लोपः शाकल्यस्य' (६७) इति यलोपः । गोभिरत्ताः रक्षपालने' लुङ् । 'अतोल्गान्तस्य' (२३३०) इति वृद्धिः । इडभावश्छान्दसः । अद् शेषं पूर्ववत् ॥

ह्रस्वस्यगुणः' (२४२) । 'जसि च' (२४१) । '+ जसादिषु छन्दसि वा वचनं प्राङ् खौ चङ्पुषधायाः+' । 'अथा शतक्रत्वो यूयम्' शतकतवः । 'पशवेभ्यो यथा गवे' । पशवे । 'नाभ्यस्तस्याच-' (२५०३) इति निषेधे । '+ बहुलं छन्दसतिवक्तव्यम् +' । 'आनुषङ्गुजोषत्' ।

3586. In the Chhandas, a single consonantal Sârvadhâtuka affix gets diversely the augment 'it' after *as* and *sich* ॥

As आप एवेदं सलिलं सर्वमाः ॥ Here आः is used instead of आसीत् ॥

NOTE :—आः is thus evolved. अ+अस्+लङ्+तिप् । The ई that would have come by S. 2225 does not come. So we have अ+अस्+त्=आस् (the final consonant त् is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). Then the स् is changed to रु and then रु to visarga: and we have आर् । Then in sahnita, the visarga or रु is changed to य by VIII. 3. 17 S. 167. and we get आय् ॥ Then this य् is elided by VIII. 3. 19 S. 67, and so we have सर्वम् आ इदम् ॥

Similarly in गोभिरत्ताः । It is the aorist (लुङ्) of रक्ष् 'to protect.' The Vrid-dhi takes place by S. 2330. The absence of इद् is the Vaidic irregularity.

By VII. 3. 108, a gûṇa is substituted for short इ and उ in the Vocative Singular, and also in the Nominative Plural by VII. 3. 109. The following Vârtika makes an exception to these as well as the other rules of the third chapter of the Seventh Book from sūtra 108 downwards.

Vârt:—All these rules up to the end of this (7th Book, 3rd) chapter are of optional application in the Vedas. As अग्ने or अन्व, पूर्णां दर्वि or पूर्णां दर्वी, अथा शतक्रत्वः (Rig Veda X. 97. 2) or शतक्रत्वः पशवेभ्यो यथागवे (Rig Veda I. 43. 2), or पशवे. चभ्यः, किंकिदीव्या, किंकिदीविना ॥

By VII. 3. 87 the gûṇa is not substituted for the penultimate short इ, उ ऋ in the reduplicated form of a root, before a Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with

a vowel and having an indicatory ष ॥ The following Vārtika makes an exception.

Vart:—There is diversity in the Vedas. As अनुपक्व जुजोषत् (Rig Veda III. 4. 10) the लेट् of जुष् ॥

३५८७ । नित्यं छन्दसि । ७ । ४ । ८ ।

छन्दसि विषये चङ्युपधाया ऋवर्णस्य ऋत्रित्यम् । अत्रोवृधत् ।

3587. Short च is invariably substituted in the Chhandas for the penultimate च or ऋ of a Causative stem, in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As अत्रोवृधत् (Rig Veda VIII. 8. 8) अत्रोवृधताम्, अत्रोवृधन् ॥

३५८८ । न छन्दस्यपुत्रस्य । ७ । ४ । ३५ ।

पुत्रभिव्रत्यादन्तस्य क्वचिद्वैत्वदोर्घा न । मित्रयुः । 'क्वाच्छन्दसि' (३१५०) इति उः । 'अपुत्रस्य' फिम् । 'पुत्रीयन्तः सुदानवः ।

'+ अपुत्रादीनामिति वाच्यम् +' । 'जनोयन्तोऽन्वयवः' । जनमिच्छन्तोऽत्यर्थः ।

3588. In the Chhandas the rules causing lengthening, or the substitution of long 'ī' for the final vowel of the stem before the affix kyach, do not apply, except in the case of *putra*.

Thus मित्रयुः, संख्येदयुः, देवाञ् जिगात् सुम्नुयुः ॥ But पुत्रीयन्तः सुदानवः (Rig. VII. 96. 4.)

Vart:—It should be rather stated पुत्र and the rest: as जनोयन्तोऽन्वयवः ॥ See III. 2. 170, for the affix उ ॥

३५८९ । दुरस्युर्द्रविणस्युर्दृषण्यति रिषण्यति । ७ । ४ । ३६ ।

एते क्वचि निपात्यन्ते । भाषायां तु उपत्ययाभावाद्दुष्टीयति । द्रविणीयति । वृषीयति । रिष्टीयति ।

3589. In the Chhandas दुरस्यु, द्रविणस्यु, वृषण्यति and रिषण्यति are irregularly formed.

As अविषोना दुरस्युः, (= दुष्टीयति with the affix क्वच् added to दुष्ट), द्रविणस्युर्विषन्ध्या (द्रविणीयति, here द्रविणस् is substituted for द्रविण similarly). वृषण्यति = वृषीयति (वृषण् substituted for वृष) ॥ रिषण्यति = रिष्टीयति (रिषण् substituted for रिष्ट) ॥

३५९० । अश्वाघस्यात् । ७ । ४ । ३७ ।

'अश्व' 'अघ' एतयोः क्वच्यात्स्याच्छन्दसि । 'अश्वायन्तो मघवन्' । 'मा त्वा वृका अघायवः' । 'न छन्दसि-' (३५८८) इति निषेधो नेत्यमात्रस्य । किंतु दार्घ्यापीति । अत्रेटमेव सूत्रं ज्ञापकम् ।

3590. In the Chhandas, long 'ā' is substituted for the final of *aśva* and *agha*, before the Denominative *kyach*.

As अश्वायन्तो मघवन् (Rig. VII. 32. 23), मा त्वा वृका अघायवो विदन् ॥ This also indicates that other words do not lengthen their vowel in the Vedas before क्वच्, as taught in VII. 4. 35. S. 3588. See Vārtika to III. 1. 8. The word अघायु occurs in Rig. I. 120. 7, 27; 3.

३५९१ । देवसुम्नयोर्यजुषि कठशाखायाम् । ७ । ४ । ३८ ।

अनयोः क्वचि आत्स्याद्यजुषि कठशाखायाम् । 'देवायन्तो यजमानाः' । 'सुम्नायन्तो हवामहे' । इह यजुःशब्दो न मन्त्रमात्रपरः किं तु वेदोपलक्षकः । तेन ऋगात्मकोपि मन्त्रे यजुर्वेदस्ये भवति । किं च ऋग्वेदेऽपि भवति । सचेन्मन्त्रो यजुषि कठशाखायां दृष्टः । 'यजुषि' इति किम् । 'देवाज्जिगति सुम्नयुः' । बह्वृचानामप्यस्ति कठशाखा ततो भवति प्रत्युदाहरणमिति हरदत्तः ।

3591. The long 'ā' is substituted for the final of *deva* and *sumna* before the Denominative *kyach* in the Yajush Kāthaka.

As देवायन्तो यजमानः सुम्नायन्तो हवामहे । Why in the Yajus ? Observe देवाज्जिगति सुम्नयुः । According to Haradatta the author of Padamanjari, this counter example is taken from the Kāṭha Shākhā of the Rig Veda, for the Rig Veda also has a Kāṭha Shākhā. Why do we say in the Kāthaka ? Observe सुम्नयुरिदमासात् ।

In this sūtra, Yajush is not confined merely to the Mantra, but means the Veda in general. Therefore the rule will apply to a Mantra of the Rig Veda also, if it is found in the Yajur Veda. That is, the rule will apply to a Mantra of the Rig Veda also, in the Rig Veda, if it be such a Mantra which is common to the Rig and Yajur Veda Kāṭha Shākhā.

३५९२ । कव्यध्वरपृतनस्यर्चि लोपः । ७ । ४ । ३९ ।

'कवि' 'अध्वर' 'पृतना' एषामन्त्यस्य लोपः स्यात्कवि परे ऋचिविषये । 'स पूर्वया निविदा कव्यतायोः' । 'अध्वर्यु' वा मधुपाणिम् । 'दमयन्तं पृतन्यून' । 'दधातेर्हिः' (३०७६) । जहातेश्च कित्त्व (३३३१) ।

3592. In the Rig Veda, the final of कवि, अध्वर and पृतना is dropped before the Denominative क्वच् ।

स पूर्वया निविदा कव्यतायोः (Rig. I. 96. 2). अध्वर्यु' वा मधुपाणिम् (Rig Veda X. 41. 3). दमयन्तं पृतन्यून (Rig Veda X. 74. 5).

By VII. 4. 42. S. 3076 हि is substituted for the धा of दधाति before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् । By VII. 4. 43, S. 3331 हि is substituted for the हा of जहाति before क्त्व । But in the Vedas there is diversity

३५९३ । विभाषा छन्दसि । ७ । ४ । ४४ ।

'हित्वा शरीरम्' । होत्वा वा ।

3593. *Hi* is optionally substituted for 'hi' before 'ktvā' in the Chhandas.

As हित्वा शरीरं यातव्यं, or होत्वा also. The long *hī* of VI. 4. 62 does not take place also as a Vedic irregularity.

३५९४ । सुधितवसुधितनेमधितधिष्वधिषीय च । ७ । ४ । ४५ ।

'सु' 'वसु' 'नेम' एतत्पूर्यत्य दधातेः क्ते प्रत्यय इत्त्वं निपात्यते । 'गर्भे माता सुधितं वसुगासु' । वसुधितमना । नेमाधिता न पोस्या । 'क्तित्वपि दृश्यते' । 'उत श्वेतं वसुधितं निरेके' । धिष्वग्बज्जं दक्षिण इन्द्र हस्ते' । धत्स्यति प्राप्ते । 'सुरेता रेतो धिषीय' । आशालिङ् । इट् । 'इटोत्' (२२५७). धासोयेति प्राप्ते । 'अपो मि' (४४२) ।

'+ मासश्छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् +' । माद्धिः शरद्धिः । 'स्ववः स्वतवसोरुपसश्चेत्यते' । स्वतवद्धिः । अत्रतेरसुन् । शोभनमवो येषां ते स्ववसस्तेः । 'तु' इति सौत्रो धातुस्तस्मादसुन् । स्वं

तत्रो येषां तै स्वतवद्भिः । 'समुपद्भिरजायथाः' । 'मिथुनेऽसिः । 'वसेः कित् इत्यसिप्रत्यय इति ह्रदत्तः । पञ्चपादोरीत्या तु 'उपः कित्' इति प्राग्व्याख्यातम् । 'न कवतेर्यङि' (२६४१) ।

3594. The following five Vedic forms are irregularly formed, namely सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्व and धिषीय ॥

Of these five, सुधित, वसुधित and नेमधित are formed from the root धा with the affix क्त, preceded by सु, वसु and नेम ॥ As गर्भं माता सुधितम् (Rig Veda X. 27. 16). (=सुहितं), ॥ वसुधितमग्ने जुहोति (=वसुहितं). The word वसुधितं is a Kar-madhâraya compound, according to Haradatta. In the Veda-Bhâsya it is explained as वसूनां धातारं प्रदातारम् ॥ The form वसुधिति with क्तिन् is also found in the Vedas. As :—उतश्चेतं वसुधितिं निरेके (Rig Veda VII. 90. 3). नेमधिता न पांस्या (Rig Veda X. 93. 13) (=नेमहिता) ॥ नेम् means 'half.' धिष्व is Imperative 2nd Per. Sg. of धा, there is no reduplication, as धिष्व सोमम् = धत्व ॥ धिष्व वज्रम् हस्त आ-दक्षिणत्राभिः (Rig Veda VI. 18. 9). धिषाय is Benedictive Atmanepada 1st Per. Sg. of धा, the regular form being धासीय ॥ See III. 4. 106.

By VII. 4. 48. S. 442, त् is substituted for the final of the stem अप् before a case-ending beginning with भ ॥ In the Vedas this substitution takes place in the case of मास &c.

Vârṭika:—The त् substitution takes place in the Chhandas for the final of मास &c. Thus मास्त्रिः, शस्त्रिः ॥ मास becomes मास् by VI. 1. 63.

Ishī :—The त् substitution should take place, according to Patanjali, after स्ववस्, स्वतवस् and उपस् also. As स्ववस्त्रिः । स्ववस् is derived from अच् 'to protect,' with the affix असुन् and the prefix सु ॥ It means 'he whose protection is good.' See Rig Veda I. 35, 10; &c. ॥

The word स्वतवस् is derived from the root तु with the affix असुन् and Prefix स्व ॥ It means धनवान् or wealthy. As स्वतवस्त्रिः । See S. 3633. Similarly उपद्भिः as in समुपद्भिः अजायथाः (Rig Veda I. 6. 3).

This word is formed by the affix असि which is treated as कित् after वस् (See Uṇādi IV. 222 and 233). This is according to the opinion of Haradatta, who follows evidently the lost Uṇādi Sūtras which consisted of Ten Padas. In the present Uṇādi Sūtra of Five Padas we have उपः कित् and not वसेः कित् ॥ वसति मूर्ध्ण सह इति उपा ॥

By VII. 4. 63. S. 2641, the Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कु (कवते) in the Intensive. In the Vedas this prohibition applies to the root कृप् also.

३५९५ । कृषेऽश्वन्दसि । ७ । ४ । ६४ ।

यद्दयभ्यासस्य चुत्वं न । करोऽकृष्यते ।

3595. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of 'kṛish' in the Chhandas, when in the Intensive.

As करोऽकृष्यते गजकुण्ठः ; otherwise करोऽकृष्यते कृषीव्रलः ॥ ०

३५९६ । दार्ध्विर्धर्धतिर्धर्धिविभूतुतेतिक्तुलप्यापनीफलत्संसनिष्यदंत्कारिक्त-
निक्तुद्विरिध्दृषिध्वतोदविभ्रुतत्त्रितःसरीसृपतंररीवृजन्मृज्यागनीगन्तीति च । ७ ।
४ । ६५ ।

यतेऽष्टादश निपात्यन्ते । आद्यास्त्रयो धृडो धारयतेर्वा ।

भयतेर्यङ्लुगन्तस्य गुणाभायः । तेन भाषायां गुणो लभ्यते ।

तिजेर्यङ्लुगन्तात्तङ् । इयतेर्लिटि हलादिः शेषाप्वाटो रेफस्य लत्वमित्वाभावश्च निपात्यते ।

‘अर्लपि युष्म खजकृत्युरन्दरः’ । सिपा निर्देशो न तन्त्रम् । ‘अर्लति दत्त उत’ ।

फणतेराङ्पूर्वस्य यङ्लुगन्तस्य शतयभ्यांसस्य नीगागमो निपात्यते । ‘अन्त्रापनीकणत्’ ।

स्यन्देः संपूर्वस्य यङ्लुकि शतयभ्यांसस्य निक् । धातुसकारस्य पत्वम् ।

करोतेर्यङ्लुगन्तस्याभ्यासस्य चुत्वाभावः । ‘करिक्रत्’ ।

क्रन्देलुङि च्छे रङ्द्विवचनमभ्यासस्य चुत्वाभावो निगागमश्च । ‘कनिक्रदज्जनुपम् । अक्रन्दो-
दित्यर्थः ।

‘बिभर्तेभ्यासस्य जश्त्वाभावः । ‘वि यो भरिभ्रदोपधीषु’ ।

ध्वरतेर्यङ्लुगन्तस्य शतयभ्यांसस्य विगागमो धातोर्ङकारलोपश्च । ‘द्विध्वते रश्मयः सूर्यस्य’ ।

द्वुतेरभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणाभावोऽत्त्व’ विगागमश्च । ‘द्विद्वुतद्वोद्वच्छोशुचानः’ ।

तरतेः शतरि श्लावभ्यासस्य रिगागमः । सहेजार्तरित्रतः’ । सृपेः शतरि श्लो द्वितोयैक-
वचनेरीगागमोभ्यासस्य ।

दृजेः शतरि श्लावभ्यांसस्य रीक् ।

संजेर्लिटि णलभ्यासस्य रुक् धातोश्च युक् । गमेराङ्पूर्वस्यलिटि श्लावभ्यासस्य चुत्वाभावो
नीगागमश्च । ‘वत्पन्ती वेदा गनीगन्ति कर्णम्’ ।

3596. In the Chhandas are found the following eighteen irregularly reduplicated forms:—1 dādharti, 2 dardharti, 3 dardharshi, 4 bobhātu. 5 tetikte, 6 alarshi, 7 â panîphanat, 8 sam sani-shyadat 9 karikrat’ 10 kanikradat, 11 bharibhrat, 12 davidhvataḥ, 13 davidyutat, 14 taritrataḥ, 15 sarisrpatam, 16 varivrjat, 17 mar-mrjya and 18 â ganîganti.

The word क्रन्दसि is drawn in to this sūtra, by force of च ॥ The form दार्धर्ति, is either from the Causative of the root धृङ् अवस्थाने or from धृञ् in the श्लु or यङ्लुक्, there is lengthening of the abhyāsa and elision of णि ॥ (2) So also दृर्धर्ति is the form in ślu, with रुक् augment of the abhyāsa. (3) दर्धर्पि if it be a form of यङ्लुक्, there is no irregularity. (4) बोभूतु, is from भू in the Intensive (यङ्लुक्) Imperative, irregularly without गण् (6) अर्लपि is form the root ऋ (इयति) in Present, 2nd Person, the र् of abhyāsa is not elided, though required by VII. 4. 60, and this र् is changed to ल irregularly. This form is found in the 3rd Person also, as अर्लति दत्तः ॥ अर्लपि युष्म खजकृत्युरन्दरः (Rig Veda VIII 1. 7). अर्लति दत्त उत (Rig Veda VIII. 48. 8). (7) आ पनीकणत् is from कण् with आ augment and णत् affix is added to यङ्लुक्, and in the reduplicate नी is added. (8) संस-निष्यदत् is from स्यन्द with the Preposition सम्, in the Intensive यां लुक्, with णत् affix, नि being added in the abhyāsa, the root स is changed to च ॥ The Preposi- tion सं is not absolutely necessary, with other Prepositions also we have this form as आ संनिष्यदत् ॥ (9) करिक्रत is from कृ (करोति), in the Intensive यां लुक्, with णत्, in the abhyāsa there is no palatal change (VII. 4. 62). and रि is added to the reduplicate. (10) कनिक्रदत् from क्रन्द in the Aorist with अङ् reduplication, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62) of the reduplicate, and the augment नि is added. In the classical literature, the form is अक्रन्दोत् ॥ कनिक्रदज्जनुपं (Rig Veda II. 4. 4). (11) भरिभत् from भृ (बिभर्ति) in यां लुक् with णत्, without इ of VII. 4. 76,

without jaśtva, and रि is added to the reduplicate. त्रियो भरिभृदोषधीषु (Rig Veda II. 4. 4). (12) दधिध्वंतः from द्यु (ध्वरते) in the yañ luk, śatṛi, plural number Nominative. The वि is added to the reduplicate, the ञ् is elided, दधिध्वंतः रश्मयः सूर्यस्य ॥ (Rig Veda IV. 13. 4). (13) दधिद्युतम् is from dyut, yañ luk with śatṛi, there is no vocalisation of the reduplicate, with अ change and वि augment. (14) तरित्रतः from तृ (तरति) with ślu, śatṛi, genitive singular: and रि added to abhyāsa. सहोर्जा तरित्रतः (Rig Veda IV. 40. 3). (15) वरीसपत् from सृप् with ślu śatṛi, Accusative with री added to abhyāsa. (16) वरीवृजत् from वृज् with ślu, śatṛi and री augment. (17) मर्मज्ज from मज्ज् with लिट् (Perfect) गाल्, ङ added to abhyāsa, and य added to the root, and there is no vṛiddhi, because there is no short penultimate now. In fact VII. 2. 114 is to be qualified by the words लघूपध from VII. 3. 86. (18) आ गनीगन्ति is from गम् with the Preposition आ, in the Perfect, with ślu, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62), and augment नी is added. वदयन्ती वेदा गनीगन्ति कर्णम् ॥ (Rig Veda VI. 75. 3).

The word इति in the aphorism indicates that other forms, similar to these, are also to be included.

३५९७ । समुषेति निगमे । ७ । ४ । ७४ ।

सूतेर्लिटि परस्मैपदं युगागमांश्च्यस्य चात्वं निपात्यते । 'गृष्टिः समूष स्वविरम्' । सुषुष इति भाषायाम् ।

3597. In the Chhandas sasūva is irregularly formed in the Perfect.

It is derived from मू । Thus गृष्टिः समूष स्वविरं otherwise सुषुषे । Rig Veda IV. 18. 10.

३५९८ । बहुलं कृन्दसि । ७ । ४ । ७८ ।

अभ्यासस्येकारः स्याच्छन्दसि । 'पूर्णां विवर्षि' । यशेरेतपद्रुम् ।

3598. 'I' is diversely substituted in the Chhandas, for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As पूर्णां विवर्षि (from वश्).

इति सप्तमोऽध्यायः ।

CHAPTER VIII.

३५९९ । प्रसमुपोदः पादपूरणे । ८ । १ । ९ ॥

यथां द्वे स्तः पादपूरणे । 'प्रदायमग्निः' । संसमिद्युवसे' । 'उपोप मे परामश' । 'किं नोदुदु हर्षसे' ।

3599. *Pra, sam, upa, and ut* are repeated, when by so doubling, the foot of a verse is completed.

As प्र प्रायमग्निभरतस्य श्रपये (Rig. VII. 8. 4), संसमिद्युवसे वृषन् (Rig Veda X. 191. 1). उपोप मे परामश (Rig Veda I. 126. 7), किं नोदुदु हर्षसे दातवाउ (Rig Veda IV. 21. 9).

३६०० । कृन्दमीरः । ८ । २ । १५ ॥

इवर्णान्ताद्रेकान्ताच्च परस्य मतीमंस्य वः स्यात् । 'हरिवते हर्षशवाय' । गीर्वाण ।

3600. In the Chhandas *v* is substituted for the *m* of *mat*, when the stem ends in *ī*, *î* or *r*.

As, ह्रिषते ह्र्यश्वाय (Rig Veda III. 52. 7). Of the stems ending in *r* we have गोर्वान् &c.

३६०१ । अनो नुट् । ८ । २ । १६ ॥

अचन्तान्मतीर्नुट् स्यात् । 'अक्षयन्तः कर्णवन्तः' । 'अस्यन्वन्तं यदनस्या विभक्तिं ।

3601. The affix *mat* gets the augment 'nut' in the Chhandas, after a stem ending in *an*.

As अक्षयन्तः कर्णवन्तः सखायः (Rig Veda X. 71. 7) अस्यन्वन्त्रयदनस्या विभक्तिं (Rig Veda I. 164. 4).

३६०२ । नाट्टस्य । ८ । २ । १७ ॥

नान्नात्परस्य घस्य नुट् । 'शुषथिन्तरः' ।

'+भूरिदावन्स्तुद्वाच्यः +' । 'भूरिदावन्तरो जनः' ।

'+ इद्रथिनः + । 'रथीतरः' । 'रथीतमं रथीनाम्' ।

3602. In the Chhandas, the affixes *tar* and *tam* receive the augment *nut* after a stem in *n*.

The affixes *तरप्* and *तमप्* are called च । Thus सुषथिन् + तर = सुषथि + तर (VIII. 2. 7) = सुषथि + न्तर (VIII. 2. 17) = सुषथिन्तरः ।

Vārt :—The augment नुट् is added to these affixes after भूरिदावन् ; as भूरिदावन्तरः (III. 2. 74, the affix is वनिप्) जनः (Rig Veda VIII. 5. 39).

Vārt :—Long ई is the substitute of the final of रथिन् before तर and तम । The word रथिन् is formed by the affix इनि in the sense of मत्तुप् । The final न् is first elided by VIII. 2. 7, and then for the short इ of रथि the long ई is substituted by the present vārtika. If the long ई were substituted for the final न् of रथिन् as रथिई + तर, then this long ई being asiddha, it could not be compounded by ekādeśa with the preceding इ into ई and the form would always remain रथिईतरः । As रथीतरः, and रथीतमं रथीनाम् (Rig Veda I. 11. 1). Or this ई may be considered to have come after रथि in the sense of मत्तुप् ।

३६०३ । नसत्तनिषत्तानुत्तप्रतूर्तिसूर्तगूर्तानि च्छन्दसि । ८ । २ । ६१ ॥

सदेर्नञ्पूर्वाच्चिपूर्वाच्च निष्ठाया नत्वाभावा निपात्यते । 'नसत्तमञ्जसा' । 'निष्त्तमस्य च-रतः' । असत्तं निषवणमिति प्राप्ते । उन्देर्नञ्पूर्वस्यानुत्तम् । प्रतूर्तमिति त्वरतेः । तुर्वीत्यस्य वा । सूर्तमिति स इत्यस्य । गूर्तमिति 'गूर्त' इत्यस्य ।

3603. In the Chhandas we have the following irregular Participles : *nasatta*, *nishatta*, *anutta*, *pratūrta*, *sūrta* and *gūrta*.

The words *नसत्त* and *निषत्त* are derived from the root सद् preceded by न and नि, and there is not the न change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus नसत्तमञ्जसा ॥ In the classical literature we have असत्तम् ॥ So also निषत्तः in the Vedas, as in निषत्तमस्य चरतः (Rig Ved. 1. 146. 1) but निषवणः in the classical literature. The word अनुत्तः is from उन्त् with the negative अन् ॥ The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As अनुत्तमा ते मघवन् (= अनुत्तम्) ॥ प्रतूर्तम् is from त्वर् or तूर्त्, as प्रतूर्तं वाजिनम् (= प्रतूर्तम्) ॥ When it is derived from त्वर् then ऊट् is added by VI. 4. 20 ; and when from

तूर्व, then VI. 4. 21 is applied. मूर्त्ति is from म, the ऋ is changed to उ irregularly; as मूर्त्तिगवः = सतागवः ॥ मूर्त्ति is from मूर् as मूर्त्ति अमृतस्य (=गूर्णी) ॥

३६०४ । अमरुधरवदित्यभयथा हृन्दसि । ८ । २ । ७० ॥

रुर्वा रेफो वा । अमरुध-अमरुः रेव । ऊध एव-ऊधरेव । अय एव-अयरेव ।

3604. In the Chhandas, both *ru* and *ra* are substituted for the final of amnas, ūdhas, and avas.

Thus अमरु एव or अमरु रेव, ऊध एव or ऊधरेव; अय एव or अयरेव ॥ When र is substituted for the finals, this र is replaced by प् by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word अमरुस् means 'a little', and अवस् 'protection.'

३६०५ । भुवश्च महाव्याहृतेः । ८ । २ । ७१ ॥

भुव इति-भुवरिति ।

3605. In the Chhandas, *ru* and *ra* may replace the final of the word 'bhuvās' when used as a mahā-vyāhṛiti.

Thus भुवरित्यन्तरितम्, or भुव इत्यन्तरितम् ॥ The mahā-vyāhṛitis are three भूः, भुवः and स्वः ॥

३६०६ । ओमभ्यादाने । ८ । २ । ८७ ॥

ओंशब्दस्यप्लुतः स्यादारम्भे । 'ओम् अग्निमाले पुरोहितम् । अभ्यादाने किम् । ओमित्ये कात्तरं ब्रह्म ।

3606. The vowel in *om* is pluta in the beginning of a sacred text.

The word अभ्यादानं means the commencement of a sacred mantra or vedic text. Thus ओम् अग्निमाले पुरोहितः यज्ञस्य देवमत्वजं ॥ (Rig I. 1. 1.)

Why do we say "in the beginning"? Observe ओमित्येतदन्तरमुद्गीथमुपासीत (Chhândogya Upanishad I. 1. 1). Here ओम् is not used to indicate the commencement of a Text or Mantra, but is itself the subject of comment.

३६०७ । ये यज्ञकर्मणि । ८ । २ । ८८ ॥

ये यज्ञमहे । 'यज्ञ-' इति किम् । ये यज्ञमहे ।

3607. The vowel of *ye* becomes pluta in a sacred text, when it is employed in a sacrificial work.

Thus ये यज्ञमहे ॥ Why do we say when employed in a sacrificial work? Observe ये यज्ञमहे इति यज्ञात्तरम् "Ye yajamahe" consists of five syllables. Here it is a simple recitation.

३६०८ । प्रणवष्टेः । ८ । २ । ८९ ॥

यज्ञकर्मणि ढेरौमित्यादेशः स्यात् । 'अपरे रेषामि जिन्वतोऽम् । 'टेः' किम् । हलन्तः इत्यस्यः सा भूत् ।

3608. In a sacrificial work, ओम् is substituted for the final vowel, with the consonant, if any, that may follow it, of a sentence.

The word यज्ञकर्मणि is understood here also. The word प्रणवः means ओम् ॥ It is the name given to this syllable. This ओम् is substituted for the final letter

(टि) of that word which stands either at the end of a Pāda of a sacred hymn or at the end of a hemistich of such Rik. Thus for अवां रतांसि जिग्वति (Rig. VIII. 44. 16), we may have अवां रतांसि जिग्वतोऽम् ॥ So also for देवाञ् जिगति सुमयुः (Rig. III. 27. 1), we may have देवाञ् जिगति सुमयोऽम् ॥

The word टि is repeated in this aphorism in spite of its anuvṛitti from VIII. 2. 82, to indicate that ओम् replaces the *whole* of the last syllable, with its vowel and consonant. Had टि not been repeated, then by the rule of अलोऽन्त्यस्य the final letter only of the टि portion of a sentence would have been replaced. Thus in सुमयुः the visarjaniya alone would have been replaced.

When not employed in connection with sacrificial works, there is no such substitution. Thus in the simple reading of the Vedas, we should always recite अवां रतांसि जिग्वति ॥

३६०९ । याज्यान्तः । ८ । २ । ९० ॥

ये याज्यान्ता मन्नास्तेषामन्त्यस्य टेः प्लुतो यत्तर्कमणि । 'जिह्वामने चकवे हव्यवाहाऽम्' । अन्तः' किम् । 'याज्यानामवां वाक्यसमुदायरूपाणां प्रति वाक्यं टेः स्यात् । सर्वान्त्यस्य चेष्यते ।

3609. The last vowel at the end of Mantras called Yājya, when employed in sacrificial works, is pluta and has the Acute.

Thus सोमैर्विधेमानयेऽ (Rig. VIII. 43. 11), जिह्वामने चकवे हव्यवाहाऽम् (Rig. X. 8. 6).

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

३६१० । ब्रूहिप्रेष्यश्रापड्वीषडाश्वहानामादेः । ८ । २ । ९१ ॥

श्वामादेः प्लुतो यत्तर्कमणि । 'अग्नयेऽनुब्रू इति' । 'अग्नये गोमयानि प्रेष्य' । 'अस्तू श्रापड' । 'शोमस्याने वीहो वीषड' । 'अग्निमाऽश्वह' ।

3610. In a sacrificial work, the first syllable of ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, श्रापट् वीषट् and आश्वह is pluta.

Thus अग्नयेऽनुब्रू इति (Maitr S. I. 4. 11), अग्नये गोमयानि (or न) प्रेष्य, अस्तू श्रापड ; सोमस्याने वीहो वीषड ; अग्निमाऽश्वह ॥

So also in पित्र्यायासनुस्वश्वा on the analogy of ब्रूहि, so also अस्तुस्वश्वा ॥ The word वीषट् is illustrative of the six forms वषट्, वीषट्, वाषट्, वीहट्, वाहट् वचट् ॥

But there is no prolation in आश्वह देवान यजमानाय ; आश्वह जात वेदः ॥

३६११ । अग्नीत्प्रेषणे परस्य च । ८ । २ । ९२ ॥

अग्नीधः प्रेषण आदेः प्लुतस्तस्मात्परस्य च । 'श्रापश्राप्य' । नेह । 'अग्नीदग्नीन्विहर । अहि स्तृषीर्हि' ।

3611. In an order given to Āgnīdhra priest, the first syllable as well as the succeeding syllable is pluta.

In a Yajña, the principal priests (ṛitvij) are four, Adhvaryu, Udgātā, Hotā and Brahmanā. Every one of these has three subordinate priests-(ṛitvij) under him.

The duty of Āgnidhra is to kindle the sacrificial fire. In a summons or call (प्रेषण) made by the Adhvaryu, who is the Director of ceremonies, to the Āgnidhra to perform the functions of Āgnidh, both syllables become pluta.

The word अग्नीत् प्रेषण is a compound = अग्नीधः प्रेषणम् "a call or summons relating to Agnidh duty."

Thus आ ३ आ ३ वय, औ ३ औ ३ वय । The pluta takes place only in these examples ; therefore, not here, as अग्नीदग्नीन् विहर; बर्हि स्तृषीहि ।

३६१२ । विभाषा पृष्ट प्रतिवचने हेः । ८ । २ । ९३ ॥

सुतः । अकार्षीः कटम् । अकार्षे ही ३ । अकार्षे हि । 'पृष्ट'—'इति किम् । 'कटं करिष्यति हि' । हेः' किम् । करोमि ननु ।

3612. 'Hi' at the end of an answer to a question may optionally be pluta.

Thus Q. अकार्षीः कटं देवेदत्त ? Ans. अकार्षे ही ३ or अकार्षे हि ।

Why do we say "in answer to a question" ? Observe कटं करिष्यति हि ।

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

३६१३ । नियन्त्रानुयोगे च । ८ । २ । ९४ ॥

अत्र यद्वाक्यं तस्य टेः सुतो वा । 'अद्यामावास्येत्यात्य' । अद्यामास्येत्येवं वादिनं युक्त्या स्वम-
तात्पुस्याद्य एवमनुपयुज्यते ।

3613. The end syllable of that sentence is optionally pluta, when it asserts something which has been refuted, and is employed by the victor by the way of censure.

The word नियहः means the refutation of another's opinion. नियह्य is a gerund, and means having refuted'. अनुयोगः is the expression of the same proposition which has been refuted. When a person has demonstrated the untenableness of another's assertion, and then employs the said assertion by way of taunt, reproach or reprimand, then the final syllable of such a sentence becomes pluta. The sūtra literally means "Having refuted (it) when asserting (the same by way of censure)."

Thus an opponent asserts that "The word is not eternal." (अनित्यः शब्दः) । Proving by arguments the untenableness of this position, and after refuting it, the victor says by way of reprimand:—अनित्यः शब्द इत्यार्थो ३ or अनित्य शब्द इत्यात्प 'This is then your assertion—that the word is not eternal'. Similarly अद्य आद्य-
मित्यार्थो ३ or अद्य आद्यमित्यात्प । अद्यामावास्येत्यार्थो ३ or अद्यामावास्येत्यात्प ।

३६१४ । आम्ने दितं भर्त्सने । ८ । २ । ९५ ॥

'दस्योदस्यो३ घातयिष्यामि त्वाम्' । आम्ने दितयहणं द्विउक्तोपलक्षणम् । 'धीर धीर३' ।

3614. The final syllable of an āmredita vocative is pluta when a threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when a threat is meant (VIII. 1, 8, S. 2143). Its final syllable becomes pluta. Thus दस्यो दस्यो ३ घातयिष्यामित्वा ।

Though the anuvṛitti of the sūtra VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the sentence is not pluta, but of the āmredita.

It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be pluta by alternation. Thus चौरौ चौर or चौरौ चौरौ ३. The word āmredita is employed in the sūtra as illustrative of the doubling, for the threat is expressed by both words, so that pluta may be of both words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is technically 'called' āmredita.

३६१५ । अङ्गयुक्तं तिङाकाङ्क्षम् । ८ । २ । ९६ ॥

अङ्गैत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं प्लवते । 'अङ्गकूजा इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जालम्' । 'तिङ्' किम् । 'अङ्गदेवदत्त मियाः वदसि' । 'आकाङ्क्षम्' किम् । 'अङ्ग पच' । नेतदपरमाकाङ्क्षति । भर्त्सने इत्येव 'अङ्गाधीष् भक्तं तव दास्यामि' ।

3615. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes pluta, when the word *anga* is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अङ्ग कूजा इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जालम् । अङ्ग व्याहरौ ३. इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जालम् । Why do we say 'a verb'? Observe अङ्ग देवदत्त मियाः वदसि ।

Why do we say 'when this calls for a conclusion'? Observe अङ्ग पच । Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word भर्त्सने of the last sūtra is understood here also. Therefore not in अङ्ग अधीष्, ओदन्ते ते दास्यामि । Here अङ्ग has the force of solicitation. (VIII, 1. 33. S. 3940).

३६१६ । विचार्यमाणानाम् । ८ । २ । ९७ ॥

वाक्यानां टेः सुतः । 'होतव्यं दीक्षितस्य गृहा ३ इ' । 'न' होतव्यमिति' । होतव्यं न होतव्यमिति विचार्यते । प्रमाणीयस्तुतत्त्वपरीक्षणं विचारः ।

3616. The final syllable of those sentences is pluta, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments *pro* and *con* is called *vichāra* or judgment. Thus होतव्यं दीक्षितस्य गृहा ३ इ न होतव्यमिति 'should one perform a sacrifice in the house of an initiated person.' Similarly तिष्ठेद्युपा ३ इ, अनुग्रहे द्युपा ३ इ ॥ Here also it is being reflected upon whether द्युपं तिष्ठेत् or द्युपे अनुग्रहेत् ॥ i. e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the *yajamāna*. किं द्युपस्तिष्ठेत्, किं वा द्युपं यजमानः शाययेत् ॥

३६१७ । पूर्वे तु भाषायाम् । ८ । २ । ९८ ॥

विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव प्लवते । 'अहिर्नू ३ रज्जुर्नू' । प्रयोगापेक्षत्वं पूर्वत्वम् । इह भाषाग्रहणात्पूर्वयोगश्चन्द्रसीतिज्ञायते ।

3617. In common speech, the final vowel of the first alternative is only pluta.

This makes a *nīyama* or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to the Vedic literature, and not to the classical. तु here has the force of 'only.' Thus अहिर्नू ३ रज्जुर्नू, 'Is it a snake or a rope?' लोष्टो नू ३ कपोतानु 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

३६१८ । प्रतिश्रवणे च । ८ । २ । ९९ ॥

वाक्यस्य टेः सुतेः श्रवणमं प्रतिज्ञाने श्रवणाभिमुख्ये च । 'गां मे देहि भोः' । 'हन्त ते ददामि' । 'नित्यः शब्दे' भवितुमर्हति' । 'दत्त किमात्य' ३ ।

3618. The final syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise, or listening to, is pluta.

The word प्रतिश्रवण means 'agreement, assent or promise.' It also means 'listening to.' All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus गां मे देहि भोः, 1. हन्त ते ददामि ३ ॥ 2. नित्यः शब्दो भवितुमर्हति ३ ॥ 3. देवदत्त भोः, किमात्या ३ ॥

३६१९ । अनुदात्तं प्रश्नान्ताभिपूजितयोः । ८ । २ । १०० ॥

अनुदात्तः सुतः स्यात् । दूराद्धृतादिषु सिद्धस्य प्लुतस्यानुदात्तत्वमात्रमनेन विधीयते : अग्निभूत ३ इ । पट ३ उ । 'अग्निभूते' 'पटो' यतयोः प्रश्नान्ते टेः अनुदात्तः प्लुतः । शोभनः खल्वसि माणवक ३ ।

3619. The final vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is pluta, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्नान्तः । According to some, this rule does not ordain pluta, but only ordains the anudatta-ness of those syllables which become pluta by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That pluta which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudatta.

Thus अगमा ३ः पूर्वा ३न् यामा ३न् अग्निभूता ३ इ or अगमः ३ः पूर्वा ३न् यामा ३ पट ३ उ (i. e. अगमः पूर्वा ३न् यामाम् अग्निभूते or पटो) । The words अग्निभूते, and पटो being finals in a question, become anudatta as well as pluta. The other words अगमः &c. become svarita and pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

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

३६२० । चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने । ८ । २ । १०१ ॥

वाक्यस्य टेः अनुदात्तः प्लुतः । 'अग्निचिद्भाया ३ त्' । अग्निखि भायात् । 'उपमार्थे' किम् । कथंचिदाहुः । 'प्रयुज्यमाने' किम् । अग्निमाणवको भायात् ।

3620. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudatta and pluta, when the particle *chit* is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अनुदात्तं is understood here. This sūtra ordains pluta as well, and not merely accent.

Thus अग्निचिद् भायात् 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजचिद् भायात् 'may he shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कथं चिद् आसुः । Here चिद् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

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

३६२१ । उपरिस्विदासीदिति च । ८ । २ । १०२ ॥

टः प्लुतोऽनुदात्तः स्यात् । 'उपरिस्विदासीत्' । 'अधःस्विदासीत्' इत्यत्र तु 'विचार्यमाणानाम्' (३६१६) इत्युदात्तः प्लुतः ।

3621. In उपरि स्विद् आसीद् the end-vowel is anudatta and pluta.

The word anudatta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been pluta here by VIII. 2. 97 : S. 3616, the present sūtra really ordains accentlessness of this pluta.

Thus अधः स्विदासीत्, उपरि स्विदासीत् (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion आसीत् is pluta and udatta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudatta by the present sūtra.

३६२२ । स्वरितमात्रे ङितेऽसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु । ८ । २ । १०३ ॥

स्वरितः प्लुतः स्यादांमे ङिते परिसूयादौ गम्ये । असूयायाम् । अभिरूपकं अभिरूपकं रिक्तं ते अभिरूप्यम् । संमते । अभिरूपकं अभिरूपकं शोभनोऽसि । कीपे । अविनीतकं अविनीतकं इदानीं ज्ञार्यसि जालम् । कुत्सने । शक्तिकं शक्तिकं रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ।

3622. Of the two vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes pluta and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The Vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8, S 2143. This sūtra ordains pluta there. Thus Envy:—माणयकोऽ माणयक, अभिरूपकोऽ अभिरूपक, रिक्तं त अभिरूप्यम् । Praise:—माणयकोऽ माणयक, अभिरूपकोऽ अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसि ॥ Anger:—माणयकोऽ माणयक, अविनीतकोऽ अविनीतक इदानीं ज्ञार्यसि जालम् ॥ Blame:—शक्तिकोऽ शक्तिक याष्टी काऽ याष्टीक रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥

३६२३ । त्रियाशीप्रषेपु तिडाकाऽम् । ८ । २ । १०४ ॥

आकाङ्क्षस्य तिदन्तस्य टः स्वरितः सुतः स्यात् । आचारभेदे । स्वयं ह रथेन यातिः । उपाध्यायं पदार्थं गमयति । प्रार्थनायम् । पुत्रांश्च लप्सीष्टः धनं च तात । ध्यापारणे । कटं कुरुः शर्म गच्छ । 'आकाङ्क्षम्' किम् . दीर्घायुसि अग्निदग्नांन्विहर ।

3623. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes pluta and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word 'svarita' is understood here. The word त्रिया means 'the error in usage' or 'want of good breeding.' (VIII. I. 60) आशीः means 'benediction.' वः चः means 'order' or 'commanding by words.'

Thus स्वयं रथेन यतिं, उपाध्यायं पटातिं गमयति ॥ स्वयं आदनं भुङ्क्ते, उपाध्यायं सक्तुं पाययति ॥ In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकाङ्क्षा ।

Benediction:—सुतांश्च लक्ष्मीष्टांश्च धनं च तात ; कुन्दीध्येषीष्टांश्च व्याकरणं च, भद्र ॥

Order:—कटं कुर्वन् यामं च गच्छ ; यद्यान् लूनीहृत्, सक्तुंश्च पिब ॥

Why do we say 'when it requires another sentence as its complement' ? Observe दीर्घादुरसि अग्नीदग्नीन् विहर । There cannot be any counter-example of द्विया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

३६२४ । अनन्त्यस्यापि प्रश्नाख्यानयोः । ८ । २ । १०५ ॥

अनन्त्यस्यान्त्यस्यापि पटस्य टेः स्वरितः प्लुत एतयोः । प्रश्ने । अगमात्पूर्वात् न यामात् न । सर्वपदानामयम् । आख्याने । अगमात्पूर्वात् न यामात् न ।

3624. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and pluta, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word ' padasya ' is understood here : and so also the word ' svarita.' The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and pluta, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, *all* the words of a sentence become svarita and pluta hereby.

Thus in questioning we have:—अगमात्पूर्वात् न यामात् न अग्नि भूतात् इ or पटात् ॥ Thus all words have become svarita and pluta. The final word would in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word अपि in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an *optional* sūtra with regard to question.

In *ākhyāna* or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, *all* words become svarita and pluta *necessarily*, by the force of this sūtra. Thus अगमात्पूर्वात् न यामात् न भेदात् ॥

३६२५ । प्लुतावैच इदुतौ । ८ । २ । १०६ ॥

दूराद्धूतादप्यु प्लुतो विहितकर्त्रेवैचः प्लुतप्रसङ्गे तदवयवेषाविदुतौ भवेते । ऐत्ति कायन । औत्त पगव । चतुर्मात्रावन्नेचो संपद्यते ।

3625. In forming the pluta of the diphthongs *ai* and *au* their last element *i* and *u* get the pluta.

The pluta ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or औ cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of इ or उ । The word प्लुतो in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्लुत, and the aphorism literally means 'इ and उ are pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ ॥'

Thus ऐत्तिकायन, औत्तपगव ॥

This pluta of ऐ and औ has *four* mātṛās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ each has *one* mātṛā. The pluta of इ and उ will have *three* mātṛās. Thus अ+इत्त and अ+उत्त, or the *whole* has *four* mātṛās;

३६२६ । एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्धृते पूर्वस्याधंस्यादुत्तरस्येदुत्तौ । ८ । २ । ५२७ ॥

अप्रगृह्यस्यैचोऽदूराद्धृते प्लुतविष्ये पूर्वस्याधंस्याकारः प्लुतः स्यादुत्तरस्य त्वधंल्य इदुत्तौस्तः ।

‘+ प्रश्नान्ताभिपूजितविचार्यमाणप्रत्यभिवाटयज्यान्तेष्वेव +’ । प्रश्नान्ते । अगमः३ः पूर्वाङ्ग-
यामा३ न् । अग्निभूत३ इ । अभिपूजिते । भद्रं करोषि पट३उ । विचार्यमाणे । होतव्यं दीक्षितस्य
गृहा३इ । प्रत्यभिवाटे । आयुष्मान्नेधि अग्निभूत३ इ । याज्यान्ते । स्तोमोविधेमान्ग३ इ । ‘परि-
गणनम्’ किम् । विष्णुभूते३ घातयिष्यामित्त्वाम् । अदूराद्धृते इति न वक्तव्यम् । पदान्तग्रहणं तु
कर्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् । भद्रं करोषि गौरिति । ‘अप्रगृह्यस्य’ किम् । शोभने माले ३ ।

‘+ आमन्त्रिते छन्दसि प्लुतविकारोऽधं वक्तव्यः +’ । अगना३इ पत्नी वः ।

3626. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become pluta under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated ‘ā’, and for the second portion *e* or *u*.

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

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the following Vārtikas.

Vārt:—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

Vārt:—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अगमः३ः पूर्वाङ्ग यामाङ्ग अग्निभूत३इ or प३उ । भद्रं करोषि माणवकार अग्निभूत३इ or पट३उ । So also VIII. 2. 97:—as होतव्यं दीक्षितस्य गृह्ण३इ । So also VIII. 2. 83:—as, आयुष्मान्नेधि अग्निभूत३इ or पट३उ । So also VIII. 2. 90:—as, उद्गात्राय वशात्राय सोमपृष्टाय वेधसे । स्तोमोविधेमान्गयाइ । (Tait. S. I. 3. 14. 7).

This pluta आ is u lāta, anudāta or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i. e. at the end of a question it is anudāta or svarita, and everywhere else, udāta. The इ and उ are of course, always udāta: because the anuvṛitti of udāta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above mentioned four rules? Observe विष्णुभूते विष्णुभूते३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा आगच्छ भो माणवक्र विष्णुभूते ।

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words अदूराद्धृते in the sūtra, are redundant: and should not have been used. Moreover the word पदान्त should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the end of a pada. Therefore, not in भद्रं करोषि गौरिति । Here गो before the sarvanāmasthāna affix सु is not a pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say ‘when it is not a Pragrihya’? Observe शोभने माले ३ ।

Vārt:—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अगनाइइ पत्नी वः इदुत्तौवेन त्वष्टा सोम पिब । Here by no

other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated.

३६२७ । तयोर्वात्रिवि संहितायाम् । ८ । २ । १०८ ॥

इदुनेर्षकारवकारौ स्तोत्रि संहितायाम् । अग्न३याशा । षट३याशा । अग्न३यिन्द्रम् । षट३-यु-
दकम् । 'अत्रि' किम् । अग्न३यवर्णौ । 'संहितायाम्' किम् । अग्न३इ इन्द्रः । संहितायामित्यध्यायल-
माक्षेर्धिकारः । इदुनेरसिद्धत्वादयमारम्भः सवर्णदीर्घत्वस्य शाकलस्य च निवृत्त्यर्थः । यवयोर-
सिद्धत्वात् 'उदात्तस्वरितयोर्षणः स्वरितानुदात्तस्य' (३६५७) इत्यस्य बाधनार्थं वा ॥

3627. For these vowels *i* and *u*, are substituted *y* and *v*, when a vowel follows them in a *samhita* (in an unbroken flow of speech).

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

Thus अग्न३याशा, षट३याशा, अग्न३यिन्द्रम्, षट३युदकम् ॥

Why do we say 'when a vowel follows'? Observe अग्न३यवर्णौ ।

Why do we say *संहितायाम्* 'in an uninterrupted flow of speech'? Observe अग्न३ इ इन्द्रम्, षट३उ उदकम् in the *Pada Pāṭha*.

This *sūtra* is made, because इ and उ, being *Pluta-modifications* are considered as *asiddha* (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that somehow or other, these इ and उ be considered *siddha*, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the *Vārtika* इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णदीर्घ बाधनार्थं यणादेशो वक्तव्यः (*Vārtika* to VI. 1. 77); still the present *sūtra* ought to be made, in order to prevent यण accent (VII. 2. 4. S. 3657).

३६२८ । मत्तुवसो रु संबुद्धो क्वन्दति । ८ । ३ । १०९ ॥

रु इत्यधिभक्तिको निर्देशः । मत्वन्तस्य च रुः स्यात् । 'अलोऽन्त्यस्य' (३२) इति परिभाषयान्
नकारस्य । 'इन्द्र मरुत्व इह पाहि सोमम् । 'हरिवोमे दिनं त्वा' । 'क्वन्दसीरः' (३६००) इति
धत्वम् ।

3628. For the final of the affixes *mat* and *vas* there is substituted *ru*, in the Vocative singular, in the *Chhandas*.

The word *संहितायां* is understood here. A word ending in the affix मत् or वस्, changes its final त् or स् (I. 1. 52. S. 42) into रु, in the *Chhandas*, in the Vocative singular. Thus मत्:—इन्द्रं मरुत्व इह पाहि सोमम् (Rig. III. 51. 7). हरिवो मेदिनं त्वा । Here मरुत्वः is Vocative-Sg. of मरुत्वत् and हरिवः of हरिवत्, meaning 'he who is possessed of Maruts or Hari horses.' The म् of मत् is changed to व् by VIII. 2. 10; 15. S. 3 00. The base मरुत् before this termination is Bha by I. 4 19. The affix सु (nom. sg.) is elided by VI. 1. 68; the त् is elided by VIII. 2. 23, and the न् (of नुम् VII. 1. 70) is changed to रु by this *sūtra*. So also इन्द्रायान् वृत्तुजानः उपब्रह्मणि हरिवः (Rig. I. 3. 6).

With वस्:—मीढं स्तोकाय तनयाय मन (Rig. II. 33. 14), इन्द्रसाहूः । See VI. 1. 12, for the formation of मीढान्, साहून् with क्स्व ॥

Why do we say 'of मत् and वस्' ? Observe ब्रह्मन् स्तोत्र्यामः । Why do we say 'in the Vocative Singular'? Observe य एवं विद्वान्निगमाधने । Why do we say 'in the Chhandas' ? Observe हे गोमन्. हे पपिवन् ॥

३६२९ । दाश्वान्साह्वान्मीढ्वांश्च । ६ । १ । १२ ॥

एते क्वस्यन्ता निपात्यन्ते । 'मीढ्वस्तोकाय तनयाय' ।

'+ वन उपसंख्यानम् +' । क्वनिध्वनिपोः सामान्यग्रहणम् । अनुबन्धपरिभाषा तु नोपतिष्ठते । अनुबन्धस्य हानिर्देशात् । 'यस्त्वायन्तं वसुना प्रातरित्वः । इणः क्वनिप् ।

3629. The participles *dāśvān*, *sāhvān* and *mīdhvān* are irregularly formed without reduplication.

The word *दाश्वान्* is from the root *दाश्* 'to give' with the affix *क्वसु* (III. 2. 107); here the reduplication and the augment *इद्* are prohibited irregularly; as *दाश्वान्सा दाशुषः सुतम्* (Rig. I. 3. 7). The word *साह्वान्* is derived from the root *सह्* 'to endure,' by adding the affix *क्वसु* (III. 2. 107), the irregularity being in lengthening the penultimate, not allowing the augment *इद्* and the reduplication. Thus *साह्वान् बलाहकः* । So also *मीढ्वान्* comes from *मिह्* 'to sprinkle' with the affix *क्वसु* (III. 2. 107) the irregularity consisting in non-reduplication, non-application of *इद्*, the lengthening of the penultimate vowel, and the change of *ह* into *ढ* । As *मीढ्वस्तोकाय तनयाय मल* (Rig Veda. II. 33. 14). It is not necessary that these words should be in the singular always; in their plural forms also they do not reduplicate.

Vart :—The affix *क्व* should also be enumerated. The affixes *क्वनिप्* and *क्वनिप्* are both meant here. Its final is also changed to *रु* in the Vocative Sg. As *यस्त्वायन्तं वसुना प्रातरित्वः* । The word *प्रातरित्वन्* is formed by adding *क्वनिप्* to the root *इ* (*इण*) preceded by *प्रातः* । See III. 2. 75. The *तुक्* is added by VI. 1. 71.

३६३० । उभयथर्त्तु । ८ । ३ । ८ ॥

अम्यरे छवि नकास्य रुर्वा । पशुंस्तौश्चक्रौ ।

3630. In both ways, in the Rig verses.

This ordains an option to the last sūtra, by which the *रु* substitution was compulsory. A word ending in *न्* followed by a letter of *द्वव्* class, which itself is followed by *अम्*, changes its final *न्* to *र्* optionally in the Rig Veda. Sometimes there is *र्* and sometimes *न्* । Thus *तस्मिन् त्वा दधाति* or *तस्मिन् त्वा दधाति* ; *पशुंस्तौश्चक्रौ* । (Rig Veda X. 90. 8).

३६३१ । दीर्घादटि समानपादे । ८ । ३ । ९ ॥

दीर्घात्तक्रारस्य रुर्वा स्यादटि तौ चेचाटौ एकपादस्यौ स्याताम् । 'देवाँ अक्का सुमती' । 'सह्य इन्द्रो य भोजसा' । उभयथेत्यनुश्चेत्तेह । 'अदित्यान्याचिशामहे' ।

3631. *Ru* is optionally substituted for that final *n* of a word which is preceded by a long vowel, and is followed by an 'at' letter (vowels and semi-vowels with the exception of *l*), when these ('n' and 'at') come in contact with each other in the same stanza of the Rig Veda.

The नः of VIII. 3. 7 is understood here : and so also ऋचु ॥ The word समानपाद means एकपाद, i. e. when both words are in one and the same Pâda of the verse. Thus परिधाँ रति (Rig. IX. 107. 19) स देवाँ एहयत्ति (Rig. I. 1. 2) देवाँ अक्कासुमतो; (Rig Veda IV. 1. 2.) महाँ इन्द्रो य ओजसा ॥ (Rig Veda VIII. 6 1.)

The word उभयया of the preceding sūtra is understood here a'so ; so that is an optional rule : and न remains unchanged also, as आदित्यान् हयामहे आदित्यान् याचिषामहे (Rig Veda VIII. 67. 1). See VIII. 3. '3.

३६३२ । आर्तिट नित्यम् । ८ । ३ । ३ ॥

अटि परतो रोः पूर्वस्थातः स्थाने नित्यमनुनासिकः । 'महाँ इन्द्रः' । तैत्तिरीयास्तु अनुस्वार-मधीयते । तत्र छान्दो वे व्यय इति प्राञ्च । एवं च सूत्रस्य फलं चिरन्त्यम् ।

3632. A nasal vowel is *always* substituted for 'â' before *ru*, when it is followed by a letter of 'at' pratyâbhâra (*i. e.* when it is followed by a vowel or *ha, ya, va, or ra*).

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

Some (*i. e.* the Taittiriyas) read it as anusvâra. This is a Vedic diversity according to the Easterns. In this view, the necessity of the sūtra is rather doubtful.

३६३३ । स्वतवान्पायो । ८ । ३ । १९ ॥

रुवाँ । 'भुवन्तस्य स्वतवाः पायुरने' ।

3633. The *n* of 'svatawân' is changed to 'ru' before 'pâyu.'

As स्वत्यः पायुरने (Rig. IV. 2. 6). The word is स्वतवस्, the नुम् is added by VII. 1. 83. The word is derived from तु वृद्धौ with the affix असुन् (स्वन्तो वस्यसो स्वतवान्) ॥ See S. 3594.

३६३४ । कुन्दसि वाऽप्रामेडितयोः । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

विनर्गस्य सो वा स्यात्कुण्डोः प्रशब्दमासेडितं च वर्जयित्वा । 'अग्ने त्रातर्कतस्कविः' । 'गिरिर्न विश्वतस्पृयुः । नेह । 'वसुनः पूर्यः पतिः' । 'अप्र-' इत्यादि किम् । 'अग्निः प्र विद्वान्' । 'पुरुवः पुरुवः' ।

3634. *Sa* may optionally be substituted for the visarga before a hard guttural and labial, in the Chhandas; but neither before *pra*, nor before a doubled word.

Thus:—अग्ने त्रातर्कतस्कविः (Rig Ved. VIII 60 5.) गिरिर्न विश्वतस्पृयुः (Rig Veda VIII. 98. 4). But not here:—वसुनः पूर्यः पतिः (Rig Veda X. 48. 1).

Why do we say 'not before *pr* and a doubled word'? Observe अग्निः प्र विद्वान् (Av. V. 26. 1), पुरुवः पुरुवः परि ॥

३६३५ । कःकरत्करतिङ्गिङ्गतेऽवनदितेः । ८ । ३ । ५० ॥

विनर्गस्य सः स्यात् । 'प्रदिवो अपस्कः' । 'यथा नो वस्यसस्करत्' । 'सुपे शस्करति' । 'उरु शस्किधि' । 'सोमं न द्वाकं मवधत्सु नस्कतम्' । 'अनदितेः' इति किम् । 'यथा नो आर्दतिः, करत्' ।

3635. The Visarga is changed to *s* in the Chhandas, before कः, कर्त्, कर्ति, कृधि and कृतः but not so the visarga of *aditi*.

Thus प्रदिवोअप्रस्कः ॥ कः is the Aorist of कृ, the क्ति has been elided by II. 4. 80: the ऋ of कृ is gnated before the affix तिप्, thus we have कर्त्, the त् is elided by VI. 1. 68; and the augment अद् is not added by VI. 4. 75. Similarly ययानो अत्रसंकरत् ॥ Here also कर्त् is the Aorist of कृ, with अद् by III. 1. 59. सुपेगस्करति, here कर्ति is the लट् of कृ; शप् is added instead of उ, as a Vedic anomaly. उरगास्कृधि, here कृधि is the Imperative of कृ, the सि. is changed to धि, the vikarana is elided and धि changed to धि by VI. 4. 102. See VIII. 4. 27, for the change of न to ण ॥ सोमं न चारु मघवत्सु न स्कतम्, here कृतम् is Past Participle of कृ ॥

Why do we say 'but not of अदितिः'? Observe यया नो अदितिः कर्त् (Rig Veda I. 3. 42).

३६३६ । पञ्चम्याः परावध्यर्थे । ८ । ३ । ५१ ॥

पञ्चमोविमर्गस्य सः स्यादुपरिभावाय परिशब्दे परतः । 'दिवस्परिप्रथमं जज्ञे' । 'अध्यर्थे किम् । 'दिवस्पृथिव्याः पर्योजः' ।

3636. The visarga of the Ablative case is changed to *s* before *pari* meaning 'over'.

The word Chhandas is understood here also. Thus दिवस्परि प्रथमं जज्ञे (Rig Ved. X. 45. 1).

Why do we say 'when परि means 'over'? See दिवः पृथिव्याः पर्योज उद्भूतम् (Rig Ved. VI. 47. 27). Here परि has the sense of 'on all sides'.

३६३७ । पातौ च बहुलम् । ८ । ३ । ५२ ॥

पञ्चम्या इत्येव । 'सूर्यो नो दिवस्यातु' ।

3637. *S* may diversely be substituted for the visarga of the Ablative before the verb 'pātu' in the Chhandas

Thus सूर्यो नो दिवस्यातु, (Rig Veda X. 158. 1). Sometimes, the change does not take place; as परिषदः पात ॥

३६३८ । षष्ट्याः पतिपुत्रपृष्टपारपदपयस्येषु । ८ । ३ । ५३ ॥

'वाचस्वति विश्वकर्माणम्' । 'दिवसुत्राय सूर्याय' । 'दिवस्पृष्टं भन्दमानः' । 'तमस्यारमस्य' । 'परिवीत इलस्यदे' । दिवस्यो दिधिषाणाः' । 'रायस्योयं यजमानेषु' ।

3638. For the visarga of the Genitive, there is substituted *s* in the Vedas, before पति, पुत्र, पृष्ट, पार, पद, पयस् and पोष ॥

Thus वाचस्वति विश्वकर्माणमूनये, (Rig Veda X. 81. 7). दिवसुत्राय सूर्याय, (Rig Veda X. 37. 1) दिवस्पृष्टं भन्दमानः (Rig Veda III. 2. 12) तमस्यारम (Rig Veda I. 92. 6). परिवीत इलस्यदे (Rig Veda I. 128. 1). दिवस्यो दिधिषाणा (Rig Veda X. 114. 1). रायस्योयं यजमानेषु (Rig. Veda X. 17. 9).

Why do we say 'after a genitive case'? See मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत् ॥

३६३९ । इडाया वा । ८ । ३ । ५४ ॥

पतिपुत्रादिषु परेषु । इनायास्युत्रः-इनायाः पुत्रः । इनायास्यदे-इल.या.पदे ।

3639. *Sa* is optionally substituted for the visarga of 'idāyāh' before *pāti* &c., (VIII. 3. 53.) in the Chhand is.

Thus इडायाः पतिः or इडायास्यतिः इडायास्युन्नः । इडायाः पुन्नः । इडायास्यष्टम् । इडायाः पृष्ठम् । इडाया स्यारम्, इडायाः पारम् । इडायास्यदम् । इडायाः पदम् । इडायास्यथः । इडायाः पयः । इडायाः पोषम् । इडायास्योषम् ॥

Here we must read again the sūtra VIII. 3. 102 S. 2403:—

३६३९ । क । निसस्तपतावनासेवने ॥

निसः सकारस्य मूर्धन्यः स्यात् । 'निष्टप्तं रक्षो निष्टप्ता अरातयः' । 'अनासेवने क्रिम् । निस्तपति । पुनःपुनस्तपतात्यर्थः ॥

3639A. *Sha* is substituted for the *sa* of *nis* before the verb *tap* when the meaning is not that of 'repeatedly making red hot.'

As निष्टप्तं रक्षो निष्टप्ता अरातयः ॥

Why do we say 'when the meaning is not that of repeatedly making red hot'? Observe निस्तपति meaning 'makes repeatedly red hot.'

३६४० । युष्मत्तत्तनुःष्वन्तःपादम् । ८ । ३ । १०३ ॥

पादमध्यस्थस्य सस्य मूर्धन्यः स्यात्तकारादिष्वप्यु परेषु । युष्मदादेशाः त्वंत्वातेतथाः । 'त्रिभिषु द्वं देव सवितः' 'तेभिषुद्वा आभिष्टे' । 'अपस्वग्ने सधिष्टव' । 'अग्निष्ट द्विष्वम्' । 'आवापृथिवी निष्टतनुः' । 'अन्तःपादम्' क्रिम् । तर्दाग्नस्तदयम् । 'यन्म आत्मनो मिन्दा भूद्ग्नस्तत्पुनराहाः कर्तव्येदा विचर्षाणिः' । अत्राग्निरिति पूर्वापादस्यान्ता न तु मध्यः ।

3640. The *s* standing in the inner half of a stanza is changed to *sh* before the *ta* of *twam* &c. and *rad* and *tatakshus*.

The word युष्मद् here means the substitutes त्वम्, त्वाम्, ते, तव. As अग्निष्टवं, नामासीत् । त्वा, अग्निष्टं वा वदं यामसि । ते, अग्निष्टे विश्वमानय । तव, अपस्वग्ने सधिष्टव, (Big. VIII. 43. 9) । तत्, अग्निष्टद्विष्वमापृथिवी, (Big. X. 2. 4) ततनुस्, आवापृथिवी निष्टतनुः पु ॥

Why do we say 'in the inner half of a stanza'? Observe यन्म आत्मनो मिन्दा भूद्ग्नस्तत्पुनराहा जातवेदा विचर्षाणिः । Here the word अग्निः is at the end of the first stanza while तत् is at the beginning of the second stanza, therefore the स् of अग्निस् is not in the middle of a stanza.

३६४१ । यजुष्यक्रेगाम् । ८ । ३ । १०४ ॥

युष्मत्तत्तनुषु परत सस्य मूर्धन्यो वा । अर्चिभिषुद्वम् । अग्निष्टे । अयम् । अर्चिभिष्टतनुः । पञ्च अर्चिभिस्त्वामित्यादि ।

3641. In the opinion of some, the above change takes place in the Yajurveda also.

Thus अर्चिभिष्टवम् or अर्चिभिस्त्वम् । अग्निष्टवम् or अग्निस्तोयम् । अग्निष्टत् or अग्निस्तत् । अर्चिभिष्टतनुः or अर्चिभिस्ततनुः ॥

३६४२ । स्तुवस्तीमयोश्छन्दनि । ८ । ३ । १०५ ॥

वृभिष्टुतस्य-वृभः स्तुतस्य । गोष्टोमम्-गोस्तोमम् । पूर्वपदादित्येव रुद्धे प्रपञ्चार्थमिदम् ।

3642. The *s* of *stut* and *stoma* in the Chhandas, is changed to *sh* in the opinion of some.

Thus त्रिभिष्टुतस्य or त्रिभिस्तुतस्य. गौष्टोमं षोडशिनम्, or गौस्तोमं षोडशिनम् । This change would have taken place by the general rule contained in the next sūtra VIII. 3. 106, the special mention of स्तुत and स्तोम here is a mere amplification. The word कृन्दसि of this sūtra governs subsequent sūtra also.

३६४३ । पूर्वपदात् । ८ । ३ । १०६ ॥

पूर्वपदस्याविमितात्परस्य सस्य षो वा । 'यदिन्द्राग्नी दीविष्टः' । 'युवंहि स्यः स्वर्षतो' ।

3643. In the Chhandas, according to some, *s* is changed to *sh*, when it stands in the beginning of a second word, preceded by a word ending in *i* &c.

The words कृन्दसि and एकेषां are both understood here. Thus द्विषन्धिः or द्विमन्धिः. त्रिषन्धिः or त्रिसन्धिः; मधुष्ठानम् or मधुस्थानम्, द्विसाहस्रं चिन्वीत or द्विसाहस्रं चिन्वीत ॥

The word पूर्वपद here means the first member of a compound word as well as the prior word other than that in a compound. Thus त्रिःषमच्छत्वाय or त्रिःसमच्छत्वाय ॥ यदिन्द्राग्नी दिविष्टः (Rig Veda I. 108. 11). युवंहिस्यः स्वर्षतो (Rig Veda IX. 19. 2).

३६४४ । सुजः । ८ । ३ । १०७ ॥

पूर्वपदस्याविमितात्परस्य सुजो निपातस्य सस्य षः । 'ऊर्ध्वं ऊ पु षः' । 'अभीषु षः' ।

3644. The *sa* of the Particle *su* is changed to *sha* in the Chhandas, when preceded by an other word having in it the change-effecting letter *i* &c.

Thus ऊर्ध्वं ऊ पु षः (Rig Veda I. 36. 13.) अभीषु षः सखीनाम् (Rig Veda IV. 31. 3). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 134, and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

३६४५ । मनोत्तेरनः । ८ । ३ । १०८ ॥

'गोषा इन्द्रो नृषा असि' । 'अनः' किम् । गोसनिः ।

3645. The *sa* of the verb *san* when it loses its *n*, is changed to *sh* under the same circumstances.

Thus गोषाः (Rig. IX. 2. 10), formed by the affix विट (III. 2. 67), the न् is elided by VI. 4. 41. So also नृषाः ॥

Why do we say 'when it loses its न्' ? Observe गोसनि वचिसुदीयन् (Atharv. III. 20. 10). Here the affix is इन् (III. 2. 27). See however गोषाण in Rig. VI. 53. 10.

३६४६ । सहेः पृतनर्थाभ्यां च । ८ । ३ । १०९ ॥

पृतनापाहम् । ऋतापाहम् । चान् । ऋतीपाहम् ।

3646. The *s* of *sha* is changed to *sh* after *pritanā* and *rit*.

Thus पृतनापाहम् ऋतापाहम् । The word च 'and' in the sūtra includes words other than those mentioned in it. The word ऋतीपाहम् would be valid by this also.

३६४७ । निर्व्याभिभ्योऽड्व्यवाये दा कृन्दसि । ८ । ३ । ११० ॥

सस्य पूर्वस्यः । न्यवीदत्-न्यसीदत् । व्यवीदत्-व्यसीदत् । अभ्यष्टीत्-अभ्यस्तौत् ।

3647. The *sh* is optionally substituted in the Chhandas after the prepositions *ni*, *vi* and *abhi* when the augment 'at' intervenes.

Thus न्यवीदत् or न्यसीदत् पिता नः; व्यवीदत्; or व्यसीदत् पिता नः; अभ्यवीदत् or अभ्यसीदत् ॥

The anuvṛitti of सट् and स्वंज is not to be read into this sūtra. It is, in fact a general rule and applies to verbs other than these two. As व्यस्तौत्, न्यष्टौत्, अभ्यष्टौत् or अभ्यस्तौत् ॥

३६४८ । छन्दस्यृदवग्रहात् । ८ । ४ । २६ ॥

ऋकारान्तादवग्रहात्परस्य नस्य णः । नृमणाः । पितृयाणम् ।

3648. In the Chhandas, *na* of a second term is changed into 'ṇa' when the prior term ends with a short 'ri' even when there is an *avagraha* or hiatus between the two terms.

The word पूर्वपदात् is understood here. The word अवग्रह means a hiatus or separation. Thus पितृ याणम्, नृ मणाः ॥ Here ऋ is अवग्रह्य ॥ The change of न into ण is effected ordinarily then, when the terms, one containing the cause, and the other न, are in संहिता or conjunction. For the rules of Sandhi and the rules like these can apply only to words in संहिता ॥ The present rule is an exception to it, and here, even when the words are not in संहिता, but there is an actual hiatus between the two, the change still takes place. The word संहिता of VIII. 2. 108, exerts regulating influence up to the end of the Book.

३६४९ । नश्च धातुस्योरुपुभ्यः । ८ । ४ । २७ ॥

धातुस्यात् । 'अग्ने रक्षा णः' । 'शिक्षाणो अस्मिन्' । 'ऊरुणस्कधि' । 'अभीपुणः' । 'सौपु णः' । इत्यष्टमोऽध्यायः । इति वैदिक प्रकरणम् ॥

3649. In the Chhandas, the *na* of (the Pronoun) *nas* is changed into 'ṇa' when it comes after a root having a *ra* or *sha* or after the words *uru* and *shu*.

Thus अग्ने रक्षाणः (Rig. VII. 15. 13) 'O Agni! protect us.' शिक्षा णो अस्मिन् (Rig. VII. 32. 26) 'Teach us this.' उरुः—ऊरुणस्कधि (Rig. VIII. 75. 11) पु—अभीपुणः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3). ऊर्ध्व ऊपुणः ऊतये (Rig. I. 36. 13).

The word नस् is here the pronoun नस्, which is the substitute, in certain cases of अस्मद् (VIII. 1. 21) and does not mean here the नस् substitute of नासिका । धातुस्य means 'that which exists in a dhātu,' namely र् and ष् when occurring in a root. The word उरु means the word form उरु; and पु means सुञ्, and is exhibited with ष्-change. It does not mean the affix सु of the Locative Plural. Therefore not in इन्द्रो धाता गृहेषु नः ॥ The word रक्षा is the 2nd Person singular, Imperative the lengthening is by VI. 3. 135. The root शिक्ष् has the sense of दान in the Veda. ऊर्ध्वे is 2nd Person Sg. Imperative of ऊ (VI. 4. 102), the visarga of नः is changed to स् by VIII. 3. 50. In अभीपु there is lengthening by VI. 3. 134, so also in ऊपुणः &c.

Here ends the Book on Vedic forms.

अथ स्वर प्रकरणम् ।

ON ACCENTS.

CHAPTER I.

