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BOOK VI.

The

ASHTADHYAYI

of

PANINI.

PARTS XXI—XXIV.

S. C. VASU.

Price Rs 3.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

Professor Max Müller, Oxford, 9th February, 1892.— * ** From what I have seen of it, it will be a very useful work. What should I have given for such a work forty years ago when I puzzled my head over Pānini's Sūtras and the Commentaries. * * * I hope you may succeed in finishing your work.

Professor Gopalji S. Desai, Rajkot in Kathiawar, 20th February, 1892.— * **
* The first part that has already been out before the Public shows clearly that the author has spared no pains to make the translation as exact and pithy as possible. The work when completed will no doubt claim a high place amongst the best works by European scholars on Sanskrit Grammar. The paper, printing and the general get-up of the book are excellent.

Professor T. Jolly, Ph. D., Würzburg, (Germany), 23rd April, 1893.— * **
* Nothing could have been more gratifying to me, no doubt, than to get hold of a trustworthy translation of Pānini's Ashtādhyāyī, the standard work of Sanskrit literature, and I shall gladly do my best to make this valuable work known to lovers and students of the immortal literature of ancient India in this country.

Professor W. D. Whitney, New Haven, U. S. A., 17th June, 1893.— * **
The work seems to me to be very well planned and executed, doing credit to the translator and publisher. It is also, in my opinion, very valuable undertaking, as it does to give the European student of the native grammar more help than he can find anywhere else. It ought to have a good sale in Europe (and correspondingly in America).

Professor V. Fausbøl, Copenhagen, 15th June, 1893.— * ** It appears to me to be a splendid production of Indian industry and scholarship, and I value it particularly on account of the extracts from the Kasika.

Professor Dr. R. Pischel, Hlale (Saale), 27th May, 1893.— * ** I have gone through it and find it an extremely valuable and useful book, all the more so, as there are very few Sanskrit scholars in Europe who understand Pānini.

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

स्वस्तीश्वरे हितपुरे हितदे प्रयागे सस्संगमप्रणयसंमतिदे बुधानां ।
विद्याविनोदबिरिचक्रितबुधुशरान् वास्वन्वयाञ्छिरिचचन्द्रविशंवरिटात् ॥ १ ॥
वृष्ट्यातिभेदसुरोहसुदमशान्तीन् सञ्छास्वद्योधितसुखास्पदबोधभाजः ।
सम्यक्कलसंस्तु नतयोनितराम्मदीयाः यद्वाबहुककविकर्मरतांतरेभ्यः ॥ २ ॥
वृष्ट्याकृतं विमलबोधनबोधराशि सद्भ्याकृतिप्रथितकीर्तिकरप्रशस्यं ।
यच्छ्रीमदीयमतिभेदवहं वरेण्यं सत्युस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोद्यकृत्यं ॥ ३ ॥
चित्रंयदस्ति भवतेग्लिद्यबोधभाजा यद्वस्तुतो विरचितं समवृक् सुविम्बं ।
लोकेसुचित्ररचनभरणैकशीला श्रिभेचचित्रमनसः प्रसिद्धिबनाचे ॥ ४ ॥
सस्तेग्लिद्यप्रकटितंवरसूत्रवृत्तौ संज्ञादिपेशलमनो कुहकल्पसाक्षि ।
स्थानेवसुप्रहितवित्तावृत्तियथै वद्वासुतासुविहिर्नोग्लिद्यभाववृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥
येनत्तथा मुनिमतावृत्तशास्त्रसंचान् निर्मथ्यसौधरसवन्महतादरेण ।
संगुम्फितं सरलसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वदाम्यहमलं भवतेहिताय ॥ ६ ॥
मन्यस्यद्यत्प्रसरणाखिलकीर्तिकृत्ये चाचेपराङ्गवतोप्यहमवविद्वन् ।
अत्पूर्वपश्चिममुख्येषुसहाप्रचारं लाभंसुखंशुशचिरं च तवापि धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
वाणीविद्याम्बरतवास्तुसुखे जयोद्या यत्पूर्वपश्चिमजबोधभृते च विद्या ।
ख्यातितस्तदासकल बर्धभूजां समुदेऽप्याशीर्वचो भवतु पंडित लालचन्द्र ॥ ८ ॥

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All communications to be addressed to

SINDHU CHARAN BASU,

PUBLISHER OF PANINI,

Benares Cantonment,

N.-W. P., India.

The Tara Printing Works, Benares.

BOOK VI.

THE ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.

Benares:

PUBLISHED BY SINDHU CHARAN BOSE,

at the Panini Office,

1897.

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ओ३म् ।

अथ षष्ठाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।



BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अचः, द्वे, प्रथमस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारो ऽयम् । एकाच इति च द्वे इति च प्रथमस्येति च द्वितयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इतं उत्तरं यद्दृश्यामः प्राक्संप्रसारणविधानात् तत्रैकाचः प्रथमस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् । वक्ष्याति लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्येति । तत्र धातोरवयवस्थानभ्यासस्य 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 Samprasâraṇa 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 + ञल् IV. 3. 82 = जा + जागृ + अ = ज + जागृ + अ VII. 4. 59 = जजागर "he awoke"). So also पपाच्, इयाच्, आर from the roots पच्, इ and क् ॥ 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 भ्लु vikaraṇa, the Aorist in चद् ; 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 एकाच प्रथमः will be the *first syllable*: as in जागृ the portion जा is the प्रथम एकाच '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.

अजादेद्वितीयस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, आदेः, द्वितीयस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमद्विर्वचनापवादो ऽयम् । अजादेद्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्विर्वचनमधिक्रियते । अच् भाविर्यस्य धातोस्तदवयवस्य 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 अदिष, (अद् + सन् = अद् + इद् + सन् VII. 2. 35 = अदिष), reduplicates the second syllable दिष् and the 3rd per. sing is अदि दिषति, the इ being elided by VII. 4. 60 : and स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. So also अशिशिषति, अतिरिषति ॥ The last form is thus evolved, ऋ + सन् = ऋ + इद् + 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 द्विर्वचनेऽपि I. 1. 59, by the phrase द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽपि, i. e. the vowel-affix causing reduplication. Here the vowel-affix इद् does not cause reduplication, but the consonant-affix सन् that does so. Therefore rule I. 1. 59 does not apply, for इद् itself is a कार्यी, and the maxim applies कार्यमनुभवन्ति 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 षीङ् is formed षयिता ; here the root षी is guṇated before the augment इद्. Rule I. 1. 5 declaring the prohibition of guṇation with regard to कित् or कित् words does not apply here. For though षीङ् has an indicative ऋ, yet as it undergoes an operation itself, it cannot be the cause of the application of another rule.

Some persons explain the word अजादेः as the Ablative singular (and not Genitive Singular) of अजादेः and they consider the word as a Karmadhāraya compound and not a Bahuvrīhi compound. According to them the word means:—"The syllable *following* the *initial vowel* is reduplicated". (अजासादादिभ्येत्थ्यादिः, अजादेरुत्तरस्थैकाचो द्वे भवतः) ॥ According to this interpretation, the word द्वितीयस्य is merely explanatory.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयस्येति वर्गते । द्वितीयस्थैकाचो ऽवयवभूतानां न्द्राणां तदन्तर्भावात् प्राप्तं द्विर्वचनं प्रतिषिध्य-
ते । नकारदकारेफा द्वितीयैकाचो ऽवयवभूताः संयोगादयो न द्विरुच्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बकारस्याप्ययं प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ वकारोपधोपदेशे तु न वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ अकारपरस्य रेफस्य प्रतिषेधो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ ईर्ष्यतेस्मृतीय द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ कण्ठ्वादीनां तृतीयस्थैकाचो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ नामधातूनां तृतीयस्थैकाचो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ अयेष्टं 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 debarb 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 उन्द् is उन्दिष, formed by adding सन् and इद् ॥ The second syllable here is निष् which is to be reduplicated by the last rule. But in doing so, न् will not be doubled. Thus we get the form उन्दिषिषति; so also from अङ्ङ् and अर्ष् we have अङ्ङिषिषति, and अर्ष्णिषिषति ॥

Why do we say "when न्, द् and र् are the letters"? Observe ईचिषिषते from ईष् 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 ष् by VIII. 4. 19 and 21. The phrase अजादेः of the last sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. Thus र्दिषासति ॥ Some explain the word अजादेः understood in this sūtra in the same way as in the last, namely as a karmadhāraya compound in the Ablative singular. They do so, in order to explain the form इन्दिषीषिषति, which is thus evolved इन्द्रमि ष्छति = इन्द्र + क्यप् III. 1. 8 = इन्द्रीय ॥ Then इन्द्रीयितुनिष्छति = 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 (अजादेः) इ in this case.