३६५० । अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् । ६ । १ । १५८ ॥

परिभाषेयं । स्वरविधिविषया । यस्मिन्पदे यस्योदात्तः स्वरितो वा विधीयते तमेकमक्षं वर्जयित्वा शेषं तत्पदमनुदात्तकं स्यात् । गोपुण्यतं नः । अत्र सनाद्यन्ताः- (२३०४) इति धातुत्वे धातुस्वरेण यकाराकार उदात्तः शिष्टमनुदात्तम् ।

‘+ सतिशिष्टस्वरबलीयस्त्वमन्यत्र विकरणेभ्य इति वाच्यम् +’ । तेनाक्तोदाहरणे । गुपेर्धातुस्वर आयस्य प्रत्ययस्वरश्च न शिष्यते । ‘अन्यत्र’ इति किम् । ‘युञ्जं यञ्जमभिवृद्धे गृणीतः’ । अत्र सति शिष्टोऽपि ‘अना’ इत्यत्र स्वरो न शिष्यते किंतु तस एव ।

3650. A word is, with the exception of one syllable, unaccented.

That is, only one syllable in a word is accented, all the rest are anudatta or unaccented. This is a Paribhâshâ or maxim of interpretation with regard to the laws of accent. Wherever an accent—be it acute (udatta) or a circumflex (svarita)—is ordained with regard to a word, there this maxim must be applied, to make all the other syllables of that word unaccented. The word अनुदात्त means ‘having anudatta vowel.’ What is the one to be excepted? That one about which any particular accent has been taught in the rules here-in-after given. Thus VI. 1. 162 teaches that a root has acute accent on the final. Therefore, with the exception of the last syllable, all the other syllables are unaccented. Thus in ‘गोपुण्यतं नः’ (Rig Veda VI. 74. 4) the acute accent is on य, all the rest are unaccented.

Vart:—The सतिशिष्ट accent is stronger than all which precede it, except when it is a Vikarâṇa accent. Thus in the above example, the root accent of गुप and the affix accent of आय do not remain, but तं accent prevails.

Why do we say ‘except when it is a Vikarâṇa accent’? Observe युञ्जं यञ्जमभिवृद्धे गृणीतः (Rig Veda III. 6. 10). Here the vikarâṇa अना accent is सतिशिष्ट, but it does not prevail over तस् accent.

NOTE:—The rule is that except one special accent taught in a sūtra the other syllables take anudatta. Therefore, where there is a conflict of rules, the accent is guided by the following maxim: “परिनित्यान्तरङ्गापवादेः स्वरैर्व्यवस्था सतिप्रकृतिशिष्टेनच” ॥ namely (1) the sequence, a succeeding rule setting aside a prior rule (2) a Nitya rule is stronger than Anitya (3) Antaranga stronger than Bahiranga, (4) the Apavâda is stronger than Utsarga. When all these are exhausted, then we apply the rule of सतिशिष्ट ॥ What is this rule? To quote the words of Kâsikâ: यो हि यस्मिन् सति शिष्यते स तस्य बाधको भवति ‘that which does remain

and must last in spite of the presence of another, debars such other.' Thus in गोपायति; here the प्रत्ययस्वर: "the accent of the affix" (III. 1. 3) by which the acute is on the first syllable of the affix is an apavāda to the धातुस्वर: (VI. 1. 192) by which the final of a dhātu is acute, and it debars the dhātu-accent; but this affix accent is in its turn debarred in the case of derivative verbs formed with affixes by the rule of सतिशिष्ट, because even after the addition of the affix, these words retain the designation of dhātu. Similarly in कार्वाणोत्तरामङ्गपुत्रः "The son of him whose upper garment (uttarā-anga) is of black color, the Son of Baladeva," the Bahuvrihi-accent (VI. 2. 1) being an apavāda to Samāsa-accent; (VI. 1. 223), debars the samāsa-accent; but this Bahuvrihi-accent is in its turn debarred by the rule of सतिशिष्ट when a further compound is formed and the final word is a compound only and not a Bahuvrihi. Though the accent of the Vikarṇa is a सतिशिष्ट, yet it does not debar the Sārvadhātuka accent (VI. 1. 186). Thus in लुनांतः, the accent of the vikarṇa नी does not debar the accent of तस् ॥

३६५१ । अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः । ६ । १ । १६१ ।

यस्मिन्नुदात्ते पर उदात्तो लुप्यते तस्योदात्तः स्यात् । 'देर्वी वाचंम् । अत्र ङीबुदात्तः ।

3651. An unaccented vowel gets also the acute accent, when on account of it the preceding acute is elided.

The word udātta is understood here. Thus कुमारं + ई = कुमारां ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the last, when the unaccented (anudātta) ङीप् is added to it, the ई is elided (VI. 1. 148), the anudātta ई becomes udātta. So also पथिन् + शस् = पथः (VII. 1. 88); पथिन् + य् = पथे. पथिन् + आ = पथी । The पथिन् has acute on the last. So also कुमुद + इमत्प = कुमुदं (IV. 2. 87), नद्वत्, वेतस्वत् । The words कुमुद &c. are eni-acute, and the affix मत् (वत्) is anudātta (III. 1. 4).

देर्वी वाचं (Rig Veda VIII. 100. 11 and 101. 16).

३६५२ । चौ । ६ । १ । २२२ ॥

लुप्ताकारोच्चतो परे पूर्वस्यान्तोदात्तः स्यात् । उदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरपवादाः । 'देवद्रीची' नयत देवयन्तः ॥

'+अतद्धित इति वाच्यम्+' । दाधीचः । माधूचः । प्रत्ययस्वर एवात्र ॥

3652. In compound words ending in *anch*, the final vowel of the preceding word has the acute accent in the weak cases in which only *ch* of *anch* remains.

Thus देवद्रीची नयत देवयन्तः (Rig Veda III. 6. 1). This is an exception to VI. 1. 161, 170 and VI. 2. 52.

Vart:—This rule does not apply before a Taddhita affix. As दाधीचः, माधूचः ॥ Here the accent is regulated by the affix (III. 1. 3).

३६५३ । आमन्त्रितस्य च । ६ । १ । १९८ ॥

आमन्त्रितविभक्त्यन्तस्याटिङ्गदात्तः स्यात् । 'अग् इन्द्र वरुण मित्र देवाः' ॥

3653. The first syllable of a Vocative gets the acute accent. Thus अग् इन्द्र वरुण मित्र देवाः (Rig Veda V. 4. 2). This debars the final accent ordained by VI. 2. 148. Though the affix may be elided by a लुमान् word

(नक्. लुप् or ङ्लु), yet the effect of the affix remains behind in spite of I. 1. 63. As
संपर्रागच्छ ! संप्रा गच्छत ! ॥

३६५४ । आमन्त्रितस्य च । ८ । १ । १९ ॥

पदात्परस्यापादादिस्थितस्यामन्त्रितस्य सर्वस्यानुदानः स्यात् । प्रागुक्तस्य पाठस्यापवादोऽयमा-
ष्टमिकः । 'इमं मे' गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति' । 'अपादादौ' किम् । 'शुतु'ट्टि स्तोमम्' । 'आमन्त्रितं
पूर्वमविद्यमानवत्' (४१२) । 'अग्ने इन्द्र' । अग्नेन्द्रादीनां निघातो न । पूर्वस्याविद्यमानत्वेन पदा-
त्परत्वाभावात् । 'नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम्' (४१३) । समानाधिकरणे आमन्त्रिते
परे विशेष्यं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् । 'अग्ने तेजस्विन्' । 'अग्ने त्रातः' । 'सामान्यवचनम्' किम् । पर्यायिणु-
मा भूत् । 'अन्ये' देवि सरस्वति' ॥

3654. All the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand at the beginning of a hemistich.

The Vocative is acutely accented on the first by VI. 1. 198, the present makes it all unaccented, and is thus an exception to the last sūtra.

Thus इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति (Rig Veda X. 75. 5).

Why do we say 'when it does not stand at the beginning of a hemistich' ? Observe शुतुद्रिस्तोमम् (Rig Veda X. 75. 5).

But rule VIII. 1. 72. S. 412 taught us that a Vocative standing before another word is considered as non-existent. Therefore in अग्ने इन्द्र वरुण every Vocative gets the acute by the last sūtra, and the present sūtra does not make इन्द्र &c. accentless, for the Vocative being non-existent, इन्द्र &c. are considered as not preceded by another word.

To VIII. 1. 72. S. 412 there is however an exception made by VIII. 1. 73, S. 413. Therefore where there are two Vocatives in apposition, one qualifying the other, the first Vocative (or the qualified), is not considered as non-existent for the purposes of the present sūtra. Hence in अग्ने तेजस्विन्; अग्ने त्रातः; the words *tejasvin* and *trātaḥ* qualify *Agne*; and therefore they are unaccented. Why do we say 'when in apposition' ? Observe अच्ये देवि सरस्वति; here the words are not in apposition, *i. e.* one does not qualify the other, but they are merely synonyms: and therefore the present sūtra applies.

३६५५ । सामान्यवचनं विभाषितं विशेषवचने । ८ । १ । ७४ ॥

अत्र भाष्यकृता बहुवचनमिति पूरितम् । सामान्यवचनमिति च पूर्वसूत्रे योजितम् । आमन्त्रितान्ते विशेषणो परे पूर्वे बहुवचनान्तमविद्यमानवद्वा । 'देवीः प्लुर्वीरु रु नः कणोत' । अत्र देवीनां विशेषणं षडिति । 'देवाः शरण्या' । इह द्वितीयस्य निघातो वैकल्पिकः ॥

3655. When the preceding Vocative is in the Plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

The VIII. 1. sūtras 73 and 74 as enunciated by Pāṇini are नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे, and सामान्यवचनं विभाषितं विशेषवचने । Pāṇjali made the amendment by adding सामान्यवचने to 73 and completed the present sūtra by adding बहुवचनम् to it.

This ordains option, where the sūtra VIII. 1. 73, S. 413 would have made the consideration of the first vocative as existent, compulsory. Thus देवीः प्लुर्वीरु

नः कृणोत (Rig Veda X. 128. 5). Here षट् is an adjective qualifying देवीः । So also देवाः शूरयाः or देवा शूरयाः ॥

३६५६ । सुबामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे । २ । १ । २ ॥

सुबन्तमामन्त्रिते परे परस्याङ्गवत्स्यात्स्वरे कर्तव्ये । 'द्वंत्पाणी शुभस्यती' । शुभ इति शुभेः क्विबन्तषष्ठ्यन्तम् । तस्य परशरीरानुप्रवेशे षाष्टिकमामन्त्रिताद्युदात्तत्वम् । न चाष्टमिको निघातः शब्दः । पूर्वामन्त्रितस्याधिष्ठानत्वेन पादादित्वात् । 'यत्ते दिवो दुहितर्मतं भोजनम्' । इह दिवः शब्दस्याष्टमिको निघातः । परशुना वृश्चन् ॥

'+ षष्ठ्यामन्त्रितकारकवचनम् +' । षष्ठ्यन्तमामन्त्रितान्तं प्रति यत्कारकं तद्वाचकं चेति परिगणनं कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । तेनेह न । 'अयमग्ने जरिता' । 'एतेनाग्ने ब्रह्मणा' समर्थानुश्रया वा सिद्धम् ॥ '+ पूर्वाङ्गश्चेति वक्तव्यम् +' । आ ते पितर्ममताम् । 'प्रति त्वा दुहितर्दिवः' ॥ '+ अव्ययानां न +' । 'उच्चैरधीयान' । 'अव्ययीभावस्य त्विष्यते' । 'उपान्यधायान' ॥

3656. A word ending in a case-affix, when followed by a word in the vocative case, is regarded as if it was the añga or component part of such subsequent vocative word, when a rule relating to accent is to be applied.

In other words, the word ending in a case-affix enters, as if, into the body of the vocative (āmantrita) word. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 198 S. 3653 declares 'a word ending in a vocative case-affix, gets the udātta accent on the beginning i.e., first syllable.' Now, this rule will apply even when a word ending with a case-affix precedes such word in the vocative case. Thus the word षती 'O two lords!' has udātta on the first syllable. Now, when this word is preceded by another inflected noun as शुभस् 'of prosperity,' the accent will fall on शु, the two words being considered as a single word; as:—अश्विना यज्वरोरिषो द्वंत् पाणी शुभस्यती । पुबुजा चनस्यतम् । (Rig. 1. 3. 1). 'O Asvins, riding on quick horses, lords of prosperity and bestowers of plenty of food, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction.' Here VIII. 1. 19, S. 3654 does not make the word accentless, for the preceding Vocative, 'dravatpāni' being considered as non-existent, the second is beginning of a Pāda. But in the following example यत्ते दिवो दुहितर्मतं भोजनम् (Rig. Veda VII. 81. 5) the word दिवः is accentless because of the VIII. 1 19. S. 3654.

So also परशुना वृश्चन् 'O thou cutting with an axe!' The word परशु is formed from the root श्च with the prefix पर and the Uṇādi affix कु which is treated as हित् (See Uṇādi I. 34). Hence it has acute on the final. But by the present sūtra, being considered as the component part of the Vocative वृश्चन्, it becomes first-acute.

Vārt :-The rule of this sūtra should be confined to that word only that denotes the agent (kāraka) of the verb with which the Vocative is connected and to the Genitive governing the Vocative. Though the Vocative being a substantive pure and simple cannot stand in relation of a kāraka to a verb, yet the verb in the sentence has a kāraka. That is meant in the Vārtika. Therefore not so here: अयमग्ने जरिता (Rig Veda X. 142. 1) and एतेनाग्ने ब्रह्मणा (Rig Veda I. 31. 18).

Here the words अयम् and एतेन are not connected with the verb to which the Vocative refers; while in परशुना वृश्चन् the word परशुना 'with the axe' is a

kāraka to the verb denoted by the root कृच 'to cut' from which the Vocative कृचन् comes. In other words, the preceding word becomes the integral part of the Vocative under two conditions only, namely, (1) when it is a Genitive governing the Vocative as in शुभस्यते where the word शुभस् is in the sixth case (derived with the affix क्ति from शुभ्, the base being शुभ्); or (2) when the preceding word stands in the relation of a kāraka to the action denoted by the root from which the Vocative is derived: 'as in पञ्चशुना कृचन् 'O with axe cutting!'

Or we may dispense with this Vārtika, and get the same result by the rule of समर्थार्थविधिः; for only that word can become the integral part of a Vocative which is syntactically connected with it, and not any word that might happen to precede it.

Vārt :—It should be rather stated: 'component part of the preceding' That is, while the sūtra teaches that the preceding word becomes part of the subsequent word, Katyayana would reverse the order. Thus आ ते पितर मरुताम् (Rig Veda II. 33. 1).

Here the subsequent word मरुताम् becomes, as an aṅga or component part of पितर which is the preceding word. पितर is accentless, because a Vocative, and therefore, मरुताम् also becomes accentless being considered as aṅga of पितर. So also पति त्वा दुहितर दिवः (Rig. VII. 81. 3); here दिवः is accentless, because the Vocative दुहितर is ughāta.

Vārt :—Prohibition must be stated of Indeclinables as उच्चैरधीयान ! ॥

Ishii.—But not so of the Avyayibhāva compounds, which are also Indeclinables. As उपागन्धीयान ॥

३६५७ । उदात्तस्वरितयोर्यणः स्वरितोऽनुदात्तस्य । ८ । २ । ४ ॥

उदात्तस्थाने स्वरितस्थाने च यो यगततः परस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरितः स्यात् । अर्भ्यभि हि स्वरितस्य यणः । खलप्यशा । अस्य स्वरितस्य त्रैपादिककथेनासिद्धत्वाच्छेदनिघाते न ॥

3657. A svarita vowel is the substitute of an anudātta vowel, when the latter follows after such a semi-vowel, as has replaced an udātta or a svarita vowel.

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

This अर्भ्यभि हि । The word अर्भि is finally acute (See Phit Sātras IV, 12. and I. 1). It is doubled by VIII. 1. 4. S. 2140. The second अर्भि gets the designation of āmreḍita VIII. 1. 2. and it is anudātta by VIII. 1. 3. S. 3670. Therefore in अर्भि + अर्भि the ई of the first is udātta, the अ् of second is anudātta, the इ is changed to य्, this य् is udātta-yan hence the अ् of the second अर्भि after it becomes svarita by the present sūtra. अर्भि + अर्भ् = अर्भ् य् + अर्भि = अर्भ्यभि ॥

Now to take an example of a svarita-yana. The word खलपूर् is finally acute by kṛit-accent (VI. 2. 139. S. 3873). The Locative singular of this word is खलपूर् + इ = खलपूर्वि, by VI. 4. 83. S. 281). This व् is a semivowel which comes in the room of the acute ऊँ, therefore, it is udātta-yana. After this udātta-yana, the anudātta इ of the Locative becomes svarita by the first part of this sūtra. Now when खलपूर्वि +

आशा are combined by sandhi, this svarita इ is changed to य; it is, therefore, a svarita-yan. The unaccented आ will become svarita, after this svarita-yan. As खिलप् च्याशा The word आशा is finally acute and consequently आ is not acute (Phit. I. 18).

This svarita आ of आशा is evolved by the present sūtra which belongs to the Tripādi section of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and hence it is asiddha (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12). Therefore rule VI. 1. 158. does not cause the आ to lose its accent. Cf. 3660.

३६५८ । एकादेश उदात्तेनोदात्तः । ८ । २ । ६ ॥

उदात्तेन सहेकादेश उदात्तः स्यात् । 'वोऽशवाः' । 'क्वावरं मरुतः' ॥

3658. The single substitute of an unaccented vowel with an udātta vowel is udātta.

Thus क्व वोऽशवाः (Rig Veda 61. 2) and क्वावरं मरुतः । The word वः is anudatta by VIII. 1. 21. S. 405. read with VIII. 1. 18. S. 403. The word अश्वः is acutely accented on the first, as it is formed by adding क्वन् to अश् (Up. I. 151). The स् of वस् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66. S. 162), which is again changed to उ (VI. 1. 113. S. 163). Thus वो अशवाः । Here अ becomes pūrva-rupa by VI. I. 109. S. 86. which is udātta.

क्व is formed from क्रिस् by अत् affix (V. 3. 12. S. 1959. and VII. 2. 105. S. 2299) and is svarita (VI. 1. 185. S. 3729). The word अश्वर is acutely accented on the first by the Phit II. 6. The single long substitute is udatta.

३६५९ । स्वरितो वानुदात्ते पदादौ । ८ । २ । ६ ॥

अनुदात्ते पदादौ पर उदात्तेन सहेकादेशः स्वरितो वा स्यात् । पक्षे पूर्वसूत्रेणोदात्तः । 'वी३दं ज्योतिर्हृदये' । 'अस्य श्लोको द्वितीयते' । व्यवस्थितविभावात्वादिकारयोः स्वरितः । दीर्घप्रवेश नूदात्तः । किञ्च 'एङः पदान्तात्'—(८६) इति पूर्वरूपे स्वरित एव । तेऽवदन् । 'सोऽयमागोत् उक्तं च प्रातिशाख्ये—'इकारयोश्च प्रश्लेषे क्षीप्राभिनिहतेषु च' इति ।

3659. The single substitute of an unaccented vowel, standing at the beginning of a word, with an udātta vowel, may optionally be svarita or udātta.

Thus वी३दं ज्योतिर्हृदये । अस्य श्लोको द्वितीयते । This is a vyavasthita-vibhāshā; in this wise. There will necessarily be svarita (1) where a long ई is the single substitute of (इ + इ) or of two short इ's, (2) where there is pūrva-rupa by the application of एङः पदान्तात् अति (VI. 1. 109. S. 86) There will be udātta where a long vowel comes in. Thus in वि + इदम् = वी३दम् in वी३दं ज्ये तिर्हृदये, the long ई is substituted for two short इ's. This substitution of a long ई for two short इ's is technically called प्रश्लेष । Where there is Praś lesha, the long ई is necessarily svarita. Similarly when there is अभिनिहतसन्धिः i. e., the peculiar sandhi taught in VI. 1. 109. Thus तेऽवदन्, सोऽयमागोत् । So also where there is क्षेपः सन्धिः i. e., the substitution of a semi-vowel in the room of an udātta or svarita vowel as अभ्यंभि । The above rules about svarita are thus summarised in the Prātiśakhyas: इकारयोश्च प्रश्लेषे क्षीप्राभिनिहतेषु च । But where a long ई is substituted as a single substitute for इ + ई (one of the इ's being long), there it must always be acute. As अस्य श्लोको द्वितीयते (Rig. I. 190. 4). The words दि३र्व + ई३यते are

compounded into द्विवीपते । The word द्विविँ (Locative singular) is finally acute by VI. 1. 171, S. 3717. द्वीपते is from the Divādi root द्विङ् गती, and has lost its accent by VIII 1. 28. S. 3935.

३६६० । उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः । ८ । ४ । ६६ ॥

उदात्तात्परस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरितः स्यात् । 'शुग्निमीले' । अस्याप्यसिद्धत्वाच्चेपनिघातो न । 'तमीशानासः' ।

3660. The Svarita is the substitute of an Anudatta vowel which follows an Udatta vowel.

Thus अग्निम् + ईले = अग्निमीले । Here ई which was अनुदात्त by rule VIII. 1. 28, becomes svarita by the present rule, as it comes after the udatta इ of agni.

The rule VI. 1. 158, S. 3650, does not change this svarita into an Anudatta because for the purposes of that rule, the present rule is असिद्ध, or as if it had not taken place (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12). Therefore both the udatta and the svarita accent are heard.

तमं शानासः (Rig Veda I. 129. 2).

Here तमं the Accusative singular of तद् is finally acute. The word ईशानासः is the Nominative Plural of ईशान, the augment असुक् being inserted by VII. 1. 50. S. 3572. The word ईशान is derived from ईश 'to rule' with the affix शानच्, and therefore it is finally acute because of the चित् accent. The Nom. Pl. affix जस् being a सुप्, is anudatta. The long ई and the अ of सं are svarita.

३६६१ । नोदात्तस्वरितोदयमगार्थकाश्यपगालवानाम् । ८ । ४ । ६७ ॥

उदात्तपरः स्वरितपरश्चानुदात्तः स्वरितो न स्यात् । गार्थादिमते तु स्वादेव । 'प्र य आरुः' । 'वोश्च १ः' । 'क्वा ३ भोशवः' ।

3661. All prohibit the above substitution of svarita, except the Âchâryas Gârgya, Kâśyapa and Gâlava, when an udatta or a svarita follows the anudatta.

Thus प्र य आरुः (Rig Veda III. 7. 1). वोश्चः; क्वा ३ भोशवः ॥

Note :—This debarb the preceding rule. That anudatta which is followed by an udatta is called उदात्तोदयः or उदात्तपरः । The word उदय means पर in the terminology of ancient Grammarians. That anudatta which is followed by a svarita is called स्वरितोदयः । These are Bahuvrîhi compounds. Thus उदात्तोदयः—गार्थस्त्रं, वीत्स्य स्त्रं । The word स्त्रं is first acute by लित् accent, before this udatta, the य of these words does not become svarita. So with स्वरितोदयः—गार्थः कं; वीत्स्यः कं । The word क्क is svarita being formed by the तित् affix अत् (V. 3 12 S. 1959); before this svarita the preceding य does not become svarita.

Why do we say 'except in the opinion of Gârgya, Kâśyapa and Gâlava' ? Observe गार्थः कं, गार्थेस्त्रं । According to their opinion, the svarita change does take place.

The employment of the longer word उदय instead of the shorter word पर is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the Book has approached the end. The very utterance of the word उदय is auspicious. All sacred works commence with

an auspicious word, have an auspicious word in the middle, and end with an auspicious word. Thus Pāṇini commences his sūtra, with the auspicious word वृद्धिः 'increase' (in Sūtra I. 1. 1), has the word शिव 'the well wisher' in the middle (IV. 4. 143), and उदय at the end.

The mention of the names of those several Achāryas is for the sake of showing respect (pujārtham).

३६६२ । एकश्रुति दूरात्संबुद्धौ । १ । २ । ३३ ॥

दूरात्संबोधने वाक्यमेकश्रुतिः स्यात् । त्रैस्वर्यापवादः । 'आगच्छ भो माणवक' ।

3662. In addressing a person from a distance, the tone is called Ekaśruti or monotony.

Monotony or Ekaśruti is that tone which is perceived when a person is addressed; in it there is an absence of all the three tones mentioned above; and there is no definite pitch in it. It is, therefore, the ordinary recitative tone.

The word 'Sambuddhi' means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता ३ 'O boy Devadatta! come.' There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of Devadatta is changed into *pluta* by VIII. 2. 84 (दूराच्छ्रुते च) ॥

३६६३ । यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूङ्खसामसु । १ । २ । ३४ ॥

यज्ञक्रियायां मन्तु एकश्रुतिः स्याज्जपादीन्वर्जयित्वा । 'अग्निर्मूर्धा विवः ककुत्' । 'यज्ञ-
इति किम् । स्वाध्यायकाले त्रैस्वर्यमेव । 'अजप-' इति किम् । 'ममग्ने वचो विह्वेष्स्तु' ।
जपो नाम उपांशुप्रयोगः । यथा जले निमग्नस्य । न्यूङ्खा नाम षोडश आकाराः । गीतिसु सामाख्याः ।

3663. In the sacrificial works, there is Monotony, except in *japa* (silent repetition of a formula), Nyūṅkha vowels (sixteen sorts of *om*) and the Sāma Vedas.

In 'sacrificial works' or on occasions of sacrifice, the mantras of the Vedas are recited in Ekaśruti or monotony. But on occasions of ordinary reading, the mantras are to be recited with their proper three-fold accents.

'Japa' is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper as when a person immersed in a river recites them. Nyūṅkha is the name of certain hymns of the Vedas and the names of 16 sorts of 'Om.' Some of these are pronounced with udātta and others with anudātta accent. Sāmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As :—अग्नि-
मूर्धा विवः ककुत्पतिः पृथिव्या अयम् । अपाम् रेतसि जिन्वतो ऽम् । (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).

When a mantra is recited as a *japa*, then it must be pronounced with an accent.—As ममग्ने वचो विह्वेष्स्तु (Rig Veda X. 128. 1).

When not employed on occasions of sacrifice, but are ordinarily read, the mantras must have their proper accent, and there will be no Ekaśruti.

३६६४ । उच्चस्तरां वा षण्टकारः । १ । २ । ३५ ॥

यज्ञकर्मणि षोडश उच्चस्तरां वा स्यादेकश्रुतिर्वा ॥

3664. The pronunciation of the word 'vashaṭ' may optionally be by raising the voice (accutely accented), or it may be pronounced with monotony.

The phrase 'yajña-karma' is understood here. Even in yajña-karmas or sacrifices the word वषट् may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word वषट् in the sūtra signifies वीषट् .

३६६५ । विभाषा कृन्दसि । १ । २ । ३६ ॥

कृन्दसि विभाषा एकश्रुतिः स्यात् । व्यञ्जितविभाषेयम् । संहितायां त्रैस्वयम् । ब्राह्मण-
एकश्रुतिर्वह्वृचानाम् । अन्येषामपि यथासंप्रदायं व्यवस्था ।

3665. The monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents.

In the Chhandas or the Vedas there is option either to use the Ekaśruti tone or the three tones. Even on the occasion of ordinary reading, the Chhandas might be uttered either with the three accents or monotonously. Some say this is a limited option (vyavasthita-vibhāshā).

The option allowed by this sūtra is to be adjusted in this way. In reading the Mantra portion of the Veda, every word must be pronounced with its proper accent: but in the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Veda there might be Ekaśruti. This is the opinion of the Rig Vedins, while some say there must be Ekaśruti necessarily and not optionally in the recitation of the Brāhmaṇas.

Thus:—अग्निमीले पुरोहितं or simply अग्निमीले पुरोहितं । 'I praise Agni the purohita'.

३६६६ । न सुब्रह्मण्यायांस्वरितस्य तूदात्तः । १ । २ । ३७ ॥

सुब्रह्मण्याख्येनिगदे 'यज्ञकर्मणि —' (३६६३) इति 'विभाषा कृन्दसि' (३६६५) इति च प्राप्ता
एकश्रुतिर्न स्यात्स्वरितस्योदात्तश्च स्यात् । सुब्रह्मण्येयम् । सुब्रह्मणि साधुरिति यत् । न च 'एकादेश
उदात्तोदात्तः' (३६५८) इति सिद्धे पुनरत्रेदमुदात्तविधानं व्यर्थमिति वाच्यं । तत्रानुदात्त इत्यस्यानु
वृत्तः ।

'+ असावित्यन्तः +' । तस्मिन्नेव निगदे प्रथमान्तस्यान्त उदात्तः स्यात् । गार्ग्यो यजते । जि-
त्वात्प्राप्त आद्युदात्तोऽनेन बाध्यते । '+अमुख्येत्यन्तः+' । षष्ठ्यन्तस्यापि प्राग्वत् । दात्तेः पिता यजते ।
'+ स्यान्तस्योपोत्तमं च +' । चादन्तः । तेन द्वावुदात्तो । गार्ग्यस्य पिता यजते ।
'+वानामधेयस्य+' । स्यान्तस्य नामधेयस्य उपोत्तममुदात्तं वा स्यात् । देवदत्तस्य पिता यजते ।

3666. There should be no Monotony in the recitation of the Subrahmanya hymns and in those hymns, the vowels, that would otherwise have taken the svarita accent, take the 'udātta' accent instead.

The subrahmanya hymns are portions of the Rig Veda mentioned in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

This sūtra prohibits Ekaśruti in the case of certain prayers called subrahmanya. By I. 2. 34 read with I. 2. 36 *ante*, prayers might be *optionally* uttered with Ekaśruti accent. This ordains an exception to that rule. In subrahmanya

prayers there is no ekaśruti; and in these hymns, a vowel which otherwise by any rule of grammar would have taken a svarita accent, takes an udātta accent instead.

As सु ब्रह्मणो ३ मिन्द्रागच्छ हरिव आगच्छ. Here the word सुब्रह्मण is formed by the addition of the affix यत् (IV. 4 98) to the word सुब्रह्मण, and this य will get svarita accent by VI. 1. 185, (तित्स्वरितम्) as it has an indicative त्; by the present sūtra, this nascent svarita is changed into udātta. In the phrase इन्द्र आगच्छ, the word Indra being in the vocative case, इ is udātta, the अ of Indra is anudātta VI. 1. 198. The anudātta preceded by an udātta is changed into svarita (VIII. 4. 66).

Thus the अ of इन्द्र must become svarita, but by the present sūtra this nascent svarita is changed into an udātta. Thus in इन्द्र, both vowels become udātta. In the word आगच्छ, the आ is udātta; the next letter which was anudātta becomes svarita, and from svarita, it is changed to udātta by the present rule. Thus in the sentence इन्द्र आगच्छ, the first four syllables are all acutely accented, the fifth syllable is only anudātta. So also in हरिव आगच्छ; for the reasons given above, the letters व and च् are anudātta, the rest are all acutely accented. Cf. Shat Br. III. 3. 4. 17 and fgg.

Vārt:—In the Subrahmanya hymns the final vowel of a word in the Nominative case is acute.

Thus गार्ग्यं यजते । Here गार्ग्यं is derived from गर्ग by the affix यञ् (IV. 1. 105), and therefore it ought to be acute on the first because of जित् accent. But the present vārtika prevents that. Thus we have गार्ग्यं: instead of गौर्ग्यं: ॥

Vārt:—So also the final of a word in the Genitive is acute in the Sabrahmanya texts. As दाक्षिः पिता यजते । Here दाक्षि is derived from दक्ष by the Patronymic affix इञ् and it would have been दाक्षिः but the vārtika makes it दाक्षिः ॥

Vārt:—But the penultimate as well as the final of the Genitive ending in स्य is udātta.

Thus गार्ग्यस्य पिता यजते । Here there are two udāttas in the same word.

Vārt:—Optionally the penultimate of a Genitive in स्य is udātta, when the word is a Proper Name. As देवदत्तस्य पिता यजते or देवदत्तस्य पिता यजते ।

३६६७ । देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तः । १ । २ । ३८ ॥

अनयोः स्वरितस्यानुदात्तः स्यात्सुब्रह्मणयथायाम् । 'देवा ब्रह्मणा आगच्छत' ।

3667. The word 'devā' and Brahmāṇa in those hymns have 'anudātta' accent.

By I. 2. 37, it was declared, that in the subrahmanya hymns, svarita accent is replaced by udātta accent. This sūtra makes an exception in favor of the words देवा and ब्रह्मणा occurring in those hymns. These words have anudātta accent. As देवा ब्रह्मणा आगच्छत 'come ye Devās and Brahmāṇas.' Here the word देवा gets udātta accent on the first syllable by VI. 1. 198 (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): वा has originally an a udātta accent which by VIII. 4. 66 (an anudātta following an udātta is changed into svarita) would have been

changed into *svarita*. This *svarita*, by the previous sūtra required to be changed into *udatta*; but by this rule, it is replaced by *anudatta*. In other words, the original *anudatta* remains unchanged.

३६६८ । स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानाम् । १ । २ । ३९ ॥

स्वरितात्परेषामनुदात्तानां संहितायामेकश्रुतिः स्यात् । 'इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने 'सरस्वति' ॥

3668. The Monotony takes the place of the *anudatta* vowels which follow the *svarita* vowels, in close proximity (*sanhita*).

Sanihitā is the joining of two or more words in a sentence, for the purposes of reading or reciting. When words are thus glued together, then the *anudatta* accents become *Ekaśruti* if they are preceded by *svarita* vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As इमं मे^१ गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvatī ! this mine.

Here the word इमं has *udatta* on the last syllable : the word मे is originally *anudatta*, but by rule VIII. 4. 66 following an *udatta*, it is changed into *svarita*; after this *svarita* all *anudatta* like गङ्गे, &c., are replaced by *ekaśruti*. All the vowels of the words गङ्गे यमुने &c., had *anudatta* accent by rule VIII. 1. 19 (all vocative get *anudatta* if standing in the middle of a sentence and not beginning a stanza.)

The word 'sanhita' has been used in the sūtra to show that when there is a hiatus between the words then there is no change of *anudatta* into *ekaśruti*. The word *sanhitā* is defined in sūtra I. 4. 109.

३६६९ । उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः । १ । २ । ४० ॥

उदात्तस्वरितौ परीपस्मात्तस्यानुदात्तरः स्यात् । 'सरस्वा_शुतुद्रि' । 'व्यञ्जयत्स्वः' । 'तस्य परमाम्बुहितम्' (८३) ।

3669. The accent called *Sannatara* is substituted in the room of an *anudatta* vowel, which has an *udatta* or *svarita* vowel following it.

In the previous sūtra it was said that an *anudatta* preceded by a *svarita* becomes *Ekaśruti*. If however such an *anudatta* is followed by an *udatta* or a *svarita*, it does not become *Ekaśruti* but becomes *sannatara* i.e., lower than *anudatta*.

The *sannatara* is therefore that accent which was originally *anudatta*, and which is preceded by a *svarita* and is followed by an *udatta* or a *svarita*.

This is one explanation of the sūtra. There is another explanation which does not take the anuvṛitti of *Ekaśruti* in this sūtra. The *anudatta* is replaced by *sannatara* when such *anudatta* immediately precedes an *udatta* or a *svarita*. The *sannatara* is also called *anudatta*. Thus सरस्वति शुतुद्रि । व्यञ्जयत्स्व ।

As देवा मरुतः पृथिनमात्रोपेः ॥ Here the word मात्रः is anudâta. The word अपः has udâta on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171. In the phrase मात्रोपः (मातरः+अपः) The syllable रो is anudâta, because anudâta + anudâta = anudâta. This anudâta ओ, preceding the udâta पः, is changed into sannatara.

३६७० । अनुदात्तं च । ८ । १ । ३ ॥

द्विरुक्तस्य परं रूपमनुदात्तं स्यात् । 'दिवेदिवे' ।

3670. That which is called âmreḍita is gravely accented.

Thus 'दिवे दिवे' (Rig Veda I. 1. 3).

That is, all the vowels of the amreḍita become anudâta or accentless.

Here ends the Chapter on Accents in general.

अथ धातुस्वराः ।

CHAPTER II. ROOT-ACCENTS.

३६७१ । धातोः । ६ । १ । १६२ ॥

अन्त उदात्तः । 'गोपायते' स्यात् नः । 'असि सत्यः' ।

3671. A root has the acute on the end-syllable.

The word अन्त is understood here. Thus 'गोपायात, उनः' 'असि सत्यः' (Rig Veda I. 87. 4).

३६७२ । स्वपात्रिहिंसामच्यनिटि । ६ । १ । १८८ ॥

स्वपादीनां हिंसेत्रचानिट्यजादौ लसार्धधातुके परे आदिरुदात्तो वा स्यात् । स्वपादिरदाद्यन्तर्गणः । स्वपन्ति । प्रवसन्ति । हिंसन्ति । पक्षे प्रत्ययस्वरेण मध्येदात्तता । 'कडित्येवेष्यते' । नेह । स्वपानि । हिनसानि ।

3672. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable when a Personal-ending, being a Sârvaadhâtuka tense affix beginning with a vowel, (provided that the vowel is not the augment 'it') follows after 'svap' &c., or after 'hins.'

The phrase लसार्धधातुके in the locative case is understood here. Thus स्वपन्ति or स्वर्षन्ति, प्रवसन्ति, or प्रवर्षन्ति हिंसन्ति or हिंसन्ति । The accent on the middle falls by the accent of the affix III. 1. 3. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe स्वर्षात्, हिंसर्षात् । Why do we say 'not taking the augment इट्?' Observe स्वर्षिः and प्रवर्षितः ।

Ishti :—This rule applies to those vowel-beginning affixes which are इट् ; it does not apply to स्वपानि, हिनसानि ।

३६७३ । अभ्यस्तानामाद्रिः । ६ । १ । १८९ ॥

अनिट्यजादौ लसार्धधातुके परे अभ्यस्तानामादिरुदात्तः । 'ये ददंति प्रिया वसु' । परत्वाच्चित्स्वरमयं बाधते । 'दधाना इन्द्रे' ।

3673. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of the reduplicate verbs when followed by an affix beginning with a vowel (the vowel being not 'it') and being a sârvadhâtuka personal ending.

Thus ये ददति प्रिया वसु (Rig Veda VII. 32. 15). दँदति, दँदतु, दँधति, दँधतु, जँहति, जँहतु, जँधति, जँधतुः । Before consonant affixes: दद्यँत् । Before सेट् affixes:—जजित्तँः । Though the word आदि was 'understood here from the last aphorism, the repetition is for the sake of making this an *invariable* rule and not an *optional* rule as those in the foregoing. It being a subsequent sūtra, debars the चित् accent, as दधाना इन्द्रे (Rig Veda I. 4. 5).

३६७४ । अनुदात्ते च । ६ । १ । १९० ॥

श्रविद्यमानोदात्ते लसार्वाधातुके परेऽभ्यस्तानामादिऋदात्तः । 'दधासि रत्नं द्विविणं च दाशुषे' ।

3674. Also when the unaccented endings of the three persons in the singular follow, the first syllable of the reduplicate has the acute.

The endings तिप् सिप् and मिष् are anudatta (III. 1. 4). This sūtra applies to those personal endings which do not begin with a vowel. Thus दँदति, जँहति, दँधाति, जिँहीते, मिँमोते । The word अनुदात्त is to be construed here as a Bahuvrihi i. e., an affix in which there is no udatta vowel, so that the rule may apply when a portion of the affix is elided or a semivowel is substituted: as मा हि स्म दँधात्, and दँधात्यत्र । दधासि रत्नं द्विविणं च दाशुषे (Rig Veda I. 94. 14).

३६७५ । भीहीभृहुमदजनधनदरिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं पिति । ६ । १ । १९२ ॥

भीप्रभतीनामभ्यस्तानां पिति लसार्वाधातुके परे प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तं स्यात् । 'योऽग्निहोत्रं जुहोति' । ममत्तु नः परिज्जमा' । 'माता यद्वीरं दधन्त' । 'जापि त्वम्' ।

3675. In भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद्, जन्, धन्, दरिद्रा, and जाय, in their reduplicates, the acute accent is, before the sârvadhâtuka unaccented endings of the three persons in singular, *pit*, on the syllable which precedes the affix.

This debars the accent on the beginning. Thus बिभँति, जिहँति, बिभँतिं जुहँति ममँत्तु नः परिज्जमा (Rig Veda I. 122. 3). Here the root मद् has diversely taken in the Chhandas the vikaraṇa इनु, though, it belongs to Divâdi class. जजँन्तु, इन्द्रम् । The verb is here लेट् or the Vedic Subjunctive, so also is the next example. दधन्त् from धन धान्ये, the इ of ति being elided by III. 4. 97, and the augment अट् being added by III. 4. 94. माता वीरं दधन्त (Rig Veda X. 73. 1). दधँन्तु, दरिद्रँति, जापँति । In the case of other verbs we have दँदति । Before affixes which have not the indicative ष् (i. e., all endings other than the three singular endings), the accent will be on the first syllable: as दँरिद्रँति ॥

३६७६ । लिति । ६ । १ । १९३ ॥

प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तम् । चिकीषंक्कः ।

3676. The acute accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding the affix that has an indicative /.

Thus विकीर्षकः, जिहीर्षकः with the affix ग्युल् (III. 1. 133), भारिक्विधम् and ऐयुकारिभक्तम् with the affixes विधल् and भक्तल् (IV. 2. 54) accent on the कि and रि ॥

३६७७ । आदिर्णमुन्यन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । १ । १९४ ।

अभ्यन्तानामादिरुदात्तो वा णमुनि परे । लोऽन्यं लोलूयम् । पक्षे लित्स्वरः ।

3677. The first syllable may be optionally acute when the absolutive affix 'ṇamul' follows.

Thus लोऽन्यम् or लोलूयम् । In the reduplicate form लोलू, the second part लू is unaccented by VIII. 1. 3. The present sūtra makes लो accented, When लो is not accented, लू will get the accent by लित् accent. This rule is confined to polysyllabic the Absolutes, namely to the reduplicated Absolutes (VIII. 1. 4).

३६७८ । अचः कर्तृ यकि । ६ । १ । १९५ ।

उपदेशोऽजन्तानां कर्तृयकि पर आदिरुदात्तो वा । लूयते केदारः स्वयमेव ।

3678. The roots which are exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a final vowel, may optionally have the acute on the first syllable, before the affixes of the Passive 'yak' when the sense of the verb is Reflexive.

The word उपदेश is understood here. Thus लूयते or लूयते केदारः स्वयमेव स्तोयते or स्तोयते केदारः स्वयमेव । When the accent does not fall on the first syllable, it falls on य (VI. I. 186).

३६७९ । चङ्गन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । १ । २१८ ।

चङ्गन्तं धातायुपोत्तममुदात्तं वा । 'मा हि चीकरताम्' धात्वकार उदात्तः । पदान्तरेचङ्गुदात्तः ॥ इति धातुस्वराः ।

3679. The acute accent may be optionally on the penultimate syllable of the reduplicated Aorist in 'chan' the word consisting of more than two syllables.

Thus मा हि चीकरताम् or चीकरताम् । The augment अद् is elided by the addition of मा, VI. 4. 74; हि prevents the verb from becoming anudatta VIII. 1. 34 then comes the चित् accent of चङ् ॥ The augmented form with अद् has acute always on the first syllable VI. 4. 71. When the word is of less than three syllables, the rule does not apply, as माहि दधत् ॥

Here ends the Chapter of Root-accents.

अथ प्रत्ययस्वराः ।

CHAPTER III.

AFFIX-ACCENTS.

३६८० । कर्षात्त्वतो घञोऽन्त उदात्तः । ६ । १ । १५९ ।

कर्षतेर्धाताराकारवत्तच्च घञन्तस्यान्त उदात्तः स्यात् । कर्षः । शपा निर्देशात्तुष्टादेराद्युदात्त एव । कर्षः । पाकः ।

3680. A stem formed with the Kṛita-affix 'ghañ' has the acute accent on the end-syllable, if it is formed from the root *krish*, (*kar-shati*) or has a long *â* in it.

Thus कर्षः, पार्कः, त्यागः, रागः, दार्यः, धार्यः । This is an exception to VI. 1. 197 by which affixes having an indicative ज् have acute accent on the first syllable. The word कर्ष formed with the Vikaraṇa शप्, is used in the aphorism instead of कृष् to indicate that कृष् of Bhvādi gaṇa is affected by this rule, and not कृष्-कृषति of Tudādigana. The word कर्षः derived from the Tudādi कृष् has the acute accent on the first syllable.

३६८१ । उज्झादीनां च । ई । १ । १६० ॥

अन्त उदात्तः स्यात् । उज्झादिषु युगशब्दो घञन्तोऽगुणो निपात्यते कालविशेषे रथाद्यवयवे च । 'वैश्वानरः कुशिकेभिर्युगे युगे' । अन्यत्र 'योगे योगे तवस्तरम्' । भक्षशब्दो घञन्तः । 'गावः सोमस्य प्रथमस्य भक्षः' । उत्तमशश्वत्तमावपि । 'उदुत्तमं वरुण' । 'शश्वत्तममीलते' ।

3681. The words *uchchha* &c. have acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus वैश्वानरः कुशिकेभिर्युगे युगे (Rig Veda III. 26. 3).

But in other places we have योगे योगे तवस्तरम् (Rig Veda I. 30. 7).

The word भक्ष is formed by घञ् affix, as in the following गावः सोमस्य प्रथमस्य भक्षः (Rig Veda VI. 28. 5).

So also उत्तम and शश्वत्त as in उदुत्तमं वरुण (Rig Veda I. 24. 15). शश्वत्तममीलते (Rig Veda X. 70. 3).

Note :—1. उज्झः, 2. म्लेच्छः, 3. जज्जः, 4. जल्पः. These are formed by घञ्, and would have taken acute accent on the first. 5. जपः, 6. वधः are formed by अच् affix (III. 3. 61) which being grave (III. 1. 4.), these words would have taken the accent of the dhātu (VI. 1. 162), i. e. acute on the first syllable. Some read व्यधः also here, 7. युगः is derived from युञ् by घञ् affix, the non-causing of guṇa is irregular, and the word means 'a cycle of time', 'a part of a carriage'. In other senses, the form is यो गः । 8. गरः = (दूष्ये); is formed by अच्, and has this accent when it means 'poison', in other senses, the acute is on the first syllable. 9. वेगः 'वेष्टः, वेष्टः (चेष्टः), and बन्धः, करणो । These words are formed by घञ् by III. 3. 121. When denoting instrument (करण) they take the above accent, when denoting भाव the accent falls on the first syllable. 10. स्तुयुद् वषट्कन्दसि, e. g. परिष्टुत् परिदुत् संयुत् । 11. वर्तनिः स्तोत्रे, the stotra means the Sâma Veda, the word वृत्तनिः occurring in the Sâma Veda has acute on the last: in other places, it has the accent on the middle. 12. श्वभे दरः, the दरः has end-acute when meaning 'a cave', otherwise when formed by अच् affix it has acute on the first. 13. साम्बतापो भाव-गर्हायाम्, thus साम्बः, तापः, in other senses, the acute is on the first. 14. उत्तम-शश्वत्तमौ सर्वत्रः, e. g. उत्तमः, शश्वत्तमः । Some read the limitation of भावगर्हा into this also. 15. भक्षमथभोगमन्याः (भोगदेहा) । These are formed by घञ्, भक्ष though a यञन्त root is here घञन्तं ॥

1 उज्झ, 2 म्लेच्छ, 3 जज्ज, 4 जल्प, 5 जप, 6 वध (व्यध), 7 युग, 8 गरौ दूष्ये, 9 वेदयेगवेष्टबन्धाः, (चेष्ट वेष्ट) करणो, 10 स्तुयुद् वषट्कन्दसि (परिष्टुत्, संयुत्, परिदुत्), 11 वर्तनिः

स्तोत्रे, 12 श्वभे दरः, 13 साम्यतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, 14 उत्तमश्वयत्तमौ (उत्तमश्वयत्तमश्वर्वा)
सर्वत्र, 15 भक्तमन्थ, भोगमन्थाः (भक्तमन्थभोगदेहाः) ॥

३६८२ । चतुरः शसि । ६ । १ । १६७ ॥

चतुरोऽन्त उदात्तः शसिपरं । 'चतुरः कल्पयन्तः' । 'अचि रः-' (२६६) इति रादेशस्य पूर्व-
विधौ स्थानिवत्त्वाच्चेह । चतस्रः पश्य । 'चतेरन्' । नित्वादाद्युदात्तता ॥

3682. The word *chatur*, followed by the accusative plural, has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus चतुरः कल्पयन्तः (Rig Veda X. 114. 6) the accent is on तु । The feminine of चतुर is चतस्र (VII. 2. 99), which has acute accent on the first (VII. 2. 99 Vārt.), and its accusative plural will not have accent on the last syllable. This is so, because चतुर has acute on the first, as formed by उरन् affix (Uṇādi V. 58). Its substitute चतसृ will also be so, by the rule of स्थानिवत् । The special enunciation of आद्युदात्त with regard to चतसृ in the Vārtika चतस्र्याद्युदात्तनिपातनं कर्तव्यं (VII. 2. 99) indicates that the present rule does not apply to चतसृ । Another reason for this is as follows : चतस्र + शस् = चतस्र + शस् । Now comes the present Sūtra ; here, however, the र् (VII. 2. 100 S. 299) substitute of ऋ being sthānivāt, will prevent the udātta formation of the अ of त ; nor will ऋ be considered as final and take the acute, as there exists no vowel ऋ but a consonant र् which cannot take an accent. As चतस्रः पश्य । Professor Bohtlingk places the accent thus चतुरः, Pro. Max Muller चतुँरः । I have followed Prof. Max Muller in interpreting this sūtra; for Bohtlingk's interpretation would make the ending शस् accented and not the final of चतुरः ॥

३६८३ । भल्यु पोत्तमम् । ६ । १ । १८० ॥

पदत्रिचतुर्भ्यो वा भलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्ते पद उपोत्तममुदात्तं स्यात् । 'अध्वर्युभिः पञ्चभिः'
'नवभिर्वाजैर्नवतीच' । 'सप्तभ्यो जायमानः' । 'आदशभिर्विष्वतः' । 'उपोत्तमम्' किम् ।
'अ. ६भिर्हू यमानः' । 'विश्वे देवेस्त्रिभिः' । 'भलि' किम् । 'नवानां नवतीनाम्' ॥

3683. The numerals 'shat', 'tri' and 'chatur' when taking a case-affix beginning with a *bh* or *s* get the acute accent on the penultimate syllable, when the said numerals assume a form consisting of three or more syllables.

The numerals पद, त्रि and चतुर when ending in a case-affix beginning with a भल्यु consonant, form a full word (पद), in such a word the penultimate syllable gets the acute accent. The very word penultimate shows that the पद must be of three syllables at least. Thus पञ्चभिः, सप्तभिः, तिस्रभिः, चतुर्भिः ॥ अध्वर्युभिः पञ्चभिः (Rig Veda III. 7. 7). नवभिर्वाजैर्नवतीच (Rig Veda X. 39. 10). सप्तभ्यो जायमानः (Rig Veda VIII. 96. 16). आदशभिर्विष्वतः (Rig Veda VIII. 72. 8). Why do we say 'beginning with स and भ'? Observe, नवानां नवतीनाम् (Rig Veda I. 191. 13). Why do we say 'the penultimate syllable'? Observe आपद्भिर्हू यमानः (Rig Veda II. 18. 4) विश्वे देवेस्त्रिभिः (Rig Veda VIII. 35. 3).

३६८४ । विभाषा भाषायाम् । ६ । १ । १८१ ॥

उक्तविषये ।

3684. In the classical language this is optional.

The क्लादि case-affixes coming after the above numerals षट्, त्रि and चतुर may make the words so formed take the acute on the penultimate optionally, in the ordinary spoken language. Thus पंचभिः or पंचभिः । In the alternative, VI. 1. 179 applies. So also सप्तभिः or सप्तभिः, तिस्रभिः or तिस्रभिः ॥

३६८५ । सर्वस्य सुपि । ६ । १ । १९१ ॥

सुपि परे सर्वशब्दस्यादिहृदात्तः स्यात् । 'सर्वे नन्दन्ति पशसां' ॥

3685. The acute is on the first syllable of *sarva* when the case-endings follow.

Thus सर्वे नन्दन्ति पशसा (Rig Veda X. 71. 10).

३६८६ । जित्यादिर्नित्यम् । ६ । १ । १९७ ॥

जितन्तस्य नितन्तस्य चाट्टुदात्तः स्यात् । 'यस्मिन्विश्वानि पौंस्या' । पुंसः कर्मणि ब्राह्मणादित्वात्पञ्च । सुते दधिष्व षचनः । चापतेरसुन् । 'चापेरेचे ह्रस्वश्च' इति चकारादसुनो नुडागमश्च ॥

3686. Whatever is derived with an affix having an indicative ज् or न्, has the acute invariably on the first syllable.

Thus यस्मिन् विश्वानि पौंस्या (Rig Veda I. 5. 9).

Here पौंस्य is from पुंस् with the affix ष्यञ् because it belongs to the Brāhmanādi class. (V. 1. 124. S. 1788.)

सुते दधिष्व नश्चनः (Rig Veda I. 3. 6). Here चनः is derived from the root चायू पूजानिशामनयोः with the affix असुन् (Uṇādi IV. 199), which takes the augment नुद् also, by force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra above quoted (Uṇādi IV. 199), and then the य of चायू is elided. चनस् means 'food.'

३६८७ । पथिमयोः सर्वनामस्थाने । ६ । १ । १९९ ॥

आदिहृदात्तः स्यात् । अयं पन्थाः । 'सर्वनामस्थाने' किम् । 'ज्योतिष्मतः पथो रच्च' । उदात्तनिर्घृतिस्वरेशान्तोदात्तं पदम् ॥

3687. The acute accent is on the first syllable of *pathin* and *mathin* when followed by a strong case-ending.

The words पथिन् and मथिन् are derived by the Uṇādi affix हनि, (IV. 12. and 13, and are oxytone by III. 1. 3. They become ādyudātta before strong cases. Thus अयं पन्थाः (Rig Veda IV. 18. 1).

Why do we say 'when followed by a sarvaūamasthāna case-affix'? Observe 'ज्योतिष्मतः पथो रच्च, (Rig Veda X. 53. 6). The accent is on the final by VI. 1. 162, there being elision of the udātta हन् ॥

३६८८ । चन्तश्च तवै युगपत् । ६ । १ । २०० ॥

तवैप्रत्ययान्तस्याद्यन्तो युगपदाद्युदात्तो स्तः । 'हर्षमे दात्वा उ' ॥

3688. The Infinitive in *tavai* has the acute on the first syllable and on the last syllable at one and the same time.

Thus हृष से दातया उ (Rig Veda IV. 21. 9). This is an exception to III. 1. 3. by which त of तये ought to have got the accent, and it also countermands rule VI. 1. 158. by which there can be only a single acute in a single word.

३६८९ । जयो निवासे । ६ । १ । २०१ ॥

आद्युदात्तः स्यात् । स्व जये शुचिषत । यरजन्तः ॥

3689. The word *kshaya* has the acute on the first syllable in the sense of 'house, dwelling.'

Thus स्वजये शुचिषत । (Rig Veda X. 118. 1). The word is formed by च affix III. 1. 118. and would have had accent on the affix (III. 1. 3). When not meaning a house, we have : जयो वर्तते दस्युनाम् । The word is formed by अच् (III. 2. 31).

३६९० । जयः करणम् । ६ । १ । २०२ ॥

करणवाची जयशब्द आद्युदात्तः स्यात् । जयत्यनेन जयोऽश्वः ॥

3690. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of *jaya*, in the sense of 'whereby one attains victory.'

Thus जयोऽश्वः, but otherwise जयो वर्तते ब्राह्मणानाम् । The former जय is by च affix, (III. 1. 118), the second by अच् (III. 2. 31).

३६९१ । वृषादीनां च । ६ । १ । २०३ ॥

आदिशुदात्तः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । 'वाजेभिर्वाजिनीवती' । 'इन्द्रं वाणीः' ॥

3691. The words *vrisha* &c., have the acute on the first syllable.

Thus वाजेभिर्वाजिनीवती (Rig. Veda I. 3. 10) इन्द्रंवाणीः (Rig Veda I. 7. 1). 1. वृषः, 2. जिनः, 3. ज्वरः, 4. र्हः, 5. ह्यः, 6. गयः । These are formed by अच् (III. 1. 104). The word गय is from गे-गायते, irregularly it is treated as गे । 7. नयः, 8. तायः, 9. तयः, 10. चयः, 11. अभः, 12. वेदः, 13. सूदः, 14. वटः, (formed by अच्, numbers 8 to 11 are not in Kasika). सूद is formed by क (III. 1. 135) 15. अंशः, 16. गुहा (formed by अच् III. 3. 104). 17. शमस्यो संज्ञायां संज्ञेति भावकर्मणोः :—शमः and रणः, 18. मन्त्रः (formed by अच् III. 1. 134), 19. शान्तिः formed by त्किच्, 20. कामः, 21. यामः, both formed by चञ्, 22. आरा, 23. धारा, 24. कारा, (all three formed by अच् III. 3. 104), 25. वहः = गोचरादिषु formed by चञ्, 26. कल्पः, 27. पादः formed by चञ् which may either take the accent indicated by the affix or by VI. 1. 159, 28. पयः, 29. दवः । It is आकृतिगणः । All words which are acutely accented on the first, should be considered as belonging to this class, if their accent cannot be accounted for by any other rule.

1 वृषः, 2 जिनः, 3 ज्वर, 4 ग्रहः, 5 ह्यः, 6 नयः, 7 नयः, 8 तायः, 9 तयः, 10 चयः, 11 अभः, 12 वेदः, 13 सूद *, 14 अंशः, 15 गुहा, 16 शमस्यो संज्ञायां संज्ञेति भावकर्मणोः, 17 मन्त्रः, 18 शान्तिः, 19 कामः, 20 यामः, 21 आरा, 22 धारा, 23 कारा, 24 वहः, 25 कल्पः, 26 पादः, 27 पयः, 28 दवः, 29 आकृतिगणः ॥

३६९२ । संज्ञायामुदात्तम् । ६ । १ । २०४ ॥

उपमानशब्दः संज्ञायामाद्युदात्तः । चञ्चैव चञ्च । कनोऽत्र लुप् । एतदेव ज्ञापयति ॥

* कृत्रिस्थः विधा प्रत्ययनक्षणां न * इति । 'संज्ञायाम्' किम् । अग्निमणिवदः । 'उपमानम्' किम् । चञ्चः ॥

3692. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of that word with which something is likened, provided that it is a name.

Thus **उपमेव**, **उपमेव**, **उपमेव**, **उपमेव**. All these are **उपमान** words used as names of the **उपमेव** (the thing compared). The affix **कन्** (V. 3. 96) is elided here by V. 3. 98. It might be asked when **कन्** is elided, its mark, causing the first syllable to be acute (VI. 1. 197), will remain behind by virtue of I. 1. 62, where is then the necessity of this sūtra. The formation of this sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim :—

Vart:—The **प्रत्ययलक्षण** rule is not of universal application in the rules relating to accent.

When the word is not a Name, we have **अग्निर्माषकः** । When it is not an **upamāna** we have **चेत्रः** (VI. 2. 148).

३६९३ । निष्ठा च द्वयजनात् । ६ । १ । २०५ ॥

निष्ठान्तस्य द्वयचः संज्ञायामादिब्रुदात्तो न त्वाकारः । दत्तः । 'द्वयचः' किम् । चिन्तितः । 'अनात्' किम् । त्रातः । 'संज्ञायाम्' इत्यनुवृत्तेर्देह । कृतम् । दृतम् ॥

3693. A dissyllabic Participle in *ta* (Nishṭhâ), when a Name, has the acute on the first syllable, but not if the first syllable has an 'â.'

Thus **गुँजः**, **हुँक्षः**, **दँतः** । This debarb the affix accent (III. 1. 3). In non-participles we have **देवैः**, **भोमैः** । In polysyllabic Participles we have **चिन्तितैः**, **रक्षितैः** । In Participles having long **आ** in the first syllable, we have, **त्रातैः**, **आर्षैः** । When the Participle is not a Name we have, **कृतम्**, **दृतम्** ॥

३६९४ । शुष्कधृष्टौ । ६ । १ । २०६ ॥

यथावाद्युदात्तो स्तः । असंज्ञार्थमिदम् । 'अत्सं न शुष्कम्' ।

3694. Also **शुष्क** and **धृष्ट** have acute on the first syllable.

These are non-Names. Thus **शुँष्क** and **धृँष्ट** । **अत्सं न शुष्कम्** (Rig Veda 4. 4).

३६९५ । आशितः कर्ता । ६ । १ । २०७ ॥

कर्तृवाच्याशितशब्द आद्युदात्तः । 'कषचित्फाल आशितम्' ॥

3695. The word **आशित** meaning 'having eaten' has acute on the first syllable.

Thus 'कषचित्फाल आशितम्' (Rig Veda X. 117. 7).

३६९६ । रिक्ते विभाषा । ६ । १ । २०८ ॥

रिक्तशब्दे वादिब्रुदात्तः । रिक्तः । संज्ञार्थो तु 'निष्ठा च द्वयजनात्' (३६९३) इति नित्यमाद्युदात्तत्वं पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥

3696. The word **rikta** may have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus **रिँक्तः** or **रिक्तैः** । But when it is a Name, then VI. 1. 205. S. 3693, will make it *always* first acute. No option is allowed then.

३६९७ । जुष्टार्पिते च ऋन्दसि । ६ । १ । २०९ ॥

आयुदाने वा स्तः ॥

3697. In the Chhandas, the words 'jushta' and 'arpita' have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्टः or जुष्टः; अर्पितः or अर्पितः । In the classical literature the accent is always on the last syllable (III. 1. 3).'

३६९८ । नित्यं मन्त्रे । ६ । १ । २१० ॥

यत्सूत्रं शक्यमकर्तुम् । 'जुष्टो दमूनाः' । 'पलरं आहुरर्पितम्' इत्यादेः पूर्वशेष सिद्धेः ऋन्दसि पाठस्य व्यवस्थिततया विपरीतापाठनायोगात् । 'अर्पिताः पृष्टिर्न चलाचलासः' इत्या-
चान्तोदात्तदर्शनाच्च ॥

3698. In the Mantras, these words 'jushta' and 'arpita' have always the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्टं देवानामर्पितं पितृणाम् । Some say that this rule applies only to जुष्ट and not to अर्पित; in which option is allowed even in the Mantra : so that it has acute on the last in the Mantra even : e. g. तस्मिन्वाकं त्रिशता न शक्योर्पिता ॥

This sūtra is superfluous. For in the examples जुष्टो दमूनाः (Rig Veda V. 4. 5). and पलर आहुरर्पितम् &c., they will have acute on the first, by the preceding sūtra, for the employment of the word ऋन्दसि in that sūtra shows that in the Mantra the words have acute on the first, as opposed to the ordinary language. So these would never have been final acute. Moreover, in the Mantra, अर्पिताःपृष्टिर्न चलाचलासः (Rig Veda I. 164. 48), we find that the word अर्पिताः is end-acute, and this also is an argument against the present sūtra. For it shows that in the Mantra, these words are not *invariably* first-acute.

३६९९ । युष्मदस्मदोर्दसि । ६ । १ । २११ ॥

अदिग्दानः स्यात् । 'न हिष स्तय नो मम' ॥

3699. The acute accent is on the first syllable of *yushmad* and *asmad* in the Genitive Singular.

This applies when the forms are मम and तव, and not मे and ते । Thus मम स्वम्, तव स्वम् । The word युष्मद् and अस्मद् are derived from युष and अस by adding the affix मदिक् (Un. I. 139) युष्मद् + इस् = युष्मद् + अश् (VII. 1. 27) = तव + अद् + अश् (VI. 2. 96) = तव + अश् (VII. 2. 90) = तव (VI. 1. 97). Here by VIII. 2. 5, व would have been udātta, but the present sūtra makes त udātta. So also with मम ॥

३७०० । इयि च । ६ । १ । २१२ ॥

'तुभ्यं हिन्वानः' । 'मह्यं वातः पवताम्' ॥

3700. The acute accent is on the first syllable of *yushmad* and *asmad* in the Dative Singular.

Thus तुभ्यं हिन्वानः (Rig Veda II. 36. 1). मह्यं वातः पवताम् (Rig Veda X. 128. 2).

३७०१ । यतोऽनावः । ६ । १ । २१३ ॥

यत्प्रत्ययान्तस्य द्वयच आदिऋदात्तः । नावं विना । 'युञ्जन्त्यस्य काम्यो' । कमेर्णिहन्तादचेः यत् । 'अनावः' किम् । 'नवतिन्ध्यानाम्' ॥

3701. Whatever is formed by the affix *yat*, has, if it is a dissyllabic word, the acute on the first syllable, with the exception of 'nāvyaḥ' from 'nau.'

The word दृद्यच् is understood here from VI. 1. 205. Thus युञ्जन्त्यस्य काम्या (Rig Veda 1. 6. 2). The काम्यो is from कम् + णि + यत् । चैयम्, जैयम् (III. 1. 97); कण्ठ्यम्, ओष्यम् (V. 1. 6). This rule debars the Svarita accent required by तित् (VI. 1. 185). But नौ - नाव्यम् as नवति नाध्यानाम् (Rig Veda I. 121. 13). The rule does not apply to words of more than two syllables thus:—विकीर्यम्, सलाद्यम् ॥

३७०२ । ईडवन्द्वृशंसदुहां ययत्तः । ६ । १ । २१४ ॥

यथा ययदन्तानामादिऋदात्तः । 'ईडयो नूतनेऽत' । 'आजुह्वान ईडयो वन्द्वृशच' । 'श्रेष्ठं नो धेहि वार्यम्' । उक्थमिन्द्राय शंस्यम् ॥

3702. The acute accent is on the first syllable of ईड्, वन्द्व्, वृशंस्, and दुह्, when they are followed by the affix 'nyat.'

Thus ईड्यम् वन्द्व्यम्, वार्य्यम्, शंस्यम्, दूह्यो धेनुः ॥ The two letters ण् and त् being indicatory, the 'nyat' is not included in 'yat' of the last sūtra. The accent would be regulated by त् ॥ The accent of त् however is debarred by this rule. The वृ in the sūtra is वृद् संभक्तौ of Kriyādi class: the वृद् of स्वादि class takes kyap affix. See III. 1. 109.

ईड्यो नूतनेऽत (Rig Veda I. 1. 2). आजुह्वान ईड्यो वन्द्वृशच (Rig Veda X. 110. 3) श्रेष्ठं नो धेहि वार्यम् (Rig Veda X. 24. 2). उक्थमिन्द्राय शंस्यम् (Rig Veda I. 10. 5).

३७०३ । विभाषा वेण्विन्ध्यानयोः । ६ । १ । २१५ ॥

आदिऋदात्तो वा । 'इन्ध्याने अग्निम्' ॥

3703. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable of 'veṇu' and 'indhān.'

Thus इन्ध्याने अग्निम् (Rig Veda II. 25. 1), वेणुः or वेणुः, इन्ध्यान- or इन्ध्यानः or इन्ध्यानैः । The word वेणु is derived by the Unādi affix णु (III. 38), which being a नित् would always have acute on the first. This allows an option. The word इन्ध्यान, if it is formed by चानश् will have the accent on the final. If it is considered to be formed by शानच् the affix being a sārvaadhātuka is anudatta and as it replaces udatta final of the root, it becomes udatta (VI. 1. 161), and thus इन्ध्यान gets acute on the middle. It would never have acute on the first syllable, the present rule ordains that also. When वेणु is used as an upamāna वेणुरिव वेणुः, then it is invariably acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 204):

३७०४ । त्यागरांगहासकुहखठक्रयानाम् । ६ । १ । २१६ ॥

आदिऋदात्तो वा । आद्यान्वयो घञ ताः । त्रयः पचाद्यजन्ता ॥

3704. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllables of
न्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, and क्रथ ॥

Thus न्यागः, or न्यागः, रागः, रागः, हासः, हासः ॥ These are formed by घञ् affix and by VI. 1. 159 would take acute on the final, this ordains acute on the first syllable also. कुहः or कुहँ, or श्वठः or श्वठँ, क्रथः or क्रथँ; formed by यच् (III. 1. 13).

३७०५ । मतोः पूर्वमात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियाम् । ६ । १ । २१७ ॥

मतोः पूर्वमाकार उदात्तः स्त्रीनाम्नि ऋदुम्बरावती । शरावती ॥

3705. The 'á' before the affix 'mat' has the acute accent, when the word is a name in the Feminine Gender.

Thus अदुम्बरावती, पुष्करावती, शरावती (IV. 2. 85). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 120. वारावती ॥ Why do we say 'the आ'? Observe इक्षुर्मती, दुर्मती ॥ The words इक्षु (Un. III. 157) and दुर्म (V. 2. 108) are end-acute, so the accent is on मतुप् by VI. 1. 176. Why do we say 'when a name'? Observe खट्यावती ॥ खट्वा is formed by क्वन् and has acute on the first (Un. I. 151). Why do we say 'in the Feminine Gender'? Observe शरावान् ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by मत्' ? Observe गद्यादिनो ॥

३७०६ । अन्तोऽवत्याः । ६ । १ । २२० ॥

अवतीशब्दस्यान्त उदात्तः । धीपः पित्यादुदात्तत्वं प्राप्तम् ॥

3606. The Names ending in 'avati' have the acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus अजिरवती, खदिरवती, हंसवती, कारणवती ॥ These words being formed by ङीप् would have been unaccented on the final (III. 1. 4). Why do we use अवती and not वती ? Then the rule would apply to राजवती also, for the word is really राजन्वती ending in अन्वतः, the subsequent elision of न् is held to be non-valid for the purposes of the application of this rule (VIII. 2. 2). But the change of म into व (मत्=वत्) is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

३७०७ । ईवत्याः । १ । १ । २२० ॥

ईवत्यन्तस्यापि प्राग्वत् । अहीवती । मुनीवती ॥

3707. The Names ending in 'vati' have the acute on the last syllable.

Thus अहीवती ; मुनीवती ॥

अथ फिट् सूत्राणि ।

THE PHIT SUTRAS.

CHAPTER I.

१ । फिषोऽन्त उदात्तः ॥

प्रातिपदिकं फि । तस्यान्त उदात्तः स्यात् । उच्चैः ॥

1. A nominal stem is finally acute. As उच्चैः ॥ The word फिप् is the name of Nominal stems or Prâtipadikas, in the terminology of the ancient Grammarians.

२ । पाटलापालङ्काश्र्वासागरार्थानाम् ॥

एतदर्थानामन्त उदात्तः । 'पाटला' 'फलेरुहा' 'सुरुपा' 'पाकला' इति पर्यायाः । 'लघावन्ते-' इति प्राप्ते । 'अपालङ्क' 'व्याधिघात' 'आरिवत' 'आरग्वध' इति पर्यायाः । अश्र्वार्थाः । माता । 'उन्वचन्तानाम्' इत्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते । सागरः । समुद्रः ॥

2. The synonyms of पाटला, अपालङ्का, अश्र्वा and सागर are finally acute. Pâtalâ is a kind of herb—पाटला, फलेरुहा, सुरुपा, पाकला ॥ By Phit II. 19 the heavy vowel would have got the accent : this makes these end acute. So also अपालङ्क, व्याधिघात, आरिवत, and आरग्वध are synonyms meaning a kind of plant (Cassia fistula). So also अश्र्वा, माता । This last is an exception to Phit II. 9. So also सागरः, समुद्रः ॥

३ । गेहार्थानामस्त्रियाम् ॥

गेहम् । 'नव्विषयस्य-' इति प्राप्ते । 'अस्त्रियाम्' किम् । शाला । आद्युदात्तोऽयम् । इद्वैव पर्युदात्ताज्जापकात् ॥

3. The words denoting house, are end-acute, provided they are not in the Feminine. This is an exception to Phit II. 3. Thus गेहम् । Why do we say not in the Feminine ? Observe शाला which is first-acute, because of this prohibition.

४ । गुटस्य च ॥

अन्त उदात्तः स्यात्सु स्त्रियाम् । गुटम् । 'अस्त्रियाम्' किम् । 'आन्त्रेभ्यस्ते गुदाभ्यः । स्वाङ्गशिष्टामदन्तानाम्' इत्यन्तरङ्गमाद्युदात्तत्वम् । ततष्ठाप् ॥

4. So also the word गुट, but not in the feminine, is end-acute. As गुटम् । But in the feminine it is first-acute by Phit II. 6. and then टाप् is added. As आन्त्रेभ्यस्ते गुदाभ्यः । (Rig Veda X. 136. 3).

५ । ध्यपूर्वस्य स्त्रीविषयस्य ॥

धकारयकारपूर्वोऽद्योऽन्त्योऽच् स उदात्तः । अन्तर्ध । 'स्त्रीविषयवर्ण-' इति प्राप्ते । ह्याया माया । ज्ञाया । 'यान्तस्यान्त्यात्पूर्वम्' इत्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते । 'स्त्री' इति किम् । याह्यम् । यजन्त-त्यादाद्युदात्तत्वम् । 'विषयप्रहणम्' किम् । इभ्या । त्रिय्या । 'यतोऽनाघः' (३०१) इत्याद्युदात्त इभ्यशब्दः । त्रिय्यशब्दस्तु 'यान्तस्यान्त्यात्पूर्वम्' इति मध्योदात्तः ॥

5. A feminine word ending in a vowel and preceded by **घ्** and **घृ** is end-acute; as **अन्तर्घा** । This is an exception to Phit II. 20. So also **छायौ, मायौ, जायौ** । This is an exception to III. 13 which would have made these first acute. Why feminine? Observe **बाह्वम्** which is first-acute, because it ends in the affix **यञ्** । Why have we used the word **विषय** in the sūtra? The rule is confined to those words only which are always feminine, and have no corresponding masculine form. Therefore, not here, **इभ्या, क्षत्रिया** । The word **इभ्य** is first-acute by VI. 1. 213, S. 3701. and **क्षत्रिय** is middle-acute by Phit III. 13.

६ । खान्तस्याशमादेः ॥

नखम् । उखा । सुखम् । दुःखम् । नखस्य 'स्वाङ्गशिटाम्-' इत्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते । उखा नाम भाण्डविशेषः । तस्य कृत्रिमत्वात् 'खय्युचर्यौ कृत्रिमाख्या चेत्' इत्युवर्णस्योदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते । सुखदुःखयोः 'नवविषयस्य-' इति प्राप्ते । 'अशमादेः' किम् । शिखा । सुखम् । सुखस्य 'स्वाङ्गशिटाम्-' इति 'नवविषयस्य-' इति वा आद्युदात्तत्वम् । शिखायास्तु 'शीङः खो निद्ध स्वश्च' इत्युणादिषु निस्वोक्तेरन्तरङ्गत्वाद्वापः प्रागेव 'स्वाङ्गशिटाम्-' इति वा बोध्यम् ॥

6. A word ending in **ख** is end-acute, provided it does not begin with a **श** or **म** । Thus **नखम्, सुखम्, दुःखम्, उखा** । The word **नख** would have been first-acute by Phit II. 6; **सुख** and **दुःख** would also have been first-acute by Phit II. 3. The word **उखा** which means a pot would have been also first-acute by Phit II. 8. because it is a manufactured article. Why do we say 'if not beginning with **श** or **म**'? Observe **शिखा, मुखम्**, governed by Phit II. 6 or 3.

The word **मुखं** being the name of a part of the human body is first-acute by Phit II. 6. Or because it is a Neuter noun, rule II. 3. of the Phit Sūtras applies and makes it first-acute.

The word **शिखा** is formed by Up. V. 24 with the addition of **ख** to the root **शीङ्** । The affix **ख** being expressly taught as **नित्** makes the word **शिख** first acute before the addition of the feminine **टाप्** as it is an antaraṅga operation, so the word **शिखा** is first acute. Or even by Phit II. 6, it is first-acute.

७ । बंहिष्टवत्सरतिशत्यान्तानाम् ॥

गयामन्त उदात्तः स्यात् । अतिशयेन बहुलो बंहिष्टः । निन्वादाद्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते । 'बंहिष्टो रश्वेः सुवृत् रथेन' । 'यद्बंहिष्टं नातिविधे' इत्यादौ व्यत्ययादाटुदात्तः । संवत्सरः । अव्ययपूर्वपदप्रकृतस्वरोऽत्र बाध्यत इत्याहुः । सप्ततिः । अशीतिः । 'लघावन्ते-' इति प्राप्ते । चत्वारिंशत् । इहापि प्राग्वत् । 'अभ्यूर्णाना प्रभृथस्यायोः' । अव्ययपूर्वपदप्रकृतस्वरोऽत्र बाध्यत इत्याहुः । थायादिसूत्रेण गतार्थमेतत् ॥

7. A word ending in **ति, शत्, थ**, as well as **बंहिष्ट** and **वत्सर** are end-acute. Thus **बंहिष्टः** (superlative of **बहुल**, the **बंह** is substituted by VI. 4. 157). It would have been first-acute, because of the **नित्** affix **इष्टन्** (V. 3. 55). In **बंहिष्ट-रश्वेः सुवृत्ता रथेन**; **यद्बंहिष्टं नातिविधे**, (Rig Veda V. 62. 9), the word is first-acute anomalously. In the word **संवत्सरः**, VI. 2. 2. is debarred, by which the first member would have retained its accent in an Indeclinable compound. With **ति** we have **सप्ततिः, अशीतिः** । This debars Phit II. 19. With **शत्**, we have **चत्वारिंशत्** । Here also Phit II. 19 is set aside. As regards words ending in **थ**

Pāṇini VI, 2. 144. would govern them; as अभ्युर्धात् । प्रभूर्धस्यायोः । (Rig Veda V. 41. 19). Śākaṭāyana's sūtra, therefore, is superfluous so far.

८ । दक्षिणस्य साधौ ॥

अन्त उदात्तः स्यात् । साधुवाचित्वाभावे तु व्यंजस्थ्यायां सर्वनामतया 'स्वाङ्गशिष्टाम्-' इत्याद्युदात्तः । अर्थान्तरे तु 'लघावन्ते-' इति गुरुद्वयात् । 'दक्षिणः सरलोदारपरच्छन्दानवतिषु' इति कोशः ॥

8. The word दक्षिण is end-acute when meaning 'skilful.' As वीणायां दक्षिणः - प्रवीणः । When it has not this significance, it will be first-acute, if it be a Pronoun meaning 'south,' 'right hand.' In this case Phit II 6 would apply. In any other case Phit II. 19 would govern it. The word dakṣiṇa has other meanings, as 'sincere, courteous, submissive, &c.'

९ । स्वाङ्गाख्यायामाद्रिवा ॥

इह दक्षिणस्याद्यन्ती पर्यायिणोदात्ती स्तः । दक्षिणो बाहुः । 'आख्यापहणम्' किम् । प्रत्यङ्मुखस्यासौनस्य वामपाणिर्दक्षिणो भवति ॥

9. The first-syllable of दक्षिण is optionally acute, when it is the name of a limb. When it means right hand, it may be either end-acute or first acute. As दक्षिणो बाहुः or दक्षिणो बाहुः । Why is the word ākhyā used in the sūtra? In order to prevent the application of the rule to the 'left' hand, though in one case it will be called dakṣiṇa, if a person sits facing west, for then his left hand will point towards dakṣiṇa or south, and may be called dakṣiṇa bāhu or the arm pointing towards south.

१० । छन्दसि च ॥

अस्वाङ्गार्थमिदम् । दक्षिणः । इह पर्यायिणाद्यन्ताद्युदात्ती ॥

10. In the Cihandas also the word dakṣiṇa may be either first or end-acute. This is the case even when it does not mean right arm. As दक्षिणाश्वं दक्षिणा गां दंटाति दक्षिणा चन्द्रमुत यद्धिरेण्यं दक्षिणाचं वनुते यो न आत्मा दक्षिणां वर्म कणुते विज्ञानम् (Rig Veda X. 107. 7).

११ । कृष्णस्यामृगाख्या चेत् ॥

अन्त उदात्तः । 'वर्णान्तरण-' इत्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते अन्तोदात्तो विधीयते । कृष्णानां व्रीहीणाम् । 'कृष्णो नो नाव वृषभः' । मृगाख्यायां तु । कृष्णो रात्र्ये ॥

11. The word कृष्ण is end-acute, if it is not the name of an animal. This is an exception to Phit II. 10. As कृष्णानां व्रीहीणाम् । कृष्णो नो नाव वृषभः । But when denoting a wild animal, we have कृष्णो रात्र्ये ॥

१२ । वा नामधेयस्य ॥

कृष्णस्येत्येष । 'अयं वा' कृष्णो अश्विना । कृष्णर्षिः ॥

12. Optionally so, when Kṛṣṇa is a Proper Name. As अयं वा कृष्णो अश्विना इत्येते वाजिनीवसू (Rig. VIII. 85. 3).

'The Rishi Kṛṣṇa invokes you two, O Asvinas ! O Lords of riches.'

१३ । शुक्ल गौरयोरारिः ॥

नित्यमुदात्तः स्यादित्येके । चेत्यनुवर्तत इति तु युक्तम् । 'सरो' गौरो यथापि वा' इत्यत्रान्तादात्तदर्शनात् ॥

13. The first-syllable of शुक्र and गौर is acute. Some say it is a compulsory rule and not an optional one. Others read the anuvṛitti of वा into it and make it optional. According to the first opinion, the rule is confined to Proper Names : and therefore in सरो' गौरो यथापि वा (R̥g Veda VIII. 45. 24), it is properly end-acute, as it is not a Name.

१४ । अंगुष्ठोदकवक्रवशानां छन्दस्यन्तः ॥

अङ्गुष्ठस्य स्वाङ्गानामकुर्वादीनाम्' इति द्वितीयस्योदात्तत्वे प्राप्तेऽन्तोदात्तार्थ आरम्भः । वशापहर्णं नियमार्थं छन्दस्येवेति । तेन लोक आद्युदात्ततेत्याहुः ॥

14. The finals of अङ्गुष्ठ उदक, वक्र and वशा are acute in the Chhandas. The word अङ्गुष्ठं would have been middle-acute by Phit III. 3, this ordains final-acute. So also with वक्रं । It would have been first-acute by Phit II. 7. The word वशा is employed for the sake of नियमाः it is end-acute in the Vedas only; in the classical language, it is first-acute.

१५ । पृष्ठस्य च ॥

छन्दस्यन्त उदात्तः स्याद्वा भाषायाम् । पृष्ठम् ॥

15. And the word पृष्ठ is end-acute in the Chhandas. In the classical language, it is optionally so, i.e., it is first-acute also by Phit II. 6. As पृष्ठम् or पृष्ठम् ॥

१६ । अर्जुनस्य तृणाख्या चेत् ॥

'उनर्भवन्तानाम्' इत्याद्युदात्तस्यापवादः ॥

16. अर्जुं is end-acute, if it is the name of straw. This is an exception to Phit II. 9. Why do we say 'when it is the name of straw'? Observe अर्जुनो वृक्षः where it is first-acute by Phit II. 9.

१७ । अर्यस्य स्वाम्याख्या चेत् ॥

'यान्तस्यात्पृथम्' इति 'यतोऽनावः, (३७०९) इति वाद्युदात्ते प्राप्ते वचनम् ॥

17. अर्यं is end-acute, when it means 'master.' Otherwise it is first-acute by Phit III. 13 or Pāṇini VI. 1. 213 S. 3701. See also Pāṇini III. 1. 103. for the word अर्य and its vārtika.

१८ । आशाया अदिगाख्या चेत् ॥

दिगाख्याव्यावृत्त्यर्थमिदम् । अत एव ज्ञापकादिक्रपर्यायस्याद्युदात्तता । 'इन्द्र आशाभ्यस्वर्तु' ॥

18. आशा is end-acute, if it is not the name of a direction. This implies that when आशा means 'direction' then it is first-acute. As इन्द्र आशाभ्यस्वर्तु मर्वाभ्यो अभयं करतु । जेता शत्रून् विचर्यैषिणः । (R̥g. II. 41. 12). 'May the wise Indra, conqueror of enemies, make us free from fear from all directions or sides.' Here आशा means direction.

१९ । नक्षत्राणामाश्रिषयाणाम् ॥

अन्त उदात्तः स्यात् । आश्रिषेवानुधादीनां 'लघावन्ते-' इति प्राप्ते ज्येष्ठाश्रिष्याश्रिष्यानामिष्टन्नन्त्येनाद्युदात्ते प्राप्ते वचनम् ॥

19. The names of Asterisms, which take the feminine affix **आ**, are end-acute. The asterisms **अत्रलेर्षा**, **अनुरार्षा**, &c. would have been otherwise governed by Phit II. 19; while **ज्येष्ठा**, **श्रविष्ठा**, **धनिष्ठा**, being formed by **इष्ठन्**, would have been first-acute by **नित्** accent.

२० । न कुपूर्वस्य कृत्तिकाख्या चेत् ॥

अन्त उदात्तो न । कृत्तिका नक्षत्रम् । केचित्तु कुपूर्वो य आत्प्रद्विषयाणामिति व्याख्याय 'आर्षिका' 'बहुलिका' इत्यत्राप्यन्तोदात्तो नेत्याहुः ॥

20. Not so, if the final letter is **का** and the asterism is the name of *Kṛit-tikā*. The final of **कृत्तिका** is not acute; it is first-acute by Phit II. 19. As **कृत्तिका नक्षत्रम्**. Others hold that the words ending in **का** in the feminine are not end-acute; and they mention **आर्षिका**, **बहुलिका** ॥

२१ । घृतादीनां च ॥

अन्त उदात्तः । 'घृत' मिमिक्षे आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

21. **घृत** and the rest are end-acute. As **घृत** 'मिमिक्षे **घृतमस्य** योनिं **घृते** श्रितो **घृतमस्य** धामं', (Rig. II. 3. 11). 'I sprinkle ghee on fire, ghee is its birth-place, ghee is its abode of rest, and ghee its luminosity &c.' This is an *Akṛitigaṇa*: all words which are end-acute, and do not fall under any other rule, should be classified under the *Ghṛitādi* class.

२२ । ज्येष्ठकनिष्ठयोर्वयसि ॥

अन्त उदात्तः स्यात् । 'ज्येष्ठ आह चमसा' । 'कनिष्ठ आह चतुरः' । 'वयसि' किम् । ज्येष्ठः श्रेष्ठः । कनिष्ठोऽल्पिकः । इह नित्त्वादाद्युदात्त एव ॥

22. **ज्येष्ठ** and **कनिष्ठ** are end-acute when meaning 'age—oldest and youngest.' As **ज्येष्ठ आह चमसा** दवा कर्ति कनीयान् त्रौन् कणावामेत्याह । **कनिष्ठ आह चतुरस्करति** त्वष्टं ऋभवन्तत् पनयद् चो वः । (Rig. IV. 33. 5). Here **ज्येष्ठ** means the 'eldest,' and refers to *Ribhu*, **कनीयान्** refers to his younger brother *Bibhvā*, and **कनिष्ठ** refers to the youngest brother *Vāja*. **ज्य** in **ज्येष्ठ** here is the substitute of **वृद्ध** (V. 3. 62) and **कन्** for **युवन्** in **कनिष्ठ**: by V. 3. 64. Why do we say 'when meaning age'? Observe **ज्येष्ठ** = **श्रेष्ठ** derived from **प्रशस्य** (V. 3. 61), and **कनिष्ठ** from **अल्प** (V. 3. 64) = **अल्पिकः**. These are first-acute by **नित्** accent. The present sūtra is thus an exception to **नित्** accent.

२३ । विल्वतिष्ययोः स्वरितो वा ॥

अनयोरन्तः स्वरितो वा स्यात् । पक्ष उदात्तः ॥

इति फिट्मूत्रेषु प्रथमः पादः ॥

23. The finals of **विल्व** and **तिष्य** are optionally *svarita*. In the other alternative they will be acute. As **विल्व** or **विल्व**, **तिष्य** or **तिष्य** ॥

CHAPTER II.

१ । अथादिः प्राक् शकटैः ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । 'शकटिशकट्योः' इति यावत् ॥

1. From this up to the end of Chapter III, the word आदि exerts the governing influence. From this sūtra up to शकटिशकट्य (IV. 1) exclusive, the accent is on the first syllable of the words taught.

२ । ह्रस्वान्तस्य स्त्रीविषयस्य ॥

आदिरुदात्तः स्यात् । बलिः । तनुः ॥

2. A word ending in a light vowel, and used always in the feminine, is first-acute. As बलिः, तनुः ॥

३ । नञ्विषयस्यानिसन्तस्य ॥

'वने न वा यः' । इसन्तस्य तु सर्पिः । नवन्पुंसकम् ॥

3. An invariable neuter noun, with the exception of one ending in इस्, is first-acute. The word नप् means नपुंसक or Neuter. As वने न वायः (Rig Veda X. 29. 1). But सर्पिस्, शुचिस्, अर्चिस् &c. ending in इस् are end-acute.

४ । तृणधान्यानां च द्व्यपाम् ॥

द्व्यचामित्यर्थः । कुशाः । काशाः । माषाः । तिलाः । वहुचां तु गोधूमाः ॥

4. Words denoting 'straw' and 'grain' are first-acute when consisting of two syllables. The word द्व्यप् = द्व्यच् । As कुशाः, काशाः, माषाः, तिलाः । But गोधूमाः is acute on the middle by Phit II. 19. The word अप् is the Name given to vowels by Ancient Grammarians.

५ । ञः संख्यायाः ॥

पञ्च । चत्वारः ॥

5. A Numeral ending in न् or र् is first-acute. As पञ्च, चत्वारः । In चत्वारः the word is middle-acute by आम accent; see Pāṇini VII. 1. 98. The proper example is चतुष्कपालः । For चतुर्ः is end acute by VI. 1. 167, चतुर्भिः is middle-acute by VI. 1. 180. चतुर्णाम् is governed by VI. 1. 179. Hence example of a compound : which is first acute by VI. 2. 29.

६ । स्वाङ्गशिष्टामदन्तानाम् ॥

शिष्ट सर्वनाम । 'कर्णाभ्यां कुबुकादधि' । 'श्रोष्ठाविव मधु' । 'विश्वो विहायाः' ॥

6. The words denoting bodily organs and ending in अ, as well as the Pronouns are first-acute. The शिष्ट is the name given to Pronouns (सर्वनाम) by ancient Grammarians. As कर्णाभ्यां कुबुकादधि, (Rig Veda X. 163. 1); श्रोष्ठाविव मधुः, (Rig Veda II. 39. 6) विश्वो विहायाः (Rig Veda I. 28. 6).

७ । प्राणिनां कुपूर्वम् ॥

कवर्गात्पूर्वं आदिरुदात्तः । काकः । उकः । 'शुकेषुमे' । प्राणिनाम् किम् ? क्षीं सर्पिर्मधूदकम् ॥

7. The syllable preceding the क is acute in the names of animate beings. Thus काकः, उकः, शुकेषुमे (Rig Veda I. 50. 12). Why do we say 'of living beings'? Observe क्षीं सर्पिर्मधूदकम् । (Rig Veda IX. 67. 32). Here उदक is end-acute by Phit II. 14.

८ । खय्यवर्णं कृत्रिमाख्या चेत् ॥

खयि पर उवर्णमुदात्तं स्यात् । कन्दुकः ॥

8. The उ preceding a खय् (th. surd letter) is acute, when the word is the name of an artificial thing. As कन्दुकः ॥

९ । उनर्वचन्तानाम् ॥

उन । 'वरुणं वो रिशाद'सम् । ऋ । 'स्वसारं त्वा कण्वे' । वन । 'पोवाँनं मेघम्' ॥

9. The words ending in उन, ऋ, and वन are first acute. As उनः—वरुणं वो रिशाद'सम् (Rig Veda V. 64. 1). ऋ—स्वसारं त्वा कण्वे (Rig Veda X. 108. 9). वन-पोवाँनं मेघम् (Rig Veda X. 27. 17).

१० । वर्णानां तण्णितिनितान्तानाम् ॥

आदिरुदात्तः । एतः । ह्रिणः । श्रितिः । पृथिनः । हरित् ॥

10. Words denoting color are first-acute, when they end in ह्र, ण, ति, नि, and त् । Thus ह्रितः, ह्रिणः, श्रितिः, पृथिनः, हरित् ॥

११ । ह्रस्वान्तस्य ह्रस्वमनुत्ताच्छील्ये ॥

ऋदुर्ज्यं ह्रस्वान्तस्यादिभूतं ह्रस्वमुदात्तं स्यात् । मुनिः ।

11. The initial short vowel is udatta when the word ends with a short vowel, and denotes 'habit' : but not so when the initial vowel is short ऋ । As मुनिः । But not so in ह्रस्वः ॥

१२ । अत्तस्यादेवस्य ॥

आदिरुदात्तः । 'तस्य नात्तः' । देवने तु । 'अत्तेर्मा दीव्यः' ॥

12. The word अत्त is first-acute, when not meaning 'to gamble.' As तस्य नात्तः (Rig Veda I. 164. 13). But when it means देवन् or play, we have अत्तेर्मा दीव्यः (Rig Veda X. 34. 13).

१३ । अर्धस्यासमद्वयाने ॥

अर्धं ग्रामस्य । समेऽशके तु अर्धे पिप्यल्याः ॥

13. The word अर्ध is first-acute when meaning 'not equal.' As अर्धोग्रामस्य. But when it denotes equal portions, i. e. when it means 'half' : we have अर्धे पिप्यल्याः ॥

१४ । पीतद्वर्णानाम् ॥

आदिरुदात्तः । पीतदुः । सरलः ॥

14. The words denoting पीतदु or yellow-trees are first-acute. As पीतदुः । सरलः ॥

१५ । ग्रामादीनां च ॥

ग्रामः । सोमः । ग्रामः ॥

15. The words ग्राम and the rest are first-acute. As ग्रामः, सोमः, ग्रामः ॥

१६ । लुवन्तस्योपमेयनामधेयस्य ॥

उञ्चैव उञ्चा । 'स्फिगन्तस्य' इति पाठान्तरम् । स्फिगिति लुपः प्राचां संज्ञा ॥

16. The words ending in a लुप्, elided-affix denoting the name of the thing compared are first-acute. Another reading is रिफगन्तस्य । The रिफक् is the name given by Eastern Grammarians to लुप्, elision. Thus चँच्वा in which the affix कन् (V. 3. 96) is elided by V. 3. 98. Why do we say 'a लुप्, ending word'? Observe अग्निर्माणावकः ॥

१७ । न वृत्तपर्वतविशेषव्याघ्रासिंहमहिषाणाम् ॥

यथामुपमेयनाम्नामाटिठ्ठदात्ते । न । तान इव तानः । मेरुख मेरुः । व्याघ्रः । सिंहः । महिषः ॥

17. The words denoting trees and mountains, and the words व्याघ्र, सिंह and महिष are not first-acute when objects of comparison. The word विशेष qualifies वृत्त and पर्वत, and means species of trees and mountains, and not the word-forms वृत्त and पर्वत । व्याघ्र &c., are word-forms. Thus तान इव तानः, मेरुख मेरुः, व्याघ्रः, सिंहः, महिषः । But when we have वृत्त इवायं वृत्तः, पर्वत इवायं पर्वतः, then these two words would be first-acute by the preceding sūtra.

१८ । राजविशेषस्य यमन्वा चेत् ॥

यमन्या वृद्धः । आङ्गामुदाहरणम् । आङ्गाः प्रत्युदाहरणम् ॥

18. The name of any particular kingdom, ending with a लुप्, elided comparative affix, is first-acute, provided that the word has a Vṛiddhi letter in its first syllable. The word यमन्वा = वृद्ध । Thus आङ्गः, but आङ्गाः is counter-example, because it is not a Vṛiddham.

१९ । लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बहुषो गुरुः ॥

अन्ते लघौ द्वयोश्च लघ्वोः सतोर्वृद्धकस्य गुरुरुदात्तः । कल्याणः । कोलाहलः ॥

19. A word whose final syllable is light, or a polysyllabic word whose two syllables are light, gets the acute on the heavy syllable, wherever that may be. Thus कल्याण or कल्याणः; कोलाहलः or कोलहलः ॥

२० । स्त्रीविषयवर्णान्तुपूर्वाणाम् ॥

यथात्रयाणामाद्युदात्तः । स्त्रीविषयम् । मल्लिका । वर्षाः । श्येनी । हरिणी । अक्षुशब्दात् ।

वर्षास्त्येषां त अक्षुपूर्वाः । तरक्षुः ॥

20. The words which are invariably feminine, the words denoting color and words standing before the word अक्षु are first-acute. Feminine words; as—मल्लिका; denoting color, as—श्येनी, हरिणी; followed by अक्षु as—तरक्षुः ॥

२१ । शकुनीनां च लघु पूर्वम् ॥

पूर्वं लघु उदात्तं स्यात् । कुक्कुटः । तित्तिरिः ॥

21. The words denoting birds have the acute on the light syllable preceding the final. Thus कुक्कुटः, तित्तिरिः ॥

२२ । नक्तु प्राण्याख्यायाम् ॥

यथालक्षणं प्राप्तमुदात्तत्वं न । वसन्तः । ककलासः ॥

22. The rules relating to acute accent mentioned, however, do not apply to the names of seasons and animals. As वसन्तः । ककलासः ॥

२३ । धान्यानां च वृद्धान्तानाम् ॥

आदिरुदात्तः । कान्तानाम् । श्यामाकाः । पान्तानाम् । राजमाषाः ॥

23. The words denoting the names of corns, and having a Vṛiddhi vowel in their first syllable and ending with a क or a ष, are first-acute. Thus श्यामाकाः, राजमाषाः ending in क and ष respectively. These are names of corns. These are the examples given by the author of the Siddhanta Kaumudī. श्यामाकाः is however governed by Phit III. 18. नैषादकाः would be a better example. According to another recension, the word च does not occur in the sūtra. In the Phit-vṛitti the sūtra is explained as meaning 'The heavy vowel of words denoting corn is acute, &c.' Thus the accent may be नैषादकाः or नैषादकाः, कालाक्षाः or कालाक्षाः ॥

२४ । जनपदशब्दानामपान्तानाम् ॥

आदिरुदात्तः । केकयः ॥

24. The words denoting countries and ending in a vowel, are first-acute. As केकयः । According to some, the accent of this word is governed by Phit II. 13 Their examples are श्रैङ्गाः, वैङ्गाः ॥

२५ । हयादीनामसंयुक्तलान्तानामन्तः पूर्वे वा ॥

हर्याति हलसंज्ञा । पलनम् । शलनम् । 'हयादीनाम्' किम् ? एकलः । 'संयुक्त-' इति किम् ? मल्लः ॥

25. A word beginning with a consonant, and ending with the letter ल, not being a conjunct consonant, has acute on the first syllable, or optionally on the penultimate syllable. Thus पलनम् or पलनम्, शलनम्, or शलनम् । The word ह् in the sūtra is equivalent to हल् । Why do we say 'beginning with a हल्'? Observe एकलः । Why do we say 'a non-conjunct 'ल'? See मल्लः । Some read the anuvṛitti of the word जनपदानां into this sūtra. They give the examples पञ्चालाः, कोशलः, and the counter-example पलनम् ॥

२६ । इगन्तानां च द्व्यपाम् ॥

आदिरुदात्तः । कृषिः ॥

इति फिदसूत्रेषु द्वितीय पाठः ॥

26. A word ending in इ, उ ऋ or ल long or short, is first-acute, when it consists of two syllables. Thus कृषिः । Some read the anuvṛitti of the word जनपदानाम् into this sūtra: and so their examples are कुरुवः and चेदयः (कुरु and चेदि), and their counter-example is कृषिः । Because कृषिः is found to be end-acute in अग्ने र्मा दीव्यः कृषिमित्कृषस्य (Rig Veda X. 34. 13).

CHAPTER III.

१ । अथ द्वितीयं प्रागीपात् ॥

'ईषान्तस्य हलादेः-' इत्यतः प्राग्विद्वितीयाधिकारः ॥

1. Up to ईषान्तस्य &c, (III. 17) exclusive, the words 'second syllable' have governing force. In all rules up to sūtra 16 inclusive of this Chapter, the words 'second syllable' should be supplied.

२ । त्र्यचां प्राङ्मकरात् ॥

‘मकरवृद्ध-’ इत्यतः प्राक् यचामित्यधिकारः ॥

2. ‘Of a word consisting of three syllables’ is the phrase to be supplied in the following sūtras up to मकर &c. Sūtra 8.

३ । स्वाङ्गानामकुर्वादीनाम् ॥

कवर्गरेफवकारादीनि वर्जयित्वा त्र्यचां स्वाङ्गानां द्वितीयमुदात्तम् । ललाटम् । कुर्वादीनां तु कपोलः । रसना । वदनम् ॥

3. Words consisting of three syllables and denoting limbs (or bodily organs) get the acute on their second syllable, provided that they do not begin with a guttural, a र or a व । As ललाटम् । But the guttural-beginning कपोलः is middle acute by Phit II. 19 and रसना and वदनं are first-acute by Phit II. 6.

४ । मादीनां च ॥

मलयः । मरः ॥

4. A trisyllabic word beginning with म has acute on the second syllable ; As मलयः । मरः । महन्द्रः ॥

५ । शादीनां शाकानाम् ॥

शीतन्या । शतपुष्पा ॥

5. A tri-syllabic word beginning with श and denoting vegetables, has acute on the second. As शीतन्या । शतपुष्पा । Some read the sūtra as सादीनाम् and illustrate it by सर्षपा ॥

६ । पान्तानां गुर्वादीनाम् ॥

पादपः । आतपः । लघ्वादीनां तु । अनूपम् । दध्यचांतु । नीपम् ॥

6. A tri-syllabic word ending in प and beginning with a heavy syllable has acute on the second. As पादपः, आतपः । But अनूपम् (VI. 2. 189), because the first-syllable is light : and नीपम् (VI. 2. 192), because the word consists of two syllables.

७ । युतान्यण्यन्तानाम् ॥

युते । अयुतम् । अग्नि । धमनिः । अणि । विपर्णि ॥

7. A tri-syllabic word ending in युत, अग्नि and अणि has acute on the second. As अयुतम्, धमनिः, विपर्णि ॥

८ । मकरवृद्धपारेवतवितस्तेत्त्वार्जिद्राक्षाकलोमाकाष्ठापेष्ठाकाशीनामादिर्वा ॥

श्यामादिर्द्वितीयो वोदात्तः । मकरः । वृद्ध इत्यादि ॥

8. Either the first or the second syllable of these may have the acute : मकर (or मकर), वृद्ध (or वृद्ध), पारेवत (or पारेवत), वितस्त (or वितस्त), ईत्तु (or इत्तु), आर्जि (or आर्जि), द्राक्षा (or द्राक्षा), कला (or कला), उमा (or उमा), काष्ठा (or काष्ठा), पेष्ठा (or पेष्ठा), काशी (or काशी) ॥

८ । कृन्दासि च ॥

अमकराद्यर्थ आरम्भः । लक्ष्यानुसारादादिर्द्वितीयं चोदात्तं ज्ञेयम् ॥

9. In the Chhandas, several other words than मकर &c., have acute either on the first or on the second.

१० । कर्दमादीनां च ॥

आदिर्द्वितीयं वोदात्तम् ॥

10. The words कर्दमा &c., have acute either on the first or on the second. As कर्दमा (or कर्दमा), कुलटा (or कुलटा), उदकः or उदकः, गान्धारिः or गान्धारिः ॥

११ । सुगन्धितेजनस्य ते वा ॥

आदिर्द्वितीयं तेशब्दश्चेति त्रयः पर्यायिणोदात्ताः । सुगन्धितेजनाः ॥

11. The first, second or the fourth syllable of सुगन्धितेजन may get the acute-accent. ते means the syllable ते of this word. Thus सुगन्धितेजनाः or सुगन्धितेजनाः or सुगन्धितेजना ॥

१२ । नपः फलान्तानाम् ॥

आदिर्द्वितीयं वोदात्तम् । राजादनफलम् ॥

12. Of a neuter noun ending in फल, the first or the second syllable may be acute. The word नप् means नपुंसक or Neuter. Thus राजादनफलम् or राजादनफलम् ॥

१३ । यान्तस्यान्त्यात्पूर्वम् ॥

कुलायः ॥

13. A word ending in य has acute on the syllable preceding such य । As कुलायः ॥

१४ । यान्तस्य च नालघुनी ॥

नाशब्दो लघु च उदात्ते स्तः । सनाथा सभा ॥

14. A word-ending in य has acute on the syllable ना (if any) and on the light syllable that may immediately precede it. As सनाथा सभा । Others read this sūtra as यान्तस्य च नः लघुनी 'a word ending in आ and having ना or a light syllable preceding such आ has acute on such ना and the light vowel.' They give examples of नाना, दिवा, सुधा ॥

१५ । शिशुमारोदुम्बरबलीवर्दीप्रारपूरुवसां च ॥

अन्त्यात्पूर्वमुदात्तं द्वितीयं वा ॥

15. The following words have acute either on the penultimate or the second syllable :—शिशुमारः (or शिशुमारः or शिशुमारः or शिशुमारः), उदुम्बरः (or उदुम्बरः), बलीवर्दः (or बलीवर्दः), उष्टारः (another reading is उष्टारः), पुरुरवसः (or पुरुरवसः).

१६ । सांकाश्यक्राश्रित्यनासिक्यदावाघाटानाम् ॥

द्वितीयमुदात्तं वा ॥

16. The second syllables of the following are optionally acute. सांकाश्यः (formed by शय of IV. 2. 80); so also क्राम्यित्यः, नासिक्यः, and दावाघाटः । See Vārtika द्वारावाहन under III. 2. 49, S. 2966.

१७ । ईपान्तस्य हयादेरादिर्वा ॥

हलीषा । लाङ्गलीषा ॥

17. A word ending in ईषा and beginning with a consonant, may optionally have acute on the first syllable. As ह्लीषा, लाङ्गलीषा ॥

१८ । उशीरदाशेरकपालपलालशैवालश्यामाकशरीरशरावहृदयहिरण्यारण्यापत्य-
देवराणाम् ॥

श्यामादिऋदात्तः स्यात् ॥

18. The following have acute on the first उशीरः, दाशेरः, कपालः, पलालः, शैवालः, श्यामाकः, शरीरः, शरावः, हृदयः, हिरण्यः, अरण्याः, अपत्यः, देवरः ॥

१९ । महिष्याषाठयोर्जायेष्टकाख्या चेत् ॥

आदिऋदात्तः । महिषी जाया । आषाठा उपदधाति ॥

इति फिट्मूत्रेषु तृतीयः पादः ॥

19. The word महिषी when meaning 'queen,' and आषाठा when it is the name of a sacrifice are first acute. As महिषी जाया । आषाठा उपदधाति ॥

CHAPTER IV.

१ । शकटिशकट्यरत्तरमत्तरं पर्यायेण ॥

उदात्तम् । शकटिः । शकटी ॥

1. Every syllable of the words शकटि and शकटी is acute by turns. Thus शकटिः, शकटिः, शकटिः । शकटीः, शकटीः, and शकटीः ॥

२ । गोष्ठजस्य ब्राह्मणानामधेयस्य ॥

अत्तरमत्तरं पर्यायेणोदात्तम् । गोष्ठजो ब्राह्मणः । अन्यत्र गोष्ठजः पशुः । ऊदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरेणान्तोदात्तः ॥

2. So also the word गोष्ठज, when it is the name of a Brāhmaṇa. As गोष्ठजः, गोष्ठजः or गोष्ठजो ब्राह्मणः । Otherwise it will be always end-acute by ऊदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वर (VI. 2. 139), as गोष्ठजः पशुः ॥

३ । पारावतस्योपोत्तमवर्जम् ॥

शेषं क्रमेणोदात्तम् । पारावतः ॥

3. So also the word पारावत, with the exception of its penultimate syllable. As पारावतः, पारावतः and पारावतः । But the penultimate syllable व is never acute.

४ । धूम्रजानुमुञ्जकेशकालवालस्यालीपाकानामधूम्रजलस्थानाम् ॥

एषां चतुर्णां धूम्रभृतींश्चतुरो वर्जयित्वा शिष्टानि क्रमेणोदात्तानि । धूम्रजानुः । मुञ्जकेशः । कालवालः । स्यालीपाकः ॥

4. So also the words धूम्रजानु with the exception of धू, मुञ्जकेश with the exception of ज, कालवाल with the exception of ल, and स्यालीपाक with the exception of स्या get acute in turn on every syllable. Thus धूम्रजानुः, धूम्रजानुः, धूम्रजानुः ।

मुं^० जकेशः, मुंजकेशः, मुज्जकेशः । कालवालः, कालवाँलः । स्थालीपाँकः, स्थालीपाकः or स्थालीपाकः ॥

५ । कपिकेशहरिकेशयोश्चन्द्रसि ॥

कपिकेशः । हरिकेशः ॥

5. In the Chhandas, the words कपिकेश and हरिकेश get acute on every syllable in turn. As कपिकेशः, कपिकेशः, कपिकेशः, कपिकेशः । So also with हरिकेशः ॥

६ । न्यङ्स्वरौ स्वरितौ ॥

स्यष्टम् । न्यङुत्तानः । 'व्यचक्षयत्स्वः' ॥

6. The words न्यङ् and स्वर have svarita accent. As न्यङुत्तानः । व्यचक्षयत् स्वंः (Rig Veda II. 24. 3).

७ । न्यंबुद्व्यल्कशयोरादिः ॥

स्वरितः स्यात् ॥

7. The first syllables of न्यंबूद and व्यल्कश are svarita.

८ । तिल्यशिक्यमत्यकार्पर्यधान्यक्रन्याराजन्यमनुष्याणामन्तः ॥

स्वरितः स्यात् । तिलानां भवनं क्षेत्रं तिल्यम् । वैश्वानर्या शिक्यमादत्ते । प्रभिजायमत्यम-
न्यास्यति । वज्रः कार्पर्योवावज्रेण । 'यतेनावः' (३१०९) इति प्राप्ते ॥

8. The finals of the following words are svarita; तिल्यं, शिक्यं, मत्यं, कार्पर्यं धान्यं, क्रन्यां, राजन्यं, मनुष्यं । The word तिल्यम् = तिलानां भवनं क्षेत्रं । वैश्वानर्या शिक्य-
मादत्ते, प्रभिजायमत्यमन्यास्यति, वज्रः कार्पर्योवावज्रेण । Some of these are exceptions to VI. 1. 213.

९ । विल्वभक्ष्यवीर्याणि कुन्दसि ॥

अन्तस्वरितानि । ततो विल्व उदतिष्ठत् ॥

9. In the Chhandas the following words are finally svarita : विल्वं, भक्ष्यं, वीर्यं । As ततो विल्व उदतिष्ठत् ॥

१० । त्वरवसमसिस्रैत्यनुच्चानि ॥

स्त्रुरित्त्वत् । 'उत् त्वः पश्यन्' । 'नभेन्तामन्यके समे' । 'सिमस्मै' ॥

10. The words त्वत्, त्व, सम, and सिम are wholly anudatta. As स्त्रुरित्त्वत् (Rig Veda VII. 101 3), उत् त्वः पश्यन् (Rig Veda X. 71. 4), नभेन्ताम न्यके समे (Rig Veda VIII. 39. 1), सिमस्मै (Rig Veda I. 115. 4).

११ । सिमस्याथर्वणेऽन्त उदात्तः ॥

अथर्वण इति प्रायिकम् । तत्र दृष्टस्येत्येवं परं वा । तेन 'वासस्तनुते सिमस्मै' इत्युखेदेऽपि भवत्येव ॥

11. In the Atharva Veda the word सिम is finally acute. The rule is not confined to the Atharva Veda : it is so found in the Rig Veda also. As वासस्त-
नुते सिमस्मै (Rig Veda I. 115. 4).

१२ । निपाता आद्युदात्ताः ॥

स्थादा ।

12. The Indeclinables are first acute. As स्वीच्चा ॥

१३ । उपसर्गाश्चाभिवर्जम् ॥

13. The upasargas are first-acute with the exception of अभि ॥

१४ । एवादीनामन्तः ॥

एवमादीनामिति पाठान्तरम् । एव । एवम् । नूनम् । 'सह ते पुत्र सूरिभिः' । षष्ठस्य तृतीये सह । 'सहस्य सः-' (१००६) इति प्रकरणे सहशब्द आद्युदात्त इति तु प्राञ्चः । तच्चिन्त्यम् ॥

14. The words एव and the rest are finally acute. Another reading is एवमादीनाम् । As एवम्, नूनम्, सहम् । सहं ते पुत्र सूरिभिः । In VI 3. 78 S. 1009, the word सह् is first-acute according to Kāśikā. Thus there is an apparent contradiction.

१५ । वाचादीनामुभावुदात्तौ ॥

उभौ गृहणामनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जमित्यस्य वाधाय ॥

15. Both syllables of the words वाच and the rest are acute. This debars the general rule by which, in one word only one syllable is accented. (VI. 1. 158).

१६ । चादयोऽनुदात्ताः ॥

स्यष्टम् ॥

16. The words च and the rest are anudatta.

१७ । यथेति पादान्ते ॥

'तं नेमिभुवो यथा' । 'पादान्ते' किम् । 'यथानो अदितिः करत्' ॥

17. The word यथा is anudatta at the end of a Pāda or verse. As तं नेमिभुवो यथा (Rig Veda VIII. 75. 5). But यथानो अदितिः करत् where it is not at the end of a verse (Rig Veda I 43. 2).

१८ । प्रकारादिद्विरुक्तौ ॥

परस्यान्त उदात्तः । षट्पटुः ॥

18. A double-word is finally acute when it denotes प्रकार &c. Thus षट्पटुः This would have been finally acute by Pāṇini's rule also ; VIII. 1. 11 and 12.

१९ । शेषं सर्वमनुदात्तं ॥

'शेषं सर्वमनुदात्तम्' । शेषमित्यादिद्विरुक्तस्य परमित्यर्थः । प्रप्रायम् । दिवेदिवे । इति ॥

इति फिदसूत्रेषु तुरीयः पादः ॥

19. All other double-words are anudatta. As प्रप्रायम्, (Rig Veda VII. 8. 4) दिवे दिवे (Rig Veda I. 1. 3). ॥

Here end the Phit Sutras.

अथ प्रत्ययस्वराः ।

CHAPTER III.

AFFIX-ACCENTS—(continued).

३९०८ । आद्युदात्तश्च । ३ । १ । ३ ॥

प्रत्यय आद्युदात्त एव स्यात् । अग्निः । कर्तव्यम् ॥

3708. That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

This sūtra may also be treated as a Paribhāshā or an Adhikāra sūtra. The udātta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix त्व्य has udātta on the first अ, as in कृत्तव्यम् । So also अग्निः formed with the affix नि (Upādi IV. 50),

३९०९ । अनुदात्तो सुप्पितौ । ३ । १ । ४ ॥

पूर्वस्यापवादः । यज्ञस्य । न यो युच्छति । शक्तिपोरनुदात्तत्वे स्वरितप्रक्षये ॥

3709. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicatory *pa* (pit) are anudātta.

This is an exception (apavāda) to the last aphorism. As यज्ञस्य, so also न यो युच्छति (Rig Veda V. 54. 13).

Here the root युच्छप्रमादे is end-acute by VI. 1. 162. To it is added शप्, which becomes svarita, as it is preceded by an udātta (VIII. 4. 66). Then is added तिप्, which becomes monotone by I. 2. 39. S 3668, as it is preceded by a svarita. So the affix तिप्, becomes monotone.

३९१० । चितः । ६ । १ । १६३ ॥

अन्त उदात्तः स्यात् । * चितः सप्रकृतेर्बहुकजर्थम् * । चित्तिप्रत्यये सति प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदायस्यान्त उदात्तो वाच्य इत्यर्थः । 'नभन्तामन्यके समे' । 'यके सरस्वतीमनु । तक्तसु ते' ॥

3710. A stem (formed by an affix or augment or substitute) having an indicatory 'ch', gets acute on the end syllable.

Vārti:—In the cases of affixes having an indicatory च्, the acute accent falls on the final, taking the stem and the affix in an aggregate for the sake of affixes 'bahu' and 'akach'. Thus बहुषटुः । The affix बहुच् is one of those few affixes which are really prefixes, (V. 3. 68). The accent will not, therefore, fall on षु, but on the last syllable of the whole word compounded of the prefix and the base. So also with the affix अकच् । It is added in the middle of the word, but the accent will fall on the end; as उक्कैः (V. 3. 71).

Thus:—नभन्तामन्यके समे (Rig Veda VIII. 39. 1). यके सरस्वतीम् (Rig Veda VIII. 21. 18). तक्तसु ते (Rig Veda I. 133. 4).

३९११ । तद्वितस्य । ६ । १ । १६४ ॥

चितस्तद्वितस्यान्त उदात्तः । पूर्वेषु सिद्धे जित्स्वरवाधनार्थमिदम् । कौञ्जायनाः ॥

3711. A stem formed with a Taddhita-affix having an indicative *ch*, has acute on the end syllable.

Thus कौञ्जायनाः^१ formed by the affix च्फञ् (IV. 1. 98). कुञ्ज + च्फञ् + ज्य = कौञ्जायन्यः, dual कौञ्जायन्यो, pl. कौञ्जायनाः (ज्य being elided by II. 4. 62, and thus giving scope to च्फञ् accent). In this affix there are two indicatory letters च् and ज्; the च् has only one function, namely, regulating the accent according to this rule, while ज् has two functions, one to regulate the accent by VI. 1. 197, and another to cause Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 117. Now arises the question, 'should the word get the accent of च् or of ज्'. The present rule declares that it should get the accent of च् and not of ज्, for the latter finds still a function left to it, while if ज् was to regulate the accent, च् would have no scope.

३७१२ । कितः । ६ । १ । १६५ ॥

कितस्तद्धितस्यान्त उदात्तः । 'यदाग्नेयः' ॥

3712. A stem formed by a Taddhita affix having an indicative *ka* has acute accent on the end syllable.

Thus यदाग्नेयैः । Here the affix ढक is added to अग्नि by IV. 2. 33 S. 1236.

३७१३ । तिसृभ्यो जसः । ६ । १ । १६६ ॥

अन्त उदात्तः । 'तिस्रो द्यावां सवितुः' ॥

3713. The Nominative plural *jas* of *tisri* has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus तिस्रो द्यावः सवितुः (Rig Veda I. 35. 6).

The word त्रि is end-acute; the feminine तिसृ being its substitute would also be end-acute. Before the affix जस्, the ऋ is changed to र by VII. 2. 100. Here VIII. 2. 4 would have made the जस् svarita. This debars that svarita accent. Therefore the word तिस्रैः in the above example is end-acute.

३७१४ । सावैकाचस्तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः । ६ । १ । १६८ ॥

साविति सप्तमीबहुवचनम् । तत्र य एकाच् ततः परा तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरुदात्ता । 'वाचा विरूपः' । सो किम्? राज्ञेत्यादौ एकाचोऽपि राजशब्दात्परस्य मा भूत् । 'राज्ञो नु ते' । एकाच किम्? 'विदधते राजनि त्वे' । तृतीयादिः किम्? 'न ददर्श वाचम्' ॥

3714. The case-affixes of the Instrumental and of the cases that follow it have the acute accent, if the stem in the Locative Plural is monosyllabic.

The word सो (locative of सु) refers to the सु of the Locative plural.

Thus वाचा विरूप । Why do we say 'if the stem in the Locative plural is monosyllabic'? Observe राज्ञो नु ते वरुणस्य ब्रह्म तानि बृहद्गभ्रिन्तव सोम धाम । (Rig Veda I. 91. 3) because the stem in the Locative Pl. of राजन् is not monosyllabic, but dissyllabic; though here it is monosyllabic. Why do we say 'monosyllabic'? Observe विदधते राजनि त्वे (Rig Veda VI. 1. 13). Why do we say 'the Instrumentals and the rest'? Observe न ददर्श वाचं (Rig Veda X. 71. 4). The plural of Locative being taken in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to त्वया and त्वयि, as in

the plural of the Locative they have more than one syllable, though in singular locative their stem has one syllable.

३७१५ । अन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदादन्य तरस्यामनित्य समासे । ६ । १ । १६६ ॥

नित्याधिकारविहितसमासादन्यत्र यदुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तमेकाच् ततः परा तृतीयादि विभक्ति-
रन्तोदात्ता वा स्यात् । परमवाचा ॥

3715. The same case endings may optionally have the acute accent, if the monosyllabic word stands at the end of a compound, and has acute accent on the final, when the compound can be easily unloosened.

The phrases 'एकाच्, and तृतीयादिविभक्तिः are understood here also. The nitya or *invariable* compounds are excluded by this rule. Thus परमवाचा, or परमवाचा, परमवाचेः or वाचे; परमवाचः or वाचैः । So also परमत्वैचा or त्वैचा &c.

३७१६ । अञ्चेश्कृन्दस्य सर्वनामस्थानम् । ६ । १ । १७० ॥

अञ्चैः परा विभक्तिरुदात्ता । 'इन्द्रे दधीचः' । चाविति पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तत्वं प्राप्तं तृतीया-
दिरित्यनुवर्तमानेऽसर्वनामस्थानग्रहणं शस्परिग्रहार्थम् । 'प्रतीचो वाहून्' ॥

3716. In the Chhandas, the case-endings other than the sarvanâmasthâna, get the acute accent when coming after añch.

In the Vedas, a stem ending in the word अञ्च्, has the acute not only on the affixes previously mentioned, but on the accusative plural affix also. Thus इन्द्रादुधीचो अस्यभिः (Rig Veda I 84. 13). Here the word दधीच् had accent on धी by VI. 1. 222, but by the present sūtra, the accent falls on the case-affix अस् ॥

Though the anuvritti of 'Instrumentals and the rest' was understood here, the word asarvanâmasthâna has been used here to include the ending अस्, also. As प्रतीचो वाहून् प्रतिभङ्घोषाम् (Rig Veda X. 87. 4).

३७१७ । ऊडिदंपदादप्यम्रैद्युभ्यः । ६ । १ । १७१ ॥

'ऊड' 'इदं' 'पदादि' 'अप्' 'पुम्' 'रै' 'दिव' इत्येभ्योऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता ।
ऊड । प्रष्टोहः । प्रष्टोहा ॥

'+ उट्यु पधायहणं कर्तव्यम् +'. इह मा भूत् । अत्तद्युवा' । 'अत्तद्यवे' । इदम् । 'ए भिन-
भिन'तमः' । अन्वादेशे न । 'अन्तोदात्तात्' इत्यनुवृत्तेः । न च तत्रान्तोदात्तताप्यस्तीति वाच्यम् ।
'इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽशनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ' (३५०) इति सूत्रेणानुदात्तस्याशोविधानात् । 'प्र ते वभू' ।
'माभ्यां गा अनु' । 'पठत्रोमास्त्रिभ्य-' (२२८) इति षट् पदादयः । 'पृद्भ्यां भूमिः' ।
'दृद्धिर्न जिह्वा' । 'जायते मासिमासि' । 'मर्नश्चन्मे हृद आ' । अप् । 'अर्पां केने'न' । पुम् ।
'अभातेव'पुंसः' । रै । 'राया वयम्' । 'रायो धूर्ता' । दिव । 'दिवेदिवे' ॥

3717. The same (asarvanâmasthâna) case-endings have the acute accent, when the stem ends in 'vâh'; also after *idam*, after *pad* &c. (upto 'nis' VI. 1. 63) after *apa*, *puns*, *vai* and *div*.

Thus : (1.) ऊडः—प्रष्टोहः, प्रष्टोहा ॥

• Vart:—In the case of ऊड the penultimate ऊ, should be taken. Therefore not here : अत्तद्युवा, अत्तद्यवे ॥

(2) इदम्—एभिर्नृभिर्नृतमः (Rig Veda IV. 17. 11).

Not so in anvādeśā (II. 4. 32 S. 350), because the anuvritti of अन्तोदात्तात् is understood in this sūtra. Nor should it be said that there is final udātta in the case of anvādeśā इदम् also. Because in anvādeśā the अण् substitute of इदम् is expressly taught to be anudātta by II. 4. 32, and it can never be end-acute. Thus in the following Rik verse (Rig Veda IV. 32. 22):—प्र ते बभू विचक्षणं शंसामि गोपयो नपात् । माभ्यां गा अनु शिशथः ॥

Here आभ्यां is used as अन्वादेश referring to बभू of the preceding line.

(3) पद &c. These are the six words पद, दत्, नस्, मास्, वृद् and निष् (VI. 1. 63, S. 228). Thus पदभ्यां भूमिः । दद्विर्न जिह्वा (Rig Veda X. 68. 6). जायते मासि मासि (Rig Veda X. 52. 3). मनश्चिन्ने वृद् आ (Rig Veda I. 24. 12).

(4) अप् :—as अपां फेनेन (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 13).

(5) पुंस् :—as अभ्रातेव पुंसः (Rig Veda I. 124. 7).

(6) रे—as राया वयम् (Rig Veda IV. 42. 10). रायो धर्ता (Rig Veda V. 15. 1).

(7) दिव्—as दिवे दिवे (Rig Veda I. 1. 3).

३७१८ । अष्टनो दीर्घात् । ६ । १ । १७२ ॥

शसादिविभक्तिरुदात्ता । 'अष्टाभिर्दशभिः' ॥

3718. The asarvanāmasthāna case-endings after 'ashtan' 'eight' have acute accent, when it gets the form 'ashtā.'

The word अष्टन् has two forms in the Acc. pl. and the other cases that follow it, namely अष्टा and अष्ट । The affixes of Acc. pl. &c., are udātta after the long form अष्टा and not after अष्ट । Thus अष्टाभिः (Rig Veda II. 18. 4) opposed to अष्टभिः, अष्टाभ्यः con. अष्टभ्यः, अष्टासु con. अष्टसु । The word अष्टन् has acute on the last syllable, as it belongs to the class of घृतादि words (Phit I. 21); and by VI. 1. 180 the accent would have been on the penultimate syllable. This rule debars it.

३७१९ । शतृनुमो नद्यजादी । ६ । १ । १७३ ॥

अनुम् यः शतृप्रत्ययस्तदन्तादन्तोदात्तात्परा नद्यजादिश्च शसादिविभक्तिरुदात्ता स्यात् 'अच्छा खं प्रथमा जानती' । कणवते । 'अन्तोदात्तात्' किम् । दधती । 'अभ्यस्तानामादिः' (३६७३) इत्याद्युदात्तः । 'अनुमः' किम् । तुदन्ती । एकादेशोऽत्र उदात्तः । अदुपदेशात्परत्वाच्छतुः 'लसार्वधातुकम्-' (३७०३) इति निघातः ॥

3719. After an oxytone Participle in *at* the feminine suffix 'i' (nadi) and the case endings beginning with vowels (with the exception of strong cases) have acute accent, when the participial affix has not the augment *n* (*i. e* is not *ant*).

The word अन्तोदात्तात् 'after an oxytoned word' is understood here. Thus अच्कारव प्रथमा जानती (Rig Veda III. 31. 6). So also कणवते (III. 2. 80 S. 2990).

If the participle is not an oxytone, the rule does not apply. As दद्विती, दधती । Here the accent is on the first syllable by VI. 1. 189. S. 3673. Why do we say 'not having the augment नुम् ?' Observe तुदन्ती । Here also by VI.

1. 186. S. 3730, after the root तुद् which has an indicative अ, in the Dhātupāṭha being written तुद, the sārva dhātuka affix अत् (अत्) is anudatta. This anudatta अत्, coalescing with the udatta अ of तुद (VI. I. 162), becomes udatta (VIII. 2. 5); and VIII. 2. 1 not being held applicable here, the Participle gets the accent, and not the feminine affix.

३७२० । उदात्तयणो हल्युवात् । ६ । १ । १७४ ॥

उदात्तस्थाने यो यसहल्यूर्वस्तस्मात्परा नदी शसादिविभक्तिश्च उदात्ता स्यात् । 'चोदयित्री सूचतानाम्' । 'एषानेत्री' । ऋतं देवाय कथ्यते संवित्रे ॥

3720. The same endings have the acute accent, when for the acutely accented final vowel of the stem, a semi-vowel is substituted, and which is preceded by a consonant.

Thus चोदयित्री सूचतानाम् (Rig Veda I. 3. 11), एषानेत्री (Rig Veda VII. 76. 7), ऋतं देवाय कथ्यते संवित्रे (Rig Veda II. 50. 1). All these are तृच् ending words and have consequently acute accent on the final (VI. 1. 163).

३७२१ । नोङ्धात्त्वोः । ६ । १ । १७५ ॥

अनयोर्यणः परे शसादय उदात्ता न स्युः । ब्रह्मवन्ध्या । 'सेत्पृश्नः सुभेव' ॥

3721. But not so, when the vowel is of the feminine affix 'ū' (IV. 1. 66), or the final of a root.

After the semi-vowel substitutes of the udatta ऊ (IV. 1. 66) or of the udatta final vowels of the root, when preceded by a consonant, the weak case-endings beginning with a vowel do not take the acute accent. Thus ब्रह्मवन्ध्या' ब्रह्मवन्ध्वे. धीरवन्ध्या, धीरवन्ध्वे from धीरवन्धू, which has acute accent on ऊ, because ऊँच् is udatta (III. 1. 3), and the ekādeśa of it, when it combines with the preceding vowel is also udatta (VIII. 2. 5). The व substituted for ऊ before the ending आ, is a semi-vowel substitute of an udatta (उदात्तयण); the affix after it would have become udatta by the last sūtra, but not being so, the general rule VIII 2. 4 applies and makes it svarita. Let us take an example of a semi-vowel substitute of the vowel of a root (धातु-यण)—सकल्ल्वा; सकल्ल्वे' and खलष्या, खलष्वे' from सकल्लू and खलपू' respectively formed by क्लिप् affix, the second member of the compound retaining its original accent, namely, the oxytone, the semi-vowel being substituted by VI. 4. 83. before the vowel case-endings. So also सेत्पृश्नः सुभेव (Rig Veda VI. 66. 3).

३७२२ । ह्रस्वनुङ्भ्यां मत्तुप् । ६ । १ । १७६ ॥

ह्रस्वान्तादन्तोदात्तात्तु टश्च परो मत्तुबुडात् । 'यो अष्टिमाँ 'दनिमाँ इयत्ति' । नुटः । 'अत्तु गवन्तः कर्णवन्तः सखायः' । 'अन्तोदात्तात् किम् ? 'मा त्व धिददपुमान्' ॥

'+ स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्य मानवत् + इत्येतदत्र नेष्यते । 'मृत्वाँ इन्द्रः' । 'नियुत्वाँवा यवागंहि' ॥

'+ रेगडाञ्च + ' । रेवाँ इद्रेवतः' ॥

3722. The otherwise unaccented mat (vat) takes the acute accent, when an oxytoned stem ends in a light vowel, or the affix has before it the augment n (VIII. 2. 16).

The word अन्तोदात्तात् is understood here also. Thus

यो ऋँ वृद्धिमाँ उँदनिमाँ इयति (Rig Veda V. 42. 14). So also when मत्तुप् takes नुद्, as अक्षयप्रता, अक्षयवतः कण्वतः सखायः (Rig Veda X. 71. 7). Here by VII. 1. 76, the word अक्षि takes अनद् and becomes अक्षन्, then is added नुद् by VIII. 2. 16, and we have अक्षन् न मत्तुप् । The preceding न् is elided. When the stem is not oxytone (antodatta) this rule does not apply : as वैसुमान् । मात्वा विददियुमान् (Rig Veda II. 42. 2). The word वैसु has acute on the first syllable, as it is formed from वस् with the affix उ (Un 1. 10) which is भित् (Un I. 9). So the मत्तुप् retains its anudatta here. So also in the case of मरुत्वान्, the affix does not become acute, though the word मरुत् has acute on the final as the intervening त् makes the उ of रु heavy when the affix is added : the general maxim स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् does not apply here, because the very fact that न् is only taken as an exception, shows this, as मरुत्वाँ इन्द्र (Rig Veda III. 47. 1) नियुत्वान्वा यवागहि (Rig Veda II. 41. 2).

Vart :—The affix मत्तुप् become acute after the heavy vowel of रे ; as आरेवँान = रघिरस्यास्ति । There is vocalisation of य of रघि, as र इ इ, then substitution of one, as र इ, then gṇpa, as रे in रेवान् इद्रेवतः (Rig Veda VIII. 2. 13).

३७२३ । नामन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । १ । १७७ ॥

मत्तुपि योऽहस्वस्तदन्तादन्तोदात्तात्परो नामुदात्तो वा । 'चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम्, ॥ 3723. After an oxytoned stem which ends in a light vowel the genitive ending 'nâm' has optionally the acute accent.

Thus :—चेतन्तो सुमतीनाम् (Rig Veda I. 3. 11).

So also अग्नीनाँम् or अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाँम्, or वायूनाम् कतूँषाम् or कतूँषाम् (see VII. 1. 54).

३७२४ । इयाश्कन्दसि बहुलम् । ६ । १ । १७८ ॥

इयाःपरो नामुदात्तो वा । 'देवसे नाना'मभिभञ्जतीनाम्' । वेत्युक्तेनेह । 'जयन्तीनां मरुतो यन्तु' ॥

3724. In the Chhandas, the ending 'nâm' has diversely the acute accent after the feminine affix 'i.'

Thus देवसेनानाम् अभिभञ्जतीनाँम्, (Rig Veda X. 103. 8). Sometimes it does not take place, as जयन्तीनाम् मरुतः (Rig Veda X. 103. 8).

३७२५ । षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यां हलादिः । ६ । १ । १७९ ॥

इया एभ्यो हलादिर्विभक्तिरुदात्ता । 'आ षंड्भिर्हू यमा'नः' । 'त्रिभिष्यं दे'व ॥

3725. The case-endings beginning with a consonant, have the acute accent after the Numerals called *shat* (I. 1. 24), as well as after *tri* and *chatur*.

The anuvritti of अन्तोदात्ताद् ceases : for the present rule applies even to words like पँचन् and नँवन् which are acute on the initial by Phit. II. 5. Thus पयशँाम् षड्भिः, षड्भिः, पँचानँाम्, सप्तानँाम्, त्रिभिः, त्रिभिः, त्रयाशँाम्, चतुशँाम् (See VII. 1. 55) Why do we say 'before case-affixes beginning with consonants'? Observe चँतसः

प्रथय (VI. 1. 167 and VII. 2. 99). आ वृद्धिर्हूयमानः (Rig Veda II. 18. 4). त्रिभिः
द्वं देव सर्वतः (Rig Veda IX. 67. 26).

३७२६ । न गोश्वसाववर्णाराडङ्कुङ्कुद्भ्यः । ६ । १ । १८२ ॥

भ्यः प्रागुक्तं न । 'गवां' श्रुता । 'गोभ्यो' गातुम् । 'शुनश्चिच्छेपम्' । सो प्रथमैकवचनेःवर्णा-
न्तात् । 'तेभ्यो' द्युस्रम् । तेषां पाहि शुधी हवम् ॥

3726. The foregoing rules from VI. 1. 168 downwards have no applicability after *ga*, and 'śvan' and words ending in them; nor after a stem which before the case ending of the Nominative singular has *a* or *ā*, nor after 'rāj,' nor after a stem ending in *anch*, nor after *krunch* and *krit*.

Thus गवा, गवे, गोभ्याम् as in गवां श्रुता (Rig Veda I. 122. 7). Here by VI. 1. 168, the case-endings would have got otherwise the accent, which is however prohibited. So also सुगुना, सुगुवे and सुगुभ्याम् । गोभ्यो गातुम् (Rig Veda VIII. 45. 30). Here VI. 1. 169 is prohibited. So also शुना, शुने, श्वभ्याम्, परमशुना, परमशुने and परमश्वभ्याम् । शुनश्चिच्छेपम् (Rig Veda V. 2. 7). The word साववर्णः (सो अवर्णः) means 'what has अ or आ before सु (1st sing.)' Thus येभ्यः, तेभ्यः, केभ्यः । तेभ्योद्युस्रम् (Rig Veda V. 79. 7). तेषां पाहि शुधी हवम् (Rig Veda I. 2. 1). So also राजा, राजे, परमराजा । The word राज् is formed by क्विप् affix. अङ् = अञ्च + क्विन्; the prohibition applies to that form of this word wherein the nasal is not elided (VI. 4. 30). Thus प्राञ्चा, प्राङ्भ्याम् । Where the nasal is elided, there the case-ending must take the accent; as प्राचा प्राभ्याम् । कुङ् is also a क्विन् formed word. Thus कुञ्चा, कुञ्चे, परमकुञ्चा । कृत् is derived from कृ 'to do' or from कृत् 'to cur' by क्विप्; as कृता, कृते and परमकृता । Why has the word श्वन् been especially mentioned in this sūtra, when the rule would have applied to it even without such enumeration, because in the Nominative Singular this word assumes the form श्वा and consequently it is साववर्णः ? The inclusion of श्वन् indicates that the elision of न् should not be considered asidha for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, the present rule will not apply to words like नृ and पितृ which in Nom. Sing. end in आ as ना and पिता after the elision of न् of अनङ् (VII. 3. 94). Thus the Locative Singular of नृ will be नरि by VI. 1. 168; this prohibition not applying, and the affix मत्पु will get udatta after पिता by VI. 1. 176 as पितृमाँन् । But rule VI. I. 176 will be debarred by the present in the case of वृक्षवान्, because वृक्ष is a साववर्णः ॥

३७२७ । दिवो भ्रल । ६ । १ । १८३ ॥

दिवः परा भ्रलादिविभक्तिनोदात्ता । 'दुभिरक्तुभिः' । 'भ्रल' इति किम् । 'उप' त्वान्ने दिवेदिवे ॥

3727. After {div}, a case-ending beginning with *bha* or *sa* is unaccented.

Thus दुभ्याम्, दुभि रक्तुभिः (Rig Veda I. 34. 8). This debar VI. 1. 168, 171. Why do we say 'beginning with a भ्रल consonant' ? Observe उपत्वान्ने दिवे दिवे (Rig Veda I. 1. 7).

३७२८ । नृ चान्यतरस्याम् । ६ । १ । १८४ ॥

नृः परा भलादिर्विभक्तिर्वेदात्ता । 'नृभिर्व्यंमानः' ॥

3728. After *nri*, a case ending beginning with *sha* or *sa* is optionally unaccented.

Thus नृभिः or नृभिः, नृभ्यः, नृभ्यः, नृभ्याम्, नृभ्याम्, नृषु, नृषु । नृभिर्व्यंमानः (Rig Veda IX. 75. 3). But not so नृषु, नृषु ॥

३७२९ । तिस्वरितम् । ६ । १ । १८५ ॥

निगटव्याख्यातम् । 'क्व नूनम्' ॥

3729. An affix having an indicatory *t*, is svarita *i. e.*, has circumflex accent.

Thus चिकीर्ष्यम्, जिहीर्ष्यम्, formed by यत् (III. 1. 97). कार्यम्, हायम् with ग्रयत् (III. 1. 124). This is an exception to III. 1. 3 which makes all affixes ādyudātta. For exception to this rule see VI. 1, 213 &c. क्वनूनम् (Rig Veda I. 38. 2).

३७३० । तास्यनुदात्तेन्द्रदुपदेशात्सर्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विडो । ६ । १ । १८६ ॥

अस्मात्परं लसार्वाधातुकमनुदात्तं स्यात् । तासि । कर्ता । कर्तारो । कर्तारः । प्रत्ययस्वरापवादेश्च । अनुदात्तेत् । य आस्ते । डितः । 'अभि चष्टे अनृतेभिः' । अनुपदेशात् । पुरंभुज, चनस्यतम् । चिस्वरोऽप्यनेन बाध्यते । 'वर्धमानं स्वदमे' । 'तास्यादिभ्यः' किम् । 'अभि वृ धे हृणीतः' । उपदेशग्रहणाच्चेह । 'हृते वृत्राययाया' । 'लयहणम्' किम् । 'कतीह निघाना' । 'सार्वाधातुकम्' किम् । शिष्ये । 'अहन्विडोः' किम् । हृते । यदधीते । * विदीन्धिखिदिभ्यो नेति वक्तव्यम् * । इन्धे राजा' यतच्च 'अनुदात्तस्य च यत्र-' (३६५१) इति सूत्रे भाष्ये स्थितम् ॥

3730. The Personal-endings and their substitutes (III. 2. 124-126) are, when they are sârvadhâtuka (III. 4. 113 &c), unaccented, after the characteristic of the Periphrastic future 'tâsi' after a root which in the Dhâtupâṭha has an unaccented vowel or a 'ñ' (with the exception of 'hnuñ' and 'in') as indicatory letter, as well as after what has a final 'a' in the Grammatical system of Instruction (upadeśa).

Thus तासिः, कर्ता, —कर्तारो, कर्तारः, this debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). Anudâttet:—as, आस्, —आस्ते, वस्, —वस्ते । डितः—डूढ, —सूते, शीङ्—शेते ; अभिचष्टे अनृतेभिः (Rig Veda VII. 104. 8). अत् उपदेशः—as तु दतः, नृ दतः, प चतः, प ठतः । पुरंभुजा चनस्यतम् (Rig Veda I. 3. 1). A root taking शप् (अ) is considered as taught (upadeśa) as if ending with an अ, as the indicatory letters श् and प् are disregarded on the maxim अनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तिकत्वं (= अनवयवत्वं) । Thus पचमानः, यजमानः । The augment मुक् is added by आने मुक् VII. 2. 82 which may be explained in two ways ; first, the augment मुक् is added to the final अ of the base (aṅga) when आन (आनच् &c.) follows ; or secondly, the augment मुक् is added to the base (aṅga) which ends in अ, when आन follows. In the first case मुक् becomes part and parcel of अ, and therefore अनुपदेश will mean and include an अ having such मुक्, on the maxim यदागमास्तद्गुणोभूतास्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते 'That

to which an augment is added denotes, because the augment forms part of it not merely itself, but it denotes also whatever results from its combination with that augment.' Therefore मुक् will not prevent the verb becoming अदुपदेश । But if secondly मुक् be taken as part of the base which ends in अ, then the लसार्वधातुक does not follow an अदुपदेश, because म intervenes. But we get rid of this difficulty by considering मुक् augment as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha when the Antaranga operation of 'accent is to be performed. The augment मुक्, (म्) in the last two examples consequently does not prevent the application of the rule. Though the affix शानच् has an indicatory च, yet द्वित् accent (VI. 1. 163) is debarred by this rule, as it is subsequent. As वर्धमानं स्व दमे (Rig Veda I. 1. 8).

Why do we say after तासि &c. Observe अभिवृधे गणोतः (Rig Veda III 6. 10) चिन्वन्तिः । The vikarāṇa श्नु is डित् (I. 2. 4) with regard to operations affecting the prior term, and not those which affect the subsequent. Therefore though श्नु is considered as डित् for the purposes of preventing the guṇa of the prior term चि, it will not be considered so for the purposes of subsequent accent. Or the word डित् in this sūtra may be taken as equal to डितुपदेश and not the आतिदेशिक डित् like श्नु । Why do we use the word upadeśa ? So that the rule may apply to पचावः, पचामः, but not to हतः, हयः the dual of हन् which ends in न् in upadeśa, though before तस् and यस् it has assumed the form ह । Therefore हर्तः, हर्थः । हतोवृत्रायय्या (Rig Veda VI. 60. 6). Why do we use the word ल (Personal endings) ? Observe कतीह निघाना formed by शानन् added to हन् (III. 2. 128), which not being a substitute of लट्, is not a personal ending like शानच् । Why do we use the word Sârvadâtuka ? Observe शिशये, शिशयते शिशयरे । Why do we say with the exception of हनुङ् and इङ् ? Observe हनुर्तं, यद् अर्थोत्तं ॥

Vārtika :—Prohibition must be stated of विद्, ईन्ध, and खिद् । Thus इन्धे राजा (Rig Veda VII. 8. 1).

This is explained in the Mahābhāṣya on sūtra VI. 1. 161. S. 3651.

३७३१ । आदिः सिचोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । १ । १८७ ॥

सिजन्तस्यादिःदात्तो वा । 'यासिष्टं वर्तिरश्विनौ ॥

3731. In 'sich' Aorist, the first syllable may optionally have the acute accent.

The word उदात्त is understood here. Thus, मा हि कौर्णाम्, मा हि कार्णाम् ; मा हि लौविष्टाम् or मा हि लाविष्टाम् ॥ So also यासिष्टं वर्तिरश्विनौ (Rig Veda VII. 40. ६ and VII. 67. 10).

३७३२ । थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा । ६ । १ । १८६ ॥

सेटि थलन्ते पदे इडुदात्तः अन्तो वा आदिर्वा स्यात् । यदा नेते त्रयस्तदा 'लिति' (३६७६) इति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तम् । लुलविथ् । अत्र चत्वारोऽपि पर्यायैषोदात्ताः ॥

3732 Before the ending *tha* of the Perfect, second person singular, when this ending takes the augment *i*, the acute accent falls either on the first syllable, or on this *i*, or on the personal ending.

Thus लुँ लविय, लुँ विथ, लुँ विथ, and लुँ विथे । As चल् has an indicatory ल् the syllable preceding the affix may have also the accent (VI. 1. 193). Thus we get the four forms given above. In short, with इथ termination, the accent may fall on any syllable. When the च is not सेद्, the accent falls on the root and we have one form only by लिद् accent (VI. 1. 193 S. 3676):—यद्याथ ॥

३७३३ । उपोत्तमं रिति । ६ । १ । २१७ ॥

रिप्रत्ययान्तस्योपोत्तममुदात्तं स्यात् । 'यदाहवनीये' ॥

इति प्रत्ययस्वराः ॥

3733. What is formed by an affix having an indicatory *ra* has acute on the penultimate syllable, the full word consisting of more than two syllables.

A penultimate syllable can be only in a word consisting of three syllables or more. Thus करणाँयम् and हरणाँयम् formed by अनीयर् (III. 1. 96); पटुजाँतीयः, मटुजाँतीयः by जातीयर् (V. 3. 19) यदाहवनीये ॥ This debars III. 1. 3.

Here end Affix-accents.

अथ समासस्वराः ।

CHAPTER IV.

ACCENT OF COMPOUNDS.

३७३४ । समासस्य । ६ । १ । २२३ ॥

अन्त उदात्तः स्यात् । 'यज्ञश्रियम्' ॥

3734. A compound word has the acute on the last syllable. Thus यज्ञ श्रियं (Rig Veda I. 4. 7). The consonants being held to be non-existent for the purposes of accent; the udatta will fall on the vowel though it may not be final, the final being a consonant.