Vārt :—This prohibition should be stated with regard to the letter न् also. As उङ्ङ्—उङ्ङिषिषति ॥ This prohibition applies when the word is taught primarily as having a penultimate न् ॥ But when it is taught as primarily

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

Vart:—There is no prohibition of the **र** when it is followed by **व** ॥ Thus **अरयते** ॥ This is the Intensive form of the verb **अर**, and is thus evolved: **अर + वृ** (III. 1. 22. *Vart*) = **अरु + व** (VII. 4. 30) = **अरुव**, then follows reduplication by the rules of this sūtra. The second syllable **रु** has an initial **र** which is not however rejected in reduplication,

Vart:—In the case of the verb **ईर्यति** the third should be reduplicated. "Third of what"? Some say the third of the consonants, and according to them the form is **ईर्ययिषति** ॥ Some say the third syllable, therefore of the root **ईर्यिष** (**ईर्य + इद् + सन्**), the third syllable **र्य** is reduplicated: Thus **ईर्यिष्य**, **ईर्यिष्यिष** (VII. 4. 79) the **ष** of **र्य** is changed into short **इ** by VII. 4. 79. = **ईर्यिषिषति** ॥

Vart:—The third syllable of the verbs **कण्डूय** &c. is to be reduplicated. Thus **कण्डूय + इद् + सन्** = **कण्डूयिष** = **कण्डूयिषिषति**; so also **असूयिषिषति** &c.

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

Vart:—Others say, any syllable of a **नामधातु** (verbs derived from nouns) may be reduplicated. Thus from the noun **पुष** is derived the root **पुषीय**, the desiderative root of which is **पुषीयिष**, which requires reduplication. Here any syllable may be reduplicated; as, 1. **पुषीयिषति**, 2. **पुतिषीयिषति**, 3. **पुषीयिषति**, 4. **पुषीयिषति** ॥ Or there may be double and treble reduplication simultaneously as. **पुपुतिषीयिषति** ॥

पूर्वोऽभ्यासः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वः, अभ्यासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हे इति प्रथमान्तं अदनुवर्त्तते तदयोर्विद् अन्त्यन्तं जायते । तत्र प्रत्यासत्तेरस्मिन्प्रकरणे ये द्वे विहिते द्वयोर्चः पूर्वोऽवयवः सोऽभ्याससंज्ञो भवति ॥

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

The word **हे** in the nominative case is understood here, but for the purposes of this sūtra it is taken in the Genitive case i. e. **द्वयोर्चः 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 ॥ हे इति वर्त्तमाने उभेभरणं सप्रशयसंज्ञामतिपत्त्यर्थम् । ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे अपि समुहिते अभ्यस्तसंज्ञे भवतः ॥

5. The both are collectively called **Abhyasta**.

Though the word **हे** 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 udatta accent". The Abhyasta being the collective name of the both, the accent will fall on the first and not on the second, as in ददाति dádati, the accent is on the first अ ॥ So also by VII. 1. 4 अत् takes the place of झ after an Abhyasta, therefore, इद् + झि = इद् + अति = इति ॥ So also इत् (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 यावत् ॥

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 Dhātupāṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जागृ, हरिद्रा, चकास्, चारु, रेधी, 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 sārva-dhātuka Tense-affix not having the intermediate इद् and beginning with a vowel. Thus जाग्रति jā-grati, जक्षति jākshati, हरिद्रति dāridrati, चकासति chākāsati, चारुति śāśati, रेधीयते dīdhyate, and वेवीयते vevyate. The present participle रेधीयत् is irregularly formed by adding the affix शतृ (अत्) and when so formed it does not take the augment नुष् by VII. 1, 78.

तुजादीनां दीर्घो ऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुज, आदीनाम्, दीर्घः, अभ्यासस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तुजादीनामितिप्रकारेभ्यादीर्घः । कश्च प्रकारः । तुजेदीर्घोभ्यासस्य न विहितः, दृश्यते च, ये तथा-
भूतास्ते 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 भादि 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 सूतुजानः (तुज् + कानच् III. 2. 106 = सूतुजानः Rig. I. 3. 6). नामहानः, अनङ्गान् राधार, स्वधां मीमाय, स सूताव ॥ This lengthening only takes place in the Vedas before some special affixes, and not every where or in secular literature. As तुताञ्ज शबलान् हरीन् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचोः द्वितीयस्य वा ययायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विर्वचनप्रकरणे छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ लिटिर्द्विर्वचने जागतेवेति 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 प्रांतषेधार्थमेकाचचेदुपपन्नात् ॥

Why do we say when लद् follows? Observe कर्त्ता, हर्त्ता ॥ Why do we say "of a Dhātu"? Observe ससृवांसो विभृण्विरे, सोममिन्द्रायसुन्विरे ॥ 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 लिद् is treated as sārva-dhātuka, and then it takes vikaraṇa. As श्च taking the vikaraṇa द्नु becomes श्चु; (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 श्चन्विरे ॥ See III. 4. 117.

Why do we say 'of a non-reduplicate'? Observe कृष्णो नोनाव वृषभो यदी-द्व । 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 मस्तः समिमिधुः ending in the वस् of the Perfect.

Vārt :—In the Chhandas there is optionally reduplication of the root in the Perfect and other tenses. As भादित्यान् याचिषामहे or यियाचिषामहे; वेत्तानो वाति मियाणि or व्वाति मियाणि ॥ मघवा वातु or व्वातु, नस्तुतो वीरवद् धातु or व्धातु ॥

Vārt :—The root जाग् is optionally reduplicated in the Perfect. As, यो आगार (or अजागार) तश्चः कामयन्ते ॥

सन्यङोः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन् यङोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरनभ्यासस्येति वर्त्तते । सन्यङोरिति च षष्मन्तमेतत् । सन्नन्तस्य यङन्तस्य चानभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचौ द्वितीयस्य वा वयायोगं 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 अदितिषति, अशिषिषति ॥

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 विपक्षति (VII. 4. 79). So पत्

पिपतिषति, ऋ—अरिषति, उन्—उन्दिषति ॥ So also of यङन्तः—as, पापयते (VII. 4. 83), अदायते, आयज्यते, अरार्यते, प्रोष्णीम्यते ॥ If a root is already a reduplicated one, there is no reduplication : as जुगुप्सते, लोलुपिषते being the Desiderative forms of जुगुप्स (already formed by svārthika सन् III. 1. 5), and of लोलुप (the Intensive form of लु) ॥ See III. 1. 22.

इलौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ इलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इलौ परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरेवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा वयायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

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

The इलु is the characteristic sign of the roots of the third class, and causes the elision of the vikaraṇa षप् ॥ 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 वयायोगं द्वे 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 अपीपत्, अपीपत्, (VII. 4. 93 and 94). So also आदिट्, आशिञ्, आर्दिट् ॥ These are aorists of the causative roots पाप्वि &c.

When the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative (प्यन्त) verbs षच् &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 sthānivat. 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 pratyāhāra अरू 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 sthānivat ādeśa (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 sthānivadbhāva 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 (अनादिष्ट) vowel, but to

a form consisting of such substituted (आविष्ट) 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 आशीघमन्, 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 णि in the word अट्टिट्? This is, howver, done by I. 1. 59. which see.

दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वान् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश्वान्, साह्वान्, मीढ्वान्, च ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वानित्येते दाश्वान्छन्सि भाषायां चाविशेषेण निपात्यन्ते ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्रादीनां के द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ अरिचलिपतिवशीनां द्वित्वमध्यक्चाभ्यासस्य ॥
 वा० ॥ वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ हन्तेर्धत्त्वं च ॥ वा० ॥ पादोर्णिलुक् चोक् च रीर्यभाभ्यासस्य ॥

12. The participles dâśvân, śâhvân and mîdhvân are irregularly formed without reduplication.

The word दाश्वान् is from the root दाश् 'to give' with the affix क्त्सु (III. 2. 107), here the reduplication and the augment इद् are prohibited irregularly. As दाश्वान्तो दाश्वपः सुतम् (Rig I. 3, 7). The word साह्वान् is derived from the root सह 'to endure', by adding the affix क्त्सु (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 मिद् 'to sprinkle' with the affix क्त्सु (III. 2. 107) the irregularity consisting in non-reduplication, non-application of इद्, the lengthening of the penultimate vowel, and the change of इ into ष ॥ As मीढ्वस्तोकाय तनयाय शृडय ॥ 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 क्त्सु &c, are followed by the affix क् ॥ Thus कियन्तं अनेन = क्त्सु + क् = चक्रम्, क्लिन् + क् = चिक्लिन्म् ॥ The affix क् comes after क्त्सु and क्लिन् with the force of the affix चम् ॥

Vart:—The roots अश्, अल्, पत्, and वद् take reduplication when followed by the affix अक् (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 अराअरः, अलाअल, पतापतः, वदावदः ॥

Vart:—The above *vartika* is optional, so we have the forms चरः पुरुषः, धलो रयः, वसो मनुष्यः &c.