३७३५ । बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् । ६ । २ । १ ॥

उदात्तस्वरितयोर्गि पूर्वपदं प्रकृत्या स्यात् । 'सत्यश्चित्रश्रवस्तमः' । 'उदात्तः' इत्यादि किम् । सर्वानुदात्ते पूर्वपदे समासान्तोदात्तत्वमेव यथा स्यात् । समपादः ॥

3735. In a Bahuvrīhi, the first member preserves its own original accent.

The word पूर्वपदम् means here the accent—whether udatta or svarita—which is in the first member : प्रकृत्या means, 'retains its own nature, does not become modified into an anudatta accent.' By the last rule the final of a compound gets the accent, so that all the preceding members lose their accent, and become anudatta, as in one word all syllables are unaccented except one, VI. 1. 158. Thus the first member of a Bahuvrīhi would have lost its accent and become anudatta; with the present sūtra commences the exceptions to the rule that the final of a compound is always udatta. Thus सत्यश्चित्र श्रवस्तमः ॥

The words udâta, and svarita are understood in this aphorism. Therefore if *all* the syllables of the pûrvapada are anudâta, the present rule has no scope there, and such a compound will get udâta on the final by the universal rule enunciated in VI. I. 223. Thus समभागः, here सम being *all* anudâta, the accent falls on ग ॥

३७३६ । तत्पुरुषे तुल्याथेतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययाद्वितीयाकृत्याः । ६ । २ । ३ ॥

सप्तैते पूर्वपदभूतास्तत्पुरुषे प्रकृत्या । तुल्यश्वेतः । 'कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या' (७४६) इति तत्पुरुषः । किरिणा काणः किरिकाणः । 'पत् यन्मन्दयत्सखम्' । मन्दयति मादके इन्द्रे सखेति सप्तमीतत्पुरुषः । शस्त्री श्यामा ॥

'+ अव्यये नञ्कुनिष्ठातानाम् +' । अयज्ञो वा एषः । धरिगणनम् किम् । स्रात्वाकालकः । मुहूर्त्तसुखम् भोज्यो षाम् ॥

3736. In a Tatpuruṣa, the first member preserves its original accent, when it is a word (1) meaning 'a resemblance', or (2) an Instrumental or (3) a Locative or (4) a word with which the second member is compared, (5) or an Indeclinable, or (6) an Accusative, or (7) a Future Passive Participle.

Thus (1) तुल्यश्वेतः । This is a Karmadhâraya compound formed under II. 1. 68, S. 749 and तुल्य being formed by यत् is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 216).

(2) When the first member is in the Instrumental case, as :—किरिकाणः (II. 1. 30). किरिः is formed by the Uṇâdi affix इ to कृ (Uṇ. IV. 143), and it being treated as a कित् (Uṇ. IV. 142) has udâta on the final.

(3) When the first member is a word in the Locative case, as पतयन्मन्दयत्सखम् (Rig Veda I. 4. 7). Here मन्दयत्सखम् is c. Locative Tatpuruṣa compound. मन्दयत् is an epithet of Indra. मन्दयति = मादके = इन्द्रे सखम् ॥

(4) When the first member is a word with which the second member is compared, as :—शस्त्री श्यामा ॥ These compounds are formed by II. 1. 55. शस्त्री is formed by Gaurâdi ङीप् and is final-acute.

(5) When the first member is an Indeclinable as, अर्वेज्जोवाएषः । (Rig Veda VI. 67. 9). The Indeclinable compound has udâta on the first, it is formed by II. 2. 5.

Vârt:—In cases of Indeclinable compounds, the rule applies only to those which are formed by the negative Particle अ, by कु, and by Particles (nipâta). Though नञ् is one of the Nipâtas, its separate mention indicates that नञ्-accent debars even the subsequent कृत्-accent as अकरणिः (III. 3. 112, S. 3389). Therefore, it does not apply to स्रात्वाकालकः which has acute on the final and belongs to Mayûravyaṅsakâdi class.

(6) When the first member is in the accusative case, as :—मुहूर्त्तसुखम् । They are formed by II. 1. 29. मुहूर्त्त belongs to षष्ठीदरादि class and is acutely accented on the last.

(7) When the first member is a Kritya-formed word, as, भोज्यो षाम् । The compounding is by II. 1. 68. भोज्य is formed by ययत् and has svarita on the final : (VI. 1. 185).

३७३७ । वर्णा वर्णवनेते । ६ । २ । ३ ॥

वर्णवर्णाच्चन्युत्तरपदे एतवर्जिते वर्णवर्णि पूर्वपदं प्रकृत्या तत्पुरुषे । कृष्णसारङ्गः । लोहितकल्माषः । कृष्णशब्दे नक्प्रत्ययान्तः । लोहितशब्द इतन्नन्तः । 'वर्णः' किम् । परमकृष्णः । 'वर्णेषु' किम् । कृष्णतिलाः । 'अनेते' किम् । कृष्णतः ॥

3737. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when a word denoting color is compounded with another color-denoting word, but not when it is the word *eta*.

Thus कृष्णसारङ्गी, लोहितकल्माषः । कृष्ण is formed by नक् affix (Up. III. 4) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). लोहित is formed by the affix तन् added to रुह (Up. III. 94) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197).

Why do we say 'color-denoting word'? Observe परमकृष्णः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'with another color-denoting word'? Observe कृष्णतिलाः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'but not when it is एत' ? Observe कृष्णतः । The compounding takes place by II. 1. 69.

३७३८ । गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे । ६ । २ । ४ ॥

एतयोरुत्तरपदयोः प्रमाणवर्णिनि तत्पुरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृत्या स्यात् । अरित्रगाधमुदकम् । तत्प्रमाणमित्यर्थः । गालवणम् । यावद्गवे दीयते तावदित्यर्थः । अरित्रशब्द इतन्नन्तो मध्यादातः । प्रमाणमित्यन्तापरिच्छेदमात्रं न पुनरायाम एव । 'प्रमाणे' किम् । परमगाधम् ॥

3738. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when the second term is 'gâdha' or *lavana*, and the compound expresses a 'measure or mass.'

Thus अरित्रगाधमुदकम्, 'water as low or fordable as an Aritra *i. e.* of the depth of a pestle.' गालवणम्, 'so much salt as may be given to a cow.' These are Genitive Tatpurusha compounds. अरित्र is formed by the affix इत्र added to अ (III. 2. 184), and has acute on the middle (III. 1. 3): गो is formed by डो (Up. II. 68) and has acute on the final ओ । The word प्रमाण here denotes 'quantity,' 'measure,' 'mass,' 'limit,' and not merely the length. The power of denoting measure by these words is here indicated by and is dependent upon accent.

When not denoting प्रमाण we have परमगाधम् (S. 3734).

३७३९ । दायाद्यं दायादे । ६ । २ । ५ ॥

तत्पुरुषे प्रकृत्या । धनदायादः । धनशब्दः क्युप्रत्ययान्तः प्रत्ययस्वरणाद्युदात्तः । 'दायाद्यम्' किम् । परमदायादः ॥

3739. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word *dayada* as its second member, the first member denoting inheritance preserves its original accent.

Thus विद्यादायादः, धनदायादः । The word धन is derived by adding क्यु to धाञ् (Up. II. 81). Though the Uṇādi Sūtra II. 81 ordains क्यु after the root धा preceded by नि, yet by the rule of बहुल (III. 3. 1) it comes after धा, also when it is not preceded by नि, and धन has acute on the first (III. I. 3).

Why do we say 'when meaning inheritance'? Observe परमदायादः (VI. 1. 223) taking the final acute of a compound.

३७४० । प्रतिबन्धि चिरकृच्छयोः । ६ । २ । ६ ॥

प्रतिबन्धवाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृत्या । यतोः परतस्तत्पुरुषे । गमनचिरम् । व्याहरणकृच्छ्रम् । गमने कारणाविरुलतया चिरकालभावि कृच्छ्रयोगि वा प्रतिबन्धि जायते । 'प्रतिबन्धि' किम् । मूत्रकृच्छ्रम् ॥

3740. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the words *chira* or *krichchhra* as its second member, the first member, when it denotes that which experiences an obstacle, preserves its original accent.

Thus गमनचिरम्, or व्याहरणकृच्छ्रम् । The words गमन and व्याहरण are formed by ल्युट् affix, and have लित् accent (VI. 1. 193). This compound belongs either to the class of Mayûra-vyâṅsakâdi (II. 1. 72), or of an attribute and the thing qualified. When *going* to a place is *delayed* owing to some defective arrangement or cause, or becomes *difficult*, there is produced an *obstacle* or hinderance, and is called गमनचिरं or गमनकृच्छ्रं । Why do we say 'which experiences a hinderance'? Observe मूत्रकृच्छ्रम् ॥

३७४१ । पदेऽपदेशे । ६ । २ । ७ ॥

व्याजवाचिनि पदशब्द उत्तरपदे पूर्वपदं प्रकृत्या । तत्पुरुषे । मूत्रपदेन प्रस्थितः । उच्चारणपदेन । मूत्रशब्दे । घञन्तः उच्चारणशब्दे घञन्तः 'आद्य-' (३८७८) आदिस्वरैरान्तोदात्तः । 'अपदेशे' किम्, विष्णुपदम् ॥

3741. In a Tatpurusha compound, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word *pada* denoting 'a pretext.'

The word अपदेश means 'a pretext,' 'a contrivance.' Thus मूत्रपदेन प्रस्थितः उच्चारणपदेन प्रस्थितः । Gone on pretext of voiding urine or excreta.

The word मूत्र is derived by adding the affix छ्त्न् to the root मुच्, the ऊ being substituted for उच् of मुच्, (Un. IV. 163), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197) or it may be a word formed by घञ् to the root मूत्रयति । The word उच्चार is also formed by घञ् and by VI. 2. 144, S. 3878, has acute on the final. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72 or it is an attributive compound.

Why do we say 'when meaning a pretext'? Observe विष्णोः पदम् = विष्णुपदम् ॥

३७४२ । निवाते वातत्राणे । ६ । २ । ८ ॥

निवातशब्दे परे वातत्राणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृत्या । कुटीनिवातम् । कुट्टनिवातम् । कुटीशब्दो गौरादिङीष्न्तः । कुट्टशब्दो ड्यगन्तः । यगन्तः इत्यभ्ये । 'वातत्राणे' किम् । राजनिवाते घञन्ति । निवातशब्देऽप्यं रुठः पाश्चै ॥

3742. In a Tatpurusha compound, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word 'nivâta' in the sense of 'a protection from wind.'

Thus कुत्रोव निवातं = कुटीनिवातम् 'a hut as the only shelter from the winds.' So also कुड्निवातम् or कुड्निवातम् । The word निवात is an Avyayibhāva compound = वातस्य अभावः (II. 1. 6): or a Bahuvrihi = निरुद्धो वातोऽस्मिन् । The word कुटीनिवातम् &c., are examples of compounds of two words in apposition. कुटी is formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 41), and has acute on the last (III. 1. 3). Some say that कुड् is derived from कु by adding यत् with the augment डक् and treating it as कित्, it has the acute on the first; others hold that it is derived by the affix डक् to कु; and the affix has the accent. The ड, here is not indicatory but part of the affix.

Why do we say when meaning 'a shelter from wind'? Observe राजनिवातं वसति = 'he lives under the shelter of the king.' Here निवात = पार्श्वः or vicinity.

३७४३ । शारदेऽनार्तवे । ६ । २ । ९ ॥

ऋतो भवमार्तवम् । तदन्यवाचिन शारदशब्दे परे तत्पुरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं स्यात् । रज्जु शारदमुदकम् । शारदशब्दे नूतनार्थः । तस्यास्वपदविग्रहः । 'रज्ज्वाः सद्य उद्धृतम्' । रज्जुशब्दे 'सजेरसुन्व' इत्याद्युदात्तो व्युत्पादितः । 'अनार्तवे' किम् । उत्तमशारदम् ॥

3743. In a Tatpuruṣa compound, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word 'Sârad' having any other sense than that of 'autumnal.'

The word अनार्तव means appertaining to season (ऋतु) i. e., when the word शारद does not refer to the season of शरत् or autumn. Thus रज्जुशारदमुदकम् 'fresh drawn water.' The word शारद means here 'fresh,' 'new': and it forms an invariable compound. The word रज्जु is formed by उ affix added to सज् (Un. I. 15), the स being elided: The affix उ is treated as नित् (Un. I. 9) and the accent falls on the first syllable (VI. I. 197).

Why do we say 'when not meaning autumnal'? Observe उत्तमशारदम् the best autumnal grass &c.' (VI. I. 223).

३७४४ । अध्वर्युः कषाययोजातौ । ६ । २ । १० ॥

एतयोः परतो जातिवाचिन तत्पुरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरम् । कठाध्वर्युः । दैवारिककषायम् । कठशब्दः पचाद्यजन्तः । तस्मात्- 'वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च' (१४८४) इति णिनेः 'कठचरकाल्लुक' (१४८७) इति लुक् । द्वारि नियुक्त इति ठक्वन्तोदात्तो दैवारिकशब्दः । 'जातौ' किम् । परमाध्वर्युः ॥

3744. In a Tatpuruṣa compound denoting a genus, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word अध्वर्युः or कषायः ॥

Thus कठाध्वर्युः । This is an Appositional compound denoting 'genus or kind,' with a fixed meaning. कठ is derived by अच् affix (III. I. 34), and to it is added the Talhitā affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104 S. 1484), in the sense of कठेन प्रोक्तः (IV. 3. 101), and the affix is then elided by IV. 3. 107, S. 1487.

So also दैवारिककषायम् । This is a Genitive compound. The word दैवारिक is formed by ठक् affix added to द्वार and has acute on the final (VI. I. 165). Why do we say 'when meaning a genus'? Observe, परमाध्वर्युः, परमकषायः (VI. I. 223).

३७४५ । सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये । ६ । २ । ११ ॥

अनयोः पूर्वं प्रकृत्या । पितृसदृशः । 'सादृश्ये' किम् । परमसदृशः । समासार्थोऽत्र पूज्यमानता न सादृश्यम् ॥

3745. In a Tatpurusha compound expressing resemblance with some one or something, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second 'member is 'sadrīśa' or 'pratirūpa'

Thus पितृसदृशः The word पितृ is formed by Uṇadi affix नृच् (Uṇ II. 95) and is finally accented. Why do we say 'when meaning resemblance'? Observe परमसदृशः (VI. 1. 223): here the sense of the compound is that of 'honor' and not 'resemblance.'

३७४६ । द्विगौ प्रमाणे । ६ । २ । १२ ॥

द्विगावुत्तरपदे प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरम् । प्राच्यसप्तसमः । सप्त समाः प्रमाणस्य । '+प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्+' इति मात्रत्रो लुक् । प्राच्यशब्द आद्युदात्तः । प्राच्यश्चासी सप्तसमश्च प्राच्यसप्तसमः । 'द्विगौ' किम् । व्रीहिप्रत्ययः । 'प्रमाणे' किम् परमसप्तसमम् ॥

3746. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'measure or quantity', the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is a Dvigu.

Thus प्राच्यसप्तसमः । The word सप्तसमः = सप्तसमाः प्रमाणस्य । the affix मात्रच् denoting 'measure' (V. 2. 37. S. 1838) is elided (See V. 2. 37. S. 1838 Vart) प्राच्यश्चासी सप्तसमश्च = प्राच्यसप्तसमः 'an Eastern seven-years old'; प्राच्य has acute on the first. Why do we say 'before a Dvigu'? Observe व्रीहिप्रत्ययः । Why do we say 'when denoting measure?' Observe परमसप्तसमम् ।

३७४७ । गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे । ६ । २ । १३ ॥

वाणिजशब्दे परे तत्पुरुषे गन्तव्यवाचि पण्यवाचि च पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरम् । मद्रवाणिजः सप्तमीसमासः । मद्रशब्दे रक्प्रत्ययान्तः । 'गन्तव्य इति किम् । परमवाणिजः ॥

3747. Before the word 'vânij' 'a trader,' the first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when it is a word specifying the place whither one has to go, or the ware in which one deals.

Thus मद्रवाणिजः = मद्रादिषु गत्वा व्यवहरन्ति 'the Madra-merchants i. e. 'who trade by going to Madra' All these are Locative compounds. मद्र is derived by रक् affix (Uṇ II. 11) and is acutely accented on the last (VI. 1. 165). In the sense of पण्य we have : गोवाणिजः 'a dealer in cows;' गौ is finally accented (Uṇ II. 67).

Why do we say 'the place whither one goes, or the goods in which one deals?' Observe परमवाणिजः ॥

३७४८ । मात्रादिषु परतो नपुंसकवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे तथा । भिन्नायास्तुल्यप्रमाणं भिन्नामात्रम् । भिन्नाशब्दे 'गुरोश्च हलः (३२८) इत्यप्रत्ययान्तः । पाणिन्युपज्ञम् । पाणिनिशब्द आद्युदात्तः ।

3748. मात्रादिषु परतो नपुंसकवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे तथा । भिन्नायास्तुल्यप्रमाणं भिन्नामात्रम् । भिन्नाशब्दे 'गुरोश्च हलः (३२८) इत्यप्रत्ययान्तः । पाणिन्युपज्ञम् । पाणिनिशब्द आद्युदात्तः ।

नन्दोपक्रमम् । नन्दशब्दः । पचाद्यजन्तः । इषुच्छायम् । इषुशब्द आद्युदात्तो नित्वात् । 'नपुंसके' किम् । कुडाच्छाया ॥

3748. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent before the words 'mâtrâ,' 'upajñâ,' 'upakrama,' and 'chhâyâ' when these words appear as neuter.

Thus भिन्नोमात्रं । The word मात्रा is here synonymous with तुल्य, the phrase being = भिन्नायास्तुल्यप्रमाणं, and is a Genitive compound. The word भिन्ना is derived from भिन्न, by the feminine affix अ (III. 3. 103. S. 3280), and has acute on the final (II. 1. 3). So also with उपज्ञा, as पाणिन्युपज्ञम् (see II. 4. 21). All these are Genitive compounds. The word पाणिनि is acutely accented on the first. So also with उपक्रम, as नन्दोपक्रमणि मानानि । The word नन्द is formed by अच् (III. 1. 144). The Tatpurusha compounds ending in उपज्ञा and उपक्रम are neuter by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, as इषुच्छायम् । The word इषु is derived from इष् by उ affix (Un. I. 13), and it being treated as नित् (Un. I. 9) the acute falls on इ the first syllable (VI. I. 197). The compound is a Genitive Tatpurusha—इषूणां छाया; and it is Neuter by II. 4. 22. When the compound is not a Neuter we have कुडाच्छाया (II. 4. 25).

३७४९ । सुखप्रिययोर्हिते । ६ । २ । १५ ॥

यतयोः परयोर्हितवाचिनि तत्पुंश्वे तथा । गमनप्रियम् । गमनसुखम् । गमनशब्दे लित्स्वरः 'हिते' किम् । परमसुखम् ॥

3749. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent when the second term is *sukha* or *priya*, and the sense is 'to feel delight, or is good.'

Thus गमनसुखम् 'the pleasure of going.' गमनप्रियम् । These are appositional compounds. The word गमन is formed by ल्युट् affix and has acute on the syllable preceding the affix (VI. I. 193). The word *sukha* and *priya* have the sense of हित or 'well' 'good,' 'beneficial,' &c. when the thing denoted by the first term the cause of pleasure or delight. When this is not the sense we have परमसुखम् ॥

३७५० । प्रीतौ च । ६ । २ । १६ ॥

प्रीतौ गम्यायां प्रागुक्तम् । ब्राह्मणसुखं पायसम् । छात्रप्रियोऽनध्यायः । ब्राह्मणच्छात्रशब्दौ प्रत्ययस्वरेणान्तोदात्तौ । 'प्रीतौ' किम् । राजसुखम् ॥

3750. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, the second term being *sukha* or *priya* in the sense of 'agreeable to one, or desired.'

Thus ब्राह्मणसुखं पायसं 'the sweetmilk desired by or agreeable to the Brâhmanas,' छात्रप्रियोऽनध्यायः &c. The words ब्राह्मण and छात्र have acute on the final being formed by the affixes अण् and ण respectively (V. 4. 62 and III. I. 3). When not meaning agreeable to or desired, we have राजसुखम्, ॥

३७५१ । स्वं स्वामिनि । ६ । २ । १७ ॥

स्वामिशब्दे परे स्ववाचि पूर्वपदं तथा । गोस्वामी । 'स्वम्' किम् । परमस्वामी ॥

3751. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word 'svāmin' as its second member, the first term, when it denotes the thing possessed, retains its original accent.

Thus गो[॑]स्वामी । When the first member is not a word denoting possession, we have परमस्वामी ॥

३७५२ । पत्यावैश्वर्ये । ६ । २ । १८ ॥

'दमूना गृहपतिर्दमे' ॥

3752. In a Tatpurusha ending in *pati* when it means 'master' or 'lord,' the first member preserves its original accent.

Thus दमूना गृहपतिर्दमे (Rig Veda I. 60. 4). The word गृह is formed by क (III. I. 144) and has acute on the final (III. I. 3).

३७५३ । न भूवाक्चिद्विधिषु । ६ । २ । १९ ॥

पतिशब्दे परे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे नैतानि प्रकृत्या । भुवः पतिर्भूपतिः । वाक्पतिः । चित्पतिः । दिधिपूषतिः ॥

3753. The words भू, वाक्, चित्, and दिधिषू, however, do not preserve their original accent in a Tatpurusha, when coming before the word *pati* denoting 'lord.'

This debars the accent taught by the last aphorism. Thus भूपतिः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पतिः, दिधिपूषतिः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds and are finally accented by VI. I. 223.

३७५४ । वा भुवनम् । ६ । २ । २० ॥

उक्तविषये । भुवनपतिः । 'भूसूधूमस्त्रिभ्यः' इति क्युवन्तो भुवनशब्दः ॥

3754. The word *bhuvana* may optionally keep its accent in a Tatpurusha, before *pati* denoting 'lord.'

Thus भुवनपतिः or भुवनपतिः । The word भुवन is formed by क्युच् (Uṇ. II. 80), and has acute on the first (VI. I. 197).

३७५५ । आशङ्काबाधनेदीयस्सु संभावने । ६ । २ । २१ ॥

अस्तित्वाध्यवसायः संभावनम् । गमनाशङ्कमस्ति । गमनाबाधम् । गमननेदीयः । गमनमाशङ्कयत आबाध्यते निकटतरमिति वा संभाव्यते । 'संभावने' किम् । परमनेदीयः ॥

3755. Before आशङ्क आबाध, and नेदीयस्, the first member in a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when it treats about a supposition.

The word संभावनम् = अस्तित्वाध्यवसायः 'the hesitation about the existence of a thing.' Thus गमनाशङ्कं वर्तते 'one fears the journey'; Similarly गमनाबाधम् वर्तते = गमनं बाध्यते इति संभाव्यते 'it has stepped in as an obstacle to journey.' Similarly गमननेदीयो वर्तते = गमनमिति निकटतरमिति संभाव्यते 'the journey stands directly before.'

Why do we say 'when a supposition is meant'? Observe परमनेदीयः। All the above words are formed by ल्युट् affix and have लिट् accent. (VI. 1. 193).

३७५६ । पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे । ६ । २ । २२ ॥

आद्यो भूतपूर्वः आद्यपूर्वः । पूर्वशब्दो वृत्तिविषये भूतपूर्वो वर्तते । 'भूतपूर्व' किम् । परमपूर्वः ॥

3756. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent when the word 'pūrva' is the second member, and the sense is 'this had been lately—.'

Thus आद्यो भूतपूर्वः = आद्यपूर्वः 'formerly had been rich.' The compound must be analysed in the above way. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 57 or it belongs to Mayūra-vyaṅsakādi class.

Why do we say when meaning 'had been lately.' Observe परमपूर्वः, which should be analysed as परमश्चासौ पूर्वश्चेति । If it is analysed as परमो भूतपूर्वः then it becomes an example under the rule and not a counter-example. In order therefore, to make this rule applicable we must know the sense of the compound.

३७५७ । सविधसनीडसमर्थादसवेशसदृशेषु सामीप्ये । ६ । २ । २३ ॥

एषु पूर्वं प्रकृत्या । मद्रसविधम् । गान्धारसनीडम् । काश्मीरसमर्थादम् । मद्रसवेशम् । मद्रसदृशम् । 'सामीप्ये' किम् । सह मर्यादया समर्थादं क्षेत्रम् । चैत्रसमर्थादम् ॥

3757. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when the second member is सविध, सनीड, समर्थाद, सवेश, and सदृश in the sense of 'what can be found in the vicinity thereof.'

Thus मद्रसविधम्, गान्धारसनीडम्, काश्मीरसमर्थादम्, मद्रसवेशम् and मद्रसदृशम् । The accents of these words have been taught before in Sūtras VI. 2. 12, 13. The words सविध &c., are derived from सह विधया &c., but they all mean 'in the vicinity': मद्रसविधं = मद्राणां सामीप्यम् । Why do we say 'when meaning in the vicinity thereof? Observe सह मर्यादया वर्तते = समर्थादं क्षेत्रम् 'a field having boundary.' चैत्रस्य समर्थादं = चैत्रसमर्थादम् 'the bounded field of Chaitra.'

३७५८ । विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु । ६ । २ । २४ ॥

विस्पष्टकटुकम् । विस्पष्टशब्दो 'गतिपन्तरः' (३७८३) इत्याद्युदात्तः । 'विस्पष्ट-' इति कम् । परमनघणम् । 'गुण-' इति किम् । विस्पष्टब्राह्मणः । विस्पष्ट । विचित्र । व्यक्त । संपन्न । पण्डित । कुशल । चपल । निपुण ॥

3758. The words 'vispa-hṭa' &c. preserve their accent when followed by an Adjective word in a compound,

Thus विस्पष्ट कटुकम् । The compounding takes place by II. 1. 4. and it should be analysed thus विस्पष्टं कटुकम् ।

The word विस्पष्ट has acute on the first by VI. 2. 49. The word (2) विचित्र is also acute on the first as it gets the accent of the Indeclinable. Some read the

word as विचिन्तः, which being a Bahuvrīhi has also first acute. The word (3) व्यक्त has svarita on the first by VIII. 2. 4. The remaining words of this class are (4) संपन्नं, (5) पटु or कटु, (6) परिदत्, (7) कुशलं (8) चपलं and (9) निपुणं. Of these, the word संपन्नं has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144 ; पटु is formed by उ (Up. 1. 18), which being considered as नित् (Up. 1. 9), it has acute on the first. परिदत् is formed by क्त to the root पड्, and is finally acute (VI. 2. 144). कुशल has accent on the final, being formed by a kṛit affix (कुशान् लान्ति=कुशलः, ला आदाने, or Up. I. 106). चपल being formed by a चित् affix (Up. I. 111), has acute on the final (VI. 1. 163), for चित् is understood in the Upadi sūtra Up. I. 111 from sūtra Up. I. 106. The word निपुण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, being formed by क् affix added to पुण् &c.

Why do we say 'of विस्यष्ट &c., ? Observe परमलवर्णम् having acute on the final. Why do we say 'when followed by a word expressing a quality' ? Observe विस्यष्टब्राह्मणः ॥

३७५९ । अज्यावमकन्यापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये । ६ । २ । २५ ॥

'अ' 'ज्य' 'अवम' 'कन्' इत्यादेशवति पापवाचिनि चोत्तरपदे भाववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृत्या । गमनश्रेष्ठम् । गमनज्यायः । गमनावमम् । गमनकनिष्ठम् । गमनपापिष्ठम् । 'अ' इत्यादि किम् । गमनशोभनम् । 'भावे' किम् । गम्यतेऽनेनेति गमनम् । गमनं श्रेयो गमनश्रेयः । कर्म-इति किम् । षष्ठीसमासे मा भूत् ॥

3759. In a Karmadhāraya compound, the first member consisting of a Verbal noun 'bhāva' preserves its original accent before adjective forms built from 'śra' (V. 3. 60), 'jya' (V. 3. 61) 'avama' and 'kan' (V. 3. 64), and before a form built from the word 'pāpa.'

Thus गमनश्रेष्ठम्, गमनज्यायः, गमनावमम्, गमनकनिष्ठम्, गमनपापिष्ठम् । गमन is a ल्युट् formed word and has लित् accent i. e., on the first syllable, (VI. 1. 193). The words अ, ज्य, and कन् are substitutes which certain adjectives take in the comparative and superlative degrees, and the employment of these forms in the sūtra indicates that the comparative and superlative words having these elements should be taken as second members, and so also of पाप, the comparative and superlative are taken, for this is the meaning here of the word पापवत् ॥

Why do we say 'अ &c.' ? Observe गमनशोभनम् । Why do we say 'a verbal Noun' ? Observe गमनश्रेयः, गमनं श्रेयः = गमनश्रेयः a better carriage where the word 'गमन' is = गम्यतेऽनेन 'a carriage' here ल्युट् is in the sense of करण and not भाव (III. 1. 117. S. 3293). Why do we say 'a Karmadhāraya compound' ? Not so in the Genitive compound.

३७६० । कुमारश्च १६ । २ । २६ ॥

कर्मधारये । कुमारश्रमणा । कुमारशब्देऽन्तोदात्तः ॥

3760. The word 'kumāra' preserves its original accent, when standing as a first member in a Karmadhāraya compound.

Thus कुमारश्रमणा । The word कुमार has acute on the final, as it is derived

from the root कुमार क्रीडायाम् with the affix अच् of पचादि । By II. 1. 70, S. 752 it is ordained that कुमार is compounded with अमण् &c.

NOTE :—Some commentators hold that the word कुमार must be followed by अमण् &c. (II. 1. 70) to make this rule applicable. They refer to the maxim लक्षण-प्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् “ whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of Grammar, or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule, such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed.” Other Grammarians, however do not make any such limitation, but apply the rule to all Karmadhâraya compounds of कुमार ॥

३७६१ । आदिः प्रत्येनसि । ६ । २ । २७ ॥

कुमारस्यादिरुदात्तः प्रत्येनसि परे कर्मधारये । प्रतिगतमेनोऽस्य प्रत्येनाः । कुमारप्रत्येनाः ॥

3761. In a Karmadhâraya compound of Kumâra followed by *pratyenas*, the acute falls on the first syllable of Kumâra.

The word प्रत्येनस् = प्रतिगतमेनोऽस्य । Thus कुंमारप्रत्येनाः ॥

३७६२ । पूगेष्वन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । २ । २८ ॥

पूगा गणास्तेपूक्तं वा । कुमारचातकाः । कुमारजोसूताः । आद्युदात्तत्वाभावे कुमारश्चेत्येव भवति ॥

3762. The first syllable of Kumâra is acute optionally, when the second member is a word denoting ‘ the name of a horde.’

The word पूग means ‘ a multitude, a collection &c.’ Thus कुंमारचातकाः or कुमारेचातकाः (VI. 2. 26), or कुमारेचातकाः । So also with कुंमारजोसूताः । Here चातक &c, are horde-names ; and the affix ज्य is added to them by V. 3. 112 : which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 62. In the above examples when the word ‘Kumâra’ is not accented on the first syllable, it gets accent on the last by VI. 2. 26, when the प्रतिपदोक्त maxim is not applied : when that maxim is applied, the final of the compound takes the accent by the general rule VI. 1. 223.

३७६३ । इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ । ६ । २ । २९ ॥

एषु परेषु पूर्वं प्रकृत्या । पञ्चारण्यः प्रमाणमस्य पञ्चारणिः । दशमासान्भूतो दशमास्यः । पञ्चमासान्भूतः पञ्चमास्यः । ‘तमधीष्टे-’ इत्यधिकारे द्विगौर्यम् । पञ्चकपालः । पञ्चभगालः पञ्चशरावः ‘त्रः संख्यायाः’ इति पञ्चस्कब्द आद्युदात्तः । ‘इगन्तादिषु’ किम् । पञ्चाश्वः । ‘द्विगौ’ किम् । परमारणिः ॥

3763. In a Dvigu compound, the first member preserves its original accent, before a stem ending in a simple vowel, with the exception of *a* (*ik*), before a word denoting time, as well as before ‘kapâla,’ ‘bhagâla’ and ‘sarâva.’

Thus पञ्चारत्रिः । The above is an example of Taddhitārtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52) equal to पञ्चारत्रयः प्रमाणमस्य, the प्रमाण denoting affix मात्रच् is always elided in Dvigu (V. 2. 3 Vārt). So also दशमास्यः = दश मासान् भूते । So also पञ्चमास्यः । This is also a Taddhitārtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), formed by the affix यच्. (V. 1.80-82 S 1744-46). So also पञ्चकपालः, पञ्चभगालः, पञ्चशरावः । These are also Taddhitārtha Dvigu formed by IV. 2. 16, the affix अण् being elided by IV. 1. 88. The word पञ्चन् is first acute by Phit (II. 5).

Why do we say "before an द्गन्त stem & o"? Observe पञ्चभिरश्वैः क्रीतः = पञ्चाश्वैः, । Why do we say "in a Dvigu Compound?" Observe परमारत्रिः ॥

३७६४ । बहुन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । २ । ३० ॥

बहुशब्दस्तथा वा । बहुरत्रिः । बहुमास्यः । बहुकपालः । बहुशब्देऽन्तोदात्तः । तस्य पश्चि सति 'उदात्तस्वरितयोः -' (३६५७) इति भवति ॥

3764. In a Dvigu compound, the word *bahu* may optionally preserve its accent, when followed by an ik-ending stem, or by a time-word, or by kapâla, bhagâla and śarâva.

This allows option where the last rule required the accent necessarily. Thus बहुरत्रिः or बहुरत्रिः, बहुमास्यः or बहुमास्यैः, बहुकपालः or बहुकपालैः, बहुभगालः or बहुभगालैः, बहुशरावः or बहुशरावैः । The word बहु has acute on the final being formed by the affix कु (Up. I. 29). When the उ is changed to व, as in the first example, the anudatta अ is changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 4. S. 3657, when the first member preserves its accent. In the other alternative, the accent falls on the last syllable.

३७६५ । दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च । ६ । २ । ३१ ॥

एतयोः परतः पूर्व पदं प्रकृत्या वा द्विगौ । पञ्चदिष्टिः । पञ्चवितस्तिः ॥

3765. In a Dvigu compound, the first member may optionally preserve its accent, when followed by the words 'dishti' and *vitasti* as second members.

Thus पञ्चदिष्टिः or पञ्चदिष्टिः, पञ्चवितस्तिः or पञ्चवितस्तिः । The affix मात्रच् is elided after the प्रमाण denoting words dishti and vitasti (V. 2. 37).

३७६६ । सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्कबन्धेष्वकालात् । ६ । २ । ३२ ॥

अकालवाचि सप्तम्यन्तं प्रकृत्या सिद्धादिषु । सांकाश्यसिद्धः । सांकाश्येति गयान्तः । आतपशुष्कः । भाष्टपक्वः । भाष्टीति ष्ट्वन्तः । चक्रबन्धः । चक्रशब्देऽन्तोदात्तः । 'अकालात्' किम् । पूर्वाह्णसिद्धः । कृत्स्वरेण बाधितः सप्तमीस्वरः प्रतिप्रसूयते ॥

3766. A locative-ending word, when it does not denote time, preserves its original accent, when followed by *siddha*, 'śushka' *pakva*, and *bandha*, in a compound.

Thus सांकाश्यासिद्धः or सांकाश्यासिद्धः, काम्पिल्यासिद्धः or काम्पिल्यासिद्धः । The word सांकाश्य is formed by the affix गयत् added to सांकाश (IV. 2. 80). The words, sâmkâśya and kâmpilya have acute on the final, and by Phit Sûtra (III. 16) in the alternative the accent falls on the middle. So also आतपशुष्क । The word

चाट् is formed by ट् न affix, and has acute on the beginning. So also चक्रवन्धः. The word chakra, has acute on the final.

Why do we say 'when not denoting time.'? Observe पूर्वाह्णसिद्धः. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 41. The accent of the Locative Tatpurusha taught in VI. 2. 1. was debarred by Kṛit-accent taught in VI. 2. 144. The present sūtra debars this last rule regarding Kṛit-accent and reordains the Locative Tatpurusha accent when the Kṛit-words are सिद्ध &c.

३७६७ । परिप्रत्युपाया वर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु । ६ । २ । ३३ ॥

एते प्रकृत्या वर्ज्यमानवाचिनि अहोरात्रावयववाचिनि चोत्तरपदे । परित्रिगते वृष्टो देवः । प्रतिपूर्वाह्णम् । प्रत्यपररात्रम् । उपपूर्वरात्रम् । अपत्रिगतम् । उपसर्गा आद्युदात्ताः । बहुव्रीहित्यु रूपयोः सिद्धत्वादव्ययीभावार्थमिदम् । अपपर्योरेव वर्ज्यमानसुत्तरपदम् तयोरेव वर्ज्यमानार्थत्वात् । अहोरात्रावयवा अपि वर्ज्यमाना एव तयोर्भवन्ति । 'वर्ज्य-' इति किम् । अग्निं प्रति प्रत्यग्नि ॥

3767. The particles *pari*, *prati*, *upa*, and *apa*, preserve their accent before that word, which specifies an exclusion, or a portion of day and night, (in an Avyayibhāva compound also).

Thus परित्रिगते वृष्टो देवः 'It rained all round (but not in) Trigarta.' (See II. 1. 11. and 12). So also परिसौवीरम् परिसार्वमनि, परिपूर्वरात्रम् । So also प्रतिपूर्वाह्णम्, प्रत्यपररात्रम्, उपपूर्वरात्रम्, अपत्रिगतम्, वृष्टो देवः, (II. 1. 11. and 12).

By *Phit* Sūtras IV. 12, and 13 all Particles (Nipāta) have acute on the first syllable. So also upasargas with the exception of अभि । Therefore परि &c. have acute on the first. In a Tatpurusha and Bahuvrihi compounds, these words 'pari' 'prati' &c. as first members would have retained their accent by the rules already gone before; the present sūtra, therefore, extends the principle of the preservation of the accent to Avyayibhāva compounds also. The prepositions अप and परि alone denote the limit exclusive or वर्जन, and it is therefore with these two prepositions only that the second member can denote the thing excluded, and not with प्रति and उप । With these prepositions अप and परि, the second term if denoting a member of day or night, is also taken even as excluded, therefore no separate illustrations of those are given.

Why do we say 'before a word which is excluded, or is a part of a day and night'? Observe प्रत्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति ।

३७६८ । राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्यकवृष्णिषु । ६ । २ । ३४ ॥

राजन्यवाचिनां बहुवचनान्तानामन्यकवृष्णिषु वर्तमाने द्वन्द्वे पूर्वपदं प्रकृत्या । श्वाफल्क चैत्रकाः । शनिवासुदेवाः । शिनिराद्युदात्ता लक्षणया तदप्रत्ये वर्तते । 'राजन्य-' इति किम् । द्विप्यभेमायनाः । द्वीपे मवा द्विप्याः । भेमेरप्रत्ययुवा भेमायनः । अन्यकवृष्णेषु एते न तु राजन्याः । राजन्यग्रहणमिहाभिपिकरंशयानां त्रिषयाणं ग्रहणार्थम् । नैते तथा । 'बहुवचनम्' किम् । संकर्षणवासुदेवौ । 'द्वन्द्वे' किम् । वृष्णिनां कुमारा वृष्णिकुमाराः । 'अन्यकवृष्णिषु' किम् । कुश पञ्चालाः ॥

3768. The first member of a Dvandva compound, formed of names denoting the Kshatriya (warrior) clans in the plural num-

ber, retains its original accent when the warrior belongs to the clan of Andhaka or Vṛishṇi.

Thus श्रवाफल्क^३चैत्रकाः, चैत्रकैरोधकाः, शिनिवासुदेवाः । The word Śvāphalka is formed by अण् affix (IV. 1. 114) and has acute on the last (III. 1. 3). The word शिनि has acute on the first syllable, and does not change in denoting Patronymic.

Why do we say 'in denoting a Warrior clan'? Observe द्विष्यहेमायनाः । Here द्विष्य is derived from द्वीप by the affix यञ् (IV. 3. 10) = द्वीपे भवाः । हेमायनः = हेमेरपत्यं युवा । These names belong to Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans, but are not the warrior-names. The word राजन्य here means those Kshatriyas who belong to the family of anointed kings and warriors (अभियन्तवश्याः); these (Dvaipya and Haimāyana) do not belong to any such family.

Why do we say 'in the Plural number'? Observe संकर्षणवासुदेवैः ॥

Why do we say 'in a Dvandva compound'? Observe वृष्णीनां कुमाराः=वृष्ण-कुमारैः ॥

Why do we say 'of Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans'? Observe कुरुपञ्चालैः ॥

३७६९ । संख्या । ६ । २ । ३५ ॥

संख्यावाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृत्या द्वन्द्वे । द्वादश । त्रयोदश । त्रेस्त्रयसादेश आद्युदात्तो निपात्यते ॥

3769. The numeral word, standing as the first member of a Dvandva compound, preserves its accent.

Thus एकदश, द्वौदश, त्रयोदश or त्रयोदश । The त्रयस् is the substitute of त्रि (VI. 3. 48) and has acute on the final.

३७७० । आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवामी । ६ । २ । ३६ ॥

आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिनां द्वन्द्वे पूर्वपदं प्रकृत्या । पाणिनीयरीटीयाः । कृस्वरेण मध्योदात्ता वृते । आचार्योपसर्जनग्रहणं द्वन्द्वविशेषम् । सकलो द्वन्द्व आचार्योपसर्जनेन यथा विज्ञायेत । तेनेह न । पाणिनीयदेवदत्तो । 'आचार्य-' इति किम् । छान्दसवैयाकरणाः । 'अन्तेवामी' किम् । अपि अलपाणिनीये शास्त्रे ॥

3770. When words denoting scholars are named after their teachers and are compounded into a Dvandva, the first member retains its accent.

The word अन्तेवामी means 'a pupil' 'a boarder'; not a day scholar. When the scholar is named by an epithet derived from the name of his teacher, that name is आचार्योपसर्जनः or teacher-derived name. Thus पाणि^३पिरीटीयाः । Both words have acute on the middle as formed by कृ affix. The word आचार्योपसर्जन qualifies the whole Dvandva compound and not the first member only. That is, the whole compound in all its parts should denote scholars, whose names are derived from those of their teachers. Therefore not in पाणिनीय-देवदत्तो where though the first is a teacher-derived name, the second is not.

Why do we say "names derived from the teacher's"? Observe छान्दसवैयाकरणाः ॥

Who do we say 'a scholar?' Observe अपिशलपाणिनीये शास्त्रे ॥

३७७१ । कार्तकौजपादयश्च । ६ । २ । ३७ ॥

एषां द्वन्द्वे पूर्वपदं प्रकृत्या । कार्तकौजपा । कृतस्येदं कुजपस्येदमित्यणन्तावेती । सार्वणि-
माण्डूकेयो ॥

3771. Also in the Dvandvas 'kârtkaujapau' &c, the first members retain their accent.

Those words of this list which end in a dual or plural affix have been so exhibited for the sake of distinctness. The following is a list of these words.

1. कार्त-कौजपा (formed by अण् IV. I. 114 in the sense of Patronymic, from कृत and कुजप these being Rishi names) ॥

2. सार्वणिमाण्डूकेयो (sâvarni is formed by इञ् Patron, affix and माण्डूकेय by टक् IV. I. 119).

3. आवन्त्यश्रमकाः The word Avanti is end-acute, to which is added the Patron affix ण्यां by IV. I. 171, which being a Tadrâj is elided in the plural; अवन्तीनां निवासे जनपदः = अवन्ति the quadruple significant अण् being elided.

4. पिलश्यापर्णयाः (Paila is derived from Pilâ; the son of Pilâ is Paila, the yuvan descendant of Paila will be formed by adding फिञ् IV. I. 156, which is however, elided by II. 4. 59.) The word Śyâparṇa belongs to Bidâdi class IV. I. 104, the female descendant will be Śyâparṇi the yuvan descendant of her will be Śyâparṇeya. It is not necessary that the compound should be plural always. We have पिलश्यापर्णयो also.

5. कपिश्यापर्णयाः Kapi has acute on the final. The son of Kapi will be formed by यञ् IV. I. 107, which is however elided by II. 4. 64. This compound must, therefore, be always in the plural.

6. शैतिकान्तपांचालेयाः (Śitikāksha is the name of a Rishi, his son will be Śaitikāksha by अण्, IV. I. 114, the yuvan descendant of the latter will be formed by इञ् which is elided by II. 4. 58. Pâñchâla's female descendant is Pâñchâlî, her yuvan descendant is Pâñchâleya. The plural number here is not compulsory. We have शैतिकान्तपाञ्चालेयो also.)

7. कटुकवाधूलेयाः or कटुकवार्चलेयाः (The son of Kaṭuka will be formed by इञ् IV. I. 59, which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 66. The son of Varchalâ is Vârchaleya).

8. शाकलशुनकाः (The son of Śakala is Śākalya, his pupils are Śākalaḥ by अण् IV. 2. 111. The son of Śunaka will be Śaunaka by अञ् IV. I. 104, which will be elided in the Plural by II. 4. 64). Some read it as शकलसणकाः, where the इञ् affix after Saṇaka is elided by II. 4. 66. So also शुनकधात्रेयः ॥

9. श्याकवाभवाः (the son of Babhru is Bâbhrava).

10. आर्वाभिमादगलाः (Archâvinah are those who study the work produced by Rîchâva, the affix णिनि being added by IV. 3. 104. Mudgala belongs to Kanvâdi class IV. 2. III; Maudgalâḥ are pupils of the son of Mudgala).

11. कुन्तिसुराष्ट्राः. This a Dvandva of Kanti and Surâshṭra in the plural or of the country-names derived from them like Avanti. Kunti and Chinti have acute on the final.

12. चिन्तिसुराध्याः as the last. 13. तयडवतयडाः (Both belong to Pachâdi class formed by अच् III. 1. 134, from तडि ताडने Bhvâdi 300, वतयड is formed from the same root with the prefix अव, the अ being elided, and both have acute on the final: and are enumerated in the Gargâdi list IV. 1. 105. In the plural the patronymic affix यञ् is elided by II. 4. 64.

14. गर्गवत्सः । Here also यञ् affix is elided by II. 4. 64.

15. अविमत्तकामवधाः or °त्रिद्धाः । Avimatta has acute on the first being formed by the नञ् particle. Both the words lose इञ् patronymic by II. 4. 66.

16. बाभ्रवशालङ्कायनाः । The son of Babhru is Bâbhra, and the son of Śalañku or Śalañka of नडादि IV. 1. 99 is Śâlañkâyana.

17. बाभ्रवदानच्युतः । Dâncyuta takes इञ् in the patronymic which is elided by II. 4. 66.

18. कठकालापाः । Kaṭhâḥ are those who read the work of Kaṭha, the affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104.) being elided by IV. 3. 107. Those who study the work of Kâlâpin, are Kalâpâḥ the अण् being added by IV. 3. 108, which required the इन् of Kalâpin to be retained by VI. 4. 164 but by a Vârtika under VI. 4. 144 the इन् portion is elided before अण् ॥

19. कठकौयुमाः । Those who study the work of Kuthumin are कौयुमाः formed by अण् (IV. 1. 83), the इन् being elided before अण् by VI. 4. 144 Vârt already referred to above.

20. कौयुमलौकाक्षाः । Those who study the work of Lokâksha are Laukâkshâḥ. Or the son of Lokâksha is Laukâkshi, the pupils of latter are Laukâkshâḥ.

21. स्त्रीकुमारम् । Strî has accent on the final.

22. मौदपेष्पलादाः । The son of Muda is Maudi, the pupils of latter are Maudâḥ. So also Paippalâdâḥ.

23. मौदपेष्पलादाः । The double reading of this word indicates that Rule VI. 1. 223 also applies.

24. वत्सजरत् or वत्सजरन्तः = वत्स + जरत् । Vatsa has acute on the final.

25. So also सौश्रुतपार्थवाः, The pupils of Suśruta and Prîthu are so called; they take अण् IV. 1. 83. 26. जरामृत्यु, 27. याज्यानुवाक्ये । Yâjya is formed by ययत्, added to यञ्, the ज् is not changed to a Guttural by VII. 3. 66. It has svarita on the final by तित् accent (VI. 1. 185). Anuvâkya is derived from anu + vach + nyat.

३७७२ । महाब्रीह्यपराह्णयष्टीशशासजाबालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु ।
६ । २ । ३८ ॥

महच्छब्दः प्रकृत्या व्रीह्यादिषु दशसु । महाब्रीहिः । महापराह्णः । महायष्टिः । महेष्वामः । महाहैलिहिलः । महच्छब्दोन्तरेदात्तः । 'सन्महत्-' (७४०) इति प्रतिपदोक्तसमास एवायं स्वरः । नेह । महतो व्रीहिर्महद्ब्रीहिः ।

3772. The word महत् (महा) retains its accent before the following: व्रीहि, अराह्ण, यष्टि, इष्वाम, जाबाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, and प्रवृद्ध ॥

Thus म॒हो॒वी॒रि॒हिः, म॒हो॒प॒रा॒ह॒णः, म॒हो॒ग॒रि॒ष्टः, म॒हो॒प॒वासः, म॒हो॒जा॒वालः, म॒हो॒भारः' म॒हो॒भार॑तः, म॒हो॒है॒लि॒हिलः, म॒हो॒रि॒रवः, म॒हो॒प्र॒वृ॒द्धः ॥ The महत् has acute on the final (Up II. 84.) On the प्रतिपदोक्त maxim already mentioned under VI. 2. 26. S 3760, this accent will apply to that compound of महत् which it forms under rule II. 1. 61. S. 740 for that is the particular rule of Karmadhāraya compounding relating to mahat (pratipadokta). This rule therefore, will not apply to Genitive Tatpuruṣha. Thus महतो वीरिहः = महद्वीरिहः which has accent on the final by VI. 1. 223.

३७७३ । कु॒ल्लक॑श्च वै॒श्वदे॑वे । ६ । २ । ३९ ॥

घान्महान् । कु॒ल्लक॑वै॒श्वदे॑वम् । महा॑वै॒श्वदे॑वम् । क्षु॒धं ला॑तीति कु॒ल्लः । तस्मा॑दज्ञातादिषु के॒न्तोदा॑तः ।

3773. The words mahat and kshullaka retain their accent before the word Vaiśvadeva.

Thus म॒हो॒वै॒श्वदे॑वम्, and कु॒ल्लक॑वै॒श्वदे॑वम् ॥ The word kshullaka is derived thus क्षु॒धं ला॑ति=कु॒ल्लः to which the Diminutive क (V. 3. 7 3. &c) is added: and the word has udāta on the final.

३७७४ । उ॒ष्ट्रः सा॑दि॒वाम्य॑योः । ६ । २ । ४० ॥

उ॒ष्ट्रसा॑दो । उ॒ष्ट्रवामि॑ । उ॒षेः ष्ट॑नि उ॒ष्ट्रशब्द॑ आद्युदा॑तः ।

3774. The word 'ushtra' retains its accent before 'sādi' and 'vāmi'.

Thus उ॒ष्ट्रसा॑दो and उ॒ष्ट्रवामि॑ ॥ The word उ॒ष्ट्र is derived from उ॒ष् by ष्ट॑न् affix (Up IV. 162) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197.)

३७७५ । गोः सा॑दसा॒दिसा॑रथिषु । ६ । २ । ४१ ॥

गोसा॑दः । गोसा॑दिः । गोसा॑रथिः ॥

3775. The word *gō* retains its accent before 'sāda', 'sādi', and 'sārathi'.

Thus गोःसा॑दः or गां सा॑दयति=गो॑सा॒दः, गोः सा॑दिः=गो॑सा॒दिः, and गो॑सा॒रथिः ॥ सा॒द is formed from स॒द् with the affix घञ् and forms a Genitive compound (गोः सा॑दः). Or from the causative verb सा॑दयति, we get गोसा॑दः by adding अण् (III. 9. 1) गोसा॑दी is formed by णिनि from the same causative root. The Kṛit-accent is debarred in the case of सा॑द and सा॑दिन्; the Samāsa-accent VI. 1. 223 in the case of सा॑रथि ॥

३७७६ । कु॒रुगा॑र्हप॒तरि॒क्तगु॑र्वसू॒तजर॑त्यश्ली॒लदृ॑ढरूपा पा॒रेव॑डवा तै॒तिल॑कद्रूः प॒ण्य॒कम्ब॑लो दा॒सीभा॑राणां च । ६ । २ । ४२ ॥

एषां स॒प्तानां॑ समा॒सानां॑ दा॒सीभा॑रादेश्च पू॒र्वप॑दं प्रकृत्या । कु॒रुणां॑ गा॒र्हप॑तं कु॒रुगा॑र्हप॑तम् । उ॒प्रत्य॑यान्तः कुरुः ।

'+ वृ॒जैरि॑ति वाच्यम्+' । वृ॒जिगा॑र्हप॑तम् । वृ॒जिरा॑द्युदा॑तः ।

रि॒क्तो गु॑रुः रि॒क्तगु॑रुः । रि॒क्तं वि॒भावा॑ (३६६६) इतिरि॒क्तशब्द॑ आद्युदा॑तः । असू॒ता ज॑रती असू॒तजर॑ती । अश्ली॒ला दृ॑ढरूपा अश्ली॒लदृ॑ढरूपा । अश्ली॒लशब्दो॑ नञ्समासत्वादाद्युदा॑तः । श्री॒र्यस्या॑स्ति तत् श्ली॒लम् । सि॒ध्मादि॑त्वाल्लवकपिलकादि॒त्वाल् लत्व॑म् । पा॒रे व॑ड्वेध पा॒रेव॑डवा । निपा॒तना॑दिवा॒र्थे समा॑सो वि॒भक्त्य॑लोपश्च । पा॒रशब्दो॑ घृ॒तादि॑त्वादर्न्तीदा॑तः । तै॒तिलानां॑ कद्रूः । तै॒ती॒मल॑कद्रूः । ति॒तिलि॑नोऽपत्यं का॒त्रो वे॒त्यण॑न्तः । प॒ण्यशब्दो॑ यदन्तत्वादाद्युदा॑तः । प॒ण्यक॑म्बलः ।

‘+ संज्ञायामिति वक्तव्यम् +’ अन्यत्र परिणतव्ये कम्बले समासान्तोदात्तत्वमेव । प्रतिपदोक्ते समासे ‘कत्याः’ (२८३१) इत्येष स्वरो विहितः । दास्या भारो दासीभारः । देवद्यूतिः । यस्य तत्पुरुषस्य पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वमिष्यते न चिञ्चिष्य वचनं विहितं स सर्वोऽपि दासीभारादिषु द्रष्टव्यः । ‘स राये सपुरन्धयाम्’ । पुरं शरीरं धियतेऽस्यामिति ‘कर्मण्यधिकरणे च’ (३२०९) इति किप्रत्ययः । अलुवहान्दसः । नर्वावपयस्यत्याद्युदात्तः पुरशब्दः ॥

3776. The first member retains its accent in the following:—
1. Kuru-gârhapata, 2. Riktâ-guru, 3. Asûta-jaratî, 4. Aśîlâ-dṛiḍha-rûpâ, 5. Pâre-vaḍavâ, 6. Taitila-kadrûh, 7. Panya-kambalah, and Dâsî-bhâra &c.

The first seven words are compounds, the first two of these are exhibited without any case-ending, the remaining five are in Nom. Singular. Thus कुरु गार्हपतम् (कुरुणां गार्हपत, Kuru is formed by कु affix added to कृ Up. I. 24,) and has acute on the final.

Vart.—So also वृजिगार्हपतम्, the word Vriji has acute accent on the first.

So also रिक्तो गुरुः=रिक्तं गुरुः or रिक्तगुरुः for rikta has acute either on the first or on the second (VI. 1. 208 S. 3696). So also असूता जरती=असूतजरती, अश्लीलादृढरूपा=अश्लील दृढरूपा ॥ Asûta and aślîlâ being formed by नञ् particle have acute on the first: VI. 2. 2. That which has ओ is called श्लील, the affix लच् being added by its belonging to Sidhmâdi class, and र changed to ल by its belonging to kapilakâdi class (VIII. 2. 18.) So also पारं वडवा, this is = पारेवडवे ॥ This is a samâsa with the force of वच्, and there is irregularly no elision of the case-ending. It is not a compound under II. 1. 18, S. 672 The word पार belongs to Ghṛitâdi class, and has acute on the final. तैतिलानां कटूः=तैतिलकटूः, the son or pupil of Titilin is Taitila formed by अण् affix. पण्यकम्बलः, panya ends in यत् and has acute on the first (VI. I. 213).

Vart.—पण्यकम्बलः has acute on the first only when it is a name. Other wise in परिणतव्ये कम्बले compound, the accent will be on the final by the general rule VI. 1. 223. The word पण्य being formed by यत् affix (III. 1. 101) is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 213). The word पण्यकम्बलः is a Name when it means the market-blanket i. e. a blanket of a well known determinate size and fixed price, which is generally kept for sale by the blanket-sellers. But when the compound means a saleable blanket, it takes the samâsa accent (VI. 1. 223). If it be objected what is the use this Vartika, for the word पण्य being formed by a kṛitya affix, will retain its accent in the Tatpurusha, by VI. 2. 2, we reply that the कृत्य used in VI. 2. 2 relates to pratipadokta kṛitya compounds such as ordained by कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या (II. 1. 68), while here the compound is by विशेषण-विशेष्येण (II. 1. 51) and is a general compound.

So also दास्याभारः=दासीभारः । The words belonging to Dâsî bhârâdi class are all those Tatpurusha compound words, not governed by any of the rules of accent, in which it is desired that the first member should retain its accent As :—स राये स पुरन्धयाम् (Rig Veda I. 5. 3). The word पुरन्धिय means ‘पुरं शरीरं धीयतेऽस्याम्’ । The affix is क्, and the case-ending of पुर is retained as a Vaidic anomaly. The word पुर is first acute by Phiṭ II. 3.

३७७७ । चतुर्थी तदर्थे । ६ । २ । ४३ ॥

चतुर्थीतार्थाय तत्तद्वाचिन्युत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं प्रकृत्या । यूवाय दाह यूपदारु ॥

3777. A word in the Dative case as the first member retains its accent, when the second member expresses that which is suited to become the former.

Thus यू^०पदारु । The word यूप has acute on the first syllable, as it is formed by प (Un. III. 27) treated as a नित् (Un. III. 26). This accent applies when the second member denoting the material is modified into the first by workmanship. The composition takes place by II. 1. 36.

३७७८ । अर्थे । ६ । २ । ४४ ॥

अर्थे परे चतुर्थ्यन्तं प्रकृत्या । देवार्थम् ॥

3778. Before the 'artha', the first member in the Dative retains its accent.

Thus देव^०तार्थम्; देवता being formed by a लित् affix (V. 4. 27) has acute on the middle.

३७७९ । क्तञ्च । ६ । २ । ४५ ॥

क्तान्ते परे चतुर्थ्यन्तं प्रकृत्या । गोहितम् ॥

3779. The first member in the Dative case retains its accent before a Past Participle in 'kta.'

Thus गो^०हितम् । The compounding takes place by II. 1. 36.

३७८० । कर्मधारयेऽनिष्ठा । ६ । २ । ४६ ॥

क्तान्ते परे पूर्वमनिष्ठान्तं प्रकृत्या । श्रेणिकृताः । श्रेणिशब्द आद्युदात्तः । पूगकृताः । पूगशब्दोऽन्तोदात्तः । 'कर्मधारये' किम् । श्रेण्या कृतं श्रेणिकृतम् । 'अनिष्ठा' किम् । कृताःकृतम् ॥

3780. Before a Past Participle in 'kta,' the first member, when it itself is not a Past Participle, retains its original accent in a Karmadhāraya compound.

This rule is confined to the Past Participles and the Nouns specifically mentioned in II. 1. 59, on the maxim of pratipadokta &c. Thus श्रेणिकृताः, पूगकृताः । The word श्रेणि has acute on the first as it is formed by the affix नि which is considered नित् (Un. IV. 51). The word पूग is end-acute as it is formed by the affix गक् (Un. I. 124). Why do we say 'in a Karmadhāraya compound'? Observe श्रेण्या कृतं = श्रेणिकृतम् । Why do we say 'when it is a non-nishṭha word'? Observe कृताःकृतम् । Here the compounding is by II. 1. 60.

३७८१ । अहीने द्वितीया । ६ । २ । ४७ ॥

अहीनवाचिनः समासे क्तान्ते परे द्वितीयान्तं प्रकृत्या । कष्टश्रितः । घामगतः । कष्टशब्दोऽन्तोदात्तः । घामशब्दो नित्स्वरेण । 'अहीने' किम् । क्तान्तारातीतः ॥

'+ अनुपसर्ग इति वक्तव्यम् +' । नेह । सुखप्राप्तः । 'याद्य-' (३८७८) इत्यस्यापवादोऽयम् ॥

3781. Before a Past Participle in 'kta,' a word ending in the Accusative case retains its accent, when it does not mean a separation.

Thus कष्टं श्रितः, यामगतः । कष्टं has acute on the end ; याम has acute on the first, as it is formed by the नित् affix मन् added to गम्, the final being replaced by आ (Ūṇ. I. 143). Why do we say 'when not meaning separation' ? Observe कान्तारतीतः, because one has taken himself beyond kântâra.

Vart :—This rule does not apply when the Past Participle has an upasarga attached : as सुखयातः, (VI. 4. 144). This is an exception to rule VI. 2. 144.

३७८२ । तृतीया कर्मणि । ६ । २ । ४८ ॥

कर्मवाचके क्तान्ते परे तृतीयान्तं प्रकृत्या । 'त्वोतासः' । रुद्रहतः । महाराजहतः । रुद्रो रगन्तः । 'कर्मणि' किम् । रथेन यातो रथयातः ॥

3782. A word ending in an Instrumental case retains its accent before the Past Participle in 'kta,' when it has a Passive meaning.

Thus त्वोतासः = त्वया कृताः रक्षिताः 'protected by thee,' रुद्रं हतः । महाराजं हतः । रुद्र is formed by रक् affix (Ūṇ II. 22) added to the causative रोदि ; महाराज is formed by the Samâsânta affix टच्, and has acute on the final. Why do we say 'when having a Passive signification' ? Observe रथेनयातः = रथयातः । The 'kta' is added to a verb of motion with an Active signification.

३७८३ । गतिरनन्तरः । ६ । २ । ४९ ॥

कर्मणि क्तान्ते परैव्यवहितो गतिः प्रकृत्या । पुरोहितम् । 'अनन्तरः' किम् । अभ्युद्धतः । कारकपूर्वपदस्य तु सति शिष्टेऽस्यायादिस्वर एव । दूरादागतः । 'याथ-' (३८७८) इत्यस्यापवादः ॥

3783. A word called Gati (1. 4. 60) when standing immediately before a Participle in 'kta' having a Passive signification retains its accent.

Thus पुरोहितम् । The word पुरस् is end-acute, as it is formed by the affix असि added to पूर्व by V. 3. 39. Here one of the following rules would have applied otherwise, namely, either (1) the Samâsa end-acute IV. 1. 223 (2) or the Indeclinable first member to retain its accent VI. 2. 2, (3) or the end-acute by VI. 2. 139 and 144. The present sūtra debars all these. Why do we say 'immediately' ? Observe अभ्युद्धतः । Where the distant Gati word अभि does not preserve its accent, but the immediately preceding Gati, उद्, does retain its accent, though it is not the first member of the compound word. Compare also VIII. 2 70. But in दूरात् + आगतः (âgata being governed by this rule) we have दूरादागतः (II. 1. 39 and VI 3. 2), where VI. 2. 144 has its scope though it had not its scope in अभि + उद्धतः = अभ्युद्धतः ॥

NOTE :—In the former case the following maxim applies कद्वयहणे गतिकारं पूर्वं स्यापि यद्वयं । 'A Kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed, a word-form which begins with that to which that Kṛit affix has been added, and which ends with the Kṛit

affix, but moreover should a Gati or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the Kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it.' In the second example, this maxim is not applied, because scope should be given to the word अनन्तर in this aphorism. When the Participle has not a Passive significance, the rule does not apply because the word कर्मणि is understood here also; as प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः । This sūtra debars VI. 2. 144.

३७८४ । तादौ च निरति कृत्यतौ । ६ । २ । ५० ॥

तकारादौ निरति तुग्व्यञ्जिते कृति परेऽनन्तरो गतिः प्रकृत्या । 'अनेरायो नृमस्य प्रभूते' । 'संगतिं गोः' । कृत्यरापवादः । 'तादौ' किम् । प्रजल्पकः । 'निरति' किम् । प्रकर्ता । वृजन्तः । 'अतौ' किम् । आगन्तुः ॥

3784. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before (a word formed by) a Kṛit-affix beginning with *t*, which has indicative *n*, but not before *tu*.

Thus अग्नि रायो नृमस्य प्रभूते (Rig Veda III. 19. 3). प्रकर्ता (with वृन् प्रकर्तुम्, (with तुमुन्, प्रकृतिः (with क्तिन्) । This sūtra debars the Kṛit-affix accent (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with *t*'? Observe प्रजल्पकः formed with the affix पाकन् (III. 2. 155), and the Gati प्र, the accent being governed by VI. 2. 139. Why do we say 'which is *निरति*'? Observe प्रकर्ता formed by वृन् affix. When a Kṛit-affix takes the augment इद्, it does not lose its character of beginning with *t* on the Vārtika कृदुपदेशो वा तादर्थमिडर्थम् । Thus प्रलपिता, प्रलपितुम् । Why do we say 'but not before *tu*'? Observe आगन्तुः with the Upadi affix तुन् ॥

३७८५ । तवै चान्तश्च युगपत् । ६ । ३ । ५१ ॥

तवैप्रत्ययान्तस्यान्त उदात्तो गतिश्चानन्तः । प्रकृत्या युगपद्वैतदुभयं स्यात् । 'अन्वेत्वा उं' । कृत्यरापवादः ॥

3785. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before an Infinitive in *tavai* (III. 4. 14) but whereby simultaneously the final has the acute as well.

Thus अन्वेत्वा । All upasargas have acute on the first except 'abhi' which therefore has acute on the final. (Pīth IV. 13) which declares उपसर्ग आद्युदात्ता अभिव्यञ्जम् । This debars कृत् accent (VI. 2. 139) and is an exception to the rule that in a single word, a single syllable only has acute.

३७८६ । अनिगन्तोऽञ्चतौ षप्रत्यये । ६ । २ । ५२ ॥

अनिगन्तो गतिर्वत्यप्रन्तेऽञ्चते परे प्रकृत्या । 'ये पराञ्चवस्तात्' । 'अनिगन्तः' इति किम् । प्रत्यञ्चो यन्तु । कृत्यरापवादः । 'अञ्चिष्यया' नि कण्ठो पराः । 'षप्रत्यये' किम् । उदञ्चनम् ॥

3786. An immediately preceding Gati not ending in 'i' or 'u' retains its original accent before 'añch' when an affix having a 'v' follows.

Thus **पराञ्चः** in **ये पराञ्चस्तान्** (Rig Veda I. 164. 19). The accent is acute and optionally svarita by VIII. 2. 6. Why do we say 'not ending in इ or उ?' Observe **प्रत्यञ्चः**, here by VI. 2. 139 the second member retains its original accent. Why do we say 'before an affix व्?' Observe **उदञ्चनः**. When the nasal of 'añch' is elided, then rule VI. 1. 222 presents itself; but that rule is superseded when a Gati not ending in इ or उ precedes, because the present rule is subsequent. Thus **पराचः** in **जहि वृषयानि कृणुही पराचः** (Rig Veda VI. 25. 3). In some texts, the reading is **अञ्चतावप्रत्यये**. The affix व् is like क्लिप् &c., (VI. 1. 67).

३७८७ । न्यधी च । ६ । २ । ५३ ॥

वप्रत्ययान्तेऽञ्चताविगन्तावपि न्यधी प्रकृत्या । न्यङ्ङुत्तानः । 'उदान्तस्वरितयोर्यणः' (२६५७) इति अञ्चतेरकारः स्वरितः । अथ्यङ् ॥

3787. The Gatis 'ni' and 'adhi' however, retain their original accent before 'añch' followed by a 'v' affix.

Thus **न्यङ्**. The अ becomes svarita by VIII. 2. 4. S. 3657. So also **अथ्यङ्** ॥

३७८८ । ईषदन्त्यतरस्याम् । ६ । २ । ५४ ॥

ईषत्कडारः । ईषदित्यममन्तोदात्तः । ईषद्दे इत्यादौ क्तस्वर एव ॥

3788. The word 'ishat,' when first member of a compound, may optionally preserve its original accent.

Thus **ईषत्कडारः** or **ईषत्कडारैः**. **ईषत्** has acute on the final. But in **ईषत्प्रभेदः** &c., the Kṛit-accent will necessarily take place (VI. 2. 139); no option being allowed; because the compounds to which the present rule applies are, on the maxim of pratipadokta, those formed by **ईषत्** with non-Kṛit words under II. 2. 7.

३७८९ । हिरण्यपरिमाणं धने । ६ । २ । ५५ ॥

सुवर्णपरिमाणयाचि पूर्वपदं वा प्रकृत्या धने । द्वे सुवर्ण परिमाणमस्येति द्विसुवर्णं । तदेव धनं द्विसुवर्णधनम् । बहुव्रीह्यावपि परत्वात्प्रकृत्य एव । 'हिरण्यम्' किम् । प्रस्यधनम् । 'परिमाणम्' किम् । काञ्चनधनम् । 'धने' किम् । निष्कमाला ॥

3789. The first member, denoting the quantity of gold retains optionally its original accent, before the word धन ॥

Thus **द्विसुवर्णधनम्** or **द्विसुवर्णधनम्**. This is a Karmadhāraya compound **द्विसुवर्ण परिमाणमस्य = द्विसुवर्णं, तदेव धनम्**. It may also be treated as a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the accent will be of that compound, as **द्विसुवर्णधनः** or **द्विसुवर्णधनैः**. Why do we say 'gold'? Observe **प्रस्यधनम्**. Why do we say 'quantity'? Observe **काञ्चनधनम्**. Why do we say 'धन'? Observe **निष्कमाला** ॥

३७९० । प्रथमोऽचिरोपसंपत्ता । ६ । २ । ५६ ॥

प्रथमशब्दो वा प्रकृत्याभिनवत्वे । प्रथमवैयाकरणः । संप्रति व्याकरणमध्येतुं प्रवृत्त इत्यर्थः । प्रथमशब्दः प्रथमजन्तः । 'अचिर-' इति किम् । प्रथमो वैयाकरणः ॥

3790. The word 'prathama' when standing first in a compound, retains optionally its original accent, when meaning 'a novice.'

The word अचिरोपसंपत्ति = अचिरोपश्लेष- or अभिनवत्वम् । Thus प्रथम^{म्}वैयाकरणः or प्रथमवैयाकरणः = संप्रतिव्याकरणमध्येतुं प्रवृत्तः 'one who has recently commenced to study Grammar.' The word प्रथम is derived from प्रय by अमच् (Uṇ V. 68) and by चित् accent the acute falls on the last. Why do we say 'when meaning a Novice?' Observe प्रथमवैयाकरणः (वैयाकरणानामाद्यो मुख्या वा यः सः) 'the first Grammarian or a Grammarian of the first rank.' It will *always* have acute on the final.

३७९० । कतरकतमौ कर्मधारये । ६ । २ । ५७ ॥

वा प्रकृत्या । कतरकठः । कर्मधारयग्रहणमुत्तरार्थम् । इह तु प्रतिपदोक्तत्वादेव सिद्धम् ॥

3791. The words कतर and कतम, standing as the first member of a compound, retain optionally their original accent, in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus कतर^{म्}कठः or कतरकठः, कतम^{म्}कठः or कतमकठः । The word Karmadhâraya is used for the sake of the next sūtra, this sūtra could have done without it, as 'katara' and 'katama' by the maxim of pratipadokta, form only Karmadhâraya compound, by II. 1. 63.

३७९१ । आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः । ६ । २ । ५८ ॥

आर्यकुमारः । आर्यब्राह्मणः । आर्यो यदन्तत्वाटन्तस्वरितः । 'आर्यः' किम् । परम-
ब्राह्मणः । 'ब्राह्मणादि-' इति किम् । आर्यक्षत्रियः । कर्मधारय इत्येव ॥

3792. The word 'ârya' optionally retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya, before the words 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'kumâra.'

Thus आर्य^{म्}ब्राह्मणः or आर्यब्राह्मणः, आर्य^{म्}कुमारः or आर्यकुमारः । The word आर्य is formed by यत् affix and has svarita on the final. Why do we say 'Ârya' Observe परमब्राह्मणः, परमकुमारः । Why do we say before 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra'? Observe आर्यक्षत्रियः । Why 'Karmadhâraya?' Observe आर्यस्य ब्राह्मणः = आर्यब्राह्मणः । According to the Accentuated Text the accent is आर्य (Pro. Bohtlingk).

३७९२ । राजा च । ६ । २ । ५९ ॥

ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः परतो राजा वा प्रकृत्या कर्मधारये । राजब्राह्मणः । राजकुमारः । योग
विभाग उत्तरार्थः ॥

3793. The word 'râjan,' retains optionally its accent before the words 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra', in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus राज^{म्}ब्राह्मणः or राजब्राह्मणः, राज^{म्}कुमारः or राजकुमारः । The word राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् added to राज् (Uṇ I. 156). But राज्ञो ब्राह्मणः = राज-
ब्राह्मणः where the compound is not Karmadhâraya. The making of this a separate aphorism is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra into which the anuvṛtti of राजन् runs and not that of आर्य ॥

३७८४ । षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि । ६ । २ । ६० ॥

षष्ठीन्तो राजा प्रत्येनसि परे वा प्रकृत्या । राजप्रत्येनाः । ' षष्ठी ' किम् । अत्यत्र न ॥

3794. The word 'râjan' ending in the Genitive case, optionally retains its accent, before the word 'pratyenas.'

The words राजन् and अन्यसुरस्याम् are understood here also. Thus राज्ञः प्रत्येनाः or राज्ञः प्रत्येनाः । प्रतिगतं एतन् पाठं यस्य = प्रत्येनसु । The sign of the Genitive is not elided by VI. 3. 21. When आक्रोश is not meant, we have, राजप्रत्येनाः or राजप्रत्येनाः । Why do we say 'ending in the Genitive'? Observe राज्ञा चासौ प्रत्येनाश्च = राजप्रत्येनाः no option.