Vart:—The root हृन् is reduplicated before the affix अच्, and the augment आक् comes after the *Abhyāsa*, and छे is the substitute of हे of the *Abhyāsa*. Thus हृन् + अच् = घन् + आक् + हृन् + अच् = घनाघनः (The second हृ is changed into घ by VII. 3. 55), as in the phrase घनाघनः क्षोभनघर्षणीनाम् ॥

Vart:—The causative root पादि is reduplicated before the affix अच्, there is elision of णि (sign of the causative), and उक् is the augment of the *Abhyāsa*, and it is lengthened. Thus पादि + अच् = पादूपदः ॥

व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यङ्ः, संप्रसारणम्, पुत्र, पत्योः, तत्पुरुषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रं पति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समीते व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणे भवति ॥

शांतिक्रम ॥ व्यङ्ः सम्प्रसारणे गौकाशयाः पतिवेषः ॥

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 क्रीषगन्धः (a *Bahuvrīhi* compound taking the *samāsanta* affix or rather substitute इ by V. 4. 137) क्रीषगन्धैरपत्यम् = क्रीषगन्धि + अच् (IV. 1. 92) = क्रीषगन्धः ॥ 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 आ of आ becomes merged into इ (VI. 1. 108), and the short इ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139). So also कौशुदगन्धीपुत्रः ० कौशुदगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say “of the affix व्यङ्”? Observe इद्यापुत्रः, क्षात्रयापुत्रः ॥

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

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

The affix व्यङ् is here the feminine affix य् followed by चाप् (आ) (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 विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तम्य 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 : *क्रीडित्ये 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 *भतिक्रान्ता कारीषगन्ध्याम्* = *भतिकारीषगन्ध्या*, *तस्यपुत्रः* = *भतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः*, *भतिकारीषगन्ध्यापतिः* ॥

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 *प्यङ्* may have many semi-vowels, yet the vocalisation takes place of the affix *य* (*प्यङ्*) only, according to the maxim *निर्दिश्यमानस्यदिशा 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 *गौकाश्च* ॥ As *गौकाश्चापुत्रः*, *गौकाश्चायातः* instead of *गौकाश्चपुत्रः* &c.

बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धुनि, बहुव्रीहौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ *प्यङ्*: *संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्त्तते* । *बन्धुघञ्दत्तरपदे बहुव्रीहौ समासे प्यङ्*: *संप्रसारणं भवति* ॥
वा० ॥ *मातृष्मातृकमातृषु* ॥

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

Thus *कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य* = *कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः* ॥ So also *कौशुवगन्धीबन्धुः* ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi"? Observe *कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः* = *कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः*, which is a Tatpuruṣa compound. Like the last sūtra, we have here also *परमकारीषगन्धिवन्धुः*, but *भतिकारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः*, *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 *प्यङ्* in a Bahuvrīhi compound with *मातृष्*, *मातृक* and *मातृ* optionally: as *कारीषगन्धीमातृः* or *कारीषगन्ध्यामातृः*, *कारीषगन्धीमातृकः* or *कारीषगन्ध्यामातृकः*, *कारीषगन्धीमाता*, *कारीषगन्ध्यामाता* ॥ The indicatory *ष्* of *मातृष्* makes the word take the udāta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163), thus debarring the especial accent of the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1). All Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in *ङ्* 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.

वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचि, स्वपि, यजादीनाम्, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणमिति वक्तंते । व्यङ् इति निवृत्तम् । वचि । वच परिभाषणे । वृत्तो वचिरिति च । स्वपि ॥ मिश्रप् षष्ठी । यजाद्यो, यज देवपूजासंगतिकरणशानेस्त्रिस्थितःप्रशति भा गणाज्ज्ञान् । तेषां वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

15. The semivowels of the roots वच्, स्वप् and यजादि 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 Adādi class (II. 54) and the वच् substitute of वृ (II. 4. 53) स्वप् is the root मिश्रप् षष्ठी of the Adādi class (II 59). The यजादि verbs are the last nine roots of the Bhvādi class viz. यज्, वप्, वह्, वस्, वेम्, व्येम्, ह्वेम्, वद् and वधि ॥ 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—हूतः, हूतवान्, 10 वद्—उदितः, उदितवान्, 11 दुग्मांश्चि—घूनः, घूनवान् ॥

धातो स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यय कार्ये विज्ञायते:—When in a Grammatical rule, an operation (dependant on an affix) is taught with regard to a root (dhātu) by mentioning particular verbs (dhātu) specifically, and not by using the word “dhātu”, 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 भ्रौणहस्यम् in VI. 4. 174, which see. Therefore, there is no vocalisation of वच् in the following वाच्यति, वाचिकः ॥ Here वाच्यति is formed by adding वचच् to वाच् (वाचमिच्छति) ॥ वाच् is formed by क्तिप् added to वच्, the vowel being lengthened and sanprasāraṇa being expressly prevented by Uṇādi II. 57. Now, it is a general rule that a root taking the affix क्तिप्, विद्, or विच् does not lose its character of a dhātu. Therefore वाच् is a root (धातु), and it ought to take vocalisation before the affix वचच् ॥ But वचच् is not enunciated to come after a dhātu, but after a सुवन्त (सुपभात्मनः वचच् III. 1. 8) in the rule ordaining its affixing. So also वाचिकः formed by adding क्त to वाच् (See Vārt. V. 3. 83).

ग्रहज्यावयिव्यधिवष्टिविचतिवृश्चतिपृच्छतिभृज्जतीनां किति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रहि, ज्या, वधि, व्यधि, वष्टि, विचति, वृश्चति, पृच्छति, भृज्जतीनाम्, किति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उपशाने, ज्या वयोहानौ, वेम्नो वयिः, व्यध ताडने, वषा कांती, व्यच व्याप्तीकरणे, भ्रौणहस्य-छेदने, प्रच्छ ज्ञीप्सायां, भ्रज्ज पाके, इत्येतेषां धातूनां किति प्रत्यये परतश्चकारात्किति च संप्रसारणं भवति । परिभाषा ॥ निष्ठादेशः पस्वस्वरप्रत्ययविधीर्निधिषु सिद्धावक्तव्यः ॥

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

By force of the word 'च' 'and', the anuvritti of कृति is read into this sūtra. Thus 1. ग्रह—गृहीतः, गृहीतवान् (by क् and क्तवत्), गृह्णाति (I. 2. 4), अग्नीगृह्यते (by क्त of the Intensive). 2. ज्या—जीनः, जीनवान् (VIII. 2. 44 ण changed to न), 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 वेम् is replaced by वध when लिट् follows (II, 4. 41). This वधि can have no क्ति affix after it, it takes only लिट् terminations, which as we know are क्ति (I. 2. 5). The examples, therefore given will be of क्ति affixes only. Thus ऊवतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Now arises this question 'why do you enumerate वधि, for is not वेम् (for which वधि is substituted) already included in क्ति class of verbs given in the last sūtra, and by force of that sūtra, वधि will get samprasāraṇa before क्ति affixes", The reply is "वधि is numerated here in order to show that the prohibition of samprasāraṇa with regard to वेम् as taught in VI. 1. 40, does not apply to its substitute वधि in the Perfect Tense". Thus while the Perfect of वेम् is ववी, ववतुः, वयुः, the Perfect of its substitute वधि is ऊवाय, ऊवतुः and ऊयुः ॥ More over VI. 1. 38 teaches that the ञ 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—विद्धा, विद्धवान्, and with क्ति affixes विध्यति, वेविध्यते ॥ 5. वश—उधितः, उधितवान्, and with क्ति affixes उष्टः, उशन्ति ॥ 6. व्यच—विचितः, विचतवान् विपात, वेविध्यते ॥ By a Vārṭika under I. 2. 1, the word व्यच is considered to belong to क्ति class, and therefore all affixes after it, other than those having an indicatory क्, क् or the affix क्त, are considered as क्ति, and therefore, there will be samprasāraṇa before these affixes : as, उद्विचिता, उद्विचितुम्, उद्विचितव्यम् ॥ 7. वृञ्—वृकणः, वृकणवान् ॥ How is the final ञ् of वृञ् changed into क्, for by VIII. 2. 36 च ought to have been changed into च before the क्ति affix क्त? To this we reply the affix क्त is replaced by न (VII. 2. 42) and as this न is not a क्ति affix, Rule VIII. 2. 36 does not apply. This is done on the following maxim : "The substitute of the Nishṭhā should be considered to be siddha or effective when applying the rules relating to the change of a letter into क्, to accent, to affix, and to the addition of the augment इट्". But when च is to be changed into क्, the substitute is considered asiddha (not to have taken place). Thus we have the forms वृकणः &c. Before क्ति affixes we have वृञ्चति, वरीवृञ्चते ॥ 8. प्रच्छ—पृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), पृष्टवान्, क्ति—पृच्छति, परीपृच्छते ॥ The forms पृच्छन् and पृच्छन् would have been evolved by the simple rules of Reduplication even, without the