३७८५ । क्ते नित्यार्थे । ६ । २ । ६१ ॥

क्तान्ते परे नित्यार्थे समासे पूर्वं वा प्रकृत्या । नित्यप्रहसितः । ' कालाः ' (६६०) इति द्वितीयासमासेऽयम् । नित्यशब्दस्यबन्त आद्युदात्तः । दसित इति थायादिस्वरैणान्तोदात्तः । ' नित्यार्थे ' किम् । सुहुतं प्रहसितः ॥

3795. A word having the sense of 'always', retains optionally its accent, before a Past Participle in 'kta.'

Thus नित्यप्रहसितः or नित्यप्रहसितः । These are Accusative compounds formed under Rule II. 1. 28. S. 690 ; नित्य is formed by त्यप् affix, added to the upasarga नि (IV. 2. 104 Vârt) ; and has acute on the first, the upasarga retaining its accent, the affix being anudâtta (III. 1. 4). दसित as end-acute by VI. 2. 144. S. 3878. Why do we say 'when the first term means always'? Observe सुहुतं प्रहसितः ॥

NOTE.—In the case of नित्यप्रहसितः &c., the samâsa accent VI. 1. 223 was first set aside by the Accusative Tatpurusha accent VI. 2. 2 ; this in its turn was set aside by क्त accent VI. 2. 144, which is again debarred by the present.

३७८६ । यामः शिल्पिनि । ६ । २ । ६२ ॥

वा प्रकृत्या । यामनापितः । यामशब्द आद्युदात्तः । ' यामः ' किम् । परमनापितः । ' शिल्पिनि ' किम् । यामरथ्या

3796. The word 'grâma' when first member of a compound, optionally retains its accent, before a word denoting a 'professional man or artisan.'

Thus यामनापितः or यामनापितः, यामकुलालः or यामकुलालः । The word याम was acute on the first as it is formed by the affix मनिन् (Un I. 148). Why do we say 'याम'? Observe परमनापितः । Why do we say 'a silpi, a professional workman'? Observe यामरथ्या ; where there is no option.

३७८७ । राजा च प्रशंसायाम् । ६ । २ । ६३ ॥

शिल्पिवाचिनि परे प्रशंसार्थे राजपठं वा प्रकृत्या । राजनापितः । राजकुलालः । ' प्रशंसायाम किम् ' । राजनापितः । ' शिल्पिनि ' किम् । राजहस्ती ॥

3797. The word 'râjan' followed by a profession denoting noun, optionally retains its accent, when praise is to be expressed.

Thus राजनापितः or राजनापितैः, राजकुलालः or राजकुलालैः 'A royal barber i. e. a skilful barber or one fit to serve the king even' &c. It may be either a Karmadhârbya or a Genitive compound. Why do we say 'राजन्'? Observe चरमनापितैः। Why do we say 'when denoting praise'? Observe राजनापितैः 'king's barber.' Why do we say 'a professional man'? Observe राजहस्ती 'a royal elephant.

३७९८ । आदिह्रदात्तः । ६ । २ । ६४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

3798. In the following up to VI. 2. 91 inclusive, the phrase 'the first syllable in—(the word standing in the Nominative) has the acute,' is to be always supplied.

This is an adhikâra aphorism. The first syllable of the पूव्यपद will get the acute in the following aphorisms. In short, the phrase 'âdirudatta' should be supplied to complete the sense of the subsequent sūtras. The word आदि 'the first syllable' is understood upto VI. 2. 91, the word उदात्त has longer stretch : it governs upto VI. 2. 237.

३७९९ । सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्यहरणे । ६ । २ । ६५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं हारिवाचि च आद्युदात्तं धर्म्यं परे । देवं यः स्वीकरोति स हारोत्युच्यते । धर्म्यमित्याचारनियतं देयम् । मुकुटेकार्पाणम् । हलेद्विपटिका । 'संज्ञायाम्' (७२१) इति सप्तमोऽसासः । 'कारनाग्नि च-' (६६८) इत्यलुक् । याज्ञिकाश्वः । वैयाकरणहस्ती । क्वचिदयमाचारी मुकुटादिषु कार्पाणानि दातव्यं याज्ञिकादीनां त्वश्वदिरिति । धर्म्ये-' इति किम् । स्तम्बेरमः । 'अहरणे' किम् । वाडवाहरणम् । वडवाया अयं वाडवः । तस्य बीजनिषेकादुत्तरकालं शरीरपुष्पार्थं यद्वीर्यते तद्धरणमित्युच्यते । परोऽपि कृत्स्वरो हारिस्वरेण बाध्यत इत्यहरण इति निषेधेन ज्ञाप्यते । तेन वाडवहार्यमिति हारिस्वरः सिध्यति ॥

3799. The first member of a compound, if in the Locative case or denoting the name of the receiver of a tax, has acute on the first syllable, when the second member is a word denoting 'what is lawful', but not when it is 'haraṇa.'

The word हारिण् means 'he who appropriates the dues or taxes': and धर्म्यम् means 'the due or tax which has been determined by the custom or usage of the country, town, sect or family, that which one is lawfully entitled to get.' The word धर्म्य is formed by यत् under IV. 4. 91 and 92, and has the sense of both. Of Locative words we have the following examples:—मुकुटे-कार्पाणम्, हले-द्विपटिका । These compounds are formed under II. 1. 44, S. 721 and the sign of the Locative is not elided by VI. 3. 9 and 10, S. 968. With the name of a due-receiver हारी we have the following:—यैज्ञिकाश्वः 'the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer.' So also वैयाकरणहस्ती । In some places the established usage is to give a kârshipāna coin in a Mukuṭa &c or to give a horse to a sacrificer &c. Why do we say 'what is lawful'? Observe स्तम्बेरमः । Why do we say 'but not before हरण'? Observe वाडवहारणम् 'that which is given to a mare.' हरण is that customary food, which is given to a mare, after she has been

covered, in order to strengthen her. The word **हरण** is a Kṛit-formed word, its exclusion here indicates that other Kṛit-formed words, however, are governed by this rule, when preceded by a **हारी** denoting word; and thus this sūtra supersedes the Kṛit accent enjoined by VI. 2. 139, so far. Thus **वाडवचार्यः** has acute on the first by this rule, the subsequent VI. 2. 139 not applying.

३८०० । युक्तं च । ६ । २ । १६६ ॥

युक्तवाचिनि समासे पूर्वमाद्युदात्तम् । गोबल्लवः । 'कर्तव्ये तत्परो युक्तः' ॥

3800. The first member of a compound has acute on the first syllable, when the second member denotes that by whom the things denoted by the first are regulated or kept in order.

The word **युक्त** means 'he who is prompt in the discharge of his appointed duty' i. e. the person appointed to look after. Thus **गोबल्लवः** 'a cowherd looking after cow.'

३८०१ । त्रिभाषाध्यक्षे । ६ । २ । १६७ ॥

गवाध्यक्षः ॥

3801. The acute is optionally on the first syllable when the word **अध्यक्ष** follows.

Thus **गवाध्यक्षः** or **गवाध्यक्षः** 'a superintendent of cows' ॥

३८०२ । पापं च शिल्पिनि । ६ । २ । १६८ ॥

पापनापितः । 'पापाणके-' (७३३) इति प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव प्रहणात्पष्ठीसमासे न ॥

3802. The word 'pāpa' has optionally acute on the first syllable, when followed by a word denoting a professional man.

Thus **पापनापितः** or **पापनापितः** ॥ This rule applies to the pratipadokta samāsa of **पाप**, in the sense of censure, as taught in II. 1. 54. S. 733 when it is an appositional compound; and not when it forms a Genitive compound. Thus **पापस्यनापितः=पापनापितः** ॥

३८०३ । गोत्रान्ते वासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु क्षेपे । ६ । २ । १६९ ॥

भार्यासोऽश्रुतः । सुश्रुतापत्यस्य भार्याप्रधानतया क्षेपः । अन्तेवासी । कुमारीदाज्ञाः । श्रोत्रन पाणिनीयाः । कुमारीदलाभकामा ये टाट्यादिभिः प्रोक्तानि शास्त्राण्यधीयन्ते त एव क्षिप्यन्ते । भिक्षामाणवः । भिक्षां लस्येऽहमिति माणवः । भयब्राह्मणः । भयेन ब्राह्मणः संपद्यते । 'गोत्रादिषु' किम् । दासीशोत्रियः । 'क्षेपे' किम् । परमब्राह्मणः ॥

3803 The first syllable of the first member of a compound has the acute accent before a Patronymic name or a scholar-name, as well as before 'Māṇava' and 'Brāhmaṇa,' when a reproach is meant.

Thus **भार्यासोऽश्रुतः** 'a descendant of Suśruta, under the petticoat government of his wife.' The compounding takes place by the analogy of **शाकपार्थिवः** । The

above is an example of a Gotra word. Now with scholar names. कुमारीदाक्षाः 'the pupils of Daksha, for the sake of marriage i. e. who study the work of Daksha or make themselves the pupils of Daksha, for the sake of girls.' and श्रोत्रदण्डपाणिनीयाः &c. भिक्षात्मकः = भिक्षालस्येऽस्मिन् भिक्षात्मा भवति । भयव्राह्मणः 'he who being a Brāhmana by birth, acts like a Brāhmana 'not willingly, but through fear of punishment.' = यो भयेन ब्राह्मणः संवदते । The compounding is by II. 1. 4 where no other rule applies. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gotra word?' Observe दासीश्रोत्रियः । Why do we say 'when reproach is meant?' Observe परमव्राह्मणः ॥

३८०४ । अद्भानि मैरेये । ६ । २ । ९० ॥

मद्यविशेषो मैरेयः । मधुमैरेयः । मधुविकारस्य तस्य मध्वङ्गम् । 'अद्भानि' किम् । परममैरेयः । 'मैरेये' किम् । पुष्पासवः ॥

3804. The first syllable of 'the word preceding 'Maireya' gets the acute, when it denotes the ingredient of the same.

Thus मधुमैरेयः 'the maireya prepared from honey.' Why do we say when denoting 'an ingredient'? Observe परममैरेयः ॥ Why do we say 'before मैरेय?' Observe पुष्पासवः ॥

३८०५ । भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु । ६ । २ । ९१ ॥

भक्तमत्रम् । भिक्षाकंसः । भाजीकंसः । भिक्षादयोऽत्र विशेषाः । 'भक्ताख्याः' किम् । समाशशालयः । समाशनं समाश इति क्रियामात्रमुच्यते । 'तदर्थेषु' किम् । भिक्षाप्रियः । बहुव्रीहिरथम् । अत्र पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तम् ॥

3805. A word denoting food, gets the acute on the first syllable, when standing before a word which denotes a repository suited to contain that.

Thus भक्तकंसः, भाजीकंसः, । The words like भिक्षा, भक्त &c. are names of food. Why do we say 'when denoting the name of food'? Observe समाशशालयः dining halls, (the word समाश = समाशनं is the name of an 'action' and not of a 'substance'). Why do we say 'tadartheshu suited to contain that'? Observe भिक्षाप्रियः, which is Bahuvrihi' and the first member gets acute on the final.

३८०६ । गोबिडालसिंहसैन्यवेषूपमाने । ६ । २ । ९२ ॥

धान्यगवः । गोबिडालः । तृणसिंहः । सक्तुसैन्यवः । धान्यं गौरिवेति वियत्तः । व्याघ्रादिः गवाकृत्या सन्निवेशितं धान्यं धान्यगवशब्देनोच्यते । 'उपमाने' किम् । परमसिंहः ॥

3806. A word denoting the object of comparison gets the acute on the first syllable when standing before गो, बिडाल, सिंह, and सैन्यव ॥

Thus धान्यगवः = धान्यं गौरिव । The compounding takes place by II. 1. 56 the words गो &c, being considered to belong to Vyāghrādi class, which is an Akṛitigana. The meaning of the compound must be given according to usage and appropriateness. Thus धान्यगवः means गवाकृत्याऽवस्थितं धान्यं । So also गोबिडालः

संज्ञसिंहः, संज्ञसेन्धवः। Why do we say 'when denoting the object of comparison'? Observe परमसिंहः ॥

३८०७ । अके जीविकार्थे । ६ । २ । ७३ ॥

अकप्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे जीविकार्थवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तम् । दन्तलेखकः । यस्य दन्तलेखनेन जीविका । 'नित्यं क्रीड-' (७१९) इति समासः । 'अके' किम् । रमणीयकर्ता । 'जीविकार्थे' किम् । इत्तुभञ्जिकां मे धारयसि ॥

3807. The first member of a compound has the acute on the first syllable, when the second-member is a word ending in the affix 'aka,' and the compound expresses a calling by which one gets his living.

Thus दन्तलेखकः = दन्तलेखेन यस्य जीविका । The compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. S. 711. Why do we say when meaning 'means of living'? Observe इत्तुभञ्जिकां मे धारयसि । All affixes which ultimately become अक by taking substitutes, are called अक affixes. Thus गबुल्, वुन्, &c. are अक affixes (VII. 1. 1). Why do we say 'ending in the affix अक'? Observe रमणीयकर्ता । Here the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17, and the affix तृच् is added in the sense of sport and not of livelihood.

३८०८ । प्राचां क्रीडायाम् । ६ । २ । ७४ ॥

प्रादेशवाचिनो या क्रीडा तद्वाचिनि समासे अकप्रत्ययान्ते परे पूर्वमाद्युदात्तं स्यात् । उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका । 'संज्ञायाम्' (३२८६) इति गबुल् । 'प्राचाम्' किम् । जीवपुत्रप्रचायिका । इयमुदीचां क्रीडा । 'क्रीडायाम्' किम् । तव पुष्पप्रचायिका । पर्याये गबुच् ॥

3808 A compound the second member of which is a word ending in अक affix, and which denotes the sport of the Eastern people, gets the acute accent on the first syllable.

Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका । These are formed by गबुल् affix (III. 3. 109. S. 3286,) and the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. S. 711. Why do we say 'of the Eastern Folk'? Observe जीवपुत्रप्रचायिका, which is a sport of the Northern People. Why do we say 'when denoting a sport'? Observe तवपुष्पप्रचायिका 'thy' turn for &c.' which is formed by गबुच् (III. 3. 111) and denotes 'rotation or turn.'

३८०९ । अणि नियुक्ते । ६ । २ । ७५ ॥

अण्यन्ते परे नियुक्तवाचिनि समासे पूर्वमाद्युदात्तम् । कत्रधारः । 'नियुक्ते' किम् । काण्डलावः ॥

3809. A compound, the second member of which is a word ending in the Kṛit-affix अण् and which denotes a functionary, gets the acute on the first syllable.

Thus कत्रधारः । Why do we say when meaning 'a functionary'? Observe काण्डलावः ॥

३८१० । शिल्पिनि चाऽऽङ्गः । ६ । २ । ७६ ॥

शिल्पिर्वाचनि समासेऽणन्ते परे पूर्वमाद्युदात्तं स चेदयङ्गः परो न भवति । तन्नुवायः । 'शिल्पिनि' किम् । काण्डलाघः । 'अङ्गः' किम् । कुम्भकारः ॥

3810. And when such a compound ending in अण् affix denotes the name of a professional man, but not when the second term is कार (derived from ङ्ग), the acute is on the first syllable of the first word.

Here also the second term ends in अण् affix. Thus तन्नुवायः । Why do we say when denoting 'a work-man or professional person' ? Observe काण्डलाघः । Why do we say 'but not when the affix अण् comes after ङ्' ? Observe कुम्भकारः ॥

३८११ । संज्ञायां च । ६ । २ । ७७ ॥

अणन्ते परे । तन्नुवायो नाम क्रमिः । 'अङ्गः' इत्येव । रथकारो नाम ब्राह्मणः ॥

3811. Also when such an upapada compound ending in अण् affix denotes a Name, the acute falls on the first syllable : but not when the second term is कार ॥

Thus तन्नुवायः, 'a kind of insect, spider.' But not so अण् with ङ् ; as रथकारः 'the name of a Brâhmana caste.'

३८१२ । गोतन्तियवं पाले । ६ । २ । ७८ ॥

गोपालः । तन्तिपालः । यवपालः । अनियुक्तार्यो योगः । 'गो' इति किम् । वत्सपालः । 'पाले' इति किम् । गोरक्षः ॥

3812. The words गो, तन्ति and यव get the acute on the first syllable when followed by पाल ॥

Thus गोपालः, तन्तिपालः, यवपालः । The word तन्ति is the rope with which calves are tied. (तनु विस्तारे + त्तिच्). This applies to words not denoting a functionary, which would be governed by VI. 2. 75. S. 3809. Why do we say गो &c. ? Observe वत्सपालः । Why do we say 'followed by पाल' ? Observe गोरक्षः ॥

३८१३ । णिनि । ६ । २ । ७९ ॥

पुष्पहारी ॥

3813. A compound ending in the Kṛit-affix णिनि (इन्) has the acute on the first syllable of the first member.

Thus पुष्पहारी ॥

३८१४ । उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतौ च । ६ । २ । ८० ॥

उपमानवाचि पूर्वपदं णिन्यन्ते परमाद्युदात्तम् । उद्धृताङ्गी । ध्वाङ्गाराधी । उपमानग्रहणस्य पुंयोगस्य च त्रिपदविभागार्थम् । 'शब्दार्थप्रकृतौ' किम् । युक्वञ्चो । 'प्रकृतिग्रहणम्' किम् । प्रकृतिरेव यत्रोपसर्गनिरपेक्षा शब्दार्था तत्रैव यथा स्यात् । इह मा भूत् । गर्दभोच्चारो ॥

3814. When the first member of a compound expresses that with which resemblance is denoted, then it has acute on the first

syllable, before a word formed by णिनि affix, only then, when such latter word is a radical without any preposition, and means 'giving out a definite sound like so and so.'

The word उपमान means the object with which something is likened : शब्दार्थ means 'expressing a sound'; प्रकृति means 'root, without any preposition.' Thus उद्भ्रकोष्णिन्, ध्याङ्तराविन् । The word उपमान shows the scope of this sūtra as distinguished from the last. So that; when the first term is an उपमान word, the preceding sūtra will not apply, though the second member may be a णिनि formed word.

When the second term is not a word denoting sound, the rule will not apply. At एकवर्ज्येन् which retains kṛit accent (VI. 2. 139).

Why do we say 'a radical word without any preposition'? Observe गदं भोजारिन् । Here the second term radically (i. e., chārin) does not denote sound, but it is with the help of the Preposition उत् that it means sound. The force of एव is that the उपमान words are restricted. Such words get acute on the first syllable *only then* when the second member is a radical sound name.

३८१५ । युक्तारोह्यादयश्च । ६ । २ । ८९ ॥

आद्युदात्ताः । युक्तारोही । आगतयोधी । क्षीरहोता ॥

3815. The compounds yuktārohin &c. have acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवज्जी, 5 आगतनन्दी, 6 आगतनन्दी, 7 आगतप्रहारी । These are formed by णिनि affix, and are illustrations of Rule VI. 2. 79. Some say, these declare a restrictive rule with regard to the first and second members of these terms. Thus रोहिन् &c. must be preceded by युक्त &c. and युक्त &c. followed by रोहिन् &c. to make VI. 2. 79 applicable. Thus चक्षारोहिन् though ending in णिनि does not take acute on the first, so युक्ताध्यायिन् । 8 आगतमत्स्या or तस्य, 9 क्षीरहोता, 10 अग्निभर्ता । The last two are Genitive compounds under Rule II. 2. 9. 11 यामगोधुक्, 12 अश्वत्थिरात्रः, 13 अग्निरात्रः, 14 व्युष्टिरात्रः, 15 अन्नपादः (गन्धपादः), 16 अन्नपादः । All these are genitive compounds. 17. एकश्रित्तिपात्=एकःश्रित्तिःपादोऽस्य । This is a Bahuvrīhi of three terms. The word एकश्रित्तिः is a Taddhitārtha Samāsa (II. 1. 51), and being a Tatpurusha, required acute on the final, as the Tatpurusha accent is stronger. This declares acute on the first. Moreover by VI. 2. 29, this word एकश्रित्तिः would have acute on the first as it is a Dvigu ending in a simple vowel. But the very fact that this word is enumerated here, shows that other Dvigu compounds in श्रित्ति are not governed by VI. 2. 29, therefore द्विश्रित्तिपाद् has acute on ति । The enumeration of the एकश्रित्तिपात् further proves by implication that the (एकश्रित्तिपात् स्वरवचनं ज्ञापकं निमित्तस्वरबलीयत्वस्य) accent for the application of which a case is present is stronger (See Mahābhāshya II. 1. 1). The class of compounds known as पात्रेसमित &c. (II 1. 48) also belongs to this class.

1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवज्जी 5 आगतनन्दी (आगतनन्दी), 6 आगतप्रहारी, 7 आगतमत्स्याः (आगतमत्स्या), 8 क्षीरहोता, 9 अग्निभर्ता, 10 यामगोधुक्

11 अश्वत्थिरात्रः 12 गर्गत्रिरात्रः, 13 व्युष्टत्रिरात्रः, 14 गणपादः (शय्यपादः), 15 एकश्रितपात्, 16 पात्रे संमितादयश्च (पात्रे संमितादयश्च), 17 समपादः ॥

३८१६ । दीर्घकाशतुपापूर्वटजे । ६ । २ । ८२ ॥

कुटीजः । काशजः । तुपजः । भाद्रजः । षटजः ॥

3816. When the first member is a word ending in a long vowel, or is 'kāśa,' tusha, 'bhrāshṭra' or vaṭa, and is followed by 'ja' the acute falls on the first syllable.

Thus कुटीजः, काशजः, तुपजः, भाद्रजः, षटजः । These are formed by the affix ड added to जन (III. 2. 97).

३८१७ । अन्त्यात्पूर्वं बहुचः । ६ । २ । ८३ ॥

बहुचः पूर्व स्यान्त्यात्पूर्वं पदमुदात्तं जे उत्तरपदे । उपसरजः । आमलकीजः । 'बहुचः' किम् । दग्धजानि तृणानि ॥

3817 In a word consisting of more than two syllables, followed by *ja*, the acute falls on the syllable before the last.

Thus उपसरजः, आमलकीजः, and बहुचाजः (though the last two words have upapadas ending in a long vowel, the accent is governed by this sūtra and not the last). Why do we say "a Polysyllabic first member"? Observe दग्धजानि तृणानि ॥

३८१८ । यामेऽनिवसन्तः । ६ । २ । ८४ ॥

यामे परे पूर्व पदमुदात्तम् । तच्चेत्त्रिवसद्वाचि न । मल्लयामः । यामशब्दोऽत्र समूहावाची देवयामः । देवस्वामिकः । 'अनिवसन्तः' किम् । दाक्षियामः । दाक्षिनिवसः ॥

3818. Before 'grāma' the first syllable of the first member has acute, when thereby inhabitants are not meant.

Thus मल्लयामः । Here याम is equal to समूह 'an assembly'. देवयामः=देवस्वामिकः । Why do we say 'when not meaning inhabitants'. Observe दाक्षियामः, a village inhabited by the decendants of Daksha'.

३८१९ । घोषादिषु च । ६ । २ । ८५ ॥

दाक्षिघोषः । दाक्षिकटः । दाक्षिहृदः ॥

3819. The first member has acute on the first syllable when followed by *ghosha* &c.

Thus दाक्षिघोषः, दाक्षिकटः, दाक्षिपल्लवः, दाक्षिबदरी, दाक्षिवल्लभः, दाक्षिहृदः, दाक्षिपिङ्गलः, दाक्षिपिशङ्गः, दाक्षिमाला, दाक्षिरक्षा, दाक्षिशाला, or (रक्षः or शालः), दाक्षिशिल्पो, दाक्षियश्वयः, दाक्षिशाल्मली, कुन्दतृणम्, श्रीश्रममुनिः, दाक्षिपुंसा, दाक्षिकूटः ॥

Of the above, those which denote places of habitation, there the first members though denoting inhabitants get the acute accent. Some do not read the anuvritti of अनिवसन्तः in this aphorism, others however read it.

1 घोष, 2 कट (घट), 3 वल्लभ (पल्लव), 4 हृद, 5 बदरी (बदर), 6 पिङ्गल, 7 पिशङ्ग, 8 माला, 9 रक्षा (रक्षः), 10 शाला (शालः), 11 कूट, 12 शाल्मली, 13 अश्वत्थ, 14 तृण, 15, शिल्पो, 16 मुनि, 17 प्रेक्षा (प्रेक्षाकू; पुंसा) ॥

३८२० । क्वात्रिशादयः शालायाम् । ६ । २ । ८६ ॥

क्वात्रिशाला । व्याडिशाला । यदापि शालान्तः समासो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति तदापि 'तत्पुंश्वे शालायाम् नपुंसके' (३८५७) इत्येतस्मात्पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेनायमेव स्वरः । क्वात्रिशालम् ॥

3820 The words 'chhâtri' &c, get acute on the first syllable when followed by the word 'śâlâ.'

Thus क्वात्रिशाला, वैलिशाला, भाण्डिशाला ॥

Where the Tatpurusha compound ending in शाला becomes Neuter, by the option allowed in II. 4. 25; there also in the case of these words, the acute falls on the first syllable of the first term; thus superseding VI. 2. 123. S. 3857 which specifically applies to Neuter Tatpurushas. Thus क्वात्रिशालम्, वैलिशालम् ॥

1 क्वात्रि, 2 पैलि (एलि), 3 भाण्डि, 4 व्याडि, 5 आखण्डि, 6 आण्टि, 7 गामि (गामि) ॥

३८२१ । प्रस्थेऽवृद्धमकर्ष्यादीनाम् । ६ । २ । ८७ ॥

प्रस्थशब्द उत्तरपदे कर्ष्यादिवर्जितमवृद्धं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं स्यात् । इन्द्रप्रस्थः । 'अवृद्धम् किम् । दाक्षिप्रस्थः । 'अकर्ष्यादीनाम्' इति किम् । कर्काप्रस्थः । मकरोप्रस्थः ॥

3821. The first member, which has not a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, or which is not 'karkî.' &c, gets the acute on the first syllable before 'prastha.'

Thus इन्द्रप्रस्थः । But not in दाक्षिप्रस्थः, which has Vṛiddhi in the first syllable; nor also in कर्काप्रस्थः, मघीप्रस्थः &c.

1 कर्का, 2 मघी (मघी), 3 मकरी, 4 कर्कान्य (कर्कान्य), 5 शमी, 6 करीर, 7 कन्दुक (कटुक), 8 कघल (कुबल; कूरल), 9 बदरी (बदर) ॥

३८२२ । मालादीनां च । ६ । २ । ८८ ॥

युद्धार्थमिदम् । मालाप्रस्थः । शोणाप्रस्थः ॥

3822. The first syllable of 'mâlâ' &c, gets the acute when 'prastha' follows.

Thus मालाप्रस्थः, शालाप्रस्थः ॥ This sūtra applies even though the first syllables are Vṛiddhi vowels. In the word एक and शोणा the letters ए and ओ are treated as Vṛiddhi (I. 1. 75).

1 माला, 2 शाला, 3 शोणा (शोण), 4 द्राक्षा, 5 स्राक्षा, 6 क्षामा, 7 काञ्ची, 8 एक, 9 काम, 10 क्षीमा ॥

३८२३ । अमहत्त्वं नगरे ऽनुदीनाम् । ६ । २ । ८९ ॥

नगरे परे महत्त्वंवर्जितं पूर्वमाद्युदात्तं स्यात् तच्चेदुदीचां न । ब्रह्मनगरम् । 'अम-' इति किम् । महानगरम् । नवनगरम् । 'अनुदीनाम्, किम् । कार्तिनगरम् ॥

3823. The first member has acute on the first syllable before the word *naḡara* but not when it is the word *mahat*, or *nava*, nor when it refers to a city in the lands of the Northern People.

Thus ब्रह्मनगरम् । But not in महानगरम् and नवनगरम्. Why do we say 'but not of Northern People'? Observe नान्दीनगरम् कार्तिनगरम् ॥

३८२४ । अर्म चावर्णं द्वयच्चयच् । ६ । २ । ९० ॥

अर्म परे द्वयच्चयच्चपूर्वमवर्णान्तिमाद्युदरुम् । गुफर्मम् । इक्कर्मम् । अघर्णम् किम् ।
बृहदर्मम् । 'द्वयच्चयच्' किम् । कपिञ्जलार्मम् । अमहवर्णमित्येव । महार्मम् । नवार्मम् ॥

3824. A word of two or three syllables ending in 'a' or 'ā' (with the exception of 'mahā' and 'nava'), standing before the word 'arma' has acute on the first syllable.

Thus गुप्तार्मम्, कुक्कुटार्मम् । Why do we say 'ending in अ (long or short)' ? Observe बृहदर्मम् । Why do we say 'consisting of two or three syllables' ? Observe कपिञ्जलार्मम् । The words महा and नव are to be read here also. The rule therefore does not apply to महार्मम्, and नवार्मम् ॥

३८२५ । न भूताधिकसंजीवमद्राशमकञ्जलम् । ६ । २ । ९१ ॥

अर्म परे नेतान्याद्युदात्तानि । भूतार्मम् । अधिकार्मम् । संजीवार्मम् । मद्राशमयहर्णं संघात-
विगृहीतार्थम् । मद्रार्मम् । अशमार्मम् । मद्राशमर्मम् । कञ्जलार्मम् ॥

'+ आद्युदात्तप्रकरणे द्विवोदासादीनां कृन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् +' । 'दिवो'दासाय द्राशुवे" ॥

3825. The following words do not get acute on the first syllable, when standing before 'arma' viz. भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अशमन्, and कञ्जल ॥

Thus भूतार्मम्, अधिकार्मम्, संजीवार्मम्, मद्रार्मम्, अशमार्मम्, मद्राशमार्मम् (because the sūtra shows the compounding of those words in madrāśmam) कञ्जलार्मम् । All these compounds have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Vart.—In the Vedas the words द्विवोदास &c., have acute on the first syllable. Thus द्विवोदासाय द्राशुवे (Rig Veda IV. 30. 20).

३८२६ । अन्तः । ६ । २ । ९२ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । प्रागुत्तरपदादियहणात् ॥

3826. In the following sūtras up to VI. 2. 110 inclusive, is to be supplied the phrase 'the last syllable in a word standing in the Nominative case has the acute.'

This is an adhikāra aphorism. In the succeeding sūtras, the last syllable of the first member of a compound gets the acute accent. Thus in the next sūtra the word सर्व gets acute on the final. This adhikāra extends up to VI. 2. 110. inclusive.

३८२७ । सर्वे गुणकात्सर्न्ये । ६ । २ । ९३ ॥

सर्वशब्दः पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तम् । सर्वं प्रवेतः । सर्वमहान् । सर्वम् किम् । परमप्रवेतः । आश्रय-
ण्यत्परा परमत्वं प्रवेतस्येति । गुणकात्सर्न्ये वर्तते । 'गुण-' इति किम् । सर्वं सावर्ण्यः । 'कात्सर्न्ये'
किम् । सर्वेषां प्रवेततरः सर्वं प्रवेतः ॥

3827. The acute is on the final of the word 'sarva,' standing as first member before an attributive word, in the sense of 'whole, through and through.'

Thus सर्वं श्वेतः सर्वं मं हान् ॥

Why do we say सर्वं ? Observe परमश्वेतः, here the attribute of श्वेत pervades through and through the object referred to, but the accent is not on the final of परम् ॥

Why do we say 'attributive word' ? Observe सर्वं सौवर्ण्यः, 'golden', सर्व-रजतः 'silvery', which do not denote any attribute in their original state but modification. In fact it is not गुणकर्तृस्य here at all, but a विकारकर्तृस्य ॥

Why do we use the word 'Kārtsnya or complete pervasion.' Observe सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वं श्वेतः here the compounding takes place by the elision of the affix तरप् denoting comparison, and as it shows only comparative, not absolute, whiteness, the rule does not apply. Moreover, in this example, the 'kārtsnya' is not that of 'guni' but of 'guni', not of the 'attribute', but of the 'substance'.

३८२८ । संज्ञायां गिरिनिर्काययोः । ६ । २ । ९४ ॥

एतयोः परतः पूर्वमन्तोदात्तम् । अञ्जनागिरिः । मीरिङ्गनिकायः । 'संज्ञायाम्' किम् । परम-गिरिः । ब्राह्मणनिकायः ॥

3828. The last syllable of the first member before *giri* and *nikāya* has the acute, when the compound is a Name.

Thus अञ्जनागिरिः । The finals of añjana is lengthened by VI. 3. 117. मीरिङ्ग-निकायः । Why do we say 'when it is a Name' ? Observe परमगिरिः, ब्राह्मणनि-कायः ॥

३८२९ । कुमारी वयसि । ६ । २ । ९५ ॥

पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तम् । वृद्धकुमारी । कुमारीशब्दः पुंसां सहास्रप्रयोगमात्रं प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं सुपादाय प्रयुक्तो वृद्धादिभिः समानाधिकरणः । तच्च वय इह गृह्यते न कुमारत्वमेव । 'वयसि' किम् । परमकुमारी ॥

3829. The last syllable of the first member gets the acute when the word 'kumāri' follows, the compound denoting age.

Thus वृद्धकुमारी 'an old maid'. The compounding is by II. 1. 57. The word वृद्धा becomes masculine by VI. 3. 42 in the example.

Q. The word कुमारी was formed by स्त्रीप्, by IV. 1. 20 in denoting the prime of youth, how can this word be now applied to denote old age by being coupled with वृद्धा ; it is a contradiction in terms. Ans. The word कुमारी has two senses ; one denoting 'a young maiden' and second 'unmarried virgin'. It is in the latter sense, that the attribute वृद्धा is applied. Why do we say 'when the compound denotes age' ? Observe परमकुमारी ॥

३८३० । उदकेऽवले । ६ । २ । ९६ ॥

अकेवलं मिश्रं तद्वाचिनि समासे उदके परे पूर्वमन्तोदात्तम् । गुडोदकम् । स्वरे कतेऽत्र एकादेशः । 'स्वारितो वानुदात्ते पदादी' (३६५९) इति पक्षे स्वारितः । 'अकेवले' किम् । मीतोदकम् ॥

3830. Before the word *udaka*, when the compound denotes a 'mixture, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गुं डोदकम् or गुं डोदकम् । When we have already made the ड acute by this rule, then the svarita accent may result optionally, by the combination of the acute अ of गुडा and the subsequent grave उ of उदक, by rule VIII. 2. 6. S. 3659. The word अक्रेयल means mixture. When mixture is not meant, this rule does not apply. As श्रोतोदकम् ॥

३८३१ । द्विगौ क्रतौ । ६ । २ । ९० ॥

द्विगद्युत्तरपदे क्रतुवाचिनि समासे पूर्वमन्तोदात्तम् । गर्गत्रिरात्रः । 'द्विगौ' क्रिम् । अतिरात्रः । 'क्रतौ' किम् । बिल्वहोमस्य सप्तरात्रो बिल्वसप्तरात्रः ॥

3831. Before a Dvigu, when the compound denotes a sacrifice, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गर्गत्रिरात्रः = गर्गाणां त्रिरात्रः Why do we say 'before a Dvigu compound'? Observe अतिरात्रः (रात्रिमतिक्रान्त इति प्रादिसमासः) which being formed by the Samasânta affix अच् (V. 4. 87) has acute on the final (VI. 1. 163). Why do we say 'when denoting a sacrifice'? Observe बिल्वसप्तरात्रः = बिल्वहोमस्य सप्तरात्रः ॥

३८३२ । सभायां नपुंसके । ६ । २ । ९८ ॥

सभायां परतो नपुंसकलिङ्गे समासे पूर्वमन्तोदात्तम् । गोपालसभम् । स्त्रीसभम् । 'सभायाम्' क्रिम् । ब्राह्मणसेनम् । 'नपुंसके' किम् । राजसभा । प्रतिपदोक्तनपुंसकयद्गणान्तेह । रमणीयसभम् । ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

3832. Before the word sabhâ when it is exhibited as Neuter, the first member of the compound gets acute on the last syllable.

Thus गोपालसभम्, स्त्रीसभम् ॥

Why do we say 'before सभा'? Observe ब्राह्मणसेनम् ॥

Why do we say 'when in the Neuter'? Observe राजसभा ॥

The word सभा becomes Neuter under rules II. 4. 23-24 : therefore when the word सभा does not become Neuter under those rules, then by the maxim of Pratipalokta & c : the accent does not fall on the final of the preceding term, as, रमणीयसभम्, here the word सभा is neuter not by the force of any particular rule, but because the thing designated (अभिधेय) is neuter.

३८३३ । पुरे प्राचाम् । ६ । २ । ९९ ॥

देशदत्तपुरम् । नान्दीपुरम् । 'प्राचाम्' क्रिम् । शिवपुरम् ॥

3833. Before the word *pu-a*, when the compound denotes a city of the Eastern People, the final of the first member has the acute.

Thus देशदत्तपुरम्, काशिपुरम्, नान्दीपुरम् । Why do we say of the Eastern people? Observe शिवपुरम् ॥

३८३४ । अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च । ६ । २ । १०० ॥

पुरे परेरिष्टगौडपूर्वे समासे पूर्वमन्तोदात्तम् । अरिष्टपुरम् । गौडपुरम् । 'पूर्व' यद्गणक्रिम् । इहापि यथा स्यात् । अरिष्टाश्रितपुरम् । गौडभृत्यपुरम् ॥

3834. When the words 'arishṭa' and 'gauḍa' stand first, the first member has the acute on the final before the word 'pura.'

Thus अरिष्टपुरम्, गौडपुरम् । By the force of the word पूर्व in the aphorism, we can apply the rule to अरिष्टशिवपुरम्, गौडभृत्यपुरम् ॥

३८३५ । न हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः । ६ । २ । १०१ ॥

पुरे परे नैतान्यन्तोदात्तानि । हास्तिनपुरम् । फलकपुरम् । मार्देयपुरम् । मृदेरपत्यमिति शुभादित्वात् ढक् ॥

3835. But when the word 'hâstina' 'phalaka' and 'mâr-deya' precede 'pura' the acute does not fall on their final.

This is an exception to VI. 2. 99. Thus हास्तिनपुरम्, फलकपुरम्, मार्देयपुरम् । The s in मृदु is मार्देय formed by ढक्, the word belonging to Subhâdi class. The उ is elided by VI. 4. 147.

३८३६ । कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले । ६ । २ । १०२ ॥

एतान्यन्तोदात्तानि बिले परे । कुसूलबिलम् । कूपबिलम् । कुम्भबिलम् । शालबिलम् । 'कुसुलादि' किम् । सर्पबिलम् । 'बिल' इति किम् । कुसूलस्वामी ॥

3836. The words कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ, and शाला have the acute on the last syllable before the word 'bila.'

Thus कुसूलबिलम्, कूपबिलम्, कुम्भबिलम्, शालबिलम्, । But not so in सर्पबिलम् । Why do we say 'before बिल' ? Observe कुसूलस्वामी ॥

३८३७ । दिक्शब्दा यामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु । ६ । २ । १०३ ॥

दिक्शब्दा अन्तोदात्ता भवन्त्येव । पूर्व्युक्तामशमी । अंपरकण्णामृत्तिका । जनपदः । पूर्व्युक्ताः । आख्यानम् । पूर्व्ययायातम् । पूर्व्यचानराटम् । शब्दग्रहणं कालवाचिदिक्शब्दस्य परिषद्धार्यम् ॥

3837. Words expressing direction (in space or time) have acute on the last syllable, when followed by a word denoting a village, or a country or a narrative, and before the word 'châna râta.'

Thus पूर्व्युक्तामशमी or पूर्व्युक्ता (VIII. 2. 6). The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. अंपरकण्णामृत्तिका ॥

Country name—पूर्व्युक्ता ययायातः । These are Karmadhâraya compounds (II. 1. 58).

Story name :—पूर्व्युक्ता ययायातम् । So also पूर्व्युक्ता चानराटम् । The employment of the term शब्द in the aphorism shows that time-denoting दिक् words as in पूर्व्युक्ता ययायातम् should also be included.

३८३८ । आचार्योपसर्जनश्वान्तेर्वासिन । ६ । २ । १०४ ॥

आचार्योपसर्जनश्वान्तेर्वासिन परे दिक्शब्दा अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति । पूर्व्युक्तामशमी । 'आचार्य' इति किम् । पूर्व्युक्तामशमी । 'अन्तेर्वासिन' किम् । पूर्व्युक्तामशमी शास्त्रम् ॥

3838. The direction denoting words have acute on the final.

before the names of scholars, when such names are derived from those of their teachers.

Thus पूर्वपाणिनीयाः. Compare VI. 2. 36. Why do we say 'when derived from the names of their Teachers'? Observe पूर्वान्तेषासी। Why do we say 'Scholar-names'? Observe पूर्वपाणिनीयं शास्त्रम्। (पाणिनीयं शास्त्रम् पूर्वचिरन्तः नम्) ॥

३८३९ । उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च । ६ । २ । १०५ ॥

उत्तरपदस्येत्यधिकृत्य या वृद्धिर्विहितान्तरपदे परे सर्वशब्दो टिकृद्ब्याश्रयान्तादात्ता भवन्ति । सर्वपाञ्चालकः । अपरपाञ्चालकः । 'अधिकार' ग्रहणं किम् । सर्वमाससर्वकारकः ॥

3839. Words denoting direction and the word 'sarva' have acute on the final, before a word which takes Vṛiddhi in the first syllable of the second term by VII. 3. 12 and 13.

By the sūtra उत्तरपदस्य VII. 3. 10: 12, the Vṛiddhi of the Uttarapada is ordained when the Taddhita affixes having ज्ञ-ण, or क्, follow, the Pūrvapada being सु, सर्व, and अर्धः । The word उत्तरपदवृद्धिः therefore, means that word which takes Vṛiddhi, under the rule relating to uttarapada, i. e., under rule VII. 3. 12 and 13 Thus अपरपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः । These are formed by वुञ् affix (IV. 2. 125)

Why do we say 'which takes Vṛiddhi in the second term under VII. 3. 12 and 13?' Had the word उत्तरपदस्मेति अधिकृत्य not been used by us in explaining the sūtra, then the sūtra, would have run thus वृद्धौ सर्वं च, and would have applied to cases like सर्वमासः, सर्वकारकः where मासः and कारकः are Vṛiddhi words not by virtue of VII. 3. 12.

३८४० । बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम् । ६ । २ । १०६ ॥

बहुव्रीहौ विश्वशब्दः पूर्वपदभूतः संज्ञायामन्तोदात्तः स्यात् । पूर्वं पदप्रकृतिस्वरेण प्राप्तम्याद्युदात्तस्यापवादः । 'विश्वे'कर्म विश्वदेवः । 'आविश्वदेव' सत्पतिम् । 'बहुव्रीहौ' किम् । विश्वे च ते देवाश्च विश्वे देवाः । 'संज्ञायाम्' किम् । विश्वदेवः । प्राग्व्ययीभावद्वबहुव्रीह्याधिकारः ॥

3840. The word 'viśva' has acute on the final, being first member in a Bahuvrīhi, when it is a Name.

This is an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first member in a Bahuvrīhi would have retained its original accent. Thus :—विश्वकर्मा विश्वदेवः (Rig. Veda. VIII. 98. 2). आविश्वदेव सत्पतिम् ॥

Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi compound? Observe विश्वे च देवाः = विश्वे देवाः ॥

Why do we say when a name? Observe विश्वेदेया अस्य = विश्वदेवः । But विश्वामित्रः and विश्वामित्रः have acute on the final as they are governed by the subsequent rule VI. 2. 165 which supersedes this. The word Bahuvrīhi governs the succeeding sūtras up to VI. 2. 120 inclusive.

३८४१ । उदराश्वेषु । ६ । २ । १०७ ॥

संज्ञायामिति वर्तते । वृकोदरः । ह्यश्वःम । हेपुः ॥

3841. The first member in a Bahuvrīhi, before the words 'udara' 'asva' and 'ishu' gets acute on the final syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

Thus वृकोदरः, ह्यश्वः, and महेपुः । This sūtra is also an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first term would have retained its original accent. The word वृक has acute on the first by Phiṭ II. 7. The word हेरि is also first acute as formed by इन् (Uṇ IV. 118). The word महत is end-acute by V. 2. 38. Its mention here appears redundant.

३८४२ । क्षेपे । ६ । २ । १०८ ॥

उदराश्वेषु पूर्वमन्तोदात्तं बहुव्रहो निन्दायाम् । घटोदरः । कटुकाश्वः । चलाचलेपुः अनुदर इत्यत्र नञ्सुभ्याम्- (३६०६) इति भवति प्रतिषेधेन ॥

3842. A word before 'udar' 'asva' and 'ishu' in a Bahuvrīhi gets acute on the final, when reproach is meant.

Thus घटोदरः, कटुकाश्वः, चलाचलेपुः । The word घट is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) and has acute on the final, and so it would have retained this accent by VI. 2. 1, even without this sūtra. The word कटुक being formed by कन् (V. 3. 75) has acute on the first. In this and the last sūtra, all the acutes may optionally be changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 6. But अनुदरः and सूदरः have acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, S. 3906 which being a subsequent sūtra, supersedes this present, so far as अन् and सु are concerned.

३८४३ । नदी बन्धुनि । ६ । २ । १०९ ॥

बन्धुशब्दे परे नद्यन्तं पूर्वमन्तोदात्तं बहुव्रीहो । गार्गीबन्धुः । 'नदी' किम् । ब्रह्मबन्धुः ब्रह्मशब्द आद्युदात्तः । 'बन्धुनि' किम् । गार्गीप्रियः ॥

3843. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, having the word 'bandhu' as its second member, the first member ending in the Feminine affix 'ī' ('nadi' word) has the acute on its final syllable.

Thus गार्गीबन्धुः । The word गार्गी is formed by adding ङीप् (IV. 1. 16) to गार्ग्य ending in यञ् (IV. 1. 105), and therefore, it is first acute. By VI. 2. 1 this accent would have been retained, but for the present sūtra.

Why do we say 'a Nadi (Feminine in ई) word' ? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धुः, the word ब्रह्म has acute on the first syllable as it is formed by मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 146) and it retains that accent (VI. 2. 1).

Why do we say 'before बन्धु' ? Observe गार्गीप्रियः ॥

३८४४ । निष्ठाप्रसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । २ । ११० ॥

निष्ठान्तं पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं वा । प्रधीतपादः । 'निष्ठा' किम् । प्रमेवकमुखः । 'उपसर्गपूर्वम्' किम् । शुष्कमुखः ॥

3844. In a Bahuvrîhi compound, a Participle in 'kta' preceded by a preposition, standing as the first member of the compound, has optionally acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रधीतपादः or प्रधीतपादैः (VI 2. 169).

Why do we say 'a Nishṭhâ'? Observe प्रसेवकमुखः which is acute in the middle by the kṛit accent being retained after प्र VI. 2. 139).

Why do we say 'preceded by a preposition'? Observe शुक्कमुखः which has acute on the first by VI. 1. 206.

३८४५ । उत्तरपदादिः । ६ । २ । १११ ॥

उत्तरपदाधिकार आपादान्तम् । आद्यधिकारस्तु 'प्रकृत्या भगालम्' (३८७६) इत्यधिकः ॥

3845. In the following sâtras, up to VI. 2. 136 inclusive, should always be supplied the phrase 'the first syllable of the second member has the acute.'

This is an adhikâra aphorism and the word उत्तरपद exerts its influence up to the end of the chapter, while the word आदि has scope up to VI. 2. 187 exclusive.

३८४६ । कर्णा वर्णलक्षणात् । ६ । २ । ११२ ॥

वर्णवाचिनो लक्षणवाचिनश्च परः कर्णशब्द आद्युदात्तो बहुव्रीहौ । शुक्ककर्णः । शंकुकर्ण 'कर्ण' किम् । श्वतपादः । 'वर्णलक्षणात्' किम् । शोभनकर्णः ॥

3846. In a Bahuvrîhi compound, the word 'karṇa' standing as second member, has acute on the first syllable, when it is preceded by a word denoting color or mark.

Thus with color we have शुक्ककर्णः; and with mark-name, we have शङ्कुकर्णः; the lengthening of शंकु takes place by VI. 3. 115. The marks of 'scythe,' 'arrow' &c., are made on the ears of cattle to mark and distinguish them. It is such a 'mark' which is meant here.

Why do we say कर्ण ? Observe श्वेतपादः, कूटशृङ्गः here श्वेत being formed by अच् (I, 1. 134) is end-acute, and कूट being formed by क (III. 1. 135) is also end-acute and these accents are retained in the compound.

Why do we say 'when preceded by a word denoting color or mark'? Observe शोभनकर्ण where शोभन being formed by युच् (III. 2. 149) is end-acute and this accent is retained (VI. 2. 1).

३८४७ । संज्ञापम्ययोश्च । ६ । २ । ११३ ॥

कर्ण आद्युदात्तः । मणिकर्णः । श्रौपम्ये । गोकर्णः ॥

3847. In a Bahuvrîhi, the second member 'karṇa' has acute on the first syllable, when the compound denotes a Name or a Resemblance.

Thus मणिकर्णः, is a Name : गोकर्णः, denotes resemblance i. e., 'persons having ears like a cow.'

३८४८ । कण्ठपृष्ठयीवाजङ्घं च । ६ २ । ११४ ॥

संज्ञापम्ययोबहुवीहो । श्रितिकण्ठः । काण्डपृष्ठः । सुयोवः । नाडीजङ्घः । औपश्ये । खर
कण्ठः । गोपृष्ठः । अश्वयीवः । नोजङ्घः ॥

3848. In a Bahuvrihi expressing a Name or comparison, the second member कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, यीवा and जङ्घा have acute on the first syllable.

Thus Name : श्रितिकण्ठः । Comparison खरकण्ठः । Name काण्डपृष्ठः ।
Resemblance गोपृष्ठः । Name सुयोवः । Resemblance अश्वयीवः । Name नाडी-
जङ्घः । Resemblance नोजङ्घः ॥

The sūtra कण्ठपृष्ठयीवाजङ्घं is in Neuter gender, and जङ्घा is shortened, as it is a Samāhāra Dvandva. In the case of सुयोव, the accent would have fallen on the final व by VI. 2. 172, this ordains acute on स्त्री ॥

३८४९ । शृङ्गमवस्थायां च । ६ । २ । ११५ ॥

शृङ्गशब्दे अवस्थायां संज्ञापम्ययोश्चाद्युदात्तो बहुवीहो । उदगतशृङ्गः । द्वयङ्गुलशृङ्गः । अशृङ्गेद्गमनादिक्रते गवा देवयोविशेषे अवस्था । संज्ञायाम् । ऋष्यशृङ्गः । उपमायाम् । मेघशृङ्गः । अवस्था- इति किम् । स्थूलशृङ्गः ॥

3849 In a Bahuvrihi denoting age, (as well as a Name or a Resemblance), the second member 'śringa' gets acute on the first syllable.

Thus उदगतशृङ्गः, द्वयङ्गुलशृङ्गः । Here the word शृङ्ग denotes the particular age of the cattle at which the horns come out, or become one inch long. Name : ऋष्यशृङ्गः । Comparison : मेघशृङ्गः । Why do we say when denoting 'age &c.' स्थूलशृङ्गः ॥

३८५० । नजो जरमरमित्रमृताः । ६ । २ । ११६ ॥

नजः परासते आद्युदात्ता बहुवीहो । 'ता मे जराट्टजरम्' । अमरम् । 'अमित्रमर्दय' । 'श्वो देवेष्वमृतम्' । 'नजः' किम् । ब्राह्मणमित्रः । 'ज-' इति किम् । अशत्रुः ।

3850. After a Negative Particle, in a Bahuvrihi, the acute falls on the first syllable of जर, मर, मित्र and मृत ॥

Thus अजरः, अमरः, अमित्रः and अमृतः । Why do we say after a Negative Particle ? Observe ब्राह्मणमित्रः । Why do we say 'जर &c.' Observe अशत्रुः when the final gets the acute by VI. 2. 172.

३८५१ । सोमनसी अलोमोषसी ॥ ६ । २ । ११७ ॥

सोःपरं लोमोषसी वर्जयित्वा मन्त्रन्तमन्तं चाद्युदात्तं स्यात् । 'नःसुभ्याम्' (३६०६) इत्यस्या पयादः । सु' कर्मणिः सुब्रुचः । 'स नो वत्तदनिमानः सुब्रह्मा । शिवा प शुभ्यः सु मनाः सुवर्त्ताः' । सुपेयंसस्करति' । 'सोः' किम् । कृतकर्म । 'मनसी' किम् । म राज्ञो । 'अलोमोषसी' किम् । सुलोमा । सूयाः । कवि तु परत्यान् 'कवि पूर्वम्' (३६०७) इति भवति । सुकर्मकः । 'सु सोत्स्कः' ॥

3851. After the adjective *su* in a Bahuvrihi, a stem ending in *man* and *as* with the exception of *loman* and *ushas* has acute on the first syllable.

Thus सूकर्मणः सुरुचः (Rig Veda IV. 2. 17). सु नो वत्तदनिमानः सुव्रह्मा (Rig Veda VI. 22. 7). शिवा पशुभ्यः सुमनाः सुवर्चा (Rig Veda X. 85. 44). सु पेशस्क-
रति (Rig Veda II 35. 1). सुकर्मन्, सुधर्मन् सुप्रथिमन्, सुपयस्, सुयगस्, सुसोतस्, so
also सुवृत् and सुध्वत् from the root वृत् and ध्वम्, with the affix क्विप् । The final
स् is changed to द् by VIII. 2. 72. But this substitution is considered asidhha
for the purposes of accent, and these words are taken as if still ending in अस् ।
Why do we say ' after सु ? ' Observe कृतकर्मन्, कृतयगस् । Why do we say ' end-
ing in मन् and अस् ? ' Observe सुराजन and सुतत्तन formed by the affix कनिन् (Up.
I. 156), and the accent is on रा and त, but with सु, the accent is thrown on the
final by VI. 2, 172 S. 3906. Why do we say with the exception of लोमन and
उषत् ? Observe सुलोमन् and सुषत् (VI. 2. 127). The following maxim applies
here : अनिनस्मन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ' whenever अन् or इन्
or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in Grammar, denote by I. 1. 72, some-
thing that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there (अन्, इन्, अस् and मन्) re-
present these combinations of letters, both in so far as they possess and also in
so far as they are void of, a meaning.' Therefore the मन् and अस्, void of mean-
ing are also included here. Thus धर्मन् is formed by मन् (Up. I. 140), but कर्मन् is
is formed by मनिन् (Up. IV. 145), and प्रथिमन् is formed by इमनिच् affix (V. 1.
122) in which मन् is only a part. Similarly यगस् is formed by असुन् (Up. IV.
191), and so also सोतस् (Up. IV. 202) ; but in सुध्वत्, (सुध्वस्, from ध्वत्, with the
affix क्विप् III. 2. 76) the rule applies also, though अस् is here part of the root.
But when the samânta affix कप् is added (V. 4. 154), then the accent falls on
the syllable immediately preceding कप् for there the subsequent Rule VI. 2. 173
S. 3907 supersedes the present rule : thus सुकर्मकः, सुसोतरकः ॥

३८५२ । क्रत्वाद्यश्च । ६ । २ । ११८ ॥

सोः पर आद्युदात्तः स्युः । 'साम्राज्याय सु क्रतुः' । 'सु प्रतीकः' । 'सु हव्यः' । 'सु प्रतूतिं
मने हसम्' ।

3852. After *su* in a Bahuvrîhi, the acute falls on the first
syllable of *kratu* &c.

Thus साम्राज्याय सुक्रतुः (Rig Veda I. 23. 10) सुहव्यः, सुप्रतीकः । सुप्रतूतिंमनेहसम्
(Rig Veda I. 40. 4).

३८५३ । आद्युदात्तं द्वयच्छन्दसि । ६ । २ । ११९ ॥

यदाद्युदात्तं द्वयच्छन्दस्तेरं बहुव्रीहाद्याद्युदात्तम् । 'अथा स्वश्वः' । 'सु रथा' 'आतिथिग्वे'
निस्वरेणाश्वरथावाद्युदात्तैः । 'आद्युदात्तम्' किम् । 'वासुवाहुः' । 'द्वयच्छ' किम् । सु-
गुरसत्सु हिरण्यः । हिरण्यशब्दसन्त्यञ् ॥

3853. In a Bahuvrîhi compound, in the Chhandas, a word
of two syllables with acute on the first syllable, when preceded by
su, gets acute on the first syllable.

In other words, such a word retains its accent. Thus :—अथास्वश्व सु रथा
आतिथिग्वे (Rig Veda VIII. 68. 16). Here स्वश्वः and सुरथः have acute on अ and
र, which they had originally also, for अश्व and रथ are formed by क्विन् (Up. I. 151)
and कथन् (Up. II. 2) respectively and have the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197).

Why do we say 'having acute on the first syllable'? Observe वा सुब्राहुः स्वहुरिः (Rig. II. 32. 7). Here ब्राहु has acute on the final (Up. I. 27 formed by उ affix and has the accent of the affix III. 1. 3).

Why do we say 'having two syllables'? Observe सुगुरसत्, सुहिरययः (Rig Veda I. 125. 2). This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 172.

३८५४ । वीरिरीया च । ६ । २ । १२० ॥

सोः परी बहुवीही कन्दस्याद्युदात्तो । 'सु वीरेण रयिणा' । 'सु वीर्यस्य गोमंतः' । वीर्य-शब्दो यत्प्रत्ययान्तः । तत्र 'यतोऽनावः' (३७०१) इत्याद्युदात्तत्वं नेति वीर्यग्रहणं चापकम् । तत्र हि सति पूर्वेष्वैव सिद्धं स्यात् ॥

3854 In a Bahuvrīhi compound in the Chhandas, after 'su' the words 'vīra' and 'vrīya' have acute on the first syllable.

Thus सु वीरेण रयिणा (Rig Veda X. 122. 3). So also सु वीर्यस्य गोमंतः (Rig Veda VIII. 95. 4). The word वीर्य is formed by यत् affix and by VI. 1. 213, S. 3701 it would have acute on the first. But its enumeration in this sūtra shows that Rule VI. 1. 213, does not apply to वीर्य । The word वीर्य has svarita on the final in the Chhandas, by Phit IV. 9. In the classical literature it is ādyudāta.

३८५५ । कुलतीरतूलमूलशालात्तसममव्ययीभावे । ६ । २ । १२१ ॥

उपकूलम् । उपतीरम् । उपतूलम् । उपमूलम् । उपशालम् । उपात्तम् । सुपमम् । निपमम् । तिष्ठदुपभित्थिते । 'कूलादि' ग्रहणं किम् । उपकुम्भम् । 'अव्ययीभावे' किम् । परमकूलम् ॥

3855. In an Avyayībhāva compound, the following second terms have acute on their first syllable : कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अत्त and सम ॥

Thus उपकूलम्, उपतीरम्, उपतूलम्, उपमूलम्, उपशालम्, सुपमम्, निपमम् । These last four are to be found in Tishṭhadgu class of compounds (II. 1. 17) .

Why do we say 'कूल &c.'? Observe उपकुम्भम् ॥

Why do we say 'in an Avyayībhāva compound?' Observe परमकूलम्, उत्तमकूलम् । After the prepositions परि, प्रति, उप and अप, the words कूल &c. would have become accentless by VI. 2. 33, the present sūtra supersedes VI. 2. 33, and we have accent on कूल &c. and not on the Prepositions.

३८५६ । कंसमन्थशूर्पपाय्यकाण्डं द्विगौ । ६ । २ । १२२ ॥

द्विकंसः । द्विमन्थः । द्विशूर्पः । द्विपाय्यम् । द्विकाण्डम् । 'द्विगौ' किम् । परमकंसः ॥

3856. In a Dvigu Compound the following second members get acute on their first syllable : - कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाय्य and काण्ड ॥

Thus द्विकंसः, (द्वाभ्यां कंमाभ्यां क्रीतः the affix टिटन् V. 1. 25 is elided by V. 1. 28) द्विमन्थः, (the affix ट् V. 1. 19 is elided by V. 1. 28) द्विशूर्पः, (the affix अञ् V. 1. 26 is elided) द्विपाय्यः, द्विकाण्डः । Why do we say in a Dvigu? Observe परमकंसः ॥

३८५७ । तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके । ६ । २ । १२३ ॥

शालाशब्दान्ते तत्पुरुषे नपुंसकलिङ्गे उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तम् । ब्राह्मणशालम् । 'तत्पुरुषे-
किम् । दृढशालं ब्राह्मणकुनम् । 'शालायाम्,' किम् । ब्राह्मणशाला ॥

3857. The word 'śâlâ' at the end of a Tatpurusha compound when exhibited in the Neuter, has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ब्राह्मणशालम् । The compound becomes Neuter by II. 4. 25.

Why do we say 'in a Tatpurusha'? Observe दृढशालं ब्राह्मणकुलम् which is a Bahuvrihi compound and therefore the first member retains its accent (VI. 2. 1,) and as the first member is a Nishthâ word, it has acute on the final.

Why do we say 'the word शाला ?' Observe ब्राह्मणसेनम् ॥

Why do we say 'in the Neuter'? Observe ब्राह्मणशाला । Compare VI. 2. 86.

३८५८ । कन्या च । ६ । २ । १२४ ॥

तत्पुरुषे नपुंसकलिङ्गे कन्याशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तम् । सौशमिकन्यम् । आह्वरकन्यम् ।
'नपुंसके' किम् । दाक्षिकन्या ॥

3858. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in 'kanthâ' the acute falls on the first syllable of the second member.

Thus सौशमिकन्यम्, आह्वरकन्यम्, । The word सौशमिः denotes the descendant of सुशमः (शोभनः शमो यस्य) आह्वर is formed by the preposition आ with the verb हृवृ and the affix क (III. 1. 136) The compound is Neuter by II. 4. 20. These are Genitive compounds. When the word is not Neuter we have दाक्षिकन्या ॥

३८५९ । आदिश्चिहणादीनाम् । ६ । २ । १२५ ॥

कथान्ते तत्पुरुषे नपुंसकलिङ्गे चिहणादीनामानिरुदात्तः । चिहणकन्यम् । मन्दकन्यम् ।
आदिरिति वर्तमाने पुनर्यहणं पूर्वपदस्याद्युदात्तार्थम् ॥

3859. In a Neuter Tatpurushâ ending in 'kanthâ' the first syllable of 'chihana' &c. have the acute.

As चिहणकन्यम्, मँडरकन्यम्, मँडुरकन्यम् । The repetition of the word आदि if this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the first syllable on the first member gets the acute. The word चिहण is derived from the root चिनेति with क्तिप्, which gives चित् and हन is formed by adding अच् (III. 1. 134) to हन् । चत्+हन = चिहण the elision of त् is irregular.

३८६० । चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हायाम् । ६ । २ । १२६ ॥

चैलादीन्युत्तरपदान्याद्युदात्तानि । पुत्रचेलम् । नगरखेटम् । दधिकटुकम् । प्रजाकाण्डम् ।
लादिसाश्वथेन पुत्रादीं गं गर्हा । व्याघ्रदित्यात्समासः । 'गर्हायाम्' किम् । परमचेलम् ॥

3860. The words चेल, खेट, कटुक and काण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha have acute on the first syllable, when a reproach is meant.

Thus पुत्रचेलम्, नगरखेटम्, (खेट इति तृणनाम, तद्वन् दुर्बल) दधिकटुकम् (कटुकम-
स्यादु) प्रजाकाण्डम् । The reproach is denoted of the sons &c. by comparing them to चेल &c. The analysis will be पुत्रप्रचेलमिथ s. e. चेलयत् तुच्छम्, and the compounding

takes place under II. 1. 56: the Vyagrādi class being an akṛtigāṇa. When reproach is not meant, we have परमचेलम् ॥

३८६१ । चीरमुपमानम् । ६ । २ । १२७ ॥

वस्त्रं चीरमिव वस्त्रचीरम् । कम्बलचीरम् । 'उपमानम्' किम् । परमचीरम् ॥

3861. The word 'chīra' at the end of a Tatpurusha, has acute on the first syllable, 'when something is compared with it.

Thus वस्त्रम् चीरमिव=वस्त्रचीरम्, कम्बलचीरम् । 'Why do we say 'when comparison is meant?' Observe परमचीरम् ॥

३८६२ । पललसूपशाकं मिश्रे । ६ । २ । १२८ ॥

घृतपललम् । घृतसूपः । घृतशाकम् । 'भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम्' (६६७) इति समासः । 'मिश्रे किम् । परमपललम् ॥

3862. In a Tatpurusha ending in पलल, सूप and शाक the acute falls on the first syllable of these, when the compound denotes a food mixed or seasoned with something.

Thus घृतपललम्, घृतसूपः, घृतशाकम् = घृतेन मिश्रं पललं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 35. S. 697. 'Why do we say 'when meaning mixed or seasoned?' Observe परमपललम् ॥

३८६३ । कूलसूदस्यलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । २ । १२९ ॥

आद्युटात्तास्तत्पुरुषे । दाक्षिकूलम् । शण्डिसूदम् । दाण्डापनस्यलम् । दाक्षिकर्षः । याम-संज्ञा यताः । 'संज्ञायाम्' किम् । परमकूलम् ॥

3863. The words कूल, सूद, स्यल and कर्ष have acute on their first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha denoting a Name-

Thus दाक्षिकूलम् शण्डिसूदम्, दाण्डापनस्यलम्, दाक्षिकर्षः । All these are names of villages. 'When not a name we have परमकूलम् ॥

३८६४ । अकर्मधारये राज्यम् । ६ । २ । १३० ॥

कर्मधारयवर्जिते तत्पुरुषे राज्यमुत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तम् । ब्राह्मणराज्यम् । 'अक-' इति किम् । परमराज्यम् ॥

'+चेलराज्यादिस्वरादव्ययस्वरः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन+' । कुचेलम् । कुराज्यम् ॥

3864. The word 'rājyam' has acute on the first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, which is not a Karmadhāraya.

Thus ब्राह्मणराज्यम् । In a Karmadhāraya we have परमराज्यम् ॥

Vart :—The accent taught in VI. 2. 126 to 130 S. 3860 to 3864 is superseded by the accent of the Indeclinable taught in VI. 2. 2, though that rule stands first and this subsequent'. As कुचेलम्, कुराज्यम् ॥

३८६५ । वर्यादयश्च । ६ । २ । १३१ ॥

अर्जुनवर्यः । घासुदेवपत्न्यः । अकर्मधारय इत्येव । परमवर्यः । वर्यादिदिगाद्यन्तर्गणः ॥

3865. At the end of a non-Karmadhâraya Tatpurusha compound, the words *vargya* &c. have acute on the first syllable.

Thus अर्जुनवर्ग्येः, वामुदेववर्ग्यः । In a Karmadhâraya we have परमवर्ग्यः । The words वर्ग्य &c. are nowhere exhibited as such; the primitive words वर्ग, वृग, गण &c. sub-division of द्विगति (IV. 3. 54) are here referred to, as ending with यत् affix.

३८६६ । पुत्रः पुम्भ्यः । ६ । २ । १३२ ॥

पुम्भ्येभ्यः परः पुत्रशब्दः आद्युदात्तस्तत्पुत्रे । दाशकिपुत्रः । माहिषपुत्रः । 'पुत्रः' किम् । कीर्तिमातुलः । 'पुम्भ्यः' किम् । दाक्षीपुत्रः ॥

3866. The word *putra* coming after a Masculine noun in a Tatpurusha has acute on the first syllable.

Thus दाशकिपुत्रः, माहिषपुत्रः । Why do we say 'अ-पुत्र' ? Observe कीर्तिमातुलः । Why do we say 'after a masculine word' ? Observe -दाक्षीपुत्रः ॥

३८६७ । नाचार्यराजर्त्विक्संयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः । ६ । २ । १३३ ॥

एभ्यः पुत्रो नाद्युदात्तः । आख्यायहणात्पर्यायाणां तद्विशेषाणां च ग्रहणम् । आचार्यपुत्रः उपाध्यायपुत्रः । शाकटायनपुत्रः । राजपुत्रः । ईश्वरपुत्रः । नन्दपुत्रः । ऋत्विक्पुत्रः । याज्ञकपुत्रः । होतुः पुत्रः । संयुक्ताः संबन्धिनः । श्यालपुत्रः । ज्ञातयो मातापितृसंबन्धेन बन्धवाः । ज्ञातिपुत्रः भातुःपुत्रः ॥

3867. The word *putra* has not acute on the first syllable when preceded by a word which falls under the category of teachers, kings, priests, wife's relations, and agnates and cognates.

The word आचार्य means 'teacher,' राजा 'prince, king,' ऋत्विज् 'a sacrificing priest,' संयुक्ताः 'relations through the wife's side' as श्याला 'brother-in-law' &c. ज्ञाति means 'all kinsmen related through father and mother or blood-relations.' The word आख्या shows that the rule applies to the synonyms of 'teachers' &c., as well as to particular 'teacher' &c. Thus आचार्यपुत्रः, उपाध्यायपुत्रः, शाकटायनपुत्रः, राजपुत्रः, ईश्वरपुत्रः, नन्दपुत्रः, ऋत्विक्पुत्रः, याज्ञकपुत्रः, होतुःपुत्रः, (VI. 3. 23) संयुक्तपुत्रः, संबन्धिपुत्रः, श्यालकपुत्रः, ज्ञातिपुत्रः, भातुपुत्रः, (VI. 3. 23). Here the special accent of पुत्र, taught in the last sūtra being prohibited, the accent falls on the last syllable by the general rule VI. 1. 2 23.

३८६८ । चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः । ६ । २ । १३४ ॥

एतानि प्राणिभिन्नवृक्षान्तात्पराश्रयाद्युदात्तानि तत्पुत्रेण मुद्गचूर्णम् । 'अप्र-' इति किम् । मत्स्यचूर्णम् ॥

3868: The words 'chūrṇa' &c. in a Tatpurusha compound have acute on the first syllable, when the preceding word ends in a Genitive and does not denote a living being.

Thus मुद्गचूर्णम्, मत्स्यचूर्णम्, but मत्स्यचूर्णम् where the first term is a living being, and परमचूर्णम् where it is not Genitive. Another reading of the sūtra is चूर्णादीन्यप्राणेषुहात्, the word उपग्रह being the ancient name of षष्ठो given by old Grammarians.

1 चूर्ण, 2 करिव, 3 करिष, 4 शाकिन, 5 शाकट, 6 द्राक्षा, 7 तूस्त, 8 कुन्दुम (कुन्दम), 9 दलप, 10 चमसो, 11 चक्कन (चकन चक्यन) 12 चोल ॥

The word चूर्ण is derived from the root चूरी दाहे (Div 50) with the affix क्त; करिव and करिष are formed with the upapada करि and the verbs वा 'to go' and पा 'to protect' respectively, and the affix क (करिणंवाति=करिव) (III. 2. 3); शक with the affix इण् added diversely (Uṇ II. 56); शक with अटच् (Uṇ IV. 81) gives शकट; this with अण् (तट्टहलि) gives शाकट; द्राक् चरति = द्राक्षा (Prishodarādi); तुम् (शब्दे) with क्त gives तूस्त the penultimate being lengthened; the word कुन्दु is formed by the affix क्तिप् added to the root द्रु with the upapada कु (कुन्दुनेति कुत्सितं वा दुनेति) the augment सुम् being added to कु। कुन्दु' मिमीते=कुन्दुमः। दल with the affix कपन् gives दलपः, चम with असच् forms चमस, then is added ङाप्; चक्कन is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to कन् and reduplication, चोलस्यापत्यं=चोलः ॥

३८६९ । षट् च काण्डादीनि । ६ । २ । १३५ ॥

अप्राणिषपट्या आद्युदात्तानि । दर्भकाण्डम् । दर्भचौरम् । तिलपललम् । सुदगसूपः । मूलकशाकम् । नदीकूलम् । 'षट्' किम् । राजसूदः । 'अप्र-' इति किम् । दत्तकाण्डम् ॥

3869. The six words काण्ड, चौर, पलल, सूप, शाक and कुल of Sūtras VI. 2. 126-129 preceded by a non-living genitive word have acute on the first syllable.

As दर्भकाण्डम्, दर्भचौरम् । In the last example चौर is not used as a comparison, that case being governed by VI. 2. 127, तिलपललम्, सुदगसूपः, मूलकशाकम् । Here पलल, सूप and शाक do not denote mixing, which is governed by VI. 2. 128. नदीकूलम्, here the compound does not denote a Name, which would be the case under VI. 2. 129. Why these 'six' only? Observe, राजसूदः ॥ Why 'non-living'? Observe दत्तकाण्डम् ॥

३८७० । कुण्डं वनम् । ६ । २ । १३६ ॥

कुण्डमाद्युदात्तं वनवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे । दर्भकुण्डम् । कुण्डशब्दोऽत्र सादृश्ये । 'वनम्' किम् । मत्कुण्डम् ॥

3870. The word 'kuṇḍa' at the end of a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'a wood or forest', has acute on the first syllable.

The word कुण्ड here denotes 'a wood' by metaphor. Thus दर्भकुण्डम् । Why do we say when denoting 'a wood'? Observe मत्कुण्डम् ॥

३८७१ । प्रकृत्या भगालम् । ६ । २ । १३७ ॥

भगालवाच्युत्तरपदं तत्पुरुषे प्रकृत्या । कुम्भीभगालम् । कुम्भीनदालम् । कुम्भीकपालम् । मधोदात्ता एते । प्रकृत्येत्यधिकृतम् 'अन्तः' (३८७७) इति यावत् ॥

3871. The word 'bhagāla' at the end of a Tatpurusha, preserves its original accent.

The synonyms of भगाल are also included. As कुम्भीभगालम्, कुम्भीकपालम्, कुम्भीनदालम् । The words भगाल &c., have acute on the middle. Phit II. 9. The word प्रकृत्य governs the subsequent sūtras up to VI. 2. 143. S. 3877.

३८०२ । शितेर्नित्याबहुजबहुव्रीहावभसत् । ६ । २ । १३८ ॥

शितेः परंनित्याबहुक्कं प्रकृत्या । शितिपादः । शित्यंसः । पादशब्दो वृषादित्वादाद्युदात्तः । अंसशब्दः प्रत्ययस्य निच्चात् । 'शितेः' किम् । दर्शनीयपादः । 'अभसत्' किम् । शितिभसत् । शितिराद्युदात्तः । पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरापवादेऽयं योगः ॥

3872. After 'śiti' a word retains in a Bahuvrīhi its original accent, when it is always of not more than two syllables, with the exception of 'bhasad.'

Thus शितिर्पादः, शित्यंसः । The word पाद belongs to वृषादि class (VI. 1. 203) and has acute on the first, and अंसः being formed by सन् (Uṇ V. 21) affix has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197).

Why do we say 'after शिति' ? Observe दर्शनीयपादः which being formed by the affix अनौघर् has acute on the penultimate syllable नी by VI. 1. 217 ॥

Why do we say 'with the exception of भसत्' ? Observe शितिभसत् । The word शिति has acute on the first syllable (Phiṭ II. 10). This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 1.

३८०३ । गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत् । ६ । २ । १३९ ॥

अभ्यः कृदन्तं प्रकृतिस्वरं स्यात्तत्पुरुषे । प्रकारकः । प्रहरणम् । 'शोणां धृष्णू नृवाहसा' । इध्मप्रवृश्चनः । उपपदात् । उच्चैःकारम् । ईषत्कारः । 'गति' इति कृत् । देवस्य कारकः । शेषे षष्ठी । कृदपहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । प्रवृत्तितरामित्यत्र तरखाद्यन्तेन समासे कृत आम् । तत्र सतिश्रिष्ट-स्वादात्मस्वरे भवतीत्येके । प्रवृत्तिदेशयार्थं तु कृदपहणमित्यन्ये ॥

3873. In a Tatpuruṣa, a word ending in a Kṛit-affix preserves its original accent, when preceded by an Indeclinable called Gati (I. 4. 60), or a noun standing in intimate relation to a verb (Kāraka), or any word which gives occasion for compounding (Upapada see III. 1. 92).

Thus प्रकारकः, प्रहरणम् । शोणा धृष्णूनृवाहसा (Rig Veda I. 6. 2). The compounding is here by II 2 18. With kāraka-word we have :—इध्मप्रवृश्चनः (III. 3. 117). With upapada words, we have :—ईषत्कारः । All these are formed by कृत् affixes and the accent is governed by VI. 1. 193. i.e., the word वृश्चन is formed by ल्युट् (इध्मं प्रवृश्चते येन) ।

Why do we say 'after a Gati, Kāraka, or an Upapada word?' Observe देवस्यकारकः = देवकारकः । Here the Genitive in देव does not express a kāraka relation. The genitive is here a शेष लक्षणा षष्ठी denoting a possessor and not a कर्म-लक्षणा one : for had it been the latter, there would have been no compounding at all, by II. 2. 16 see also II. 3. 65.

The word कृत् is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness ; for a gati, kāraka or upapada could not be followed by any other word than a kṛit-formed word, if there was to be a samāsa. For two sorts of affixes come after a root (bhāta) namely तिङ् and कृत् । A samāsa can take place with kṛit-formed words, but not with tiṅanta words. So that without employing कृत् in the sūtra, we

could have inferred that कृत was meant. Therefore, it is said the 'Kṛit' is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness. According to this view we explain the accent in प्रपचितराम्, प्रपचिततमाम्, by saying that first compounding takes place with प्र and the words पचिततर and पचिततम ending in तरप्, and तमप्, and then आम्, is added and the accent of the whole word is regulated by आम् by the rule of सतिशिष्ट (see V. 3. 56. and V. 4. 11). According to others, the कृत is taken in this sūtra, in order to prevent the gati accent applying to verbal compounds in words like प्रपचित देश्यः, or प्रपचित देशीयं (V. 3. 67), or प्रपचतिरुपम् (V. 3. 66). The accent of these will be governed by the rule of the Indeclinable first term retaining its accent.

३८७४ । उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् । ६ । २ । १४० ॥

यद्यु पुर्वोत्तरपदे युगपत्प्रकृत्या । 'वनस्पतिं वन आ' । 'वृहस्पतिं यः' । बृहच्छब्दीऽत्राद्यु दात्तो निपात्यते । 'हर्षया शचीपतिम्' । शाङ्करवादित्यादाद्यु दात्तः शचीशब्दः । 'शचीभिर्न' इति दर्शनात् । 'तनून्पादुच्यते' । 'नराशंसं वाजिनम्' । निपातनाद्धीर्घः । 'शुनःशेषम्' ॥

3874. In *vanaspati*, &c, both members of the compounds preserve their original accent simultaneously.

NOTE :—Thus वनस्पतिं वन आ (Rig Veda X. 101. 11). बृहस्पतिं यः (Rig Veda IV. 50. 7) हर्षया शचीपतिम् (Rig Veda VIII. 15. 13) तनून्पादुच्यते (Rig Veda III) 29. 11); नरा शंसं वाजिनम् (Rig Veda I. 106. 4) शुनःशेषम् (Rig Veda V. 2. 7) वनस्पतिः, both वन and पति have acute on the first syllable, and the सुट् augment comes by VI. 1. 157. (2) वृहस्पतिः or बृहस्पतिः = बृहतां पतिः (VI. 1. 157). The word बृहत् is acutely accented on the final, some say it has acute on the first. (3) शचीपतिः (Śachī being formed by ङीष्) some make Śachī acute on the first शचीपतिः, by including it in Sarangrava class (IV. 1. 13). (4) तनून्पात् (tanū being formed by ऊ Un I 80 has acute on the final, according to others it has acute on the first and napât = na pāti or na pālayati with क्लिप्, and has acute on the first). (5) नराशंसः (नरा अस्मिन्वासीनाः शंसन्ति or नरा एव शंसन्ति) (nara is formed by अप्, and has acute on the first, Sinsa is formed by चञ्, the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137). (6) शुनः शेषः = शुन इव शेषोऽस्य is a Bahuvrihi : the Genitive is not elided by (VI. 3. 21 Vārt), and both have acute on the first. (7) शौण्डाम्बो both 'Śaṇḍa' and 'Marka' being formed by चञ् have acute on the first : the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. (8) तृष्णावक्रा । Trishṇa has acute on the first, वक्रो has acute on the final. The lengthening here also is by VI. 3. 137. (9) बम्बविश्ववसो । Bamba is finally acute, and विश्वा by VI. 2. 106 has acute on the final, as विश्वावयास is a Bahuvrihi The lengthening takes place as before by VI. 3. 137. (10) मर्मस्युः । मर् is formed by विच् affix and मस्यु has acute on the final. The words governed by this sūtra are those which would not be included in the next two sūtras.

३८७५ । देवताद्वन्द्वे च । ६ । २ । १४१ ॥

उभे युगपत्प्रकृत्या स्तः । 'अःष इन्द्रावक्रो' । 'इन्द्रावृहस्पतो वृष्णम्' । 'देवता' किम् । प्लक्षन्ययोःषो । 'द्वन्द्वे' किम् । अग्निष्टोम ॥

3875. In a Dvandva compound of names of Divinities, the both members retain their original accent.

Thus **अथ इन्द्राव ऋषी** (Rig Veda VI. 68. 1) **इन्द्राव हस्यं ती दयं** (Rig Veda IV. 49. 5). The word **इन्द्र** has acute on the first (by nipātana), **वरुण** is formed by **उनन्** (Uṇ. III. 53) and by VI. 1. 197 has acute on the first. **व हस्यति** has two acutes by VI. 2. 140, and Indra-Brihaspati has three acutes. Why do we say 'names of divinities'? Observe **सुन्नययोर्धो**. Why do we say 'a Dvandva'? Observe **अग्निष्टोमः** ॥

३८७६ । नोत्तरपदेऽनुदात्तादावृथिवीरुद्रपूषमथिपु । ६ । २ । १४२ ॥

एथिव्यादिर्वाजंतेऽनुदानादावुत्तरपदे प्रागुक्तं न । 'इन्द्र' अग्निभ्यां कं वृषणः' । 'अथिव्यादि' किम् । 'द्यावा' एथिवी जनयन्' । आद्युदानो द्यावा निपात्यते । एथिवीत्यन्तोदात्तः । रुद्रमोमी । रोदेर्शिलुक्च' इति रगन्तो रुद्रशब्दः । 'इन्द्रोपूषयो' । 'श्वसुन्नपूषन्—' इति पृषा अन्तोदात्तो निपात्यते । शुक्रामन्थिनो । मन्थिन्नित्वादनतोदात्तः । उत्तरपदग्रहणमनुदानादावित्युत्तरपदाव-शेषणं यथा स्याद्वृद्धव्यशेषणं मा भूत् । अनुदानादाविति विधिप्रतिषेधोर्विषयविभागार्थम् ॥

3876. In a Dvandva compound of the names of divinities, both members of the compound simultaneously do not retain their accent, when the first syllable of the second word is anudatta, with the exception of **एथिवी**, **रुद्र**, **पूषन्** and **मन्थिन्** ॥

Thus **इन्द्राग्नीभ्यां कं वृषणः** (Rig Veda I. 109. 3). Agni has acute on the final.

Why do we say with the exception of 'prithivi' &c? Observe **द्यावाएथिवी जनयन्** (Rig Veda X. 66. 9.) **dvyāvâ** has acute on the first, 'prithivi' being formed by 'nish', has acute on the final. **सोमारुद्रो**, Rudra is formed by 'rak' affix (Uṇ. II. 22.), and has acute on the final. **इन्द्रोपूषयो** (Rig Veda VII. 35. 1) **Pûshan** has acute on the end. (Uṇ. I. 159) **शुक्रामन्थिनो**, the words **Śukra** and **manthin** have acute on the final.

The word **uttarapada** is repeated in the sūtra, in order that it should be qualified by the word 'anudattādau', which latter would otherwise have qualified Dvandva. The word 'anudattādau' shows the scope of the prohibition and the injunction.

३८७७ । अन्तः । ६ । २ । १४३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

3877. In the following sūtras up to the end of the chapter should always be supplied the phrase 'the last syllable of the second member has the acute.'

३८७८ । थायघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम् । ६ । २ । १४४ ॥

'थ' 'अथ' 'घञ्' 'क्त' 'अच्' 'अण्' 'इत्र' 'क' एतदन्तानां गतिकारकोपपदात्परेषामन्त उदात्तः । 'प्रभृ' शस्योः' । आवसथः । घञ् । प्रभेदः । क् । 'धर्ता वज्रो पुरुष्टुतः' । पुरुष बहुपदेशेषु स्तुत इति विग्रहः । अच् । प्रलथः । अण् । प्रलथः । इत्र । प्रलत्रिचम् । क् । गोवृषः । मूलविभुजादि त्वात्कः । गतिकारकोपपदादित्येव । सुस्तुतं भवता ॥

3878. The last syllable of the second member has the acute in the verbal nouns ending in थ, अथ, घञ्, क्त, अच्, अप्, इञ् and क्, when preceded by a Gati, a Kâraka or an Upapada (VI. 2. 139).

Thus प्रभृथस्यायोः (Rig Veda V. 41. 19), 'प्रभृथ' formed by कथन् affix (Up. II. 2 and 3), and but for this sūtra, by VI. 2. 139 this word would have retained its original accent, which was acute on the first. अथः—आवसथैः formed by अथन् affix (Up. III. 116). घञ्—प्रभेदैः, । क्तः—धर्तावज्ञो पुरुष्टुतः (Rig Veda I. 11. 4). The word पुरुष्टुतः should be analysed as पुरुषु बहुप्रदेशेषु स्तुतः 'praised in many lands'. अच् (III. 3 56) :—प्रक्षयैः, the word क्षय 'dwelling,' is end acute, otherwise on the first (VI. 1. 201, 202). अप्—प्रलवः । इञ्—प्रलवित्रम् । क्—गोवृषैः=गां वर्षति, (III. 2. 5 Vârt) : (क्—being added by III. 1. 135). The word वृष has acute on the first, as it belongs to वृषादि class (VI. 1 203). When the preceding words are not Gati, Kâraka or Upapada, this rule does not apply : as सुस्तुतं भवता, where सु being Karmapravachaniya, the word gets the accent of the In declinable.

३८७९ । सूपमानात्कः । ६ । २ । १४५ ॥

सौरुपमानाच्च परं क्तान्तमन्तोदात्तम् । 'ऋतस्य योने' सुकृतस्य' । शशप्लुतम् ॥

3879. The participle in *hta* has acute on the final, when it is preceded by *su* or by a word with which the second member is compared.

Thus सुकृतम्, in the following Rik ऋतस्य योनी सुकृतस्य (Rig Veda X. 85. 24. With Upamâna words we have—शशप्लुतम् । This debars VI. 2. 49 and 48. When सु is not a Gati, the rule does not apply, as सुस्तुतम् भवता ॥

३८८० । संज्ञायामनाचितादीनाम् । ६ । २ । १४६ ॥

गतिकारकोपगटात्कान्तमन्तोदात्तमचितादीन्वर्जयित्वा । उपहूतः शाकल्यः । परिजग्धः कौशिल्यः । 'अन-' इति क्रिम् । आचितम् । आस्थापितम् ॥

3880. The Participle in 'hta' has acute on the last syllable when preceded by a Gati, or a Kâraka or an Upapada, if the compound denotes a Name, but not in 'âchita' &c.

Thus उपहूतः शाकल्यः, परिजग्धः कौशिल्यः । This debars VI. 2. 49. Why do we say 'when it is not आचित &c.' Observe आचितम् &c.

1 आचित, 2 पर्याचित, 3 आस्थापित, 4 परिगृहीत, 5 निरुक्त, 6 प्रतिपन्न, 7 अपग्लिष्ट, 8 प्रग्लिष्ट, 9 उपहित (उाहत), 10 उपस्थित, 11 संहितागवि (संहिताशब्दो यदा गौरन्यस्य संज्ञा तदान्तोदात्तो न भवति । यदा तु गोः संज्ञा तदान्तोदात्त एव) ॥

The word संहिता in the above list does not take acute on the final, when it is the name of anything else than a 'cow'; but when it denotes 'a cow' it has acute on the final.

३८८१ । प्रवृद्धादीनां च । ६ । २ । १४७ ॥

यथा क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तम् । प्रवृद्धः । प्रयुक्तः । असंज्ञार्थोऽयमारम्भः । आकृति-गणोऽयम् ॥

3881. The words 'pravridha' &c., ending in 'kta' have acute on the final.

Thus प्रवृद्धः, प्रयुक्तः । The rule is applicable to compounds which do not denote a name. It is an Akritigāṇa. The words have acute on the final, even when not followed by यान् &c., though in the Ganapāṭha they are read along with these words. Some hold it is only in connection with यान् &c. that these words have acute on the final. This being an Ākritigāṇa we have पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासोदेयं, पुनर्निष्कृते रयः &c.

1 प्रवृद्धं यानम्, 2 प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, 3 प्रयुतामूष्णवः or प्रयुक्ताः सक्तवः, 4 आकर्षं ऽवहितः 5 अयदहितो भोगेषु, 5 खट्वारूढः, 7 कविशस्तः, आकृतिगण ॥

३८८२ । कारकादृत्तश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि । ६ । २ । १४८ ॥

संज्ञायामन्त उदात्तः । देवदत्तः । विष्णुश्रुतः । 'कारकात्' किम् । संभूतो रामायणः । 'दत्तश्रुतयोः' किम् । देवपालितः । अस्मान्निघमादत्र 'संज्ञायामन्-' (३८८०) इति न । 'तृतीया कर्मणि' (३७८२) इति तु भवति । 'एव' किम् । कारकावधारणं यथा स्याद्वत्श्रुतावधारणं मा भूत् । अकारकादपि दत्तश्रुतयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति । श्रुतः । 'आशिषि' किम् । देवैः खाता देवखाता । आशिष्यैवेत्येवमत्रेष्टे नियमः । तेनानाहते नर्दति देवदत्त इत्यत्र न । शब्दविशेषस्य संज्ञेयम् । 'तृतीया कर्मणि' (३७८२) इति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वमेव भवति ॥

3882. The final of Past Participles 'datta' and 'śruta' alone has acute, in a compound denoting a Name and a benediction, the preceding word being a word standing in close relation to an action (kāraka).

Thus देवा एनंदेयासुः = देवदत्तैः, विष्णुरेवं श्रूयाद् = विष्णुश्रुतैः । Why do we say 'preceded by a kāraka' ? Observe संभूतो रामायणः । The word कारक indicates that the rule will not apply when a gati or upapada precedes.

Why do we say 'of दत्त and श्रुत' ? Observe देवपालितः (VI. 2. 48), which, though a Name, is not governed by VI. 2. 146, and does not take acute on the final, for the present rule makes a restriction with regard to that rule even. So that where a Participle in क्त is preceded by a kāraka, and the compound denotes a benediction and a Name, the accent is not on the final, as required by VI. 2. 146, S. 3880 but such a word is governed by VI. 2. 48, S. 3782 unless the Participle be Datta and śruta, when the present rule applies.

Why do we use 'एव (alone)' ? So that the restriction should apply to 'kāraka', and not to Datta and Śruta. For the words Datta and Śruta will have acute on the final even after a nonkāraka word. As संश्रुतैः ॥

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction' ? The rule will not apply where benediction is not meant. As देवैः खाता = देवखाता । This rule applies to Datta and Śruta after a kāraka-word, only when benediction is meant. It therefore does not apply to देवदत्त 'the name of Arjuna's conch', as आहतेन दत्त देवदत्तः, which is governed by VI. 2. 48.

३८८३ । इत्थंभूतेन कृतमिति च । ६ । २ । १४९ ॥

इत्थंभूतेन कृतमित्ये तस्मिन्नर्थे यः समासस्तत्र क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं स्यात् । सुप्तप्रलपितम् । प्रमत्तगीतम् । कृतमिति क्रियासामान्ये करोतिर्नाभूतपादुर्भाव एव । तेन प्रलपिताद्यापि कृतं भवति 'तृतीया कर्मणि' (३७८२) इत्यस्यापवादः ॥

3883. The Participle in *kta* has acute on the final, when the compound denotes 'done by one in such a condition.'

The word इत्थंभूत means 'being in such a condition.' Thus सुप्तप्रलपितम्, प्रमत्तगीतम्, as Adjectives and Abstract verbal nouns. This is an exception to VI. 2. 48. When the words प्रलपित &c. are used to denote Noun of Action (भाव) then by VI. 2. 144 they get of course acute on the final.

३८८४ । अने भावकर्मवचनः । ६ । २ । १५० ॥

कारकात्परमप्रत्ययान्तं भाववचनं कर्मवचनं चान्तोदात्तम् पयः पानं सुखम् । राजभोजनाः शालयः । 'अनः' किम् । हस्तादायः । 'भा-' इति किम् । दन्तधावनम् । करणे ल्युट् कारकात् किम् । निदर्शनम् ॥

3884. After a kâraka as mentioned in VI. 2. 148, the second member ending in the affix अन, and denoting an action in the Abstract or the object (*i. e.* having the senses of a Passive Adjective), has acute on the final.

Thus पयपानं सुखम् । This is an example of भाव or Abstract Verbal Noun. राजभोजनाः शालयः, is an example of कर्मवचन or Passive Adjective. This is formed by ल्युट् under III. 3. 116. For the Sûtra III. 3. 116 may be explained by saying that (1) ल्युट् is applied when the Upapada is in the objective case and bhâva is meant, (2) as well as when object is to be expressed. When the first explanation is taken, the above are examples of Bhâva ; when the second explanation is taken they are examples of Karma. Why do we say 'ending in अन' ? Observe हस्त हार्यमुदशित् । Why do we say 'when expressing an action in the abstract (bhâva), or an Object (karma)' ? Observe दन्तधार्यनम्, here ल्युट् is added after an Instrumental kâraka (III. 3. 117). Why do we say 'after a kâraka' ? Observe निदर्शनम् । In all the counter-examples, the second members retain there original accent.

३८८५ । मन्क्त्विन्याख्यानशयनासनस्यानयाजकादिक्रीताः । ६ । २ । १५१ ॥

कारकात्पराययेतान्युत्तरपदान्यन्तोदात्तानि तत्पुरुषे । कृत्स्वरापवादः । रथवर्त्म । पाणिनिः कृत्स्वोऽप्याख्यानम् । राजशयनम् । राजासनम् । अश्वस्थानम् । ब्राह्मणयाजकः । गोक्रोतः । 'कारकात्' किम् । 'प्रभूता संगतिम्' । अत्र 'तादौ च निरति-' (३७८४) इति स्वरः ॥

3885. The words ending in मन् or क्त्वि affixes, and the word व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्यान and क्रीत as well as याजक &c. have acute on the final, when at the end of a compound, preceded by a kâraka word.

Thus मन्—रथवर्त्म । किन्—पाणिनिर्कतिः । व्याख्यान—द्वन्द्वव्याख्यानम् । शयन—राजशयनम् । आसन—राजासनम् । स्थान—अश्वस्थानम् । याजकादि words are those which form Genitive compounds under II. 2. 9, and those compounds only are to be taken here ; as ब्राह्मणयाजकः, क्षत्रिययाजकः, ब्राह्मणपूजकः, क्षत्रियपूजकः । क्रीत—गोक्रीतः । This is an exception to VI. 2. 139, and in the case of क्रीत, rule VI. 2. 48 is superseded. The words व्याख्यान &c. do not denote here भाव or कर्म, had they done so, rule VI. 2. 149 would have covered them. When the first member is not a kāraka, we have प्रभूतौ संगतिम् । Here the accent is governed by VI. 2. 50, S. 3784.

1 याजक, 2 पूजक, 3 परिचारक, 4 परिषेचक परिवेषक, 5 स्नापक स्नातक, 6 अध्यापक, 7 उत्साहक (उत्सादक) 8 उदूर्तक, 9 होतृ, 10 भर्तृ, 11 रथगणक, 12 पत्तिगणक, 13 पोतृ, 14 होतृ. 15 वर्तक ॥

३८८६ । सप्तम्याः पुण्यम् । ६ । २ । १५२ ॥

अन्तोदानम् । अध्ययनपुण्यम् । 'तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थ-' (३७३६) इति प्राप्तम् । 'सप्तम्याः' कम् । वेदेन पुण्यं वेदपुण्यम् ॥

3886. The word 'punya' has acute on the final when preceded by a noun in the Locative case.

Thus अध्ययने पुण्यम् = अध्ययनपुण्यम् । The compounding takes place by II. 1. 40 by the process of splitting the sūtra (yoga-vibhāga), taking सप्तमी there as a full sūtra, and शौण्डेः another. Here by VI. 2. 2, S. 3736 the first member would have preserved its accent, the present sūtra supersedes that and ordains acute on the final. The word पुण्य is derived by the Unādi affix यत् (Un V. 15) and would have retained its natural accent (VI. 1. 213) and thus get acute on the first syllable by krit-accent. (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'a locative case' ? Observe वेदेन पुण्यं = वेदपुण्यम् ॥

३८८७ । ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः । ६ । २ । १५३ ॥

माषेणम् । माषविकलम् । वाक्कलहः । तृतीयापूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरापवादाद्यम् । अत्र केचिदर्थेति स्वरूपग्रहणमिच्छन्ति । धान्यार्थः । ऊनशब्देन त्वर्थनिर्देशार्थेन तदर्थानां ग्रहणमिति प्रतिपादोक्तत्वादेव सिद्धे तृतीयाग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् ॥

3887. The acute falls on the final of words having the sense of 'ūna,' and of 'kalaha' when they are second members in a compound, preceded by a term in the instrumental case.

Thus माषेणम्, माषविकलम्, वाक्कलहः । The compounding takes place by II. 1. 31. This is an exception to VI. 2. 2 by which the first member being in the third case, would have retained its original accent. Some say that the word अर्थ in the sūtra means the word' form अर्थे, so that the aphorism would mean—'after an Instrumental case, the words ऊन, अर्थ, and कलह get acute on the final.' The examples will be in addition to the above:—धान्यार्थाः=धान्याद्यः । If this be so, then the word-form ऊन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विकल &c. To this we reply, that ऊन will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word अर्थ । By sūtra II. 1. 13, ऊनार्थ and कलह always take the

Instrumental case, so we could have omitted the word *तृतीयायाः*, from this sūtra' for by the maxim of pratipadokta &c. *ऊनार्थकलहं* would have referred to the compound ordained by II. 1. 31. The mention of *तृतीया* here is only for the sake of clearness

३८८८ । मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसंधौ । ६ । २ । १५४ ॥

पणवन्धेनैकार्थं संधिः । तिलमिश्राः । सर्पिमिश्राः । 'मिश्रम्' किम् । गुडधानाः । 'अनुपसर्गम्' किम् । तिलसमिश्राः । 'मिश्रग्रहणी सोपसर्गग्रहणस्य' इदमेव ज्ञापकम् । 'असंधौ' किम् । ब्राह्मणमिश्रो राजा । ब्राह्मणैः सह संहित ऐकार्थमापचः ॥

3888. The word 'mīśra' has acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any Preposition and does not mean a 'compact or alliance.'

Thus तिलमिश्राः सर्पिमिश्राः । Why do we say मिश्र ? Observe गुडधानाः । Why do we say 'not having a Preposition' ? Observe तिलसमिश्राः । The employment in this sūtra of the phrase 'anupasargam' implies, that wherever else, the word mīśra is used, it includes mīśra with a preposition also. Therefore in II. 1. 31 where the word मिश्र is used, we can form the Instrumental compounds with मिश्र preceded by a preposition also.

Why do we say 'not denoting a compact' ? Observe ब्राह्मणमिश्रो राजा = ब्राह्मणैः सह संहित ऐकार्थमापचः ॥

३८८९ । नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे संपाद्यर्हहितालमथास्ताद्धिताः । ६ । २ । १५५ ॥

संपाद्याद्यर्थतद्धितान्ताच्चाञ्जो गुणप्रतिषेधे वर्तमानात्पर्यन्तादनाः । कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यं तंपादि कार्णवेष्टकिकम् । न कार्णवेष्टकिकमकार्णवेष्टकिकम् । छेदमर्हति ह्रदिकः । न छेदकोच्छेदिकः । न वत्सेभ्यो हितोऽवात्सीयः । न संतापाय प्रभवति असंतापिकः । 'नञः' किम् । गर्दभरथमर्हति गर्दभरथिकः । विगार्दभरथिकः । 'गुणप्रतिषेधे' किम् । गर्दभरथिकादन्योऽगार्दभरथिकः । गुणो हि तद्धितार्थं प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं संपादितत्वेद्युच्यते । तत्प्रतिषेधो यत्रोच्यते तत्रायं विधिः । कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यं न संपादि सुखमिति । 'संपादे-' इति किम् । पाणिनीयमधीते पाणिनीयः । न पाणिनीय अपाणिनीयः । 'तद्धिताः' किम् । वोढुमर्हति वोढा । न वोढायांढा ॥

3889. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes denoting 'fitted for that' (V. 1. 99), 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63), 'good for that' (V. 1. 5), 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101), have acute on the final, when preceded by the Negative Particle 'nañ' when it makes a negation with regard to the abovementioned attributes.

Thus संपादि 'suited for that' (V. 1. 99) :—अकार्णवेष्टकिकं सुखम् = न कार्णवेष्टकिकं (कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यां सम्पादि) । The affix is ङञ् । अर्ह 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63) :—अच्छेदि = न छेदिकः (छेदमर्हति) । The affix is ठक् (V. 1. 64 and V. 1. 19). हित 'good for that' (V. 1. 5) :—अवात्सीर्यः = न वत्सेभ्यो हितोः । The affix is छ् V. 1. 1. अलमर्थः 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101) :—असंतापिकः = न संतापिकः । The affix is ङञ् (V. 1. 18). Why do we say 'after नञ्' ? Observe गर्दभरथमर्हति = गर्दभरथिकः, विगार्दभरथिकः, where the negative चि is used and therefore the avyaya चि retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say 'negation of

that attribute' ? Observe गार्ह्यभरयिकादन्यः = अगार्ह्यभरयिकः । The word गुण here means the attribute denoted by the Taddhita affix, and not any attribute in general. Thus अकारणवेष्टकिकं मुखं = कर्णवेष्टकाभ्याम् मुख्यम् । Why do we say 'in the senso of samapâ-li &c' ? Observe पाणिनीयमधीयते = पाणिनीयः = अपाणिनीयः । Why do we say 'Taddhita affixes' ? Observe कन्यां वोढुमर्हति = कन्यावोढा, न वोढा = अवोढा । Here लृच् a kṛit is added in the sense of 'deserving' (III. 3. 169).

३८९० । ययतोश्चातदर्थे । ६ । २ । १५६ ॥

ययती यो तद्धितौ तदन्तस्योत्तरपदस्य नञो गुणप्रतिषेधविषयात्पदस्यान्त उदात्तः स्यात् । पाशानां समूहः पाशया अपाशया । न पाशया अदन्त्यम् । 'अतदर्थे' किम् । अपाशयम् । 'तद्धितः' किम् । अदेयम् । 'गुणप्रतिषेधे' किम् । दन्त्यादन्यददन्त्यम् ॥

' + तदनुबन्धग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य + ' इति । नेह । अवामदेयम् ॥

3890. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes य and यत् when not denoting 'useful for that,' have acute on the last syllable, after the particle नञ् negating the attribute.

Thus पाशानां समूहः = पाशयाः, न पाशयाः = अपाशयौः, (IV. 2. 49) दन्तेषु भवं = दन्त्यम् न दन्त्यं = अदन्त्यम्, (V. 1. 6). Why do we say 'atadartha:—not useful for that,' Observe पाठार्थमुदकम् = पाठयम्, न पाठयम् = अपाठयम्, (V. 4. 25). Why do we say 'Taddhita' ? This rule does not apply when the affixes are not Taddhita, as अदेयम् formed with the kṛit-affix यत् । Why do we say 'negating the attribute' ? There must be negation of the attribute, otherwise दन्त्यादन्यत् = अदन्त्यम् । *Paribhāṣā*:— "When a term with one or more Anubandhas is employed in Grammar, it does not denote that which in addition to those one or more anubandhas has another Anubandha attached to it." The affix य and यत्, one without any anubandha and the other with the anubandha त् being specifically mentioned, excludes all other affixes having य as their effective element, such as अच् &c. (IV. 2. 9), thus न वामदेयं = अवामदेयम् । See IV. 2. 9.

३८९१ । अच्कावशक्तौ । ६ । २ । १५७ ॥

अजन्तं कान्तं च नञः परमन्तोदात्तमशक्तौ गम्यायाम् । अपचः पक्तुमशक्तः । अविनिष्कृतः अशक्तौ किम् । अपचो दीक्षितः । गुणप्रतिषेध इत्येव । अन्योऽयं पचादपचः ॥

3891. A word formed with the kṛit affix अच् and क, preceded by the particle नञ्, has acute on the final, when the meaning is 'not capable'.

Thus अपचः = य पक्तुं न शक्नोति, so also अविनिष्कृतः (III. 1. 134 &c). Why do we say when meaning 'not capable' ? Observe अपचो दीक्षितः । A दीक्षित does not cook his food, not because he is physically incapable of cooking, but because by the vows of his particular order he is prohibited from cooking.

३८९२ । आक्रोशे च । ६ । २ । १५८ ॥

नञः पराशक्कावन्तोदात्तावाक्रोशे । अपचो जाल्मः । पक्तुं न शक्नोतीत्येवमाक्रोशयते । अविनिष्कृतः ॥

3892. A word formed by the kṛit-affixes अच् or क्, preceded by the Negative particle, has acute on the final when one abuses somebody by that word.

Thus अपचे, सं जाल्मः 'this rogue does not cook, though he can do so.' Here avarice is indicated, the fellow wants more pay before he will cook: and not his incapacity. So also अविचिषः ॥

३८९३ । संज्ञायाम् । ६ । २ । १५९ ॥

नञः परमन्तोदात्तं संज्ञायामाक्रोशे । अदेवदत्तः ॥

3893. When abuse is meant, a word preceded by 'nañ' has acute on the final, in denoting a Name.

Thus अदेवदत्तः 'No Devadatta, not deserving of this name.'

३८९४ । कृत्योक्तेषु च्वात्तद्वयश्च । ६ । २ । १६० ॥

नञः परमन्तोदात्ताः स्युः । अकर्तव्यः । उक् । अनागासुकः । इष्णुच् । अनलंकरिष्णुः । इष्णुजग्रहणे खिष्णुचो द्यनुबन्धकस्यापि ग्रहणमिकारादेविधानसामर्थ्यात् । अनाढ्यं भविष्णुः । चार्वादिः । अचारः । 'राजाहो हृन्दसि' । अराजा । अनहः । 'भाषायाम्' नञः स्वर एव ॥

3894 After the Negative particle, words formed by the kṛitya affixes (III. 1. 95), by उक्, and इष्णुच्, and the words चारु &c. have acute on the final.

Thus kṛitya:—अकर्तव्यम् । उक्:—अनागासुकः । इष्णुच् अनलंकरिष्णुः । The affix इष्णुच् includes खिष्णुच् also: though the latter contains two anubandhas. In sūtra III. 2. 57 खिष्णुच् is ordained after भू but instead of खिष्णुच् with इ, the affix might have been well exhibited as खष्णुच् without इ. As भू is udātta, भू + खष्णुच् = भू + इ + खष्णुच् । So that we would have got the required form. But as a matter of fact the affix is exhibited there with an इ for the sake of the present sūtra only, so that इष्णुच् here may include खिष्णुच् also । अनाढ्यं भविष्णुः, चारु &c:—अचारुः, असाधुः, अयोधिकः, अवदान्यः, अननङ्गमेजुयः (double negation). अनकस्मात् (double negation). The words वर्तमान, वर्धमान त्वरमाण, धीयमाण, रोचमान क्रोयमाण, and शोभमान preceded by अ (नञ्) when denoting names have acute on the final. अविकारः, असदृशः and अविकारसदृशः (विकार and सदृश taken jointly and separately). अग्रहर्षित, अग्रहर्षतिकः । अराजा and अनहः in the Vedas only. In the Vernacular they have the accent of नञ्, i. e. udātta on the first.

1. चारु, 2 साधु, 3 योधिक (योधिक) 4 अनङ्गमेजय, 5 वदान्य, 6 अकस्मात्, 7 वर्तमानवर्धमानत्वरमाणधियमाणक्रोयमाणरोचमानशोभमानाः (क्रियमाण क्रोयमाण) संज्ञायाम्, 8 विकारसदृशे व्यस्ते ह्यस्ते (अविकार, असदृश अविकारसदृश), 9 ग्रहपति, 10 ग्रहपतिक, 11 राजाहो हृन्दसि ॥

३८९५ । विभार्षः तृचत्रतीक्ष्णशुचिषु । ६ । २ । १६१ ॥

हुन् । अकर्ता । अच । अनचम् । अतीक्ष्णम् । अशुचि । पक्षेऽव्ययस्वरः ॥

3895. After the Negative particle, the final of the following is optionally acute :—a word formed with the affix 'trin,' and the words अन्न, तीरण, and श्रुति ॥

Thus तृन्-अकर्त्ता or अकर्त्ता ; अन्न &c-अन्नचर्म or अन्नचर्म, अतीर्णम्, or अती-
र्णम्, अश्रुतिः or अश्रुतिः ॥ The alternative accent is that of the Indeclinable
(VI. 2. 2).

३८९६ । बहुव्रीहाश्रितमेतत्तद्वयः प्रथमपूरणयोः क्रियागणने । ६ । २ । १६२ ॥

गणयोऽनयोरन्त उदात्तः । इदं प्रथमस्य स इदंप्रथमः । एतद्वितीयः । तत्पञ्चमः ।
'बहुव्रीहौ' किम् । अनेन प्रथम इदंप्रथमः । 'तृतीया-' (६६२) इति योगविभागात्समासः ।
'इदमेतत्तद्वयः' किम् । यत्प्रथमः । 'प्रथमपूरणयोः' किम् । तानि बहुव्रीह्यस्य तद्बहुः । 'क्रिया
गणने' किम् । अयं प्रथमः प्रधानं एषां त इदंप्रथमाः । द्वयगणनमिदम् । 'गणने' किम् । अयं
प्रथम एषां त इदंप्रथमाः । इदंप्रधाना इत्यर्थः । उत्तरपदस्य कार्यत्वात्कांप पूर्वमन्तोदात्तम् ।
इदंप्रथमकाः । बहुव्रीहाश्रित्यधिकारो 'वनं समासे' (३६१२) इत्यतः प्राग्बोध्यः ॥

3896. In a Bahuvrīhi, after the words इदम्, एतद् and तद् the last syllable of प्रथम and of a proper Ordinal Numeral, has the acute, when the number of times of an action is meant.

Thus इदं प्रथमं गमनं भोजनं वा=स इदम्प्रथमः 'this is the first time of going or eating.' एतद्वितीयः, तत्पञ्चमः । Why do we say 'in a Bahuvrīhi ?' Observe अनेन=प्रथमः इदंप्रथमः । Here the compounding takes place under S. 692 by dividing that sūtra into two parts by the method of yoga-bibhāga. Here the first member, being in the third case, retains its accent by VI. 2. 2.

Why do we say 'after idam &c.' Observe यत्प्रथमः = यःप्रथम एषाम्, here the first term retains its accent by VI. 2. 1.

Why do we say 'of prathama and the Ordinals' ? Observe तानिबहुव्रीह्यस्य= तद्बहुः ॥

Why do we say 'in counting an action' ? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां=त इदं प्रथमाः । Here substances are counted and not action.

Why do we say 'in counting' ? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां=इदं प्रथमाः i. e. इदं प्रधानाः and the word प्रथम means here 'foremost,' and is not a numeral.

When the कप् affix is added, the acute falls on the last syllable preceding कप् । As इदं प्रथमकाः । The Bahuvrīhi governs the subsequent sūtras up to VI. 2. 178, S. 3912.

३८९७ । संख्यायाः स्तनः । ६ । २ । १६३ ॥

बहुव्रीहावन्तोदात्तः । द्विस्तना । चतुस्तना । 'संख्यायाः' किम् । दर्शनीयस्तना । 'स्तनः' किम् । द्विशिराः ।

3897. In a Bahuvrīhi, after a Numeral, the word 'stana' has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तना, चतुस्तनाः । Why do we say 'after a Numeral' ? Observe दर्शनीयस्तना । Why do we say 'स्तन' ? Observe द्विशिराः ॥

३८९८ । विभाषा कृन्दसि । ६ । २ । १६४ ॥

‘द्विस्तना करोति’ ॥

3898. Optionally so, in the Vedas, the stana after a Numerical has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तना or द्विस्तना, चतुस्तना or चतुस्तना ॥

३८९९ । संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयाः । ६ । २ । १६५ ॥

देवमित्रः । कृष्णाजिनम् । ‘संज्ञायाम्’ किम् । प्रियमित्रः ॥

‘+ ऋषिप्रतिषेधाः ऋ मित्रे +’ विश्वामित्रर्षिः ॥

3899. In a Bahuvrīhi, ending in ‘mitra’ and ‘ajina’ the acute falls on the last syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

As देवमित्रः, कृष्णाजिनम् । Why do we say ‘a Name’? Observe प्रियमित्रः ॥

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of मित्र when the name is that of a Rishi. As विश्वामित्रः which is governed by VI. 2. 106 ॥

३९०० । व्यायिनोऽन्तरम् । ६ । २ । १६६ ॥

व्यवधानवाचकात्परमन्तरमन्तोदात्तम् । वस्त्रमन्तरं व्यवधायकं यस्य स वस्त्रान्तरः । ‘व्यवधायिनः’ किम् । आत्मान्तरः । अन्यस्वभाव इत्यर्थः ॥

3900. In a Bahuvrīhi ending in ‘antara’ the acute falls on the final, after a word which denotes ‘that which lies between.’

Thus वस्त्रान्तरम् ‘through an intervened cloth or drapery,’ वस्त्रमन्तरं व्यवधायकं यस्य &c. Why do we say ‘when meaning lying between.’? Observe आत्मान्तरम् = आत्मा स्वभावोऽन्तरोऽन्यो यस्य ॥

३९०१ । मुखं स्वाङ्गम् । ६ । २ । १६७ ॥

गौरमुखः ‘स्वाङ्गम्’ किम् । दीर्घमुखा शाला ॥

3901. In a Bahuvrīhi the acute is on the final, when the second member is ‘mukha’ meaning mouth i. e. the actual bodily part of an animal and not used metaphorically.

Thus गौरमुखः । Why do we say ‘an actual part of a body’? Observe दीर्घमुखा शाला । Here मुख means ‘entrance’.

३९०२ । नाव्ययदिकृद्गुगोमहत्स्यूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः । ६ । २ । १६८ ॥

उच्चैर्मुखः । प्राङ्मुखः । गौमुखः । महामुखः । स्यूर्ध्वमुखः । मुष्टिमुखः । पृथुमुखः । वत्समुखः । पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरोऽत्र । गोमुष्टिवत्सपूर्वपदस्योपमानलक्षणोऽपि विकल्पोऽनेन वाध्यते ॥

3902. In a Bahuvrīhi, the acute does not fall on such ‘mukha’ denoting a real mouth, when it comes after an Indeclinable, and a name of a direction, or after गो, महत्, स्यूल, मुष्टि, पृथु and वत्स ॥

Thus अव्ययः उच्चैर्मुखः । The word उच्चैः is finally acute and retains its accent. दिकृ—गौर्ध्वमुखः । The word प्राङ् has acute on the first by VI. 2, 52, गो &c :—

गोमुखः, मर्हामुखः, स्थूलमुखः, मुष्टिमुखः, पृथुमुखः, and वत्समुखः। In these the first members of the Bahuvrihi preserve their respective accents, under Rule VI. 2. 1 and in the case of compounds preceded by गो, मुष्टि, and वत्स, the optional rule taught in the next sūtra is also superseded by anticipation, though the words may denote comparison.

३९०३ । निष्ठीपमानादन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । २ । १६९ ॥

निष्ठान्तादुपमानवाचिनश्च परं मुखं स्वाङ्गं वान्तोदात्तं बहुव्रीहौ । प्रक्षालितमुखः । पक्षे 'निष्ठीपसर्ग-' (३८४४) इति पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तत्वम् । पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वेन गतिस्वरोऽपि भवति । उपमानम् । सिंहमुखः ॥

3903. In a Bahuvrihi, the word 'mukha' denoting 'an actual mouth,' has optionally the acute on the final, when preceded by a participle in 'ta' or by that wherewith something is compared.

Thus प्रक्षालितमुखः or प्रक्षालितमुखः or प्रक्षालितमुखः । When the final is not acute, then Rule VI. 2. 110 S. 3844 applies which makes the first member have acute on the final optionally ; and when that also does not apply, then by VI. 2. 1. the first member preserves its original accent, which is that of the gati (VI. 2. 49). Thus there are three forms. So also with a word denoting comparison :— सिंहमुखः or सिंहमुखः ॥

३९०४ । जातिकालसुखादिभ्योऽनाच्छादनात्क्रतमितप्रतिपत्तः । ६ । २ ।

१९० ॥

सारङ्गजग्धः । मासजातः । सुखजातः । दुःखजातः । 'जातिकाल-' इति किम् । पुत्रजातः । 'अनाच्छादनात्' किम् । वस्त्रच्छन्नः । 'अकृत-' इति किम् । कुण्डकृतः । कुण्डमितः । कुण्डप्रतिपत्तः । अस्माज्जापकादिष्ठान्तस्य परिनिपातः ॥

3904. After a word denoting a species with the exception of a word for 'garment or covering', and after a time-denoting word, as well as after 'sukha' &c. the Participle in 'kta' has acute on the final, in a Bahuvrihi, but not so when the participles are कृत, मित and प्रतिपत्त ॥

Thus सारङ्गजग्धः । कालः--मासजातः । सुख &c. :—सुखजातः । दुःखजातः ।

Why do we say 'after a Species, a time or सुख &c. word' ? Observe पुत्रजातः (II. 2. 37), the participle being placed after the word Putra.

Why do we say 'when not meaning a garment' ? Observe वस्त्रच्छन्नः from the root वस् with the affixes च्छन्.

Why do we say 'when not कृत &c.' ? Observe 'कुण्डकृतः, कुण्डमितः, कुण्डप्रतिपत्तः । कुण्ड is first acute by Phit II. 3. being neuter. These three participles do not stand first in a compound (contrary to II. 2. 36). This sūtra implies that as a special case Nishṭhā participles may stand second in a compound. In the counter-examples, above given, the first members retain their original accent (VI. 2. 1). The words सुख &c are given under III. 1. 18.

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 वृष, (वृष तोत्र) 4 कच्छ, 5 अक्ष, 6 आक्ष, 7 अलीक, 8 प्रतीप, 9 कश्यप, 10 कृषण, 11 सोढ, 12 गहन.

३९०५ । वा जाते । ६ । २ । १७५ ॥

जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परो जातशब्दो यान्तोदात्तः । दन्तजातः । मासजातः ॥

3905. After a species (with the exception of garment) or a time denoting word, or after 'sukha' &c. in a Bahuvrīhi, the word 'jāta' has optionally acute on the final.

Thus दन्तजातः or दन्तजातः, मासजातः or मासजातः, सुखजातः or सुखजातः, दुःखजातः or दुःखजातः &c. The word दन्त is first-acute by Phit II. 6; मास is first-acute by Phit II. 15. The words सुख and दुःख are end-acute by Phit I. 6.

३९०६ । नञ्सुभ्याम् । ६ । २ । १७२ ॥

बहुव्रीहानुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तम् । अघोर्हिः । सुमाषः ॥

3906. A Bahuvrīhi formed by the Negative particle 'nañ' or by 'su' has acute on the last syllable of the compound.

Thus अघोर्हिः, सुमाषः ॥

३९०७ । कपि पूर्वम् । ६ । २ । १७३ ॥

नञ्सुभ्यां परं ष्टुत्तरपदं तदन्तस्य समासस्य पूर्वमुदात्तं कपि परे । अन्नन्नबन्धुकः । सुकुमारीकः ॥

3907. A Bahuvrīhi, formed by 'nañ' or 'su' and ending in the affix 'kap' (V. 4. 153) has acute on the syllable preceding the affix.

By the last sūtra, the accent would have fallen on कप, this makes it fall on the vowel preceding it. Thus अन्नन्नबन्धुकः, सुकुमारीकः ॥

३९०८ । ह्रस्वान्तेऽन्त्यात्पूर्वम् । ६ । २ । १७४ ॥

ह्रस्वान्त उत्तरपदे समासे चान्त्यात्पूर्वमुदात्तं कपि नञ्सुभ्यां परं बहुव्रीहौ । अघोर्हिकः । सुमाषकः । पूर्वमित्यनुवर्तमाने पुनः पूर्वग्रहणं प्रवृत्तिभेदेन नियमार्थम् । ह्रस्वान्तेऽन्त्यादेव पूर्वपदमुदात्तं न कपि पूर्वमिति । अन्नकः । कबन्तस्यैवान्तोदात्तत्वम् ॥

3908. When the compound ends in a light vowel, the acute falls on the syllable before such last, in a Bahuvrīhi preceded by 'nañ' and 'su' to which 'kap' is added.

Thus अघोर्हिकः, सुमाषकः । The repetition of पूर्व in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present from the last, shows, that in the last aphorism, the syllable preceding कप, takes the acute, while here the syllable preceding the short-vowel-ending final syllable has the acute and not the syllable preceding कप । This is possible with a word which is, at least, of two syllables (not counting, of course, सु and क or कप). Therefore, in अन्नकः and सुन्नकः, the acute is on the syllable preceding कप, by VI. 2. 173, because it has here no antyāt-purvam.

३९०९ । बहोर्नञ्चदुत्तरपदभूमि । ६ । २ । १७५ ॥

उत्तरपदार्थबहुत्ववाचिनो बहोः परस्य पदस्य नञः परस्येव स्वरः स्यात् । बहुव्रीहिकः । बहुमित्रकः । 'उत्तरपद-' इति किम् । बहुषु मानोऽस्य स बहुमानः ॥

3909. A Bahuvrihi with 'bahu' has the same accent as 'nañ' when it denotes muchness of the object expressed by the second member.

In other words, a Bahuvrihi with the word बहु in the first member, is governed by all those rules which apply to a Bahuvrihi with a Negative Particle such as Rules VI. 2. 172 &c. when this gives the sense of multiety of the objects denoted by the second member. Thus बहुव्रीहिकः by VI. 2. 174. बहुमित्रकः ॥

Why do we say 'uttara-pada bhūmni—when multiety of the object denoted by the second member is meant'? Observe बहुषु मानोऽस्य = बहुमानः अयम् (VI. 2. 1).

३९१० । न गुणादयोऽवयवाः । ६ । २ । १७६ ॥

अवयववाचिनो बहोः परे गुणादयो नान्तोदात्ता बहुव्रीहौ । बहुगुणा रज्जुः । बहुद्वरं पदम् । बहुध्यायः । गुणादिराकृतिगणः । 'अवयवाः' किम् । बहुगुणो द्विजः । अध्यनयुतसदाचारादयो गुणाः ॥

3910. In a Bahuvrihi, after 'bahu,' the acute does not fall on the final of 'guṇa' &c. when they appear in the compound as ingredient of something else.

Thus बहुगुणाः रज्जुः, बहुद्वरं पदम्, बहुध्यायः (VI. 2. 1). गुणादि is an Akrtigāṇa. Why do we say 'when it denotes an avayava or ingredient'? Observe बहुगुणो ब्राह्मणः = अध्यनयुतसदाचारादयोऽत्रगुणाः ॥

1 गुण, 2 द्वर, 3 अध्याय, 4 सूक्त, 5 इन्द्रोमान, आकृतिगण ॥

३९११ । उपसर्गात्स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपशुं । ६ । २ । १७७ ॥

प्रपृष्ठः । प्रललाटः । ध्रुवमेकरूपम् । 'उपसर्गात्' किम् । दर्शनीयपृष्ठः । 'स्वाङ्गम्' किम् । प्रशाखो वृक्षः । 'ध्रुवम्' किम् । उद्वाहुः 'अपशुं' किम् । त्रिपशुः ।

3911. A word denoting a part of the body, which is constant (and indispensable), with the exception of 'parśu' has, after a Preposition in a Bahuvrihi compound, the acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रपृष्ठः ; प्रललाटः । कृतं यस्य प्रगतं पृष्ठं भवति स प्रपृष्ठः ॥

Why do we say 'after a Preposition'? Observe दर्शनीयपृष्ठः ॥

Why do we say 'part of the body'? Observe प्रशाखो वृक्षः ॥

Why do we say 'dhruva—constant and indispensable'? Observe उद्वाहुः क्लेशति । Here the hand is raised up only at the time of cursing and not always so the state of उद्वाहु is temporary and not permanent.

Why do we say with the exception of पशुं? Observe त्रिपशुः (VI. 2. 1).

३९१२ । वनं समासे । ६ । २ । १७८ ॥

समासमात्रे उपसर्गादुत्तरपदं वनमन्तोदात्तम् । तस्य दिमे प्रवर्णे ॥

3912. After a preposition, 'vana' has acute on the final in compounds of every kind.

Thus प्रवर्णे यष्टव्यम्, निर्वर्णे प्रणिधीयते, the न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 5 The word 'samāsa' is used in the sūtra to indicate that all sorts of compounds are meant, otherwise only Bahuvrīhi would have been meant.

३९१३ । अन्तः । ६ । २ । १७९ ॥

अस्मात्परं वनमन्तोदात्तम् । अन्तर्वर्णो देशः । अनुपसर्गार्थमिदम् ॥

3913. After 'antar' the acute falls on the final of 'vana.'

Thus अन्तर्वर्णो देशः । This sūtra is made in order to make वन oxytoned, when a preposition (upasarga) does not precede.

३९१४ । अन्तश्च । ६ । २ । १८० ॥

उपसर्गादन्तः शब्दोऽन्तोदात्तः । पर्यन्तः । समन्तः ॥

3914. The word 'antar' has acute on the final when preceded by a Preposition.

Thus पर्यन्तः, समन्तः । This is a Bahuvrīhi or a प्रादि compound.

३९१५ । न निविभ्याम् । ६ । २ । १८१ ॥

न्यन्तः । व्यन्तः । पूर्व पदप्रकृतिस्वरं यणि च कृते 'उदात्तस्वरितयोर्यणः-' (३६५७) इति स्वरितः ॥

3915. The word antar has not acute on the final, after the prepositions *ni* and *vi*.

Thus न्यन्तः, व्यन्तः, here the first member retains its acute, and semivowel is then substituted for the vowel इ then the subsequent grave is changed to svarita by VIII, 2. 4. S. 3657.

३९१६ । परेऽभिभवाभावि मण्डलम् । ६ । २ । १८२ ॥

परेः परमभित उभयतो भावो यस्यास्ति तत्कूलादि मण्डलं चान्तोदात्तम् । परिकूलम् परिमण्डलम् ॥

3916. After 'pari' a word, which expresses something, which has both this side and that side, as well as the word 'mandala' has acute on the final.

Thपः परिकूलम्, परिमण्डलम् ॥

३९१७ । प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम् । ६ । २ । १८३ ॥

प्रण्डम् । 'अस्वाङ्गम्' क्रिम् । प्रपदम् ॥

3917. After *pra*, a word, which does not denote a part of body, has acute on the final, when the compound is a name.

Thus प्रग्रहं यम् । Why do we say 'not denoting a body part'? Observe प्रं पदम् ॥

३९१८ । निरुदकादीनि च । ६ । २ । १८४ ॥

अन्तोदात्तानि । निरुदकम् । निरुपलम् ॥

3918. The words *nirudaka* &c, have acute on the final.

Thus निरुदकम्, निरुपलम्, निरुपलम्, &c.

1 निरुदक, 2 निरुपल निरुपल 3 निर्मादिक, 4 निर्माशक, 5 निष्कालक, 6 निष्कालिक, 7 निष्पेष, 8 दुस्तरीप, 9 निस्तरीप, 10 निस्तरीक, 11 निरजिन, 12 उदजिन, 13 उपाजिन, 14 परेहस्तपादकेशकर्पा आकृतिगणः ॥

NOTE :—These may be considered either as प्रादि समास or Bahuvrihi. If they be considered as avyayī bhāva compounds then they are [end-acute already by VI. I. 223. The word निष्कालकः = निष्कान्तः कालकात्, is a Prādi-samāsa with the word काल ending in the affix कन् । The word दुस्तरीपः is thus formed : to the root तृ is added the affix ई and we have तरी (Uṇ III. 158) तरीम्, पाति = तरीपः ; कुत्सित स्तरीपः = दुस्तरीपः । The word निस्तरीकः is formed by adding the affix कप् to the Bahuvrihi निस्तरी । The words हस्त, पाद, कश and कर्प have acute on the final after परि, as, परिहस्तः परिपादः, परिकेशः, and परिकर्पः ॥

३९१९ । अभिमुखम् । ६ । २ । १८५ ॥

अभिमुखम् । 'उपसर्गात्स्वाङ्गम्, -' (३९१९) इति सिद्धे बहुव्रीह्यर्थमधुवार्थमस्वाङ्गार्थं च अभिमुखा शाला ॥

3919. The word *mukha* has acute on the final when preceded by *abhi*.

As, अभिमुखम् । It is a Bahuvrihi or a प्रादि samāsa. If it is an Avyayibhāva, then it would have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223 also. By VI. 2. 177, even मुख would have oxytone after an upasarga, the present sūtra makes the additional declaration that मुख is oxytone even when the compound is not a Bahuvrihi, when it does not denote an indispensable part of body, or a part of body even, as was the case in VI. 2. 177. Thus अभिमुखम् । शाला ॥

३९२० । अपाञ्च । ६ । २ । १८६ ॥

अपमुखम् । अपमुखम्, योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः ॥

3920. The word 'mukha' has acute on the final, after the preposition *apa*.

Thus अपमुखम् । The separation of this from the last sūtra, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism, in which the anuvriti of अप only goes.

३९२१ । स्फिगपूतवीणाञ्जोध्यकुक्षिसीरनाम नाम च । ६ । २ । १८७ ॥

अपादिमान्यन्तोदात्तानि । अपस्फिगम् । अपपूतम् । अपवीणम् । अञ्जम् । अपाञ्जः । अध्वन् । अपाध्यम् । 'उपसर्गादध्वनः' (१५३) इत्यस्याभाव इदम् । एतदेव च ज्ञापकं समासान्तानित्यत्वे । अपकुक्षि । सीरनाम् । अपसीरम् । अपह्वलम् । नाम । अपनाम् । स्फिगपूतकुक्षियहणमवहुवीह्यर्थमधुवार्थमस्वाङ्गार्थं च ॥

3921. The words स्फिग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जस्, अध्वम्, कुत्ति, नामन् and a word denoting 'a plough', have acute on the final, when preceded by *apa*.

Thus अपस्फिगम्, अपपूतम्, अपवीणम्, अपाञ्जः, अपाध्वम् (This ordains acute on the final, where the compound apādhwā does not take the samāsanta affix अच् by V. 4. 85, when it takes that affix, the acute will also fall on the final because अच् is a चित् affix.) This further shows that the samāsanta affixes are not compulsory. (अनित्यश्च समासान्तः), अपकुत्तिः, अपसीरः, अपहलः, अपलाहलम्, अपनामम् । These are प्रादि compounds or Bahuvrihi or Avyayibhavas. Some of these viz. स्फिग, पूत and कुत्तिः will be end-acute by VI. 2. 177, also when they denote parts of body and a permanent condition and the compound is a Bahuvrihi. Here the compound must not be a Bahuvrihi, nor should these words denote parts of body and permanent condition of these parts.

३९२२ अधेहपरिस्यम् । ६ । २ । १८८ ॥

अध्याहृदो दन्तोऽधिदन्तः । दन्तस्योपरि जातो दन्तः । 'उपरिस्यम्' किम् । अधिकरणम् ॥

3922. After अधि, that word, which denotes that thing which overlaps or stands upon, has acute on the final.

Thus अधिदन्तः = दन्तस्योपरि योऽन्योदन्तो जायते 'a tooth that grows over another tooth.'

Why do we say when meaning 'standing upon' ? Observe अधिकरणम् । Here the acute is on क, the krit-formed second member retaining its accent (VI. 2. 139).

३९२३ अनोरप्रधानकनीयसी । ६ । २ । १८९ ॥

अनोः परमप्रधानवाचि कनीयश्चान्तोदात्तम् । अनुगतो ज्येष्ठमनुज्येष्ठः । पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानः प्रादिसमासः । अनुगतः कनीयाननुकनीयान् । उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः । प्रधानार्थ च कनीयोपहणम् । 'अप्र-' इति किम् । अनुगतो ज्येष्ठोऽनुज्येष्ठः ॥

3923. After 'anu' a word which is not the Principal, as well as 'kaniyas' has acute on the final.

The word अप्रधान means a word which stands in a dependant relation in a compound. Thus अनुगतो ज्येष्ठम् = अनुज्येष्ठः । These are प्रादि samāsa in which the first member is the principal or Pradhāna. अनुगतः कनीयान् = अनुकनीयान्, here the second member is the Principal : the word कनीयस् is taken as प्रधान ॥ Had it been non-pradhāna, it would be covered by the first portion of the sūtra, and there would have been no necessity of its separate enumeration. Why do we say 'अप्रधान' ? Observe अनुगतो ज्येष्ठः = अनुज्येष्ठः, where ज्येष्ठ is the Principal.

३९२४ । पुरुषश्चान्वाद्विष्टः । ६ । २ । १९० ॥

अनोः परोऽन्वाद्विष्टवाचो पुरुषोऽन्तोदात्तः । अन्वाद्विष्टः पुरुषोऽनुपुरुषः । अन्वाद्विष्टः किम् । अनुगतः पुरुषोऽनुपुरुषः ॥

3924. After 'anu' the acute falls on the final of 'purusha,' when it means a man of whom mention was already made.

The word अन्वादिष्ट means 'of a secondary importance, inferior,' or 'mentioned again after having already been mentioned.' Thus अन्वादिष्टः पुरुषः = अनु-पुरुषः; but अनुगतः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः ॥

३९२५ । अतिरुक्तपदे । ६ । २ । १९१ ॥

अतेः परमरुदन्तं पदशब्दप्रचान्तोदात्तः । अत्यङ्कशो नागः । अतिपदा गायत्री । 'अरुक्तपदे किम् । अतिकारकः ॥

'+ अतेर्धातुलोप इति वाच्यम् + ' इहमा भूत् । शोभने गार्ग्याऽतिगार्ग्यः । इह च स्यात् । अतिक्रान्तः कारुणतिकारकः ॥

3925. After 'ati' a word not formed by a kṛit-affix, and the word 'pada' have acute on the last syllable.

Thus अत्यङ्कशो नागः, अतिपदा गायत्री । Why do we say 'nonkrit-word and pad' ? Observe अतिकारकः ॥

Vart :—The rule is restricted to those compounds in which a root has been elided. That is, when in analysing the compound, a verb like क्रम् is to be employed to complete the sense. Therefore, it does not apply to शोभने गार्ग्यः = अतिगार्ग्यः ॥ But it would apply to अतिकारकः, which when analysed becomes equal to अतिक्रान्तः कारुणम् ॥

३९२६ । नेरनिधाने । ६ । २ । १९२ ॥

निधानमप्रकाशता । ततोऽन्यदनिधानं प्रकाशनमित्यर्थः । निमूलम् । न्यहम् । 'अनिधाने किम् । निहितो दण्डो निदण्डः ॥

3926. After 'ni' the second member has the acute on the last syllable, when the sense is of 'not laying down.'

The word निधानं = अप्रकाशता 'not making manifest.' Thus निमूलम्, न्यहम् । Why do we say when meaning 'not laying down' ? Observe निदण्डः = निहितो दण्डः । The force of नि is that of निधान here.

३९२७ । प्रतेरंश्वाद्यस्तत्पुरुषे । ६ । २ । १९३ ॥

प्रतेः परेश्वाद्योऽन्तोदात्ताः । प्रतिगतेऽंशुः प्रत्यंशुः । प्रतिजनः । प्रतिराजा । समासान्तस्य नित्यत्वाच्च टच् ॥

3927. In a Tatpurusha compound, the word 'ansu' &c. have acute on the final when preceded by 'prati.'

Thus प्रत्यंशुः, प्रतिजनः, प्रतिराजा ॥ In the case of राजन् this rule applies when the Samāsānta affix टच् is not added, when that affix is added, the acute will also be on the final by virtue of टच् which is a चित् affix.

1 अंशु, 2 जन, 3 राजन्, 4 उष्ट्र, 5 खेटक (रोटक), 6 अजिर, 7 आटो, 8 अघण, 9 कृत्तिका, 10 अर्ध, 11 पुर (आर्धपुर आर्धपुरः) ॥

The word अंशु is formed by the affix कु under the general class मग्यु (Uṇ I. 37), राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156), उष्ट्र by adding ष्ट्रन् to

उप 'to burn'. (Up IV. 162), खिट् + शुल् = खेटक; अजिर is formed by किर (Up I. 53) आ + ट्रा + अद् (III. 3. 106), with the augment रक् added to आ = आर्दा ॥ अ + स्युट् = अयणा ॥ क्त + तिकन् = क्तिका (Up III. 147) ऋध् + अच् (III. 1. 134) = ऋद्ध; पुर् + क = पुर ॥

Why do we say 'in the Tatpurusha'? Observe प्रतिगता अंशवोऽस्य = प्रत्यं शुभसुष्टः ॥

३९२८ । उपाद्द्वयजजिनमगौरादयः । ६ । २ । १९४ ॥

उपात्परं यद्द्वयज्जिनं चान्तोटात्तं तत्पुरुषे गौरादीन्वर्जयित्वा । उपदेवः उपेन्द्रः । उपाजिनम् । 'अगौरादयः' किम् । उपगौरः । उपनेवः । 'तत्पुरुषे' किम् । उपगतः सोमोऽस्य स उपसोमः ॥

3928. In a Tatpurusha, the words of two syllables and 'ajina' have acute on the final when preceded by 'upa' but not when they are 'gaura' and the rest.

Thus उपगतो देवः=उपदेवः; उपेन्द्रः; उपाजिनम् । But not so in उपगौरः, उपनेवः &c.

1 गौर, 2 नेव (नेष) 3 तैल, 4 जेत, 5 जेत, 6 जिह्वा, 7 कण्ठ, (कण्ठा) 8 कन्या, 9 गुध (गुड) 10 कल्प, 11 पाद ।

Why 'in a Tatpurusha'? Observe उपगतः सोमोऽस्य = उपसोमः ॥

३९२९ । सारवत्ते पणे । ६ । २ । १९५ ॥

सुप्रत्यवसितः । सूरत्र पुजायामेव । वाक्यार्थस्य त्वन्न निन्दा असूयया तथाभिधानात् । 'सो किम् । कुत्राक्षणः । 'अवत्ते पणे' किम् । सुवृषणम् ॥

3929. After 'su,' the second member has 'acute on the final in a Tatpurusha compound, when reproach is meant, in spite of the addition of 'su' which denotes praise.

Thus इह खल्विदानीं, सुस्यण्डिले सुस्फिताभ्यां सुप्रत्यवसितः । The word सु here verily denotes praise, but it is the sense of the whole sentence that indicates reproach or censure. Why do we say 'after सु? Observe सुब्राह्मणः । Why 'when reproach is meant'? Observe शोभनेषु वृत्तेषु = सुवृषेषु । So also सुवृषणम् ॥

३९३० । विभाषोत्पुच्छे । ६ । २ । १९६ ॥

तत्पुरुषे । उत्क्रान्तः पूच्छादुत्पुच्छः । यदा तु पूच्छमुदस्यति उत्पुच्छयते । 'एरच्' (३२३१) । उत्पुच्छत्तदा थायादिस्वरेण नित्यमन्तोदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते विकल्पोऽयम् । सेवमुभयत्र विभाषा । 'तत्पुरुषे किम् । उदस्तं पुच्छं येन स उत्पुच्छः ॥

3930. In a Tatpurusha, the word 'utpuchha' may optionally have acute on the final.

Thus उत्क्रान्तः पूच्छात्=उत्पुच्छः or उत्पुच्छः (VI. 2. 2). When this word is derived by the affix अच् (III. 3. 56 S. 32 31) from पुच्छमुदस्यति=उत्पुच्छयति, then it would always have taken acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, the present sūtra ordains option there also. The rule does not apply to a non-Tatpurusha : as, उदस्तम् पुच्छमस्य=उत्पुच्छः ॥

३९३१ । द्वित्रिभ्यां पाद्वूर्धसु बहुव्रीहौ । ६ । २ । १९७ ॥

आभ्यां परेष्वन्तोदात्तो वा । 'द्विपाञ्चतुष्पाच्च रषाय' । 'त्रिपाद्वूर्धः' । द्विदन् । 'त्रिमूर्धानं सत्तरश्मिम्' । मूर्धचित्यकृतसमासान्त एव मूर्धशब्दः । तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनमस्यपि समासान्तोऽन्तोदात्तत्वं यथा स्यात् । एतदेव ज्ञापकम् 'अनित्यः समासान्तो भवति' इति । यद्यपि च समासान्तः क्रियते तथापि बहुव्रीहिकार्यत्वात्तदेकदेशत्वाच्च समासान्तोदात्तत्वं एते भवत्येव । द्विमूर्धः । 'द्वित्रिभ्याम्' किम् । कल्याणमूर्ध । 'बहुव्रीहौ' किम् । द्वयोर्मूर्धा द्विमूर्धा ॥

3931. In a Bahuvrīhi, the words 'पाद्, दन् and मूर्धन् have optionally acute on the final after द्वि and त्रि ॥

Thus द्वी पादावस्य = द्विपात् or द्विपात् as in द्विपाच्च चतुष्पाच्च रषाय (Rig Veda IV. 51. 5) त्रिपाद् or त्रिपाद् as in त्रिपाद्वूर्धम् (Rig Veda X. 90. 4) द्विदन् or द्विदन् द्विमूर्धः or द्विमूर्धा as in त्रिमूर्धानम् सत्तरश्मिम् (Rig Veda I. 146, 1). The word पाद् is पाद with its अ elided, (V. 4. 140) दन् is the substitute of दन्त (V. 4. 141) and मूर्धन् retains its न् not allowing samāsanta affix. This also indicates that the samāsanta rule is not universal. When the samāsanta affix is added, then also the acute is on the final, for the कार्यी is here the Bahuvrīhi compound, and this is only a part of it. Thus द्विमूर्धः, त्रिमूर्धः । Why after द्वि and त्रि ? Observe कल्याणमूर्धा here the first member is middle acute by Phit II. 19 and this accent is retained (VI. 2. 1) 'Why 'Bahuvrīhi' ? Observe द्वयोर्मूर्धा = द्विमूर्धा ॥

३९३२ । सक्यं चाक्रान्तात् । ६ । २ । १९८ ॥

गौरसक्यः । श्लक्ष्णसक्यः । 'आक्रान्तात्' किम् । सक्यसक्यः । समासान्तस्य द्रवश्चत्वाच्चत्यमेवान्तोदात्तत्वं भवति ।

3932. The word 'saktha' has acute on the final optionally, when preceded by any word other than what ends in 'kra'

The word सक्य is the samāsanta form of सक्यि (V. 4. 113). Thus गौरसक्यं or गौरसक्यः, श्लक्ष्णसक्यं or श्लक्ष्णसक्यः The word गौर being formed by प्रह्वि अण् and श्लक्ष्ण by कस्र (Up. III. 19) are both end-acute. Why 'not after a word ending in क्' ? Observe सक्यसक्यः which is *always* oxytone as it is formed by दच् (V. 4. 113) a चित् affix.

३९३३ । परादिशकृन्दसि बहुलम् । ६ । २ । १९९ ॥

शकृन्दसि परस्य सक्यशब्दस्यादिक्दात्तो वा । 'अजिसक्यमालभेत' । अत्र वार्तिकम्—

'+ परादिश्च परान्तश्च पूर्वान्तश्चापि दृश्यते ।

पूर्वादिश्च दृश्यन्ते व्यत्ययो बहुलं ततः +' ॥

इति । परादिः । 'तुविज्जाता उदत्तया' । परान्तः । 'नियेनं सुष्टिहृत्या' । 'यस्त्रिभक्तः' । पूर्वान्तः 'विश्वायुर्धेहि' ।

इति समासस्वराः ।

3933. The first syllable of the second member is diversely acute, in the Vedas.

The word पर "the second member" refers to सक्य, as well as to any other word in general. Thus अजिसक्यमालभेत, but सोमशंसक्यः so also अजुबाहुः, वाक्पतिः, त्रिपतिः ।

In the non-Vedic literature these last two compounds will be final acute by VI. 1. 223, rule VI. 2. 18 not applying because of the prohibition contained in VI. 2. 19.

The rule is rather too restricted. It ought to be: "In the Vedas, the *first* syllable and the *final* syllable of the *second* member, as well as the *final* syllable and the *first* syllable of the *preceding* member are seen to have the acute accent, in supersession of all the foregoing rules."

(1) As to where the *first* syllable of the second member (परान्तिः) takes the accent, we have तुविजाता उरुहया (Rig Veda I. 2. 9.)

(2) As to where the final of all the second terms (परान्तः) takes the acute we have नियेन सुष्टित्वया (Rig Veda I. 8. 2.) यस्त्रचक्रः (Rig Veda I. 183. 1.)

(3) As to where the final of the preceding (पूर्वान्तः) takes the acute, we have विश्वोयुः धेहि ॥

(4) As to where the first syllable of the preceding (पूर्वादिः) takes the acute we have as दिवोदासाय सामगाय ते ॥

Here end the Accents of Compounds.

CHAPTER V.

ACCENTS OF VERBS.

३९३३ । तिङो गोत्रादीनि कुत्सनाभीक्ष्ण्ययोः । ८ । १ । २७ ॥

तिङन्तात्पदाद्गोत्रादीन्यनुदात्तान्येतयोः । पचति गोत्रम् । पचतिपचति गोत्रम् । एव प्रवचनप्रहसनप्रकथनप्रत्यायनादयः । कुत्सनाभीक्ष्ण्यप्रहणं पाठविशेषणम् । तेनान्यत्रापि गोत्रादिय ह्ये कुत्सनादावेव कार्यं ज्ञेयम् । 'गोत्रादि-' इति किम् । पचति पापम् । 'कुत्स-' इति किम् । खनति गोत्रं ; समेत्य कूपम् ॥

3934. The words *gotra* &c., become unaccented after a finite verb, when a contempt or a repetition is intended.

Thus पचति गोत्रम्, when contempt is meant.

Here पचति गोत्रं means 'he proclaims his Gotra &c., so that he may get food &c.' पचति is from the root पचि व्यक्तिकरणे 'to make evident' (Bhu. 184). Where contempt is not meant, it has the force of repetition, i. e. he repeatedly utters his Gotra as one is bound to do, in marriage-rites &c. And पचति पचति गोत्रम्, when repetition or intensity is denoted. Similarly पचति ब्रुवम्, पचति पचति ब्रुवम् । The word ब्रुवं is a noun derived from the root ब्रू by the affix कन्, the वच् substitution for ब्रू has not taken place, as an anomaly.

1 गोत्र, २ ब्रुव, 3 प्रवचन, 4 प्रहसन, 5 प्रकथन, 6 प्रत्यायन, 7 प्रवच, 8 प्राय, 9 न्याय
10 प्रवचन, 11 विवचन, 12 अवचन, 13 स्वाध्याय, 14 भूविष्ट, 15 वा नाम (नाम वा) 16
प्रवचन, 17 प्रवचन ॥

The word नाम optionally becomes anudatta : in the alternative, it is first acute. Thus पचति नाम् or पचति नाम् ॥

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

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

Why do we say 'when contempt or repetition is meant' ? Observe खनति गोत्रं इमेत्य कूपं । 'He digs a well, having assembled the Gotra.'

३९३५ । तिङ्ङितिङः । ८ । १ । २८ ॥

अतिङन्तात्पदात्परं तिङन्तं निहन्यते । 'अग्निमीळे' ॥

3935. A finite verb is unaccented, when a word precedes it, which is not a finite verb.

Thus अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं (Rv. I. 1. 1). स इच्छेद्येषु गच्छति (Rv. I. 1. 4), अग्ने मूपायनो भव (Rv. V. 1. 1), यज्ञमानस्य पशून् पृहि ॥

३९३६ । न लुट् । ८ । १ । २९ ॥

लुङ्न्तं न निहन्यते । प्रवःकर्ता ॥

3936. But the Periphrastic Future is not unaccented, when it is preceded by a word which is not a finite verb.

This restricts the scope of the last sūtra which was rather too wide. Thus प्रवः कर्ता, प्रवः कर्त्तरि, मासेन कर्त्तरिः । The Sarvadhātuka affixes डा, रो, रस्, are anudatta after the affix तासि by VI. 1. 186, the whole affix तास् becomes udatta (III. 1. 3) and where the टि portion of तास् i. e. the syllable आस्, is elided before the affix डा, there also the आ of डा becomes udatta, because the udatta has been elided. See VI. 1. 161.

३९३७ । निपातैर्यदादिहन्तकुविचेच्चेच्च एकच्चिदत्रयुक्तम् । ८ । १ । ३० ॥

एतेर्निपातैर्युक्तं न निहन्यते । 'यद्यने स्यामहंत्वम्' । 'युवा यदी क्रयः' । 'कुविदुद्ग आमन्' । 'अवित्तिभिश्चक्रमा कञ्चित्' । पुत्रासो यत्र पितरो भवन्ति ॥

3937. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with the particles यत्, 'that,' 'because,' यदि, 'if,' हन्त, 'also'!, 'O!' कुवित्, 'well,' नेत्, 'not,' चेत्, 'if,' च 'if,' कच्चित् (interrogative particle, implying 'I hope' or 'I hope not'), and yatra 'where.'

Thus यद्यनेस्यामहंत्वम् (Rig Veda VIII. 44. 23). युवा यदी क्रयः (Rig Veda V 74. 5). कुविदुद्ग आमन् (Rig Veda VII. 91. 1). नेत् जिह्मायन्त्या नरकं पताम् (Rig Veda I. 11), स चेद भुङ्क्ते, स चेद अधीते; पुत्रासो यत्र पितरो भवन्ति (Rig Veda I. 89. 9.

The particle चण् with the indicatory ण् has the force of चेत् । Thus अयं च मरिष्यति = अयं चेन मरिष्यति ॥

३९३८ । नह प्रत्यारम्भे । ८ । १ । ३१ ॥

नहेत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । प्रतिषेधयुक्त आरम्भः प्रत्यारम्भः । 'नह भोक्ष्यसे । प्रत्यारम्भे किम् । 'नह वैतस्मिँल्लोके दक्षिणमिच्छन्ति' ॥

3938. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with 'naha' when employed in the sense of forbidding.

When something urged by one, is rejected insultingly by another, then the reply made by the first tauntingly, with a negation, is pratyârambha. Thus A says to B: 'Eat this please.' B rejects the offer repeatedly, in anger or jest. Then A in anger or jest says 'No, you will eat'—as नह भोक्ष्यसे । Here भोक्ष्यसे retains its accent, which is acute on the middle, for से becomes accentless as it follows अदुपदेशे (VI. 1. 186), and स्य becomes udâta by the प्रत्ययस्वर (III. 1. 3).

Why do we say, 'when asseverative'? Observe नह वै तस्मिँश्च लोके दक्षिणमिच्छन्ति. 'Verily in that world they do not wish for fee.' Here it is pure negation, तस्मिन् is first acute by फिट् accent, लोके is final acute because it is formed by अच् of पञ्चादि (III. 1. 134), दक्षिण is first acute, because it is a Pronoun ending in अ (स्वाङ्गशिष्टामदन्तानाम्, Phit II. 6) and इच्छन्ति is anudâta by VIII. 1. 28.

३९३९ । सत्यं प्रश्ने । ८ । १ । ३२ ॥

सत्ययुक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं प्रश्ने । सत्यं भोक्ष्यसे । 'प्रश्ने' किम् । 'सत्यमिद्वा उ तं च यमिन्दं स्तवाम्' ॥

3939. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with 'satya' when used in asking a question.

Thus सत्यं भोक्ष्यसे 'Truly, will you eat?' सत्यमध्येष्यसे । Why do we say 'in questioning'? Observe सत्यमिद्वा उ तं च यमिन्दं स्तवाम् ॥

३९४० । अङ्गाप्रतिलोम्ये । ८ । १ । ३३ ॥

अङ्गैत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । अङ्ग कुर्व । 'अप्रतिलोम्ये' किम् । 'अङ्ग कूर्जसि घृषल इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जालम्' । अनभिप्रेतमसौ कुर्वन्प्रतिलोमा भवति ॥

3940. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with 'aṅga' when used in a friendly assertion.

Anything done to injure another is pratiloma, opposite of this is apratiloma, or friendliness. In fact, it is equal to anuloma. Thus अङ्गकुर्व 'yes, you may do.' Here aṅga has the force of friendly permission.

But when it has the force of pratiloma, we have:—अङ्ग कूर्जा ३ घृषल । इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जालम् 'Well, chuckle O sinner! soon wilt thou learn, O coward.' Here अङ्ग is used in the sense of censure, for chuckling is a thing not liked by the person and is pratiloma action: for pluta-vowel see VIII. 2. 96.

३९४१ । हि च । ८ । १ । ३४ ॥

द्विभुक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । 'आ हि ष्मा याति' । 'आ हि इङ्गन्तम्' ॥

3941. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with 'hi' when used in a friendly assertion.

Thus :—आहिष्मा याति (Rig Veda IV. 29. 2). आहिरुहत् (Rig Veda VIII. 32. ५).

३९४२ । छन्दस्यनेकमपि साक्राड्त्तम् । ८ । १ । ३५ ॥

हीत्यनेन युक्तं साक्राड्त्तमनेकमपि नानुदात्तम् । 'अनृतं हि मत्तो घदति' । 'पापं मा चैनं नपुनाति' । तिङ्गन्तद्वयमपि न निहन्यते ॥

3942. In the Vedas, the finite verb retains its accent (but not always), in connection with 'hi', when it stands in correlation to another verb, even more than one.

That is, sometimes one verb, sometimes more than one verb retain their accent. Thus of more than one verb, we have the following example :—अनृतं हि मत्तो घदति । पापं मा एनं वि पुनति 'Because the drunkard tells falsehood, therefore sin will make him impure : i. e. he does incur sin.' Here both verbs घदति and विपुनाति retain their accent : and हि has the force of यत् 'because'. According to Kaiyyata the meaning of this sentence is यस्मान् मत्तोऽनृतं घदति, तस्मादनृतघदन दोषेण न युज्यते i. e. a drunkard does not incur the sin of telling a falsehood, because he is not in his senses. See Maitra Sannita I. 11. 6.

३९४३ । यावद्वयाभ्याम् । ८ । १ । ३६ ॥

आभ्यां योगे तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । 'यथा चित्कण्वमावतम्' ॥

3943. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with 'yâvat' and 'yathâ'.

The meaning is that the verb retains its accent, even when यावत् and यथा followed after it. Thus यथा चित् कण्वमावतम् । The word आवतम्, is the Imperative (लोट्) Second Person Dual of the root अच् ।

३९४४ । पूजायां नानन्तरम् । ८ । १ । ३७ ॥

यावद्वयाभ्यां युक्तमनन्तरं तिङन्तं पूजायां नानुदात्तम् । यावत्पचति शोभनम् । यथा पचति शोभनम् । पूजायाम् किम् । यावदभुङ्क्ते । 'अनन्तरम्' किम् । यावद्वे घदतः पचति शोभनम् । पूर्वेषाञ्च निघातः प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

3944. But not so when these particles 'yâvat' and 'yathâ' immediately precede the verb and denote 'praise'.

That is, the verb loses its accent, and becomes anudâtta. Thus यावत् पचति शोभनम्, यथा पचति शोभनम् ॥

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

Why do we say 'immediately'? Observe यावद् देवदत्तः पचति शोभनम् । Here the verb retains its accent by the last sūtra.

३९४५ । उपसर्गव्यपेतं च । ८ । १ । ३८ ॥

पूर्वैर्गोचानन्तरमित्युक्तम् । उपसर्ग व्यवधानार्थं वचनम् । यावत्प्रपद्यति शोभनम् । अनन्तर-
मित्येष । यावच्छेददत्तः प्रपद्यति शोभनम् ॥

3945. A finite verb loses its accent, when it denotes 'praise' and is joined immediately with *yâvat* and *yathâ*, through the intervention of an *upasarga* (or verbal-preposition).

The last sūtra taught that the verb loses its accent when *immediately* preceded by *यावत्* and *यथा*. This qualifies the word 'immediately' and teaches that the intervention of a Preposition does not debar immediateness. Thus *यावत् प्रपद्यति शोभनम्* ॥

The word 'immediately' is understood here also. Thus *यावद् देवदत्तः प्रपद्यति शोभनम्* ॥ The *upasarga* *प्र* has udâtta accent.

३९४६ । तुवश्यपश्यताहैः पूजयाम् । ८ । १ । ३९ ॥

समिर्भुक्तं तिङन्तं न निहन्यते पूजायाम् । 'आदहं स्वधामनु पुनर्गर्भत्वमेरिरे' ॥

3946. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with *तु*, *पश्य*, *पश्यत*, and *आह*, when meaning 'praise'.

Thus *आदहं स्वधामनु पुनर्गर्भत्वमेरिरे* ॥

३९४७ । अहो च । ८ । १ । ४० ॥

एतद्योगे वानुदात्तं पूजायाम् । अहो देवदत्तः पद्यति शोभनम् ॥

3947. A finite verb retains its accent when in connection with *aho* meaning 'praise'.

Thus *अहो देवदत्तः पद्यति शोभनम्* ॥

३९४८ । शेषे विभाषा । ८ । १ । ४१ ॥

अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं वानुदात्तं पूजायाम् । अहो कर्तं करिष्यति ॥

3948. A finite verb retains its accent optionally, when in connection with *aho* in the remaining cases (*i. e.* where it does not mean praise).

What is the *शेष* alluded to here? The *शेष* means here senses other than *पूजा* or 'praise.' Thus *कर्तमहो करिष्यसि* or *कर्तमहो करिष्यसि*. This is a speech uttered in anger or envy and not in praise (*अमूया वचन*) ॥

३९४९ । पुरा च परीप्सायास् । ८ । १ । ४२ ॥

पुरित्यनेन युक्तं वानुदात्तं त्वरायाम् । अधोपत्रा माणवक पुरा विधीयते विद्युत् । निकटा मामित्यत्र पुर.शब्दः । परीप्सायाम्, किम् । न ते स्व पुराधायते । चिरातीत्यत्र पुरा ॥

3949. A finite verb retains its accent optionally in connection with '*purâ*' when it means 'haste' (*i. e.* when '*purâ*' means 'before').

The word *परीप्सा* means *त्वरा* or 'quick.' Thus *अधोपत्रा माणवक पुरा विधीयते* *विद्युत्*. The word *पुरा* here expresses the future occurrence which is imminent

or very near at hand. It is against the rule of Dharmasāstras to study while it thunders or lightens.

Why do we say 'when meaning *haste*'? Observe नतेन स्म पुराधीयते । Here the word पुरा expresses a past time; that is, it means 'long ago.' See III. 2. 118 and 122, for the employment of पुरा in the Past Tense, and III. 3. 4, for the Present.

३९५० । नन्वित्यनुज्ञैपणायाम् । ८ । १ । ४३ ॥

नन्वित्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तमनुज्ञाप्रार्थनायाम् । ननु गच्छामि भोः । अनुज्ञानोहि मां-
गच्छन्तमित्यर्थः । 'अनु-' इति किम् । अकार्वाः कटं त्यम् । ननु करोमि । एष्टप्रतिवचनमेतत् ॥

3950. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with *nanu*, when with this Particle permission is asked.

The word एषणा means 'asking, praying.' The word अनुज्ञा means 'permission.' The compound अनुज्ञैपणा means 'asking of permission.' Thus ननु गच्छामि भोः 'can I go sir.' The sense is 'give me permission to go.'

Why do we say when 'asking for' permission? Observe अकार्वा कटं त्यम् ? ननु करोमि भोः 'hast thou made the mat? Well, I am making it.' Here ननु has the force of an answering particle, and not used in asking permission and hence the verb loses its accent.

३९५१ । किं क्रियाप्रश्नेऽनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धम् । ८ । १ । ४४ ॥

क्रियाप्रश्ने वर्तमानेन किंशब्देन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । किं द्विजः पचत्याहोस्यिद्ग
च्छति । 'क्रिया-' इति किम् । साधनप्रश्ने मा भूत् । किं भक्तं पचत्यूपान्वा 'प्रश्ने' किम् । किं
पठति । 'क्षिपोऽयम्' । 'अनुपसर्गम्' किम् । किं पचति उत प्रकरोति । 'अप्रतिषिद्धम्' किम् । किं
द्विजो न पचति ॥

3951. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with *kim*, when with this is asked a question relating to an action, and when the verb is not preceded by a Preposition or by a Negation.

Thus किं द्विजः पचति, अहो स्यिद् गच्छति ॥

Why do we say when the question relates to a क्रिया or action? The rule will not apply, when the question relates to an object or साधन । Thus किं भक्तं पचति अपूपान् वा ॥

Why do we say 'when a question is asked'? Observe किम् पठति । Here किं is used to express contempt, and not to ask a question.

Why do we say 'not preceded by a Preposition' Observe किं प्र पचति उत प्रकरोति ॥

Why do we say 'not preceded by a negative particle.' Observe, किं द्विजो न पठति ॥

३९५२ । लोपे विभाषा । ८ । १ । ४५ ॥

क्रिमोऽप्रयोग उक्तं वा । देवदत्तः पचत्याहोस्यित्यठति ॥

3952. When however *kim* is not added in asking such a question, the finite verb may optionally retain its accent.

When क्रिम् is elided in asking a question relating to an action, the finite verb which is not preceded by a Preposition or a Negative Particle, optionally does not become anudatta. When is there the elision of this क्रिम् because no rule of Pāpini has taught it? When the sense is that of an interrogation, but the word क्रिम् is not used. In short, the word 'lopa' here does not mean the Grammatical substitute, but merely non-use. As देवदत्तः पठति (or पठति) अहोस्वित्रं पठति (or पठति) Here the sentence is interrogative, even without the employment of क्रिम्. The option of this sūtra, is a Prāpta-vibhāsha, as it is connected with the sense of क्रिम् ॥

३९५३ । एहिमन्ये प्रहासे लृट् । ८ । १ । ४६ ॥

एहिमन्यइत्यनेन युक्तं लडन्तं नानुदात्तं क्रीडायाम् । एहि मन्ये भक्तं भोक्ष्यसे भुक्तं तत्त्वतिथिभिः । प्रहासे क्रिम् । एहि मन्यसे श्रोदनं भोक्ष्य इति सुष्टु, मन्यसे । 'गत्यर्थलोटा— (३१५८) लडित्यनेनैव सिद्धे नियमार्थेऽयमारम्भः । एहिमन्ययुक्ते प्रहास एव नान्यत्र । 'एहि मन्यसे श्रोदनं भोक्ष्ये' ॥

3953. In connection with 'ehimanye' used derisively, the First Future, that follows it, retains its accent.

The word प्रहास means great laughter, i. e. derision, mookery, raillery, jeering, gibing, sneering. Thus एहि मन्ये भक्तं भोक्ष्यसे, नहि भुक्तं तत्त्वतिथिभिः । The word एहि is the Imperative, second Person of the root इष् preceded by the preposition आह् ॥

Why do we say 'used derisively'? Observe एहि मन्यसे श्रोदनं भोक्ष्ये इति । सुष्टु, मन्यसे, ॥

By sūtra VIII. 1. 51, S. 3958 after the Imperative एहि which is a verb of 'motion' (गत्यर्थे) the following First Future (लृट्) would have retained its accent. The present sūtra makes a niyama or restriction, namely, that in connection with the Imperative एहि मन्ये, the लृट् is accented only then when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. Thus the लृट्, loses its accent here :—एहि मन्यसे श्रोदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥

३९५४ । जात्वपूर्वम् । ८ । १ । ४७ ॥

अविद्यमानं पूर्वं यज्जातु तेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । जातु भोक्ष्यसे । 'अपूर्वम्, क्रिम् । कटं जातु कारिष्यसि ॥

3954. A finite verb retains its accent after 'jātu' when this 'jātu' is not preceded by any other word.

Thus जातु भोक्ष्यसे । Here से is anudatta by VI. 1. 186, as it is a sārva-dhātuka affix coming after an अनुपदेशः; the word जातु is first acute, as it is a Nipāta. Why do we say 'when not preceded by any other word'? Observe—कटं जातु कारिष्यसि । The word कटं is end-acute as it is a क्तिच् or noun.

३९५५ । किञ्चिन्नं च चिदुत्तरम् । ८ । १ । ४८ ॥

अविद्यमानपूर्वं चिदुत्तरं यत्किञ्चिन्नं तेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । विभक्त्यन्तं इतर-इत्यन्तं किमो रूपं किञ्चिन्नम् । किञ्चिद्भङ्गं कतं चिन्नं । कतमचिन्नं । कतमचिन्नं । 'चिदुत्तरम्, क्रिम् । कौमुदी । अपूर्वमित्येव । रामः किञ्चित्पठति ॥

3955. Also after a form of 'kim' when the particle 'chit' follows it, and when no other word precedes such form of 'kim', the finite verb retains its accent.

The word किमृत्तं is a Genitive Tatpuruṣa meaning किमोत्तं । The word किमृत्तं means any form of किम् with its case-affixes, as well as the forms of किम् when it takes the affixes इतर and इतम् । Thus कश्चिद् भुङ्क्ते^१, कतरश्चित् करोति, कतमश्चिद् भुङ्क्ते^२ ॥

Why do we say 'followed by चित्'? Observe को भुङ्क्ते ॥

The word अपूर्व of the last sūtra qualifies this also; therefore, the verb loses its accent here:— रामः किञ्चित् पठति ॥

३९५६ । आहो उताहो चानन्तरम् । ८ । १ । ४९ ॥

आहो उताहो इत्याभ्यां युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । आहो उताहो वा भुङ्क्ते । अनन्तरमित्येव । शेषे विभाषां वक्ष्यति । 'अपूर्व -' इति किम् । देव आहो भुङ्क्ते ॥

3956. Also after an immediately preceding 'âho' and 'utâho' when these follow after no other word, the verb retains its accent.

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

Thus आहो or उताहो भुङ्क्ते । Why do we say 'immediately preceding'? In the following sūtra will be taught option, when these particles do not immediately precede the verb.

Why do we say 'when no word precedes them'? Observe देव आहो or उताहो भुङ्क्ते ॥

३९५७ । शेषे विभाषा । ८ । १ । ५० ॥

आभ्यां युक्तं व्यर्वाहृतं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । आहो देवः पचति ॥

3957. When the abovementioned particles 'âho' and 'utâho' do not immediately precede the verb, the verb may optionally retain its accent.

Thus आहो देवः पचति or पचति ॥

३९५८ । गत्यर्थलोटा लृण्णचेत्कारकं सर्वान्यत् । ८ । १ । ५१ ॥

गत्यर्थानां लोटा युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । यत्रैव कारके लोट् तत्रैव लृडिपि चेत् । आगच्छ देव यामं द्रक्ष्यसि । उद्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः । रामेण भोक्ष्यन्ते । 'गत्यर्थ-' किम् । पच देव श्रोत्रं भोक्ष्यसेऽन्नम् । 'लोटा' किम् । आगच्छेद्वैव यामं द्रक्ष्यस्येनम् । 'लृट्' किम् । आगच्छ देव देव यामं पश्यस्येनम् । 'न चेत्' इति किम् । आगच्छ देव यामं पिता ते श्रोत्रं भोक्ष्यते । 'सर्वम्' किम् । आगच्छ देव यामं त्वं चाहं च द्रक्ष्याव एनमित्यत्रापि निघातनिषेधो यथा स्यात् । पल्लोडन्तस्य कारकं तच्चान्यच्च लृडन्तेनोच्यते ॥

3958. The First Future retains its accent in connection with the Imperative of a verb denoting 'motion' ('to go' 'to come' 'to start' &c), but only in that case, when the subject and object of both the verbs are not wholly different or one from another.

Those verbs which have similar meaning with the word गति 'motion' are called गत्यर्थः ॥ The Imperative of the गत्यर्थ verbal roots, is called गत्यर्थ-लोट् । In connection with such an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', the First Future does not become anudatta, if the kâraka is not all different. The sense is, with whatever case-relation (kâraka), whether the Subject or Object, the Imperative is employed, with the same kâraka, the First Future must be employed. In connection with the finite verb here, the word कारक denotes the Subject and Object only, and not any other kâraka, such as Instrument, &c.

Thus आगच्छ देवयामं, द्रक्ष्यसि 'Come O Deva, thou shalt see the village.' Here the subjects of both verbs आगच्छ and द्रक्ष्यसि are the same, and the objects of both verbs are also the same, namely यामं । आ is a Preposition and is accented, गच्छ and देव both lose their accent (VIII, 1. 19 and 28,) याम is first-acute being formed by the नित् affix मन् । Similarly उद्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः रामेण भोक्ष्यन्ते "Let the rice be carried by Devadatta, they will be eaten by Râma."

Why do we say 'verbs of motion'? Observe पच देव ओदनं, भोक्ष्यसे अन्नम् ॥

Why do we say 'after the Imperative'? Observe आगच्छ देव यामं, द्रक्ष्यस्ये-
नम् । Here the Potential mood is used.

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

Why do we say 'if the kâraka is not wholly different'? Observe आगच्छ देव-
दत्त यामं, पिता ते ओदनं भोक्ष्यते ॥

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

३९५८ । लोट् च । ८ । १ । ५२ ॥

लोडन्तं गत्यर्थलोटा युक्तं नानुदात्तम् । आगच्छ देव यामं पश्य । 'गत्यर्थ—' इति किम् ।
पच देवोदनं भुङ्क्ष्येनम् । 'लोड' किम् । आगच्छ देव यामं पश्यसि । न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यदित्येव ।
आगच्छ देव यामं पश्यत्येनं रामः । सर्वग्रहणात्विह स्यादेव । आगच्छ देव यामं त्वं चाहं च
पश्यावः । योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः ॥

3959. Also an Imperative, following after an Imperative of
verbs of 'motion', retains its accent, when the subject or object of
both the verbs, is not wholly different.

Thus आगच्छ देव यामं पश्य ॥

But not here पच देवदत्तोदनं, भुङ्क्ष्येनम्, because the first Imperative is not
one of गत्यर्थ verb. Nor here, आगच्छ देव यामं पश्येनम् because the first verb is
not Imperative but Potential.

If the subject and object of both Imperatives are wholly different, the rule will not apply. Thus आगच्छ देव यामं, पश्यतु एनं रामः ॥

By the force of the anuvritti of स्यं the rule will apply to the following : आगच्छ देव यामं, त्वं चाहं च पश्यथः ॥

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

३९६० । विभाषितं सोपसर्गमनुत्तमम् । १ । ५३ ॥

लोडन्तं गत्यर्थलोटा युक्तं तिङन्तं वानुदात्तम् । आगच्छ देव यामं प्रविश । 'सोपसर्गम्' किम् । आगच्छ देव यामं पश्य । 'अनुत्तमम्' किम् । आगच्छानि देव यामं प्रविशानि ॥

3960. An Imperative preceded by a Preposition, and not in the First Person, following after an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', may optionally retain its accent, when the Kâraka is not wholly different.

The whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here. This is a Prâpta-vibhâshâ. Thus आगच्छ देव यामं प्रविश or प्रविशु । When the verb is accented the upasarga loses its accent by VIII. 1. 71.

Why do we say सोपसर्ग 'joined with a Preposition' ? When there is no Preposition, there is no option allowed, and the last rule will apply. As आगच्छ देव यामंपश्य ॥

Why do we say अनुत्तमं 'not a First Person.' ? Observe आ गच्छानि देव, यामं प्रविशानि ॥

३९६१ । हन्त च । ८ । ९ । ५४ ॥

हन्तेत्यनेन युक्तमनुत्तमं लोडन्तं वानुदात्तम् । हन्त प्रविश । सोपसर्गमित्येव । हन्त कुड । जपार्थेद्यदि- (३९३७) इति निघातप्रतिषेधः । 'अनुत्तमम्' किम् । हन्त प्रभुनजावहे ॥

3961. An Imperative, with a Preposition preceding it, may optionally retain its accent, in connection with 'hanta,' but not the First Person.

With the exception of गत्यर्थ लोटा &c., the whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here.

Thus हन्त प्र विशु or प्रविशु । But no option is allowed here हन्त कुड, as it is not preceded by a preposition. Here rule VIII. 1. 30, S. 3937 makes the accent compulsory after हन्तः । So also हन्त प्रभुनजावहे, where the 1st Person is used, the verb retains its accent compulsorily by VIII. 1. 30 S. 3937.

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

३९६२ । आम् एकान्तरमामन्त्रितमनन्तिके । ८ । १ । ५५ ॥

आम्: परमेकपदान्तरितमामन्त्रितं नानुदात्तम् । आम् । पचसि देवदत्तः । 'एकान्तरम्' किम् । आम्पचसि देवदत्तः । 'आम्नितम्' किम् । आम्पचसि देवदत्तः । 'अनन्तिके' किम् । आम्पचसि देवदत्तः ॥

3962. After 'âm,' but separated from it by not more than one word, the Vocative retains its accent, when the person addressed is not near.

Thus आम् पचसि देवदत्ता ३ । The *nighâta* being hereby prohibited, the vocative gets accent on the first syllable by VI. 1. 198.

Why do we say आम् ? Observe शाक पचसि देवदत्त । Here it is *anudâta* by VIII. 1. 19.

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

Why do we say 'the Vocative'? See आम् पचसि देवदत्तः ॥

Why do we say अनन्तिके 'not near'? See आम् पचसि देवदत्त ॥

३९६३ । यद्वित्परं कृन्दसि । ८ । १ । ५६ ॥

तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । 'उदसृजो यदङ्कुरः,' 'उशन्ति हि' । आख्यास्यामि तु ते । 'निपातैर्वद्- (३१३७) इति 'हि च' (३६४१) इति 'तुपश्य-' (३६४८) इति च सिद्धे निपमार्थमिदम् । एते रेव परभूतैर्योगे नान्यैरिति । जाये स्वरोद्गावैहि । एहीति गत्यर्थलोटा युक्तस्य लोडन्तस्य निघाते भवति ॥

3963. A finite verb followed by *yat* or *hi* or *tu* retains its accent in the Chhandas.

The *anuvṛitti* of 'आमन्त्रित' should not be taken in this sūtra, but that of तिङ् ॥ Thus with यत्परं we have:—गवां गोत्रमुदसृजो यदङ्कुरः । The verb उदसृज् is the Imperfect (लङ्) 2nd person singular of सृज् of the Tūḍādi class. With हि we have, इन्द्वो वां सुशन्ति हि (Rig Veda 1. 2. 4). The verb उशन्ति is the Present (लट्) Plural of यश् of the Adādi class. The *samprasāraṇa* takes place because it belongs to गृह्यादि class. With तु we have, आख्यास्यामि तु ते । By the previous sūtra VIII. 1. 30. S. 3937 a verb in connection with यत् would have retained its accent, so also in connection with हि by the sūtra VIII. 1. 34, S. 3941 and in connection with तु by VIII. 1. 39, S. 3946; the present sūtra is, therefore, a *niyama* rule. The verb retains its accent when these three Particles *only* follow and not any other. If any other Particle follows, the verb need not retain its accent. Thus जाये स्वा रोद्गावैहि । Here रोद्गाव is the 1st Person Dual of the Imperative of रुद्, (रुद् + श्य + वस् = रोद्गा + आद् + वस् III. 4. 92 = रोद्गाव the श्, being elided, as लोद् is like लङ्, III. 4. 85 and 99). The verb एहि is the 2nd Person Singular of the Imperative of the root हण्, preceded by the Particle आद् । Here in एहि रोद्गाव (= रोद्गाव आद् एहि), the verb रोद्गाव is followed by the Particle आ, and does not retain its accent. But for this rule, it would have retained its accent. Because एहि is a गत्यर्थ लोद् VIII. 1. 51), रोद्गाव is another लोद् in connection with it, and therefore, by VIII. 1. 52 it would have retained its accent. But now it loses its accent because it is a तिङ्, following after a non तिङ्, word स्वः । The *visarga* of स्वः is elided before र् by VIII. 3. 14, then the preceding अ is lengthened and we have स्वा (VI. 3. 111). Another reading is स्वा रोद्गावैहि । It is a Vedic anomaly, the *visarga* is changed to उ ॥

३९६४ । चनचिद्विषगोत्रादितद्विताग्रे इतिव्यगतेः । ८ । १ । ५७ ॥

एषु षट्सु परतस्तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । देवः पचति चन । देवः पचति चित् । देवः पचतोव । देवः पचति गोत्रम् । देवः पचतिकल्पम् । देवः पचतिपचति । 'अगतेः' किम् । देवः प्रपचति चन ॥

3964. A finite verb retains its accent, when it is not preceded by a Gati Particle (I. 4. 60 &c), and when it is followed by चन, चित्, इव, गोत्र &c., a Taddhita affix, or by its own doubled form.

Thus देवः पचति चन ; देवः पचति चित्, देवः पचतोव । The list of Gotrādi words is given under sūtra VIII. 1. 27. Thus देवः पचति गोत्रम्, देवः पचति क्लृप्तम्, देवः पचति प्रवचनम् &c. The Gotrādi words, here also, denote censure and contempt

With a Taddhita affix, देवः पचति कल्पम्, रूपम् । The examples should be given with anudātta Taddhita affixes, like रूपप्, कल्पप् (V. 3. 66 and 67). Any other Taddhita affix added to the verb would cause the verb to lose its accent, the Taddhita accent overpowers the verb accent : as पचतिदेवश्च (V. 3. 67).

With a doubled verb, as ; देवः पचति पचति ॥

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a Participle called Gati?' Observe देवः प्र पचति चन ॥

३९६५ । चादिषु च । ८ । १ । ५८ ॥

चयाहाद्वेषु परेषु तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । देवः पचति च खादति च । अगतेरित्येव । देवः प्रपचति च प्रखादति च । प्रथमस्य 'चयायोगे-' (३९६६) इति निघातः प्रतिषिध्यते द्वितीयं तु निहन्यते एव ॥

3965. A finite verb, not preceded by a gati, retains its accent before the Particles च (वा, ह, अह and एव VIII. 1. 24).

The चादि words are those mentioned in sūtra VIII. 1. 24. Thus देवः पचति च खादति च ॥

But when preceded by a gati, we have देवदत्तः प्र पचति च प्र खादति च । Here the first verb retains its accent by virtue of the next sūtra, but the second verb loses its accent.

३९६६ । चयायोगे प्रथमा । ८ । १ । ५९ ॥

चवेत्याभ्यां योगे प्रथमा तिङ्दिभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता । गाश्च चारयति वीणां वा वादयति । 'इतो वा सातिमोमहे' । उत्तरवाक्ययोरनुपञ्जनीयतिङन्तापेक्षयेयं प्राथमिकी । 'योगे' किम् । पूर्व भूतयोरपि योगे निघातार्थं प्रथमाग्रहणं द्वितीयादेस्तिङन्तस्य मा भूत् ॥

3966. The first finite verb only retains its accent in connection with 'cha' and 'vâ.'

The anuvṛitti of अगतेः which was drawn in the last sūtra, does not run into this. Thus गाश्च चारयति, वीणां च वादयति इतो वा सातिमोमहे ॥

The word **योग** in the sūtra indicates that the mere *connection* with the verb is meant, whether this connection takes place by adding these words **च** and **वा**, *before* the verb, or *after* the verb, is immaterial for the purposes of this sūtra, (not so in the last). The word **प्रथमा** shows that the *first* verb is governed by this rule and not the *second*.

३९६७ । हेति क्षियायाम् । ८ । १ । ६० ॥

ह्युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ् विभक्तिर्नुदात्ता धर्मव्यतिक्रमे । स्वयं ह रथेन याति ३ । उपाध्यायं पदातिं यमयति । 'क्षियाशीः-' (३६२३) इति सूतः ॥

3967. In connection with 'ha,' the first verb retains its accent, when an offence against custom is reprimanded.

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

Thus स्वयं ह रथेन याति ३, उपाध्यायं पदातिं, गमयति 'He himself goes on a car, while he causes his Preceptor to trudge behind on foot.' Here the nighāta of the first verb is prohibited. The verb becomes svarita-pluta by VIII. 2. 104 S. 3623.

३९६८ । अहेति विनियोगे च । ८ । १ । ६१ ॥

अह्युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ् विभक्तिर्नुदात्ता नानाप्रयोजने नियोगे क्षियायां च । त्वमह यामं गच्छ । त्वमह रथेनारण्यं गच्छ । क्षियायां स्वयमह रथेन याति ३ । उपाध्यायं पदातिं नयति ॥

3968. In connection with **अह**, the first verb retains its accent, when it refers to various commissions, (as well as when a breach of good manners is condemned).

The word **विनियोग** means sending a person to perform several commissions. The word **च** in the sūtra draws in the anuvṛitti of **क्षिया** also.

Thus त्वं, अह यामं, गच्छ, त्वं अह रथेन अरण्यं गच्छ । So also when **क्षिया** is meant, स्वयमह रथेन याति ३, उपाध्यायं पदातिं नयति ॥

३९६९ । चाहलोप एवेत्यवधारणम् । ८ । १ । ६२ ॥

'च' 'अह' एतयोर्लोपे प्रथमा तिङ् विभक्तिर्नुदात्ता । देव एव यामं गच्छतु । देव एवारण्यं गच्छतु । याममरण्यं च गच्छत्वित्यर्थः । देव एव यामं गच्छतु । राम एवारण्यं गच्छतु । यामं केवलमरण्यं केवलं गच्छत्वित्यर्थः । इहाहलोपः स च केवलार्थः । 'अवधारणम्' किम् । देव क्वेव भो-क्ष्यसे । नर्काचदित्यर्थः । अनवकलुप्तायेव ॥

3969. When *cha* and *aha* are elided, the first verb still retains its accent, when *eva* with the force of limitation, takes their place.

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

Thus where च is elided:—देव एव यामं गच्छतु, देव एवारयं गच्छतु यामं चारयं च गच्छतु ॥

So where अह is elided : as—देव एव यामं गच्छतु, राम एव अरयं गच्छतु = यामं केवलं, अरयं केवलं गच्छतु इति अर्थः ॥

Why do we say अवधारणं 'when limitation is meant'? See देव क्वेव भोक्ष् यते । The word एव here has the sense of 'never' 'an impossibility.' The first sentence means न क्वचिद् भोक्ष् यते । क्व+एव=क्वेव by पररूप (VI. 1. 94. Vārt).

३९७० । चादिलोपे विभाषा । ८ । १ । ६३ ॥

चयाहाहिवानां लोपे प्रथमा तिङ् विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता । चलोपे । 'इन्द्र वाजेषु नाऽय । युक्ता व्रीहयो भवन्ति । श्वेता गा आज्याय दुहन्ति । बालोपे । व्रीहिभिर्व्रजेत । यवैर्व्रजेत ॥

3970. When च, (वा, ह, अह and एव) are elided, the first verb optionally retains its accent.

Thus with च लोपः—इन्द्र वाजेषु नाऽय । युक्ता व्रीहयो भवन्ति or भवन्ति, श्वेता गा आज्याय दुहन्ति । Here भवन्ति optionally may either lose or retain its accent. So also when वा is elided, as :—व्रीहिभिर्व्रजेत or व्रजेत, यवैर्व्रजेत । So also with the remaining.

३९७१ । वैशवेति च च्छन्दसि । ८ । १ । ६४ ॥

'अहर्वं देवानामासीत्' । 'अयं वाव हस्त आसीत्' ॥

3971. Also in connection with 'vai' and 'vāva' may optionally, in the Chhandas, the first verb retain its accent.

Thus अहर्वं देवानाम् आसीत् (or आसीत्), अयं वाव हस्त आसीत् (or आसीत्) ॥

वै has the force of स्फुट and लमा, and वाव that of प्रसिद्ध and स्फुट ।

३९७२ । एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् । ८ । १ । ६५ ॥

आम्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ् विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता छन्दसि । 'अजामेकां जिघन्ति' । 'प्रजामेकां रक्षति' । 'तयोरन्यः पिपलं स्वाद्वृत्ति' । 'समर्थाभ्याम्' किम् । एको देवानुपातिष्टत् । एक इति संख्या परे नान्यार्थम् ॥

3972. Also in connection with *eka* and *anya*, optionally in the Chhandas, the first verb retains its accent, when these words have the same meaning ('the one—the other').

Thus प्रजामेकां जिघन्ति (or जिघन्ति), उर्जमेकारक्षति । तयोरन्यः पिपलं स्वाद्वृत्ति (or प्रत्ति), अनननन्यो अभिधाकशोति (Rig Veda I. 164. 20, Muṇḍaka Upanishad III. 1).

Why do we say समर्थाभ्यां 'having the same meaning'? See एको देवानुपातिष्टत् । Here एक is a Numeral and has not the sense of अन्य 'the one another.' The word समर्थ is used, in fact, to restrict the meaning of एक, for it has various meanings : while there is no ambiguity about the word अन्य । एकान्यार्थं प्रधाने च प्रथमे केचले तथा । साधारणे समानेऽस्वेषं स्थायां च प्रयुज्यते ।

६९७३ । यद्बृत्ताच्चित्यम् । ८ । १ । ६६ ॥

यत्र पदे यच्छब्दस्ततः परं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तम् । यो भुङ्क्ते । यद्रूपङ् वायुर्वीति । अत्र 'व्यवहिते कार्यमिष्यते' ॥

3973. In connection with *yad* in all its forms, the verb retains its accent always.

The anuvṛitti of प्रथमा and कृन्तंसि ceases. The prohibition of nighāta, which commenced with न लृट्, (VIII. 1. 29) is present here also. In what ever sentence the word यद् occurs, that is called यद्बृत्तं । The word बृत्तं denotes here the form of यद् in all its declensions with case affixes. See also the explanation of किंबृत्तं in VIII. 1. 48.

Thus यो भुङ्क्ते, यत् क्रामास्ते जुहुमः (Rig Veda X. 121. 10) यद्रूपङ् वायुर्वीति (T. S. V. 5. 1. 1.) यद् वायुः पँवते । For the form यद्रूपङ् see VI. 3. 92.

Ishti:—Though the sūtra is in the Ablative (यद्बृत्नात्) and therefore requires that the verb should immediately follow it, yet in यद्रूपङ् वायुर्वीति, the intervention of वायुः does not prevent the operation of this rule, according to the opinion of Pātanjali.

३९७४ । पूजनात्पूजितमनुदात्तं काष्ठादिभ्यः । ८ । १ । ६७ ॥

पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्यः पूजितवचनमनुदात्तम् । काष्ठाध्यापकः ॥

'+ मलोपश्च वक्तव्यः + । दारुणाध्यापकः । समासान्तादात्तत्वापवादः । 'एतत्समास इष्यते नेह । दारुणमध्यापक इति वृत्तिमतम् । पूजनादित्येव पूजितवचने सिद्धे पूजितवचनमन्तरपूजितलाभार्थम् । एतदेव ज्ञापकमत्रप्रकरणे पञ्चमीनिर्देशोऽपि नानन्तर्यमाश्रीयत इति ॥

3974. After a word denoting praise belonging to 'kâsthâdi' class, the word whose praise is denoted, becomes anudatta.

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

Thus काष्ठाध्यापकः, काष्ठाभिरुपकः, दारुणाध्यापकः, दारुणाभिरुपकः ॥

अमातापुत्र । अमातापुत्राध्यापकः । अमातापुत्राभिरुपकः । अयुताध्यापकः । अयुताभिरुपकः । अद्भुत । अद्भुताध्यापकः । अनुक्त । अनुक्ताध्यापकः । भृश । भृशाध्यापकः । चोर । चोराध्यापकः । सुखः । सुखाध्यापकः । परम । परमाध्यापकः । सु । स्वध्यापकः । अति । अत्यध्यापकः । द्यौः । द्यौरध्यापकः । द्यौरभिरुपकः । स्वध्यापकः । अपुत्र । अपुत्राध्यापकः । कल्याणा । कल्याणाध्यापकः ॥

Part:—The final म् should be elided in forming these words. The word दारुणं is an adverb, and therefore in the accusative case, like ग्रामं गतः । In such a case, there can be no compounding : hence the elision of म् is taught. This becoming of अनुदात्त takes place in the compound, and after composition. In fact it is an exception to the general rule by which a compound is finally acute (VI. 1. 223). But there is no elision in दारुणमध्यापकः &c. and there is no loss of accent also of the second word. By the Vārtika 'मलोपश्च', this further fact is also denoted, where the case-affix is not employed and so the म् is not heard, there the second member becomes anudatta. When there no compounding, there is no elision of म् as दारुणमधीते, दारुणमध्यापकः ॥

Though the word पूज्जन् would have implied its correlative term पूजित, the specific mention of पूजित in the aphorism indicates that the word denoting पूजित should follow *immediately* after the word denoting पूज्जन्. In fact, this peculiar construction of the sūtra, is a jñāpaka of the existence of the following rule:—इह प्रकरणे पञ्चमी निर्देशेऽपि नानन्तर्यमाश्रीयते "In this subdivision or context, though a word may be exhibited in the Ablative case, it does not follow that there should be consecutiveness between the Ablative and the word indicated by it." This has been illustrated in the previous rule of यद्वृत्तान् नित्यम्, in explaining forms like यद्वयद् वायुर्वाति &c.

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

The words काष्ठ, &c. are all synonyms of अद्भुत, meaning wonderful, prodigious : and are words denoting praise.

1 काष्ठ, 2 दारुण, 3 अमार्तापुत्र, 4 वेश, 5 अनाज्ञात, 6 अनुज्ञात, 7 अपुत्र, 8 अयुत, 9 अद्भुत, 10 अनुक्त, 11 भृश, 12 चार, 13 सुख्य, 14 परम, 15 सु, 16 अति, 17 कल्याण

३२७५ । सगतिरपि तिङ् । ८ । १ । ६८ ५

पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्यस्तिङन्तं पूजितमनुदात्तम् । यत्काष्ठं प्रपद्यति । 'तिङ् इतिङ्' (३६३५) इति निघातस्य 'निघातेर्यत्-' (३६३७) इति निषेधे प्राप्ते विधिरयम् । सगतिग्रहणाच्च गतिरपि निहन्यते । 'गतिग्रहण उपसर्गग्रहणमिष्यते' । नेह । यत्काष्ठां शुक्लीकरोति ॥

3975. (After such words denoting praise) the finite verb (which is praised) becomes anudātta, even along with the gati, if any, that may precede it.

Whether a finite verb is compounded with a gati or stands single, both the compound and the simple verb lose their accent, when it is qualified by the adverbs काष्ठं &c. Thus यत् काष्ठं पद्यति, यत् काष्ठं प्रपद्यति ॥ By VIII. 1. 28, S. 3935 the finite verb would have lost its accent after the word काष्ठं, but this loss was prohibited by VIII. 1. 30 S. 3937 in connection with यत्; the present sūtra re-ordains the loss, by setting aside the prohibition of VIII. 1. 30. S. 3937.

The word सगति 'along with its Gati', indicates that the Gati even loses its accent. *Ishṭi* :—The word Gati here is restricted to Upasargas. Therefore not here यत् काष्ठां शुक्ली करोति ॥

३९७६ । कुत्सने च सुष्यगोत्रादौ । ८ । १ । ६९ ॥

कुत्सने च सुव्रन्ते परे सगतिरगतिरपि तिङनुदात्तः । पद्यति पूति । प्रपद्यति पूति । पद्यति मिथ्या । 'कुत्सने' किम् । प्रपद्यति शोभनम् । 'सुषि' किम् । पद्यति क्लिञ्जति । 'अगोत्रादौ' किम् । पद्यति गोत्रम् ॥

'+ क्रियाकुत्सन इति वाच्यम् +' । कर्तुः कुत्सने मा भूत् । पद्यतिपूतिर्देवदत्तः ॥

'+ पूतिश्चानुबन्ध इति वाच्यम् +' तेनायं चकारानुबन्धत्वादन्तोदात्तः ॥

'+ वा बहुव्रीहमनुदात्तमिति वाच्यम् +' पद्यन्तिपूति ॥

3976. A finite verb, along with its preceding Gati, if any, becomes anudātta, when a Noun, denoting the fault of the action follows, with the exception of 'gotra' &c. ,

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

Why do we say कुत्सने 'denoting the fault of the action'? See पृच्छति शोभनम् ॥

Why do we say सुपि 'a noun'? Observe पृच्छति क्लिपनाति ॥

Why do we say with the exception of गोत्रम् &c. See पृच्छति गोत्रम्, पृच्छति ब्रुषम्, पृच्छति प्रवचनम् ॥

Vārt :—It should be mentioned that the 'fault' mentioned in the sūtra, must be the fault relating to the mode of doing the action, denoted by the verb. The rule will not apply, if the कुत्सने refers to the agent and not to the action. Thus पृच्छति पूतिदेवदत्तः ॥

Vārt :—It should be stated that पूति has an indicatory च । The effect of this is that the word पूति is finally acute, because of the indicatory च ॥

Vārt :—A finite verb in the plural number, loses its accent optionally: when it loses its accent, then पूति is end-acute. Thus पृच्छन्ति पूतिः, or पृच्छन्ति पूतिः, प्रपृच्छन्ति पूतिः, or प्रपृच्छन्ति पूतिः ॥

३९७७ । गतिर्गती । ८ । १ । ७० ॥

अनुदात्तः । अभ्युद्धरति । 'गतिः' किम् । दत्तः पृच्छति । 'गती' किम् । 'आमन्द्गैरिन्द्र हरिभिर्याहि मयूरैरामभिः' ॥

3977. A Gati becomes unaccented, when followed by another Gati.

Thus अभ्युद्धरति । Why do we say गतिः 'a Gati becomes &c'? Observe देवदत्तः पृच्छति । Here देवदत्त is a Prâtipadika and does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gati'? Observe आ मन्द्गैरिन्द्र हरिभिर्याहि मयूरैरामभिः (Rig Veda III. 45. 1.) Here आ is a Gati to the verb याहि, the complete verb is आयाहि । But as आ is not followed by a Gati, but by a Prâtipadika मन्द्गै, it retains its accent. Had the word गती not been used in the sūtra, this आ would have lost its accent, because the rule would have been too wide, without any restriction of what followed it.

३९७८ । तिङि चोदात्तवति । ८ । १ । ७१ ॥

गतिरनुदात्तः । यत्प्रपृच्छति । तिङ् पृच्छणमुदात्तवतः परिमाणार्थम् । अन्यथा हि यत्किंया युक्ताः प्रादयस्तं प्रत्येव गतिस्तत्र धातावेवोदात्तवति स्यात् प्रत्यये न स्यात् । 'उदात्तवति' किम् । प्रपृच्छति ॥

इति तिङन्तस्यराः ।

3978. A Gati becomes anudâtta, when followed by an accented finite verb.

The word गतिः is understood here. Thus यत् पृच्छति ॥

Why have we used the word तिङि in the sūtra? In order to restrict the scope of the word उदात्तवति; so that a Gati would not become accentless before udâtta root only, but before udâtta conjugated verbs. The employment of the

term तिङि is necessary, in order to indicate that the *verb* must be a *finite* verb and not a *verbal root*. So that though a verbal root be udâta, yet if in its conjugated form (तिङन्त) it is not udâta, the गति will not lose its accent. Thus in यत् प्र करोति, the root कृ is anudâta, but the तिङन्त form करोति is udâta, hence the rule will apply here: which would not have been the case had उदात्तवति not been qualified by तिङि । For the maxim is यत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयम् तेषां तं प्रति गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे भयतः । Therefore in a तिङन्त, the designation of गति is with regard to धातु or verbal root.

Why have we used the word उदात्तवति? Observe प्र पचति । Here the verb loses its accent by VIII. 1. 28 hence the Gati retains its accent.

Here end the Accents of Verbs.

A VAIDIC ILLUSTRATION ON ACCENTS.

अथ वैदिकवाक्येषु स्वरसंचारप्रकारः कथ्यते—‘अग्निमीळे’ इति प्रथमम् । तत्राग्निशब्दोऽव्युत्पत्तिपदो ‘फिप्-’ इत्यन्तोदात्त इति माधवः । वस्तुतस्तु घृतादित्वात् । व्युत्पत्तौ तु नित्प्रत्ययस्वरेण । अम्मसुप्त्वादनुदात्तः । ‘अग्नि पूर्वः’ (१८४) इत्येकादेशस्तु ‘एकादेश उदात्तेन-’ (३६५८) इत्युदात्तः । ईळे । ‘तिङ्ङितिङ्’ (३६३५) इति निघातः । संहितायां तु ‘उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य-’ (३६६०) इतीकारः स्वरितः । ‘स्वरितात्संहितायाम्-’ (३६६८) इति ‘ळि’ इत्यस्य प्रचयापरपर्याया एकश्रुतिः । पुरःशब्दोऽन्तोदात्तः ‘पूर्वाधरात्ररागाम्-’ इत्यसिप्रत्ययस्वरात् । हितशब्दोऽपि धात्रो निष्ठायां ‘दधातेर्हिः’ (३०७६) इति ह्यदेशे प्रत्ययस्वरेणान्तोदात्तः । ‘पुरोऽव्ययम्’ (७६८) इति गतिसंज्ञायां ‘ङुगति-’ (७६९) इति समासे समासान्तोदात्ते ‘तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थ-’ (३७३६) इत्यव्ययपूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरे ‘गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत्’ (३८७३) इति ऋदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरे थाथादिस्वरे च पूर्वपूर्वोपमर्देन प्राप्ते ‘गतिरनन्तरः’ (३७८३) इति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरः । पुरःशब्दोकारस्य संहितायां प्रचये प्राप्ते ‘उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सचतरः’ इत्यनुदात्तरः । यज्ञस्य । नहः प्रत्ययस्वरः । विभक्तेः सुप्त्वादनुदात्तत्वे स्वरितत्वम् । देवम् । पचाद्यच् । फिद्-स्वरेण प्रत्ययस्वरेण चिस्वरेण वान्तोदात्तः । ऋत्विकृद्भ्यः ऋदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरेणान्तोदात्तः । होतृशब्दस्तृप्रत्ययान्तो नित्स्वरेणाद्युदात्तः । रत्नशब्दो नक्विप्रयस्येत्याद्युदात्तः । रत्नानि दधातीति रत्नधाः । समासस्वरेण ऋदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरेण वान्तोदात्तः । तमपः पिप्त्वादनुदात्तत्वे स्वरितप्रचया त्रित्यादि यथाशास्त्रमुच्यम् ॥

इति स्वरप्रकरणम् ।

इत्थं वैदिकशब्दानां दिङ्-मात्रमह दर्शितम् ।

तदस्तु प्रीतये श्रीमद्भवानीविश्वनाथयैः ॥

Now we shall give an illustration from the Vedas, to show the application of the rules of accent. Thus the first verse of the Rig Veda is the following:—

अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजं । होतारं रत्नधातमम् ॥

1. Agni:—Here if अग्नि be considered a word without any derivation then it is finally acute by Phit I. 1. This is the opinion of Mâdhava (Sâyana-chârya). But as a matter of fact, अग्नि is end-acute because it is enumerated in the Ghṛitâji list of words (see Phit I. 21.)

But if अग्नि be considered a derivative word, formed by the Unādi affix नि then it is end-acute, (III. 1. 3. S. 3708), because of the affix.

The accusative affix अम् in अग्निम् is anudātta because it is a case-affix (III. 1. 4. S. 3709). अग्नि + अम् = अग्निम् (इ + अ = इ S. 194). The इ ekādeśa इ becomes udātta by VIII. 2. 5. S. 3658. Thus अग्निम् is end-acute even in its declined form.

2. ईळः is a verb. It loses its accent by S. 3935 (VIII. 1. 28) as it is preceded by a noun अग्निम्. When अग्निम् + ईळः are combined in the Saṅhita text into अग्निमिळः, then the anudātta इ becomes svarita by S. 3660 (VIII. 4. 66) while the anudātta of ळः becomes ekasruti by S. 3668 (1- 2. 39). Thus we have अग्निमीळः ॥

3. पुरोहितम्:—The word पुरः is end-acute because it is formed by the affix अस् (V. 3. 39. S. 1975). The word हित also is end-acute, because it is the Nishthā of धा, the हि is substituted for धा by S. 3076 (VII. 4. 42) the affix त makes it end-acute. Then पुरः + हितः । Here पुरः is a gati by S. 768 (I. 4. 67) and it is compounded with हित by S. 761 (II. 2. 18). Then the compound पुरोहित would be end-acute by S. 3734 ; but S. 3736 (VI. 2. 2) requires the Indeclinable first member पुरः to retain its accent ; but S. 3873 (VI. 2. 139) requires the second member हित which is a kṛit-formed word to retain its accent also VI. 2. 144 ; but this last accent is set aside by the final rule S. 3783 (VI. 2. 49) and thus the first member retains its accent, as पुरोहित ॥

It becomes anudātata by I. 2. 40 S. 3669.

4. यज्ञस्य:—The word यज्ञः is derived from यज्ञ् with नङ् affix. Therefore it is end-acute. The affix स्य being a case-affix (III. 1. 4. S. 3709) is anudātta and it becomes svarita यज्ञस्य ॥

5. देवः:—It is formed from the root दिव् with the affix अच् । It is end acute, either by Phit I. 1 ; or by the affix-accent (III. 1. 3. S. 3708) or by the चित् accent (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710) of अच् । In any view, it is end-acute.

6. ऋत्विजं:—The word ऋत्विक् is end-acute, because of the kṛit-accent (VI. 2. 139, S. 3873).

7. होताम्:—The word होत् is formed by adding the affix लृत् to हु । It has accent on ओ, because the affix has an indicatory न् (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686).

8. रत्नधातमम् । It means रत्नानि दधाति । It is finally acute, either by samāsa accent (VI. 1. 223. S. 3734) or kṛit-accent of the second member being retained by VI. 2. 139 S. 3873.

The affix तमप् being पित् is anudātta, the अ of त becomes svarita, and that of म becomes ekasruti. रत्न is first acute being Neuter (Phit II. 3.)

Here ends the Section on Accents.

Thus here has been shown a brief outline only of Vaidic words and the rules applicable to them. Let it find favor with the Lord of the Universe and Bhavāni.

अथ लिङ्गानुशासनम् ॥

—o—

ON RULES OF GENDERS.

CHAPTER I.

FEMININE GENDER.

१ । 'लिङ्गम्' ॥

1. The Gender.

NOTE:—There are three Genders, viz:—Masculine, Feminine and Neuter.

२ । 'स्त्री' । अधिकारसूत्रे एते ॥

2. The Feminine (Gender).

These two are Adhikāra Sūtras. The jurisdiction of the word "gender" extends up to the end; but of "feminine" up to the end of this chapter only

३ । 'ऋकारान्ता मातृदुहितृस्वसयातृननान्दरः' । ऋकारान्ता एते पञ्चैव स्त्रीलिङ्गाः । स्वसा दिपञ्चकस्यैव ङीन्निषेधेन कर्त्री त्यादर्डीपाईकारान्तत्वात् । तिस्रचतस्रोस्तु स्त्रियामादेशतया विधाने ऽपि प्रकृत्यैस्त्रिचतुरोः दन्तत्वाभावात् ॥

3. मातृ 'mother,' दुहितृ 'daughter,' स्वस 'sister,' यातृ 'a husband's brother's wife,' ननन्दृ 'a husband's sister,' these five nouns ending in ऋ are feminines.

These five words are the only examples of feminines that naturally end in ऋ । By IV. 1. 10, S. 308, the seven words belonging to the svasrādi class do not form their feminine by ङीप् or टाप् like the nouns kartṛi &c. which end in long ई in the feminine. Hence they are feminine in their original form. A reference to the Svasrādi list will show that it includes all these five words, in addition to तिस्र and चतस्र । As these two are secondary derivatives, from त्रि and चतुर् they are not originally feminine but have become so by derivation. The primitive words त्रि and चतुर् do not end in ऋ; and hence तिस्र and चतस्र are not shown in this sūtra.

४ । 'अन्यूप्रत्ययान्तो धातुः' । अनिप्रत्ययान्त उप्रत्ययान्तश्च धातुः स्त्रियां स्यात् । अवनिः । चमूः । 'प्रत्ययपदहणम्' किम् । देवयतेः क्विप् । द्यूः । विशेष्यलिङ्गः ॥

4. Verbal nouns formed with the affixes अनि and ऊ are feminines.

Thus अवनिः 'the earth' (Uṇ. II, 102), चमूः 'an army.' (Uṇ. I. 80). Why do we say "formed with affixes"? Observe द्यूः which is formed by adding the affix क्विप् to the root दिव् (to shine). The word द्यूः is feminine and of special gender.

५ । 'अशनिभरणपरणयः । पुंसि च' । इयमयं वाशनिः ॥

5. The nouns अशनि, 'Indra's thunderbolt,' भरणि 'Bharāṇi' अरणि 'a piece of wood used for kindling sacred fire,' are also masculines (in addition to being feminines).

Thus इयं or अयं अग्निः । This sūtra is an exception to the preceding. These three words though formed by the affix अग्नि (Uṇ. II. 102) are yet both masculine and feminine.

६ । 'मिन्वन्तः' । मिप्रत्ययान्तो निप्रत्ययान्तश्च धातुः स्त्रियां स्यात् । भूमिः । ग्लानिः ॥

6. Verbal nouns formed with the affixes मि and नि are feminines.

Thus भूमिः 'the earth' (Uṇ. IV. 45); ग्लानिः 'exhaustion'. (Uṇ. IV. 51).

७ । वृष्टिर्वायुः पुंसि । पूर्वस्यापवादः ॥

7. But the nouns वृष्टि 'fire' (Uṇ. IV. 51), वृष्टि 'a cloud,' (Uṇ. IV. 49) and अग्नि 'fire' (Uṇ. IV. 50) are masculines. This is an exception to the last.

८ । श्रोत्रियान्पुंस्यः पुंसि च । इयमयं वा श्रेणिः ॥

8. The nouns श्रोत्रि 'the hip,' (Uṇ. IV. 5) योनि 'the source'. (Uṇ. IV. 51) and ऊर्मि 'the wave' (Uṇ. IV. 44) are also masculines (in addition to being feminines).

Thus इयं or अयं श्रेणिः ॥

९ । क्तिन्वन्तः । स्पष्टम् । कतिरित्यादि ॥

9. Nouns formed with the affix क्तिन् are feminines.

Thus कतिः &c.

१० । ईकारान्तश्च । ईप्रत्ययान्तः स्त्री स्यात् । लक्ष्मीः ॥

10. Nouns ending in long ई affix are feminines.

Thus लक्ष्मीः ॥

The ई here must be an affix: as in लक्ष्मी the affix ई is added by Uṇ. III.

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११ । ऊङ्यावन्तश्च । कुरुः । विद्या ॥

11. Nouns formed with the affixes ऊङ्, (IV. 1. 66) and आप् are feminines.

Thus कुरुः (See IV. 1. 66. S. 521) and विद्या. The आप् includes all the three affixes टाप्, चाप्, and डाप् ॥

१२ । 'यवन्तमैकोक्षरम्' । श्रोः । भूः । 'एकाक्षरम्' किम् । पृथुश्रीः ॥

12. Monosyllabic nouns formed with the affixes ई and ऊ are feminines.

Thus श्रोः (Uṇ. II. 57) भूः ॥

Why do we say 'monosyllabic nouns'? Observe पृथुश्रीः "Prithu's luck" which is masculine.

१३ । 'विंशत्यादिरानघतेः' । इयं विंशतिः । त्रिंशत् । चत्वारिंशत् । पञ्चाशत् । षष्टीः । सप्ततिः । अशीतिः । नवति ॥

13. Numerals from "twenty" to "ninety" are feminines.

Thus इयं विंशतिः 'twenty'. So also त्रिंशत् 'thirty', चत्वारिंशत् 'forty', पञ्चाशत् 'fifty'; षष्टिः 'sixty', सप्ततिः 'seventy', अशीतिः 'eighty', नवतिः 'ninety.'

The list of the words "विंशति and the rest" is given in Pāṇini's Sūtra V. 1. 59. S. 1725.

१४ । 'दुन्दुभिरक्षेपु' । इयं दुन्दुभिः । 'अक्षेपु' किम् । अयं दुन्दुभिर्वाद्यविशेषोऽसुरो वेत्यर्थः ।

14. The word दुन्दुभि when used in the sense of an axle pole is feminine.

Thus इयं दुन्दुभिः ॥

Why do we say in the sense of अक्ष 'or axle'? Observe अयं दुन्दुभिः । It is masculine when it means a musical instrument or an Asura.

१५ । 'नाभिरक्षत्रिये' । इयं नाभिः ॥

15. The word नाभि 'navel' is feminine when it does not mean a Kshatriya.

Thus इयं नाभिः 'navel'.

१६ । 'उभावप्यन्यत्र पुंसि' । तुन्दुभिर्नाभिश्चोक्तविषयादन्यत्र पुंसि स्तः । नाभिः क्षत्रियः । कथं तर्हि 'समुल्लसत्पङ्कजपत्रकोमलैरुपाहितश्रीयुपनीवि नाभिभिः' इति भारविः । उच्यते । दृढं भक्तिरित्यादाविव कोमलैरिति सामान्ये नपुंसकं बोध्यम् । अस्तु तस्तु 'लिङ्गमश्लिष्यं लंकाश्रयन्वा-
'ल्लिङ्गस्य' इति भाष्यात्युंस्तु वमपीह साधु । अत एव 'नाभिर्मुख्यन्ते चक्रमध्यक्षत्रिययोः पुमान्' । द्वयोः प्राणिप्रतीके स्यात्स्त्रियां कस्तूरिकामदे' इति श्रौतनी । रभसोऽप्याह- 'मुख्यराट्क्षत्रिय नाभिः पुंसि प्रायण्डकं द्वयोः । चक्रमध्ये प्रधाने च स्त्रियां कस्तूरिकामदे' इति । एवमेवविधेऽन्यत्रापि बोध्यम् ॥

16. Otherwise तुन्दुभि and नाभि are masculines.

Thus नाभिः क्षत्रियः 'Nâbhi—a Kshatriya.'

If the word नाभिः be feminine in all senses other than that of a Kshatriya, how do you justify its use as a masculine in the following lines of Bhâravi:—

'समुल्लसत् पङ्कजपत्रकोमलै रूपाहितश्रीयुपनीवि नाभिभिः'? ॥

To this we say, "The words कोमलैः &c here are really Neuter, denoting indiscrete gender, or having no reference to any gender, just like दृढभक्तिः" ॥ Or we may say, as a matter of fact the gender of words need not be taught, for it is a well-known maxim of grammar as enunciated by Patanjali that "the gender depends on the usage of the people : and so need not be taught:" and there fore the masculine use of the word is also correct. Thus we find in the Medini Kosha:—"Nâbhi is masculine when meaning a paramount sovereign, or the nave of a wheel, or a Kshatriya. But when meaning 'navel' of a living being, it is of both genders. And it is feminine only when meaning 'musk'."

Rasabha also says to the same effect:—

'The word nâbhi is masculine when it means a paramount lord, or a Kshatriya: it is both masculine and feminine when meaning the navel of a living being, the nave of a wheel, and a leader or chieftain. It is purely feminine when meaning "musk".'

Thus it should be understood in other cases also.

१७ । 'तलन्तः' । अयं स्त्रियां स्यात् । शुक्लस्य भावः । शुक्लता । ब्राह्मणस्य कर्म ब्राह्मण्यता यामस्य समूहो यामता । देव एव देवता ॥

17. Nouns formed with the affix तल् (V. 1. 119 S. 1781), are feminines.

Thus शुक्लता (whiteness), ब्राह्मण्यता (Brahmanical), यामता (rural) देवता which has the same meaning as देव ॥

१८ । 'भूमिविद्युत्सरिल्लतावनिताभिधानानि' । भूमिर्भूः । विद्युत्सोऽदामनी । सरित्त्रिभगा । लता वल्ली । वनिता योषित् ॥

18. Nouns synonymous of भूमि (the Earth), 'विद्युत् (lightning), सरित् (a stream or rivulet), लता (a creeper), वनिता (wife) also are feminines.

Thus भूमिर्भूः ; विद्युत् सोऽदामनी ; सरित् त्रिभगा ; लता वल्ली ; वनिता योषित्.

१९ । 'यादो नपुंसकम्' । यादःशब्दः सरित्वाचकोऽपि स्त्रीयं स्यात् ॥

19. यादस्, although meaning 'a stream,' is Neuter and not feminine.

२० । 'भासूवसगिदुगुण्णगुपानहः' । एते स्त्रियां स्युः । इयं भाः इत्यादि ॥

20. The nouns भासू, सुक, दिक्, उण्णह, and उपानह, are feminines.

Thus इयं भाः &c.

२१ । 'स्यूणोर्णो नपुंसके च' । एते स्त्रियां क्लीबे च स्तः । स्यूणा-स्यूणम् । ऊर्णा-ऊर्णम् । तत्र स्यूणा काष्ठमयो द्विकर्णिका । उर्णा तु मेघादिलोमम् ॥

21. The nouns स्यूणा (a post of pillar) and ऊर्णा (wool) are Neuter (in addition to being feminine).

Here sthūṇā means a wooden forked stave or pillar and ūrṇā means the wool of sheep &c.

२२ । 'गृहशशाभ्यां क्लीबे' । नियमार्थमित्थम् । गृहशशपूर्वे स्यूणोर्णो यद्यसंख्यं नपुंसके स्तः । गृहस्यूणम् । 'शशोर्णो शशलोमनि' उत्यमरः ॥

22. The words स्यूणा and ऊर्णा after गृह and शश are Neuter.

Thus गृहस्यूणम् (a pillar of a house) and शशोर्णो (the hare's hair). This is a niyama or a restrictive rule. See Amarakosha II. 9. 107.

२३ । 'प्रावृद्विप्रुद्वृद्विद्विद्विपः' । एते स्त्रियां स्युः ॥

23. The words प्रावृद्, 'the rainy season,' विप्रुद् 'a drop of liquid,' वृद् 'thirst,' विद् 'fæces, excrement,' and त्विद् 'light' are feminine.

२४ । 'दर्विर्विद्वेदिखनिशान्यशिवेशिकृष्योर्प्राधिकृत्यङ्गुलयः' । एते स्त्रियां स्युः । पक्षे ङीप् । दर्वी-दर्वीरित्यादि ।

24. The words दर्वि, 'a ladle,' विदि, 'knowledge' (?) वेदि, 'altar,' खनि 'a mine,' शानि 'colocynth'; अश्वि 'a corner,' वेशि 'an entrance' (?) कृषि 'agriculture,' श्रोत्रि 'herb,' कटि 'loin' and अङ्गुलि 'finger' are feminine.

These words take optionally the affix ङीप्.

Thus दर्वी or दर्वि &c.

२५ । 'तिथिनाडिकचवीचिनालिधूलिकिकिकेलिच्छविरात्र्यादयः' । एते प्राग्वत् । इयं तिथि-रित्यादि । अमरस्तुवाह- 'तिथयो द्वयोः' इति । तथा च भारविः- 'तस्य भुवि बहुतिथास्तथयः' इति । स्त्रीत्वे हि बहुतिथ्य इति स्यात् । श्रीहर्षश्च- 'निखिलां निशि पौर्णिमातिथीन्' इति ॥

25. The words तिथि 'the day of the moon,' नाडि 'a vessel or pulse,' र्चि 'taste,' वीचि 'a wave,' नालि 'a drain,' धूलि 'dust,' किकि 'the cocoanut tree,' केलि 'play,' छवि 'hue, color,' रात्रि 'night' are feminines.

As इयं तिथिः &c.

But the author of Amarakosha says 'the word तिथि is both masculine and feminine.' (Amar. I. 4. 1).

So also Bhāravi in the following line : 'तस्य भुवि बहुतिथास् तिथयः । Had it been feminine the word would have been बहुतिथ्यः in the Plural and not बहुतिथाः ॥

So also Śri Harsha in the following line : निखिलान् निशि पौर्णिमा तिथीन् uses the word titihī as a masculine.

२६। 'शष्कुलिराजिकुट्यग्निवर्ति भुक्नुटिर्त्रुटिर्वालिपङ्क्तयः' । एतेऽपि स्त्रियां स्युः । इयं शष्कुलिः ॥

26. The words शष्कुलि 'auditory passage,' राजि 'a streak,' कुटि 'a cottage,' अग्नि 'lightening,' वर्ति 'a pad,' भुक्नुटि 'frown,' त्रुटि 'cutting,' वलि 'sacrificial offering,' पङ्क्ति 'a line' are feminines.

Thus इयं शष्कुलिः ॥

२७। 'प्रतिपदापद्विपत्संपच्छरत्संसत्यरिपदुषसं वित्तुत्सुत्सुत्समिधः' । इयं प्रतिपदित्यादि । उवा उच्छन्ती । उवाः प्रातरधिष्ठात्री देवता ॥

27. The words प्रतिपद् 'entrance,' आपद् 'calamity' विपद् 'misfortune,' सम्पद् 'wealth,' शरद् 'the autumn' (Uṇ I. 129). संसद् 'an assembly,' परिपद् 'a meeting,' उषस् 'Dawn,' संवित् 'knowledge,' सुत् 'grinding; crushing,' पुत् 'a particular division of Hell,' सुत् 'joy; delight,' समिध् 'wood; fuel,' are feminines.

Thus इयं प्रतिपद् ॥

उवा उच्छन्ती । The Ushâ is the presiding deity of the dawn.

२८। 'आशीर्धूः पूर्गोद्वारः' । इयमाशीरित्यादि ॥

28. The words आशीस् 'blessing,' धूर् 'a yoke,' पूर् 'a city,' गीर् 'speech' and द्वार् 'door' are feminines.

As इयं आशीः ॥

२९। 'अप सुमनस्समासिकतावर्षाणां बहुत्वं च' । अन्नादीनां पञ्चानां स्त्रीत्वं स्याद्बहुत्वं च आप इमाः । 'स्त्रियः सुमनसः पुष्पम्' । 'सुमना मालती जातिः' । देववाची तु पुंल्ये च । 'सुपर्वाणामुमनसः' । बहुत्वं प्रायिकम् । 'एका च सिकता तैलदानेऽसमर्था' इत्यर्थवत्सूत्रे भाष्यप्रयोगात् । 'समांसमां विजायते' (१८१३) इत्यत्र 'समायां समायाम्' इति भाष्याच्च । 'विभाषा घाघेद्- (२३७६) इति सूत्रे 'अघ्रासातां सुमनसै' इति वृत्तव्याख्यायां हरदत्तोऽप्येवम् ॥

29. The words अप् 'water,' सुमनस् 'a flower' (jasmine), समा 'a year' सिकता 'sand, gravel,' and वर्षा 'rain,' are feminines and used in the plural number only.

Thus आपः इमाः । The word sumanas in the feminine means 'a kind of: flower'—namely, the flower called mâlati or jâti—jasmine, as स्त्रियः सुमनस पुष्पं । Amarakosha II. 4. 17. When it means a Deva or a divine being, it is masculine only. As सुपर्वाणामुमनसः । See Amarakosha I. 1. 7. Here the present sūtra is debarred by sūtra 9 of the next chapter, with regards to words denoting Devas.

These words are generally found, in usage, in the plural number : but sometimes they are used in the singular also ; as एका च सिकता तैलदाने असमर्था 'one grain of sand is incapable of producing oil.' This example is given by Patanjali in his Mahâbhâshya under sūtra I. 2. 45.

Similarly समां समां विजायत (V. 2. 12. S. 1813) has been explained in the Bhâshya by समायां समायां in the singular number.

Kāśikā uses the word सुमनस् in the dual also, under sūtra II. 4. 78. in the example अघ्रासाताम् सुमनसौ देवदत्तेन । Haradatta in his Padamanjarī, on commenting on this justifies the use of the dual, by saying “according to Amarasiṅha sumanasah in the plural is feminine. According to Pāṇiniya sūtra apsumanasa, &c., this word requires to be always plural. That plurality is not, however, universal : as we find the Mahābhāṣya using the word śikatā in the singular.”

(स्त्रियः सुमनसः पुष्पमित्यमरसिद्धः । असुमनः समासिकता वर्णाणां बहुत्वं चेति पाणिनीयं सूत्रं, तद् बहुत्वं प्रयिकं मन्यते 'एका च सिकता तैलदानेऽसमर्था' इति भाष्ये प्रयोगात् ॥)

३० । 'सक्त्वक्ज्योत्स्नायवागूनास्त्रिचः' । इयं सक्त्वक्ज्योक्त्वाक्त्वागूः नौ स्त्रिक् ॥

30. The words सज् 'garland,' त्वक् 'skin,' ज्योक् 'long' (an Indeclinable I. 1. 37), वाक् 'speech,' यवागू 'barley gruel,' नौ 'boat' and स्त्रिक् 'hips' are feminines.

Thus इयं सक्, त्वक्, ज्योक्, वाक्, यवागूः, नौ and स्त्रिक् ॥

३१ । 'तृटिसीमासंबध्याः' । इयं तृटिः सीमा संबध्या ॥

31. The words तृटि, ? सीमा 'boundary' and संबध्या ? are feminines

Thus इयं तृटि, सीमा or संबध्या ॥

३२ । 'चुल्लिवेणिसार्यश्च' । स्पष्टम् ॥

32. The words चुल्लि 'a fire-place,' वेणि 'a braid of hair' (Uṇ. IV. 48) खारि 'a measure of grain,' are feminines.

३३ । 'ताराधाराज्योत्सनादयश्च' । शलाका स्त्रियां नित्यम् । नित्यग्रहणमन्येषां क्वचिद्व्यभिचारं ज्ञापयति । इति सूत्र्यधिकारः ॥

33. The words तारा 'a star,' धारा 'a current,' ज्योत्सना 'light' &c. are feminines.

The word शलाका 'a small stick,' is ALWAYS feminine.

NOTE :—The force of the word 'always' is that the other words given above, may be of masculine or neuter gender also. In fact, the gender depends upon usage.

CHAPTER II.

THE MASCULINE GENDER.

१ 'पुमान्' । अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1. The Masculine Gender.

This is an *adhikāra* Sūtra.

२ । 'घञ्जन्तः' । पाकः । त्यागः । करः । गरः । भावार्थं एवेदम् । नपुंसकत्वविशिष्टे भावे क्ल्युङ्भ्यां स्त्रीत्वविशिष्टे तु क्तिच्चादिभिर्वाचिनपरिशेषात् । कमर्दिा तु घञाद्यन्तमपि विशेष्यलिङ्गम् । तथा च भाष्यम्—'संबन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते' इति ॥

2. Nouns formed with the affixes घञ् and अच् are masculine.

Thus with घञ्;—पाकः 'looking', त्यागः 'renunciation,' with अच्, we have करः 'hand,' गरः 'poison'.

The affix चञ् must have the force of भाव or condition for the purposes of this rule. In other words, the nouns so formed should be abstract nouns or nouns of action. This meaning of चञ् we infer from the analogy of the two rules, one relating to the Feminines and the other to the Neuters. Thus with regards to Neuters we have the rules भावे ल्युङन्तः । निष्ठा च ॥ "Nouns formed by the affix ल्युङ् with the force of bhāva ; and the Niṣṭhā affixes with the same force are Neuters." (Chap. III. 2 and 3). Similarly in the case of the feminines, we have the rules क्तिञन्तः &c. (Chapter I. 9) &c. where क्तिञ् &c. are bhāva affixes. Analogically the चञ् here must also be a bhāva denoting affix. For the force of चञ् is generally that of भाव or Noun of action. See III. 3. 16—18. To form Neuter nouns of action we have क्त्वा and ल्युङ् by III. 3. 114 and 115. To form feminine nouns of action we have क्तिञ्, क्यञ्, &c. by III. 3. 95, 98. Therefore by elimination, to form the masculine nouns of action, to us is left the affix चञ् only. Hence we say 'the ghañ here has the force of bhāva.'

But when ghañ has the force of karma or of karaṇa &c., as it has by III. 3. 116 and 117 &c., then the words so formed need not be masculine. They will have the gender of the word with which they are in construction. They will have their own specific gender. As we have in the Bhāshya, सम्बन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते । Here the word 'sambandha' though formed by ghañ is used in the Neuter gender: because the force of ghañ is here that of karma.

३ । 'घाजन्तश्च' । विस्तरः । गोचरः । चयः । जयः इत्यादि ॥

3. The nouns formed with the affixes च and अच् are masculines.

Thus विस्तरः 'extension,' गोचरः 'pasturage,' चयः 'rampart ; collection.' जय 'victory' &c.

४ । 'भयलिङ्गभगपदानि नपुंसके' । एतानि नपुंसके स्युः । भयम् । लिङ्गम् । भगम् । पदम् ॥

4. The nouns भय 'fear,' लिङ्ग 'gender,' भग 'the perinaeum of females,' पद 'foot' are neuters.

Thus भयम्, लिङ्गम्, भगम्, पदम्.

५ । 'नङन्तः' । नङ् प्रत्ययान्तः पुंसि स्यात् । यज्ञः । यत्नः ॥

5. The nouns formed with the affix नङ् are masculines.

Thus यज्ञः 'sacrifice,' यत्नः 'effort'.

६ । 'याच्ञा स्त्रियाम्' । पूर्वस्यापवादः ।

6. The noun याच्ञा 'begging' is feminine,

This is an exception to the last aphorism.

७ । 'अयन्तो घुः' । किप्रत्ययान्तो घुः पुंसि स्यात् । आधिः । निधिः । उदधिः । 'अयन्तः' किम् । दानम् । 'घुः' किम् । जन्निर्वाजम् ॥

7. The nouns formed with the affix कि from roots belonging to the घु class are masculines.

The roots belonging to घु class are टा and धा. Thus आधिः 'agony,' निधिः 'abode,' उदधिः 'water.' Why do we say "formed with the affix कि" ? Observe दानम् (which is Neuter).

Why do we say "roots belonging to the घृ class"? Observe यञ्जिवीजम्.

८ । 'इषुधिः स्त्री च । इषुधिशब्दः स्त्रियां पुंसि च । पूर्वस्यापवादः ।

8. The noun इषुधिः 'a quiver' is both masculine and feminine.

Thus अयं or इयं इषुधिः ।

९ । 'देवासुरात्मस्वर्गगिरिसमुद्रनखकेशदन्तस्तनभुजकण्ठखड्गशरपङ्काभिधानानि' । एतानि पुंसि स्युः । देवाः सुराः । असुरा दैत्याः । आत्मा क्षेत्रज्ञः । स्वर्गो नाकः । गिरिः पर्वतः । समुद्रोऽब्धिः । नखः कररुहः । केशः शिरोरुहः । दन्तो दशनः । स्तनः कुचः । भुजो देाः । कण्ठो गलः । खड्गः करवालः । शरो मार्गणः । पङ्कः कर्दम इत्यादि ॥

9. The words which are synonyms of देव 'god,' असुर 'demon,' आत्म 'self,' स्वर्ग 'the heaven,' गिरि 'the mountain,' समुद्र 'the sea,' नख 'the nail,' केश 'the hair,' दन्त 'the tooth,' स्तन 'the breast,' भुज 'the arm,' कण्ठ 'the throat,' खड्ग 'the dagger,' शर 'the lake,' पङ्क 'the mud' &c. are masculines.

Thus देवाः सुराः ; असुराः दैत्याः ; आत्मा क्षेत्रज्ञः ; स्वर्गो नाकः ; गिरिः पर्वतः ; समुद्रोऽब्धिः ; नखाः कररुहाः ; केशाः शिरोरुहाः ; दन्तो दशनः ; स्तनः कुचः ; भुजो देाः ; कण्ठो गलः-खड्गः करवालः ; शरोमार्गणः ; पङ्कः कर्दमः &c.

१० । 'त्रिविष्टपत्रिभुवनं नपुंसके' । स्पष्टम् । तृतीयं विष्टपं त्रिविष्टपम् । स्वर्गाभिधानतया पुंस्त्वे प्राप्तेऽयमारम्भः ॥

10. The noun त्रिविष्टप meaning 'the heaven' is neuter. This word being synonymous with स्वर्ग would have been considered masculine by the last aphorism, but this aphorism prevents that.

११ । 'द्यौः स्त्रियाम्' । द्यौदिवोस्तन्त्रेणोपादानमिदम् ॥

11. The nouns द्यौ and दिव् 'the heaven' are feminines.

By sūtra 9, these two words being synonyms of स्वर्ग would have been considered masculines, but this aphorism prevents that.

१२ । 'इषुवाहु स्त्रियां च' । चात्पुंसि ॥

12. The nouns इषु 'the arrow' and वाहु 'the arm' are also feminines.

By the force of the letter च in the sūtra, these words are to be considered masculines also.

१३ । 'बाणकाण्डो नपुंसके च' । चात्पुंसि । त्रिविष्टपेत्यादित्तुःसूत्री देवासुरेत्यस्यापवादः ॥

13. The nouns बाण 'an arrow' and काण्ड 'a section' are also neuters.

By the force of the letter च in the sūtra, these words are to be considered masculine also.

The last four sūtras are exceptions to the sūtra 9.

१४ । 'नन्तः' । अयं पुंसि । राजा । तन्ना । न च चर्म वर्मादिष्वतिव्याप्तिः । 'मन्द्व्यच्कोऽकर्तारि' इति नपुंसकप्रकरणे वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् ॥

14. The nouns ending in न् are masculines.

Thus राजन्, तन्नन् । But, not चर्मन् 'skin,' वर्मन् 'armour' which are neuters. The rule however should not be extended to चर्मन्, वर्मन् &c. These are Neuters because of the subsequent rule III. 33.

१५ । 'ऋतुपुरुषकपोलगुल्फमेघाणिधानानि' । ऋतुरध्वरः । पुरुषो नरः । कपोलो गण्डः । गुल्फः प्रपदः । मेघो नीरदः ॥

15. The nouns which are synonyms of कृतु 'the sacrifice,' पुरुषः 'the man, कपोल 'the cheek' गुल्फ 'the ankle,' मेघ 'cloud' are masculines

Thus कृतुरध्वरः ; पुरुषोऽनरः ; कपोलो गण्डः ; गुल्फः प्रपदः ; मेघो नीरदः ॥

१६ । 'अभ्रं नपुंसकम्' । पूर्वस्यापवादः ॥

16. The nouns अभ्र 'cloud' is neuter.

This is an exception to the last.

१७ । 'उकारान्तः' । अयं पुंसि स्यात् । प्रभुः । इक्षुः । 'हनुर्हृद्विलासिन्यां नृत्यारम्भे गदे स्त्रियाम् । द्वयोः कपोलावयत्र' इति मेदिनिः । 'करेणुरिभ्यां स्त्री नेभे' इत्यमरः । एवंजातीयक-विशेषवचनानाक्रान्तस्तु प्रकृतमूत्रय्य विषयः । उक्तं च- 'लिङ्गशेषविधिर्यापो विशेषैरेवैद्यवाधितः इति । एवमन्यत्रापि ॥

17. The nouns ending in उ are masculine.

Thus प्रभुः ; इक्षुः ॥

According to Medini, the noun हनु when meaning 'a wanton woman,' 'the commencement of a dance,' or 'disease' is feminine. But it is both masculine and feminine when it means 'the chin.'

According to Amara, the noun करेणु when meaning 'a she-elephant' is feminine ; otherwise masculine when it means an elephant. The words which are subject to this rule are like these which are not governed by any other specific text to the contrary. As it has been said : "A rule of gender is of universal application if it is a śesha rule *i. e.*, a rule that *remains* after the application of all other rules. Provided that it is not debarred by any specific rule."

१८ । 'धेनुरञ्जुकुहुसरयुतनुरेणुप्रियङ्गवः स्त्रियाम्' ॥

18. The nouns धेनु 'a cow,' रज्जु 'rope,' कुहु 'new moon-day,' सरयु 'the river Sarayu,' तनु 'body,' रेणु 'atom,' प्रियङ्गु 'name of a creeper' are feminine.

१९ । 'समासे रज्जुः पुंसि च' । कर्कटरज्ज्वा=कर्कटरज्जुना ॥

19. The noun रज्जु 'rope' in a compound is also used in the masculine. Thus कर्कटरज्ज्वा or कर्कटरज्जुना.

२० । 'श्मश्रुजानुवसुस्वाद्वश्रुजतुत्रपुतानूनि नपुंसके' ॥

20. The nouns श्मश्रु 'bared,' जानु 'the knee,' स्वादु 'sweetness ; relish ; taste,' अश्रु 'tear,' जतु 'wax,' त्रपु 'lead' and तालु 'the palate' are neuters.

२१ । 'वसु चार्थवाचि' । 'अर्थवाचि' इति किम् । 'वसुर्मयूखाग्निधनाधिपेणु' ॥

21. The noun वसु when meaning 'wealth' is neuter. Why do we say 'when meaning wealth'? For otherwise it is masculine when meaning मयूख 'a ray of light' अग्नि 'fire' and धनाधिप 'lord of wealth'.

२२ । 'मद्गुमधुमीधुशीधुसानुकमण्डलूनि नपुंसके च' । चात्पुंसि । अयं मद्गुः । इदं मद्गुः ।

22. The nouns मद्गु 'a kind of pulse' ; मधु 'honey,' शीधु 'a kind of wine,' सानु 'summit,' कमण्डलु 'water-pot' are also neuters.

By the force of the letter च in the sūtra, these words are also masculines.

Thus अयं मद्गुः or इदं मद्गुः.

२३ । 'रुत्वन्तः' । मेरुः । सेतुः ॥

23. The nouns formed with the affixes रु (Uṇ. IV. 101) and तु (Uṇ. I. 69) are masculines.

Thus मेरुः 'Meru,' सेतुः 'a bridge.'

२४ । 'दारुकसेरुजतुवस्तुमस्तूनि नपुंसके' । रुत्वन्त इति पुंस्त्वस्यापवादः । इदं दारु ॥

24. The nouns दारु 'tree,' कसेरु 'a kind of fruit,' जजू 'collar bone,' वस्तु 'object,' मस्तु 'sour cream, whey,' are Neuters.

This is an exception to the last sūtra. Thus इदं दारु । These words are all formed by रु and तु affixes and therefore ought to have been masculines.

२५ । 'सक्तुर्नपुंसके च' । चात्पुंसि सक्तुः-सक्तु ॥

25. The noun सक्तु 'porridge' is also neuter.

By the force of the letter च in the sūtra, it is also masculine. Thus सक्तुः or सक्तु.

२६ । 'प्रायश्चेरकारान्तः' । 'रश्मिदिवसाभिधानानि' इति वक्ष्यति प्राक् एतस्मादकारान्त इत्यधिक्रियते ॥

26. From this up to sūtra 66, the gender of nouns ending in अ will be mentioned.

This is an adbhikāra sūtra. It extends up to raśmi-divasā (II. 66) and applies to nouns ending in अ ॥

२७ । 'कोपधः' । कोपधोऽकारान्तः पुंसि स्यात् । स्तवकः । कल्कः ॥

27. The nouns ending in अ with the penultimate क are masculines.

Thus स्तवकः 'a cluster'; कल्कः 'filth.' (Uṇ. III. 40).

२८ । 'त्रिबुकशालूकप्रतिपदिकांशुकोल्मुकानि नपुंसके' । पूर्वसूत्रापवादः ॥

28. The nouns त्रिबुक 'the chin'; शालूक 'the root of the water-lily,' प्रतिपदिक, 'the crude-noun' अंशुक 'a garment,' उल्मुक 'torch'; are neuters.

This is an exception to the last sūtra.

२९ । कण्टकानीकसरकमोदकचपकमस्तकपुस्तकतडोकनिष्कशुष्कवर्चस्कपिनांकभाण्डकपिण्डककटकशण्डकपिटकतालकफलकपुलाकानि नपुंसके च । चात्पुंसि । अयं कण्टकः । इदं कण्टकमित्यादि ।

29. The nouns कण्टक 'a thorn,' अनीक 'army' (Uṇ. IV. 16. 17) सरक 'a road'; 'liquor'; मोदक 'a sweetmeat,' चपक 'a goblet'; मस्तक 'the head,' पुस्तक 'book,' तडाक 'tank,' निष्क 'a kind of coin,' शुष्क 'dryness,' वर्चस्क 'lustre'; पिनांक 'the bow of Shiva'; भाण्डक 'a vessel,' पिण्डक 'a ball' कटक 'an army, belt,' दण्डक 'staff,' पिटक 'basket' तालक 'yellow orpiment,' 'an ear ornament'; फलक 'blade,' पुलक 'a thrill of joy,' are also neuters.

By the force of the letter च in the sūtra these words are also masculine. Thus अयं कण्टकः or इदं कण्टकम् &c.

३० । टोपधः । टोपधोऽकारान्तः पुंसि स्यात् । घटः पटः ॥

30. Nouns ending in अ with the penultimate ट are masculines.

Thus घटः 'a jar,' पटः 'a piece of cloth.'

३१ । किरीटमुकुटललाटवटवीटशृङ्गाटकराटलोष्ठानि नपुंसके । किरीटमित्यादि ॥

31. The nouns किरीट 'a crown,' मुकुट 'a crown,' ललाट 'forehead,' वट 'kind of tree,' वीट (?) शृङ्गाट 'a mountain with three peaks,' 'a place where

four roads meet.' करट 'an elephant's cheek,' (Un. IV. 81) and लोट 'a clod of earth' are also neuter.

By the force of the letter च in the sūtra, these words are also masculines.

Thus किरोटः or किरोटम् &c.

३२ । कुटकूटकपटकपटकपर्कटनटनिकटकीटकटानि नपुंसके च । चात्पुंसि । कुटः । कुट-
मित्यादि ॥

32. The nouns कुट 'a water pot ; a fort,' कूट 'fraud ; illusion ; a house' कपट 'hypocrite ; 'cheating,' कपाट 'door,' कर्पट 'patched garment,' नट 'a dancer,' निकट 'near ; vicinity,' कीट 'a worm,' कट 'a mat' ; are also neuters.

By the force of the letter च they are also masculine. Thus कुटः or कुटम् &c.

३३ । शोपधः । शोपधोऽकारान्तः पुंसि स्यात् । गुणः । गणः । पाषाणः ॥

33. Nouns ending in श्र with the penultimate ण are masculines.

Thus गुणः 'quality,' गणः 'a host,' पाषाणः 'a stone.'

३४ । ऋणलवणपर्यातेरणरयोऽप्यानि नपुंसके । पूर्वसूत्रापवादः ॥

34. The nouns ऋण 'debt,' लवण 'salt,' पर्या 'leaf,' तेरण 'a portal,' रण battle' उष्ण 'heat' are neuters.

This is an exception to the last sūtra.

३५ । कार्पाषणस्वर्णसुवर्णत्रणचरणवृषणविषाणचूर्णतृणानि नपुंसके च । चात्पुंसि ॥

35. The nouns कार्पाषण 'a kind of coin,' स्वर्ण 'gold,' सुवर्ण 'gold,' व्रण 'boil,' चरण 'foot,' वृषण 'the scrotum ; विषाण 'a horn,' चूर्ण 'powder,' तृण 'grass,' are also neuters.

By the force of the letter च in the sūtra, these words are also masculine.

३६ । शोपधः । रथः ॥

36. Nouns ending in श्र with the penultimate थ् are masculines.

Thus रथः 'chariot'.

३७ । काष्ठपृष्ठरिक्थसिक्थोक्थानि नपुंसके । इदं काष्ठमित्यादि ॥

37. The nouns काष्ठ 'wood,' पृष्ठ 'back,' रिक्थ 'inheritance,' सिक्थ 'a bee's wax,' उक्थ 'a sentence' are neuters.

Thus इदं काष्ठम् &c.

३८ । काष्ठा दिग्दर्शा स्त्रियाम् । इमाः काष्ठाः ॥

38. The noun काष्ठा when denoting 'a quarter or region of the world' is feminine.

Thus इमाः काष्ठाः ।

३९ । तीर्थप्रोथयूथगाथानि नपुंसके च । चात्पुंसि । अयं तीर्थः । इदं तीर्थम् ॥

39. The nouns तीर्थ 'pilgrimage,' प्रोथ 'the nose of a horse ; the hip,' यूथ 'a herd,' and गाथ 'a singer ; a song' are also neuters.

By the force of the letter च in the sūtra, these words are masculines also.

Thus अयं तीर्थः or इदम् तीर्थम्.

४० । नोपधः । अदन्तः पुंसि । इनः । फेनः ॥

40. Nouns ending in अ with the penultimate न् are masculines.

Thus इनः 'a lord,' फेनः 'foam'.

४१ । जघनाजिनतुहिनकाननवनवृजिनविपिनवेतनशासनसोपानमिथुनश्मशानरत्ननिम्बचिह्नानि नपुंसके । पूर्वस्यापवादः ॥

41. The nouns जघन 'the hip,' (Un. V. 32) अजिन 'the skin of a black antelope' (Un. II. 48) तुहिन 'ice,' कानन 'forest,' वन 'forest,' वृजिन 'hair' 'sin,' विपिन 'a wood; a thicket,' (Un. II. 52) वेतन 'pay,' शासन 'rule,' सोपान 'ladder,' मिथुन 'copulation,' श्मशान 'cemetery,' रत्न 'gem,' निम्ब 'a low place,' चिह्न 'sign' are neuters.

This is an exception to the last aphorism.

४२ । मानयानाभिधाननलिनपुलिनोद्यानशयनासनस्थानचन्दनालानसंमानभवनवसनसम्भावनविभावनविमानानि नपुंसके च । चात्पुंसि । अयं मानः । इदं मानम् ॥

42. The nouns मान 'pride,' यान 'carriage,' अभिधान 'vocabulary,' नलिन 'a lotus; a crane,' पुलिन 'a sandbank' (Un. II. 53) उद्यान 'garden,' शयन 'sleeping,' आसन 'a seat,' स्थान 'a place,' चन्दन 'sandalwood,' आलान 'the tying-post,' सन्मान 'honor,' भवन 'house,' वसन 'dress,' सम्भावन 'possibility,' विभावन (?) विमान 'a balloon' are also neuters.

By the force of the letter च in the sūtra, these words are also masculines.

Thus अयं मानः or इदं मानम् &c.

४३ । योपधः । अदन्तः पुंसि । यूपः । दीपः । सर्पः ॥

43. Nouns ending in अ with the penultimate प् are masculine.

Thus यूपः 'a sacrificial' 'post' (Un. III. 27). दीपः 'a lamp' सर्पः 'a snake.'

४४ । पापरूपोद्भुपतल्पशिल्पपुष्पशष्पसमीपान्तरीपाणि नपुंसके । इदं पापमित्यादि ॥

44. The nouns पाप 'sin,' रूप 'form,' उद्भुप 'a raft,' तल्प 'bed,' शिल्प 'art,' पुष्प 'flower,' शष्प 'young grass,' समीप 'vicinity,' अन्तरीप 'an island; a promontary' (VI. 3. 93) are neuters.

Thus इदं पापम् &c.

४५ । शूर्पकुतपकुणपद्वीपविटपानि नपुंसके च । इदं शूर्पमित्यादि ॥

45. The nouns शूर्प 'a winnowing basket,' कुतप 'a Brāhmaṇa; a kind of grass,' कुणप 'a corpse, 'a spear,' द्वीप 'an island,' विटप 'a branch,' are also neuters (as well as masculines).

Thus अयं शूर्पः or इदं शूर्पम् &c.

४६ । भोपधः । स्तम्भः । कुम्भः ॥

46. Nouns ending in अ with the penultimate भ् are masculines.

Thus स्तम्भः 'a pillar,' कुम्भः 'a water jar.'

४७ । तलभं नपुंसकम् । पूर्वं स्यापवादः ॥

47. The noun तलभ is neuter.

This is an exception to the last.

४८ । जृम्भं नपुंसके च । जृम्भम्-जृम्भः ॥

48. The noun जृम्भ 'yawning' is also neuter.

Thus जृम्भम् or जृम्भः

४९ । सोमधः । सोमः । भीमः ॥

49. Nouns ending in अ with the penultimate म् are masculine.

Thus सोमः 'the Soma,' भीमः 'Bhima.'

५० । रुक्नसिध्मयुग्मेधमगुल्माध्यात्मकुङ्कुमानि नपुंसके । इदं रुक्नमित्यादि ॥

50. The nouns रुक्न, 'gold,' सिध्म 'scab,' युग्म 'couple,' इध्म 'fuel,' गुल्म 'blossom,' अध्यात्म 'spiritual,' कुङ्कुम 'saffron' are Neuter.

Thus इदं रुक्नम्, &c.

५१ । संग्रामदाडिमकुसुमाश्रमक्षेमक्षीमहोमोद्धामानि नपुंसके च । चात्पुंसि । अयं संग्रामः । इदं संग्रामम् ॥

51. The nouns संग्राम 'fight,' दाडिम 'pomegranate,' कुसुम 'flower,' आश्रम 'dwelling-house,' क्षेम 'happiness' (Uṇ. I. 138) क्षीम 'silken cloth,' होम 'homa' उद्धाम 'violently' are also Neuter.

By the force of the letter च in the sūtra, these words are also masculine.

Thus अयं संग्रामः or इदं संग्रामम् ॥

५२ । 'योपधः' । समयः । हयः ॥

52. Nouns ending in अ with the penultimate य् are masculine.

Thus समयः 'time,' हयः 'the horse.'

५३ । 'किसलयहृदयेन्द्रियोत्तरीयाणि नपुंसके' । स्पष्टम् ॥

53. The nouns किसलय 'a sprout,' हृदय 'the heart,' इन्द्रिय 'the sense,' उत्तरीय 'an upper garment' are neuter.

५४ । 'गोमयकषायमलयान्वयाध्ययानि नपुंसके च' । गोमयः-गोमयम् ॥

54. The nouns गोमय 'cow-dung,' कषाय 'the red color,' मलय 'Malaya' अन्वय 'Association,' अध्यय 'Indeclinable' are also neuters.

Thus गोमयः or गोमयम् ॥

५५ । 'रोपधः' । क्षुरः । अङ्कुरः ॥

55. Nouns ending in अ with the penultimate र् are masculines.

Thus क्षुरः 'the hoof,' अङ्कुरः 'the blossom.'

५६ । 'द्वारायस्फारतक्रवक्रवप्रक्षिप्रक्षुद्रनारतीरदूरकङ्कुरन्धाश्रवभभीरगभीरकूरविचित्रकेयूरके-
टारोटाराजसशरीरकन्दरमन्दारपञ्जरजटाराजिरीरचामरपुष्करगङ्गुकुहरकुटीरकुलीरस्रत्वरकाशमीरनीर-
म्बरशिशिरतन्त्रयन्त्रक्षत्रक्षेत्रमित्रकलत्रचित्रमूत्रमूत्रयक्तनेत्रगोत्राङ्गुलित्रभलत्रशस्त्रशास्त्रधस्त्रपत्रपात्रक्षत्रा-
णि नपुंसके' । इदं द्वारमित्यादि ॥

56. The words द्वार 'door,' अय 'in front,' स्फार 'swelling abundance' (Uṇ. II. 13); तक्र 'curdled milk,' वक्र 'crooked,' वप्र 'rampart,' क्षिप्र 'a measure of time,'

६४ । 'चमसांसरसनिर्वाणोपवासकार्पासवासभासकासकांसमंसानि नपुंसके च' । 'इदं चमसम् । अयं चमस इत्यभेदि ॥

64. The words चमस 'a vessel,' अंस, रस 'juice,' निर्वास 'gum juice,' उपवास 'fast,' कार्पास 'cotton,' वास 'perfume; habitation;,' मास 'month,' भास, कास 'cough,' कांस bell-metal,' and मांस 'flesh' are also neuters.

Thus चमसं or चमसः &c.

६५ । कंसं चाप्राणिनि । कंसोऽस्त्री पानभाजनम् । प्राणिनि तु । कंसो नाम कश्चिद्वाजा ॥

65. The noun कंस when not meaning a living being, is neuter. It is never feminine and means 'a drinking vessel, cup or can.'

When it means a living being, then it is the name of a king of Mathura son of Ugrasena and enemy of Krishna.

६६ । 'रश्मिदिवसाभिधानानि ।' एतानि पुंसि स्यूः । रश्मिर्मयूखः । दिवसो घसः ॥

66. Nouns which are synonyms of रश्मि 'a ray of light,' and दिवस 'a day' are masculine.

Thus रश्मिर्मयूखः; दिवसो घसः ॥

६७ । 'दीधितिः स्त्रियाम्' । पूर्वस्यापवादः ॥

67. The noun दीधितिः 'a ray of light' is feminine.

This is an exception to the last aphorism.

६८ । 'दिनाहनी नपुंसके' । अयमप्यपवादः ॥

68. The nouns दिन 'a day' and अहन् 'a day' are neuters. This is also an exception to the aphorism 66.

६९ । 'मानाभिधानानि' । एतानि पुंसि स्यूः । कुडवः । प्रस्यः ॥

69. Nouns which are synonyms of मानः 'a measure, a standard' are masculines.

Thus कुडवः, प्रस्यः ॥

७० । 'दोणाढकी नपुंसके च' । इदं द्रोणम् । अयं द्रोणः ॥

70. The words द्रोण 'a measure of capacity' and आढक 'a measure of grain' are neuters also.

Thus इदं द्रोणम् or अयं द्रोणः ॥

७१ । 'खारीमानिके स्त्रियाम्' । इयं खारी । इयं मानिका ॥

71. The words खारी 'a measure of grain equal to 16 *dronas*' and मानिका 'a kind of weight' are feminines.

Thus इयं खारी, इयं मानिका ॥

७२ । दाराक्षतलाजामूनां बहुत्वं च । इमे दाराः ॥

72. The nouns दारा 'wife,' अक्षत 'whole grain or unhusked rice,' लाज 'parched or fried grain,' असु 'the five vital breaths' are always plural. Thus इमे दाराः ॥

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, they are feminines.

७३ । 'नाड्यपजनोपपदानि व्रणाङ्गपदानि' । यथासंख्यं नाड्याद्युपपदानि व्रणादीनि पुंसि स्युः । अयं नाडीव्रणः । अपाङ्गः । जनपदः । व्रणादीनामुभयलिङ्गत्वेऽपि क्लोबत्वनिवृत्त्यर्थं सूत्रम् ॥

73. The nouns व्रण 'a boil,' अंग 'a member' and पद 'a foot' compounded with नाडी, अप and जन respectively are masculines.

The words व्रण &c. are of both genders (i. e. Masculine and Neuter), but this Sūtra debars their use as neutrals, (when compounded with the above words). Thus अयं नाडीव्रणः । अपाङ्गः । जनपदः ॥

७४ । 'मरुद्गरुतरट्टित्वजः' । अयं मरुत् ॥

74. The words मरुत् 'wind' (Un. I, 94) गरुत् 'the wing of a bird' सरत् 'swimming' and ऋत्विज् 'a sacrificial priest,' are masculines.

Thus अयं मरुत् ॥

७५ । 'ऋषिराशिदृतिग्रन्थिक्रिमिध्वनिपलिकौलिमैलिरविकविकपिमुनयः' । एते पुंसि स्युः । अयमृषिः ॥

75. The words ऋषि 'a seer,' राशि 'a heap,' दृति 'a leathern bag for holding water,' ग्रन्थि 'knot,' क्रिमि 'a worm,' ध्वनि 'sound,' बलि 'offering,' कौलि (?) and मैलि 'the head,' रवि 'the sun,' कवि 'the poet,' कपि 'a monkey,' and मुनि 'sage,' are masculines.

Thus अयं ऋषिः ॥

७६ । 'ध्वजगजमुञ्जपुञ्जः' । एते पुंसि ॥

76. The words ध्वज 'flag,' गज 'elephant,' मुञ्ज 'a sort of grass,' पुञ्ज 'a heap' are masculines.

७७ । 'हस्तकुन्तान्तव्रातघातदूतधूर्तसूतचूतसुहूर्तः' । एते पुंसि । अमरस्तु 'सुहूर्तोऽस्त्रियाम्' इत्याह ॥

77. The words हस्त 'the hand,' कुन्त 'a lance,' अन्त 'the end,' व्रात 'a multitude,' घात 'the wind,' दूत 'a messenger,' धूर्त 'a rogue,' सूत 'a son,' चूत 'the mango tree,' सुहूर्त 'a moment,' are masculines.

According to Amarakosha, (I. 4. 11) सुहूर्त is never feminine, (i. e. it is both masculine and neuter).

७८ । 'पण्डमण्डकरण्डभरण्डवरण्डतुण्डगण्डमुण्डपाण्डशिखण्डः' । अयं पण्डः ॥

78. The nouns पण्ड 'a bull,' मण्ड 'the scum of boiled rice,' कण्ड 'a small box or basket of bamboo' भरण्ड 'master,' वरण्ड 'a multitude,' तुण्ड 'mouth,' गण्ड 'the cheek,' मुण्ड 'a man with bald head,' पाण्ड 'a heretic,' and शिखण्ड 'a crest' are masculine.

Thus अयं पण्डः ॥

७९ । 'वंशांशपुरोडाशाः' । अयं वंशः । पुरो दाप्रपते पूरोडाशः । कर्मणि घञ् । भवव्याख्यानयोः प्रकरणे 'पैरोडाशपुरोडाशात्पठन्' (१४५६) इति विकारप्रकरणे 'घ्रीहेः पुरोडाशे (१५०८) इति च निपातनात् प्रकृतसूत्र एव निपातनाद्वा दस्य इत्यम् । 'पुरोडाशभुजामिष्टम्' इति माघः ॥

79. The nouns वंश 'a family,' अंश 'a share,' पुरोडाश 'an oblation' are masculines.

Thus अयं वंशः । The word puroḍāśa 'a cake-offering' is derived by adding the affix चञ् with the force of karma to the root टाञ् preceded by the upapada पुरो । The ट is changed to ड by no particular rule of Grammar, but we find the word so spelt in sūtras IV. 3. 70, S. 1449 ; and IV. 3. 148 S. 1528. Or the ट is changed to ड by nipātana even in the present sūtra ; and sūtra III. 2. 71. S. 3414. Thus in Māgha also we find ; पुरोडाश भुजाम् इष्टम् 'the sacrifice of puroḍāśa eaters.'

८० । 'हृदकन्दकुन्दबुद्बुदशब्दाः' । अयं हृदः ॥

80. The words हृद 'a lake,' कन्द 'root,' कुन्द 'a kind of jasmine,' बुद् बुद् 'bubble' are masculines.

Thus अयं हृदः ॥

८१ । 'अर्घपथिमथ्यूभुक्तिस्तम्बनितम्बपूगाः' । अयमर्घः ॥

81. The words अर्घ 'offering,' पथिन् 'a road,' मथिन् 'a churning stick,' ऋभुक्तिन् 'a name of Indra,' स्तम्ब 'a clump of grass' नितम्ब, 'the buttocks,' and पूग 'a heap' are masculines.

Thus अयं अर्घः ॥

८२ । 'पल्लवपल्लवकफरेफकटाहनिर्व्यूहमठमणितरङ्गतुरङ्गान्यस्कन्धमडङ्गसङ्गमसुद्रपुङ्खाः' । अयं पल्लव इत्यादि ॥

82. The words पल्लव 'a sprout,' पल्लव 'a small pool,' कफ 'cough,' रेफ 'sound,' कटाह 'frying pan,' निर्व्यूह 'a peg,' मठ 'the hut of an ascetic,' मणि 'jewel,' तरंग 'wave,' तुरङ्ग 'horse' गंध 'smell,' मृदंग 'a musical instrument,' संग 'attachment,' समुद्र 'ocean,' and पुङ्ख 'a falcon,' are masculines. Thus अयं पल्लवः &c. ।

८३ । सारथ्यतिकुत्तिवस्ति पाणयञ्जनयः । एते पुंसि । अयं सा रथिः ।

83. The words सारथि 'charioteer,' अतिथि 'a guest,' कुत्ति 'the womb,' वस्ति 'the abdomen,' पाणि 'the hand,' अञ्जलि 'the hollow of the hands' are masculines. Thus अयं सारथिः &c.

इति पुनिङ्गाधिकारः ॥

THE NEUTER GENDER.

१ । 'नपुंसकम्' । अधिकारोऽयम् ।

1. The Neuter Gender.

This is an Adhikāra sūtra.

२ । भावे ल्युङन्तः । हसनम् । 'भावे' किम् । पचनेऽग्निः । इधमग्रश्चनः कुठारः ॥

2. Abstract nouns of action formed with the affix ल्युट् are neuters. This is a repetition of III. 3. 115, S 3290. Thus हसनम् (laughter). Why do we say 'abstract nouns of action?' Observe पचनः 'fire'; इध्म-ग्रश्चनः 'an axe'; these words are masculines and not neuters.

३ । 'निष्ठा च' । भावे या निष्ठा तदन्तं क्लीबं स्यात् । हसितम् । गीतम् ॥

3. Abstract nouns of action formed with the निष्ठा affix are neuters. This is also repetition of III. 3. 114. S. 3090.

Thus हसितम् 'laughter,' गीतम् 'a song.'

४ । त्वय्यज्ञो तद्धितो । शुक्रत्वम्-शोकत्वम् । व्यजः वित्वषामर्थ्यात्पक्षे स्त्रीत्वम् । चातुर्यम्-चातुरी । सामय यम्-सामयी । श्री चित्यम्-श्री चितो ॥

4. Among taddhitas, words formed with the affixes त्व and व्यञ् are Neuters ; (See V. 1, 123, S. 1787).

Thus शुक्लत्वम्, 'whiteness' and श्रौक्लत्वम्, 'whiteness.' The व्यञ्ज् formed nouns are optionally feminines because of the indicatory letter ष by IV. 1. 41, S. 498 in order to give scope to, the indicatory ष.

Thus चातुर्यम्, or चातुरी 'cleverness.' सामय्यम्, or सामयी 'effects, goods.' श्रौचित्यम्, or श्रौचिती 'aptness.'

५ । 'कर्मणि च ब्राह्मणादिगुणवचनेभ्यः । ब्राह्मणस्य कर्म ब्राह्मण्यम् ॥

5. Brāhmanādi words when denoting work and quality are neuters. This is repetition of V. 1. 124, S. 1788.

Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, 'Brāhmanical.'

६ । यद्यद्व्यगजणवुञ्ज्काश्च भावकर्मणि । एतदन्तानि क्रीवानि । 'स्तेनाद्य चलोपश्च (१७६०) । स्तेयम् । 'सख्युयः (१७६१) । सख्यम् । 'कपिज्ञात्योढक् (१७६२) । कापेयम् । 'पत्ये न्तपुरोहित्वादिभ्यो यक्' (१७६३) आधिपत्यम् । 'प्राणभृज्जातिवयोवचनेाद्गान्नादिभ्याञ्ज्' (१७६४) श्रौद्धम् । हायनान्तयुवादिभ्योऽण् (१७६५) । द्वैहायनम् । द्वन्द्वमनेाज्ञादिभ्यो वुञ्ज् । पितापुत्रकम् । होत्राभ्यश्छः (१८००) । अच्चावाकीयम् ॥

6. Nouns formed with the affixes यत्, य, ढक्, यक्, अञ्, अण्, वुञ्ज्, and छ् in the senses of nature or action thereof are neuters.

(a) The affix यत् is added by virtue of V. 1. 125, S. 1790. Thus स्तेयम्, 'theft.'

(b) The affix य is added by virtue V. 1. 126, S. 1791. Thus सख्यम्, 'friendship.'

(c) The affix ढक् is added by virtue of V. 1. 127, S. 1792. Thus कापेयम्, 'ape-like.'

(d) The affix यक् is added by virtue of V. 1. 128, S. 1793. Thus आधिपत्यम्, 'authority.'

(e) The affix अञ् is added by virtue of V. 1. 129, S. 1794. Thus श्रौद्धम्, 'camel-like.'

(f) The affix अण् is added by virtue of V. 1. 130, S. 1795. Thus द्वैहायनम्, 'the action of two days.'

(g) The affix वुञ्ज् is added by virtue of V. 1. 132 and 133, S. 1797 and 1798. Thus पितापुत्रकम्, 'paternal and filial.'

(h) The affix छ् is added by virtue of V. 1. 135, S. 1800. Thus अच्चावाकीयम् ॥

NOTE:—This Sūtra summarises all the affixes taught in V. 1. 124-135.

७ । 'अव्ययीभावः' (६५६) । अधिस्ति ॥

7. Nouns which are अव्ययीभाव compounds are neuters. (See II. 84. 18, S. 659). Thus अधिस्ति ।

८ । 'द्वन्द्वैकत्वम्' । पाणिपादम् ॥

8. Nouns which are द्वन्द्व compounds are neuter. (See II. 4. 2, S. 906). Thus पाणिपादम् ।

९ । 'अभाषायां हेमन्तशिशिरावहोरात्रे च' । स्यट्म् ॥

9. The compound हेमन्तशि शिरो is masculine, and अहोरात्रे is neuter in the non-classical literature. (See II. 4. 28, S. 3399).

१० । 'अनङ्कर्म धारयस्तत्पुरुषः' । अधिकारेऽयम् ॥

10. A Tatpurusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle नां, and of the Karmadhāraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sūtras. (See II. 4. 19, S. 822).

This is an adhikāra sūtra.

११ । अनल्पे छाया । शरच्छायम् ॥

11. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word chhāyā 'shadow' is neuter in gender, when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term. (See II. 4. 22, S. 825).

Thus शरच्छायम् ॥

१२ । 'राजामनुष्यपूर्वा सभा' । इनसभमित्यादि ॥

12. A Tatpurusha compound ending in सभा 'court' when preceded by words which are synonyms of राजा and अमनुष्य 'non-human being' is neuter. (See II. 4. 23, S. 826).

Thus इन सभम्, 'the king's court' &c.

१३ । 'सुरासेनाच्छायाशालानिश स्त्रियां च' ॥

13. Tatpurusha compounds ending in सुरा 'wine,' सेना 'army,' छाया 'shadow,' शाला 'a house' निशा 'night' are also feminines (in addition to their being also neuter). See II. 4. 15, S. 828.

१४ । 'परवत्' । अन्यस्तत्पुरुषः परवलिङ्गः स्यात् ॥

14. The gender of a Dvanda or a Tatpurusha compound is like that of the last word in it. (See II. 4. 26, S. 812).

१५ । 'रात्राह्राहाः पुंसि' (८१४) ॥

15. The Dvanda or a Tatpurusha compound ending with रात्र 'night,' अह् 'a day' and अह् 'a day' is masculine. (See II. 4. 29, S. 814.)

१६ । अपथपुण्याहे नपुंसके ॥

16. The words अपथ 'bad road' and पुण्याह 'sacred day' are neuters. (See II. 4. 30, S. 815 and II. 4. 17, S. 821 Vārtika).

१७ । 'संख्यापूर्वा रात्रिः' । त्रिरात्रम् । 'संख्यापूर्वा' इति किम् । सर्वरात्रः ॥

17. A Dvigu compound ending with the word रात्रि when preceded by a numeral is neuter. (See II. 1. 52, S. 730).

Thus त्रिरात्रम् ॥

Why do we say त्रिरात्रम् when preceded by a numeral? Observe सर्वरात्रः which is masculine.

१८ । 'द्विगुः स्त्रियां च' । व्यवस्थया । पञ्चफली । त्रिभुवनम् ॥

18. Nouns which are Dvigu compounds are feminines also. (See II. 4. 17, S. 821 Vārtikas).

Thus पञ्चमूली 'five-roots,' त्रिभुवनम् 'three worlds.'

१९ । इमुसन्तः । हविः । धनुः ॥

19. Nouns ending in इस् (Uṇ. II, 108) and उस् (Uṇ. II, 115) are neuter. Thus हविः 'oblation to fire' (see Uṇ. II, 108) धनुः 'a bow' (Uṇ. II, 115 read with II, 117).

२० । अर्चिः स्त्रियां च । इसन्तत्वेऽप्यर्चिः स्त्रियां नपुंसके च स्यात् । इयमिदं वार्चिः ॥

20. The nouns अर्चि 'ray' is feminine also (in addition to its being neuter, although it ends in इस्) ॥

Thus इयं or इदं अर्चिः

२१ । कृदिः स्त्रियामेव । इयं कृदिः । छाद्यतेऽनेनेति कृदेश्चुरादिशयन्तात् अर्चिशुचि-
इत्यादिना इस् । इस्मन् इत्यादिना ह्रस्वः । षटलं कृदिः इत्यमरः । तत्र षटलसाहचर्याच्छ
द्विषः स्त्रीवतां वदन्तोऽमरव्याख्यातार उपेत्याः ॥

21. The word कृदि 'the roof' is always feminine.

Thus इयं कृदिः । It is also formed by adding the affix इस् (see Uṇ. II, 108) to the root कृदि belonging to the churādi class. The root कृदि becomes कृद by VI. 4. 97, S. 2985. In the Amarakosha, we find the word षटलं कृदिः (II. 2 14). There the commentators say that the noun कृदि is neuter because it is mentioned along with षटलं which neuter. This explanation of the commentators should be rejected.

२२ । मुखनयनलोहवनमांसरुधिरकामुकविवरजलहलधनाच्चाभिधानानि । एतेषामभिधाय
कानि स्त्रीषु स्युः । मुखमाननम् । नयनं लोचनम् । लोहं कालम् । वनं गहनम् । मांसमामिषम्
रुधिरं रक्तम् । कामुकं शरासनम् । विवरं बिलम् । जलं वारि । हलं लाङ्गलम् । धनं द्रविणम् ।
अन्नमशनम् । अस्यापवादानाह त्रिसूत्र्या ॥

22. The words which are synonyms of मुख 'face,' नयन 'an eye,' लोह 'cop-
per,' वन 'forest,' मांस 'a month,' रुधिर 'blood,' कामुक 'a bow,' विवर 'a hole,' जल
'water,' हल 'the plough,' धन 'wealth,' and अन्न 'food' are neuters.

Thus मुखं आननम् ; नयनं लोचनम् ; लोहं कालम् ; वनं गहनम् ; मांसं मा-
मिषम् ; रुधिरं रक्तम् ; कामुकं शरासनम् ; विवरं बिलम् ; जलं वारि ; हलं लाङ्गलम् ; धनं
द्रविणम् ; अन्नं अशनम्. ॥

In the next three sūtras exceptions to this are mentioned.

२३ । शीरार्थोदनाः पुंसि ॥

23. The words शीर 'a plough,' अर्थ 'wealth' and औदन 'food' are mascu-
line.

२४ । वक्तूनेत्रारण्यगाण्डीवानि पुंसि च । वक्तू वक्तम् । नेत्रो नेत्रम् । अरण्योऽरण्यम् ।
गाण्डीवो गाण्डीवम् ॥

24. The words वक्तू 'the face,' नेत्र 'the eye,' अरण्य 'the forest,' and गाण्डीव
'Arjuna's bow' are also masculines (as well as neuters.)

Thus वक्तूः or वक्तूम् ; नेत्रः or नेत्रम् ; अरण्यः or अरण्यम् ; गाण्डीव or गाण्डीवम्. ॥

२५ । अटवी स्त्रियाम् ॥

25. The word अटवी 'the forest' is feminine.

Thus चर्मन् 'skin,' यर्मन् 'armor,' कर्मन् 'work'

Why do we say 'of two syllables?' Observe अगिमन् 'minuteness,' महिमन् 'glory.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting an agent'? Observe दामन् 'a giver':

३४ । ब्रह्मन्पुंसि च । अयं ब्रह्मा । इदं ब्रह्म ॥

34. The word ब्रह्मन् is also masculine.

Thus अयं ब्रह्मा or इदं ब्रह्म ।

३५ । नामरोमणी नपुंसके । 'मन्य कः- इत्यस्याय' प्रपञ्चः ॥

35. The words नामन् 'name' and, रोमन् 'hair,' are neuters. This is merely an amplification of sūtra 33.

३६ । 'असन्तो द्वृक्कः' । यशः । मनः । तपः । 'द्व्यच्कः' किम् । चन्द्रमाः ॥

36. Nouns of two syllables formed with the affix अस् are neuters.

Thus यशस् 'glory,' मनस् 'mind,' तपस् 'austerity.'

Why do we say 'of two syllables'? Observe चन्द्रमस् 'the moon,' which is masculine.

३७ । अप्सराः स्त्रियाम् । एता अप्सरसः । प्रायेणायं बहुवचनान्तः ॥

37. The word अप्सरस् is feminine.

Thus एता अप्सरसः । Generally, this word is used in the Plural number only.

३८ । 'त्रान्तः' । पत्रम् । छत्रम् ॥

38. Nouns formed with the affix त्र are neuters. (Un. IV. 159).

Thus पत्रम् 'a leaf'; छत्रम् 'an umbrella.'

३९ । 'यात्रामात्रा भस्त्रावंध्रा वरत्राः स्त्रियामेव' ॥

39. The following are always feminine:—यात्रा 'journey,' मात्रा 'a measure,' भस्त्रा 'a leathern bag,' वंध्रा 'tusk,' वस्त्रा 'a strap.'

४० । 'भूत्रामित्रहानपुत्रमंत्रवृत्रमेढ्रोद्गाः पुंसि' । अयं भूत्रः । न मित्रममित्रः । 'तस्य मित्रायमित्रास्ते' इति माघः । 'स्याताममित्रो मित्रे च' इति च । यत्तु 'द्विपोमित्रे' (३९९९) इति सूत्रे हरदत्तेनाक्तम्—'अमेद्विषदित्योणादिक इत्रच्' । अमेरामित्रं मित्रस्य व्यययेदित्यादौ मध्योदात्तस्तु चिन्त्यः । नञ्समासेऽप्यं वम् । परवलिङ्गतापि स्यादिति तु तत्र दोषान्तरम् इति तत्प्रकृतसूत्रापर्यालोचनमूलकम् । स्वरदोषोद्गावनमपि 'नञो जरमरमित्रमताः' (३८५०) इति षाष्टसूत्रास्मरणमूलकमिति दिक् ॥

40. The following are masculines:—भूत्र 'a servant,' अमित्र 'an enemy,' हान 'a pupil,' पुत्र 'a son,' मन्त्र 'a mantra,' वृत्र 'name of a demon killed by Indra,' मेढ्र 'a ram,' उष्ट्र 'a camel.'

Thus अयं भूत्रः । अमित्रः is equal to न मित्रम् a non-friend i.e. an enemy. Thus we find in Māgha तस्य मित्रायमित्रास्ते । So also स्याताममित्रो मित्रे च ॥

In commenting on the sūtra द्विपोमित्रे (III. 2. 113 S. 3111), Haradatta in his Padamanjari says: 'The word *amitra* is derived from the root *am* with the Unādi affix इत्रच् under sūtra IV. 174, in the sense of an enemy. The word *amitra* is not a negative compound of अ+मित्र as it would appear at first sight. Because had it been a Tatpurusha compound of *a* + *mītra*, then by sūtra II. 4. :6,

S. 812, it would have been Neuter, because the word *mitra* is Neuter. If it be said that 'the gender of a word depends upon usage, and though *mitra* be Neuter, *amitra* will be masculine,' then there arises the difficulty as to accent. For then by VI. 2. 2, S. 3736 the *अ* will retain its accent in the Tatpurusha. But it is intended that the accent should be on *मि*; i.e. the *चित्* accent. For the Rig Vedins read it with the acute on the middle of *amitra*, as in the following: *अमित्रस्य व्यथया मन्युमिन्द्रः* (Rig Veda VI. 25., 2), *अमेरमित्र मर्दय* (Rig VIII. 75. 10)'

But these two objections of Haradatta proceed on the assumption that the word *amitra* is a Tatpurusha compound. But as a matter of fact it is a Bahuvrihi compound and consequently the rule of gender taught in II. 4. 26 does not apply to it. Haradatta overlooked the context in applying 'this rule. He further forgot sūtra VI. 2. 116, S. 3850 which specifically applies to the accent of *amitra*, when he raises the objection as to accent.

NOTE:—Did Haradatta really misapply sūtra II. 4. 26 and forget VI. 2. 116; or is not Bhattoji floundering? Why should the word *अमित्र* be taken as a Bahuvrihi and not a Tatpurusha? The Bahuvrihi *amitra* would mean 'friendless,' and not 'an enemy.'

४१। 'पत्रपात्रपवित्रसूत्रच्छत्राः पुंसि च' ॥

41. The following are masculines (in addition to their being neuters):—

पत्र 'a leaf;' पात्र 'a vessel;' पवित्र 'holy;' सूत्र 'a thread;' छत्र 'a line.

Thus पत्रः or पत्रम् ॥

४२। 'बलकुसुमशुल्बयुद्धपत्तनरणाभिधानानि' । बलं वीर्यम् ॥

42. The synonyms of बल 'courage or strength,' कुसुम 'a flower,' शुल्ब 'a rope, string' पत्तन 'a town' and रण 'fight' are neuters. Thus बलं वीर्यम् ॥

४३। 'पद्मकमलोत्पन्नानि पुंसि च' । पद्मादयः शब्दाः कुसुमाभिधायित्वेऽपि द्विलिङ्गा स्युः । अमरोऽप्याह—'वा पुंसि पद्मं नलिनम्' इति । एवं च 'अर्धर्वादिमूत्रे तु जलजे पद्मं नपुंसकमेव' इति वृत्तिप्रत्यये मतान्तरेण नयः ॥

43. The words पद्म, कमल, उत्पल 'the lotus flower,' although names of a kind of flower, are masculines also (in addition to their being neuters).

In the Amarakosha, (I. 2. 39) पद्म and नलिन are optionally masculines. In II. 4. 31, Kāśikā says 'padma meaning lotus is neuter only.' This is however one view of the case.

४४। 'आहवसंघामो पुंसि' ॥

44. The words आहव and संघाम 'fight' are masculines. By III. 42 these words being synonyms of रण would have been Neuters. This makes them masculines.

४५। 'आजिः स्त्रियामेव' ॥

45. The word आजि fight is always feminine. This also by sūtra 42 and would have been Neuter.

४६। 'फलजातिः' । 'फलजातिषाची शब्दो नपुंसकं स्यात् । आमलकम् । आमम् ॥

46. Names of fruits are neuters,

Thus आमलकम् 'one of the myrobolans,' आम्रम् 'mango.' But the word आमलकी is feminine also. It however does not mean the fruit, but the tree which produces that fruit.

४७। 'एह जातिः' । स्त्रियामेव क्वचिदेवेदम् । हरीतकी ॥

47. Names of trees are feminines only. This is not a universal rule. Thus हरीतकी 'one of the myrobolans.'

४८। 'विद्यज्जगत्सकृत्शकनृपृषच्छकशकदुदधिवतः' । एते स्त्रीषाः स्युः ॥

48. The following are neuters:—

विद्यत् 'the sky,' जगत् 'the universe,' सकृत् 'once,' शकन 'ordure,' एषत् 'a drop of water,' शकत् 'ordure,' (Up. IV. 58), यकत् 'the liver,' उदधिवत् 'whey.'

४९। 'नवनीतावतानृतामृतानिमित्तवित्तचित्तपित्तव्रतरजतवृत्तपलितानि' ॥

49. The following are neuters:—

नवनीत 'butter,' अवत 'a well,' अनृत 'a lie,' अमृत 'nectar,' निमित्त 'cause,' वित्त 'wealth,' चित्त 'mind,' पित्त 'bile,' व्रत 'fast,' रजत 'silver,' वृत्त 'an event,' पलित 'gray hair.'

५०। 'आरुक्लिशदेवपीठकुण्डाङ्गदधिसक्थ्यत्तपस्य्यास्यदाकाशकणवधीजानि' । एतानि स्त्रीषु स्युः ॥

50. The following are neuters:—

आरु 'a funeral rite,' कुलिश 'the thunderbolt of Indra,' देव 'fate,' पीठ 'a seat,' कुण्ड 'a bowl,' (Up. I. 112), अंग 'the body,' दधि 'curdled milk,' सक्थि 'the thigh' (Up. III. 154), अक्षि 'an eye,' अस्यि 'a bone,' आस्यव 'a place,' आकाश 'the sky,' कणव 'sin,' and बीज 'the seed.'

५१। 'देव' पुंमि च । देवम्-देवः ॥

51. The word देव 'luck' is also masculine:

Thus देवम् or देवः ॥

५२। 'धान्याज्यसत्यरूप्यपण्यवर्षधृष्यदृष्यकष्यकाव्यसत्यापत्यमूल्यशिक्यकुड्यमद्यदृष्यतूर्यसेन्यानि' । इदं धान्यमित्यादि ॥

52. The following are neuters:—

धान्य 'corn,' आज्य 'clarified butter,' रस्य 'crop,' रूप्य 'silver,' पण्य 'vendible,' वर्ष्य 'saffron,' धृष्य 'conquerable,' दृष्य 'clarified butter,' कष्य 'anoblation of food to deceased ancestors,' काव्य 'a poem,' सत्य 'truth,' अपत्य 'offspring,' मूल्य 'the price,' शिक्य 'a loop or swing made of rope,' कुड्य 'a wall,' मद्य 'wine,' दृष्य 'a house,' तूर्य 'a kind of musical instrument,' सेन्य 'an army.'

Thus इदं धान्यम्, &c.

५३। 'द्वन्द्ववर्हदुःखवद्विशपिच्छत्रिम्बकुटुम्बकवचवशरवन्दारकाणि' ॥

53. The following are neuters:—

द्वन्द्व 'couple' वर्ह 'a peacock's tail,' दुःख 'sorrow,' वद्विश 'a fish hook,' पिच्छ 'the tail of a peacock,' त्रिम्ब 'shadow,' कुटुम्ब 'relation,' कवच 'amulet,' वर 'boon,' शर 'an arrow,' वन्दारक 'a deity.'

५४। 'अक्षमिन्द्रिये' । इन्द्रिये' किम् । रथाङ्गादौ मा भूत् ।

54. The word अक्ष when it means one of the special senses is neuter.

Why do we say 'one of the special senses'? It will not be Neuter when it means the axle of a chariot, &c.

इति नपुंसकाधिकारः ॥

MASCULINE AND FEMININE GENDERS.

१ । 'स्त्रीपुंसयोः' । अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1. Masculine and Feminine Genders.

This is an adbhikāra sūtra.

२ । 'गोमण्डिपर्षाष्टमुष्टिपाटलिचस्तिशास्मलित्रुटिमसिमरीचयः' । इयमयं वा गौः ॥

2. The following belong to both masculine and feminine genders :—

गो 'the cow,' मणि 'a gem,' पर्षा 'a stick,' मुष्टि 'the fist,' पाटलि 'the trumpet-flower,' चस्ति 'residing,' शास्मलि 'name of a tree,' त्रुटि 'cutting' मसि 'ink,' मरीचि 'pepper.'

Thus इयं or अयं गौः.

३ । 'मन्युमृत्युसोधुकर्कन्धुकिकृकण्डुरेणवः' । इयमयं वा मन्युः ॥

3. The following are both masculine and feminines :—

मन्यु 'anger' (Up. III 20), मृत्यु 'death,' सोधु 'rum,' कर्कन्धु 'the jujube tree' (Up. I. 93) कण्डु 'scratching,' रेणु 'an atom of dust.'

Thus इयं or अयं मन्युः ।

४ । 'गुणवचनमुकारान्तं नपुंसकं च' । त्रिलिङ्गमित्यर्थः । षट्-षट्-ः-पदवी ॥

4. Nouns ending in उ denoting quality or qualification are also neuters. That is they belong to all the three genders. Thus षट्, षट्, षट्, षट्.

५ । 'अपत्याद्यंतद्धिते' । औपगवः-औपगवी ॥

5. Those तद्धित nouns which denote an offspring are both masculine and feminine.

Thus औपगवः or औपगवी ॥

इति स्त्रीपुंसाधिकारः ॥

MASCULINE AND NEUTER GENDERS.

१ । 'पुंनपुंसकयोः' । अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1. Masculine and Neuter Genders.

This is an adbhikāra sūtra.

२ । 'घृतभूनमुस्तव्वेलितेरावतपुस्तकबुस्तलोहिताः' । अयं घृतः । इदं घृतम् ॥

2. The following are both masculines and neuters :—घृत 'butter,' भून 'any being,' मुस्त 'a kind of grass,' व्वेलित 'play,' येरावत 'Indra's elephant,' पुस्तक 'a book,' बुस्त 'the burnt crust of roast meat,' लोहित 'redness.'

Thus अयं घृतः or इदं घृतम्.

३ । 'शङ्खार्धनिदाघोद्यमशल्यदृढाः' । अयं शङ्खः । इदं शङ्खम् ॥

3. The following are both masculines and neuters :—शङ्ख 'a horn,' अर्ध 'half,' निदाघ 'heat,' उद्यम 'effort,' शल्य 'a spear,' दृढ 'firm.'

Thus अयं शङ्खः or इदं शङ्खम् ।

४ । 'व्रजकुञ्जकुचकूर्चप्रस्यदर्पामर्षदर्मपुच्छाः' । अयं व्रजः । इदं व्रजम् ।

4. The following are both masculines and neuters :—व्रज 'a multitude,' कुञ्ज 'a tree,' कुच 'a carpet,' कूर्च 'a bundle,' प्रस्य 'a level plain,' दर्प 'pride' अर्ष 'a cemetery' (Up. I. 137), अर्ध 'half a verse,' दर्म 'a kind of grass,' and पुच्छ 'tail.'

Thus अयं व्रजः or इदं व्रजम्.

५ । 'कबन्धीवधायुधान्ताः' । स्य ष्टम् ॥

5. The following are both masculine and neuter :—कबन्ध 'a headless trunk,' औषध 'medicine,' आयुध 'a weapon.'

६ । 'दण्डमण्डस्यदण्डशस्त्रैन्धवपाशर्षाकाशकुशकाशाङ्कुशकुलिशाः' । एते पुंनपुंसकयोः स्युः । 'कुशो रामसुते दर्भे योक्ते द्वीपे कुशं जले' इति विश्वः । शलाकावाची तु स्त्रियाम् । तथा च 'जानपद-' (५००) आदिसुत्रेणार्थाधिकारे ङीष् । कुशी । टान्ति तु टाया 'कुशा वानस्यत्याः स्य ता मा यात' इति श्रुतिः । अतः कर्कसि-' (५६०) इति सूत्रे 'कुशाकर्णायु' इति प्रयोगश्च । व्याससूत्रे च—'हानौ तूपायनशब्दे शेषत्वात्कुशाच्छन्दः' इति । तत्र शारीरकभाष्येऽप्येवम् । एवं च श्रुतिसूत्रभाष्याणामेकवाक्यत्वे स्थित आच्छन्द इत्याहप्रश्लेषादिपरो भामतीयन्यः प्रौढिवादमात्रपर इति विभावनीयं बहुश्रुतेः ॥

6. The following are both masculines and neuters :—दण्ड 'punishment,' मण्ड 'the scum of boiled rice,' स्यद 'a break,' श्व 'the corpse,' सैन्धव 'a kind of rock-salt,' पाश 'the side,' काश 'cough,' अकुश 'a hook, a goad,' आकाश 'the sky,' कुश 'kuśa grass,' कुलिश 'thunder-bolt.'

These words are both masculines and neuters. Thus we find in the Viśva-kosha—“Kuśa is the name of the son of Rāma, it means also *darbha* grass, as well as the rope of kuśa grass for connecting the yoke of a plough with the plough, and an island. Kuśam (neuter) means water' But when it means a ploughshare or a rod (*śalākā*) it is feminine. That being so, when the *śalākā* is made of iron the feminine will be formed by ङीष् as कुशी । This is by sūtra IV. 1. 42, S. 500. But when it means a *śalākā* made of wood, the feminine is formed by टाय । As कुशा 'a piece of wood.' As we find in the śruti :—कुशावानस्यत्याः स्य ता मा यात 'you kuśas are the children of the tree, do you protect me.'

So also in VIII. 3. 46, S. 160, we find the word कुशा used.

So also in the Vyāsa Sūtra we find the word कुशा used. See Vedānta Sūtra III. 3. 26 where the getting rid of good and evil is mentioned; “the obtaining of this good and evil by others has to be added, because the statement about the obtaining is supplementary to the statement about the getting rid of, as in the case of the *kuśas*, the metres, the praise and the singing. This (*i.e.* the reason for this) has been stated in the Pūrvā Mimāṃsā.” (According to the commentators, small wooden rods used by the Udgātris in counting the stotras are called kuśās. *Thibault's Vedānta Sūtras Part II. p. 227*).

So also in the commentary on the above sūtra by Śaṅkarāchārya, we find 'कुशानामविशेषेण वनस्पति योनित्वप्रवणे' ॥

Thus we find that the Śruti (kuśa vānaspatyāḥ), the sūtra (VIII. 3. 46, S. 160), the śārīrika Bhāshya (kuśa nāma &c) all unanimously agree in stating that there is such a word as kuśā; and it is this word which is used in the Vedānta Sūtra III. 3. 26 (Kuśa Ohhandas &c). The words कुशाच्छन्दः in that sūtra are equal to कुशा plus छन्दः; and not कुश plus आच्छन्दः । Bhāmati the commentary on the Śārīrika Bhāshya is therefore evidently wrong when it analyses the words कुशाच्छन्दः of the sūtra into कुश + आ + छन्दः । So it is a mere bold assertion of the author of Bhāmati, and is not borne out by any authority. Let the learned ponder over it.

७ । 'गृहमेहदेहपटपटहाट्टापटाम्युदककुडावव' ॥

7. The following are both masculines and feminiines :—गृह 'a house,' मेह 'a ram,' देह 'the body,' पट 'a slab, tablet,' घट्ट 'a kettle-drum,' अट्टापट (?) 'a cloud,' ककुद 'the peak or summit of a mountain.'

इति पुंनपुंसकाधिकारः ॥

COMMON GENDER.

१ । 'अवशिष्टलिङ्गम्' ॥

1. The rest.

This is an adbhikāra sūtra.

२ 'अव्ययं कतिपुमदस्सटः' ॥

2. The avyayas (Indeclinables), कति, पुमद् and अस्मद् can be used with words in all the three genders.

३ । 'ष्यान्ता संख्यां' । शिष्टा परवत् । एकः पुरुषः । एका स्त्री । एकं कुलम् ॥

3. Numerals ending in ष and ष्ट can be used with words in all the three genders.

Thus एकः पुरुषः । एका स्त्री । एकं कुलम् ॥

४ । 'गुणवचनं च' । शुक्रः पटः । शुक्रा पटी । शुक्रं वस्त्रम् ॥

4. So also attributive words.

Thus शुक्रः पटः । शुक्रा पटी । शुक्रं वस्त्रम् ॥

५ । 'कृत्यावच' ॥

5. The kṛitya derivatives also.

The words formed by kṛitya affixes follow the gender of the words which they qualify. (III. 3. 171; S. 3312).

६ । 'करणाधिकरणयोर्ल्युट्' ॥

6. The words formed by the affix lyuṭ added with the force of instrument or location. (III. 3. 117 S. 3 293).

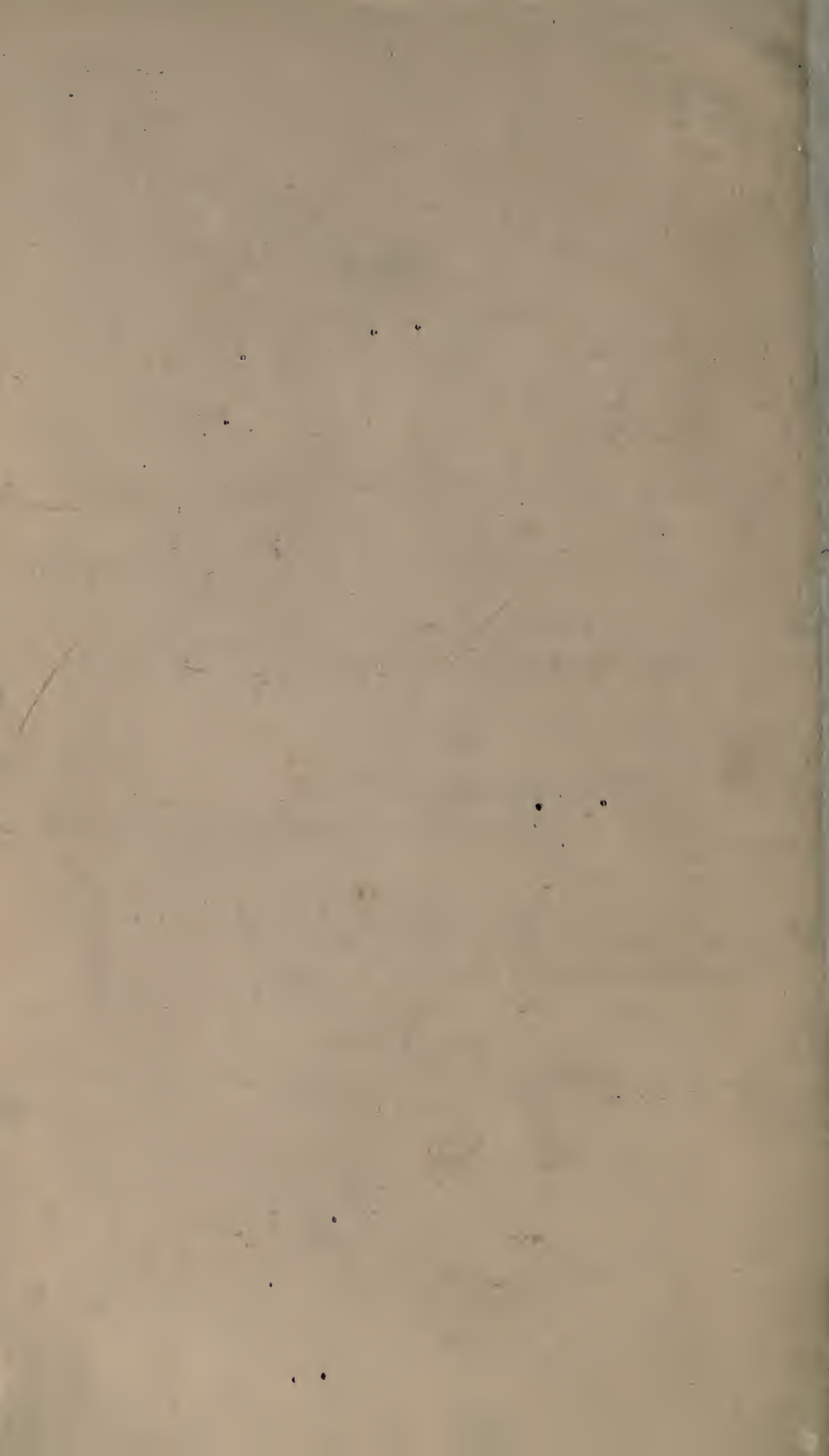
७ । 'सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि' । स्पष्टार्थं त्रिसूत्री ॥

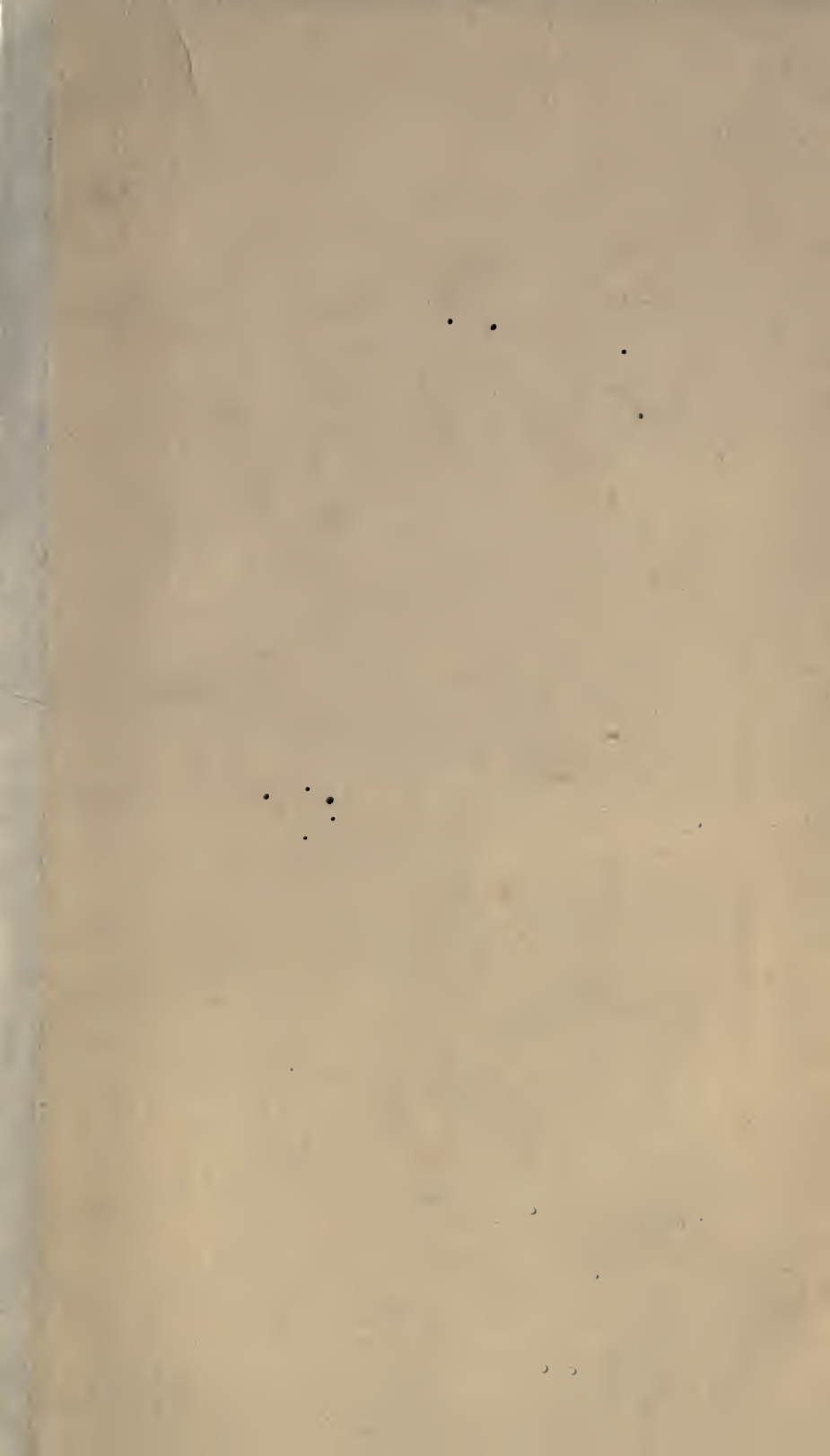
7. The Pronominals sarva 'et cetera,' (I. 1. 27 S. 213).

इति लिङ्गानुशासनप्रकरणम् ।

इति श्रीमद्वेदोपनिषद्ब्रह्मसंहिता वेदाङ्गशास्त्रान्तर्गतोपनिषद् समाप्ता ॥

॥ शुभमस्तु ॥







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