application of this rule. But प्रच्छ + नह (III. 3. 90) = प्रहनः ॥ Here there is no vocalisation, because Pānini himself uses the word प्रहनः in sūtra III. 2. 117 showing that this is the proper form though irregular. 9, भ्रञ्ज—वृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), वृष्टवान्, कित्—वृञ्जाति, वरी वृञ्ज्यते ॥ The ष of भ्रञ्ज is changed first into वृ by मलां जघ्न हासि (VIII. 4. 53), and then वृ is changed into ज by स्तोः वृशुना वृशुः (VIII. 4. 40).

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

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

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

Thus वच—उवाच, उवाचिय, स्वप्—सुप्वाप, सुप्वपिय, यज—इयाज, इयजिय, डवप्—उवाप, उवपिय ॥ As regards महाहि verbs; मरु—जमाह, जमहिय (there is no speciality in case of this verb, as these forms would have been evolved without even this rule). वया—जिह्वो, जिह्विय, वयि—उवाय, and उवविय; व्यध—दिव्याध, दिव्यधिय, वद्य—उवाद्य, उवधिय, व्यच्—दिव्याच, दिव्यधिय, व्रश्—वव्रश् and वव्रश्थि ॥ Some say that with regard to व्रश्, it is equal whether there existed this present rule or not. For they argue thus, व्रश् + णल् = व्रश् + व्रश्च् + ञ = व + व्रश्च् + ञ (इलाहि 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 वृ by force of this rule. Hence the necessity of this rule with regard to व्रश् also, for having changed र into वृ, we have वृव्रश्च् and then change वृ into व by VII. 4. 66. Then this वृ substitute becomes sthānivat to वृ (I. 1. 59), and therefore there is no vocalisation of this वृ, 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 भ्रञ्ज 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 विज्ञानास्तिज्ञश्च "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) = वच् + भतुः = वच् + वच् + भतुः = वचतुः, ऊचुः ॥

Though the phrase **इमद्यथा** 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+भ** ॥ Here by VII. 4. 60, the second consonant **व** of **व्य** ought to have been elided, and the equation would have stood **व+व्यध्+भ**, and there would have been vocalisation of **व** by this rule. But that is not intended; there is vocalisation of **व्य** and we have **विष्याध** ॥ 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 ॥**

स्वापेभ्वाङि ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वापेः, चङि, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वापेरिति स्वपेर्न्यन्तस्य महणं 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 **असूषुपत्, असूषुपताम्, असूषुपन् ॥** 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)=सूषुपत् (VII. 4. 94)** which with the augment **अ** becomes **असूषुपत् ॥**

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

स्वपिस्यमिव्येञां यङि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि, स्यामि, व्येञाम्, यङि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिष्वप् ष्ये स्वप् स्वन ध्वन शङ्गे, व्येञ् संवरणं, 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 **सोषुप्यते, सोसिन्यते, वेवीयते (VII. 4. 25** the short **इ** is lengthened). Why do we say 'when **यङ्** follows? Observe **स्वप्क्** formed by **नञिङ् III. 2. 172**.

न वशः ॥ २० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वर्णते । वषोर्जातोर्यङि 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 वावदयते, वावदयते, वावदयन्ते ॥ Why do we say "when यङ् follows"? Observe उङः, उङन्ति ॥ See VI. 1. 16 to which this rule is an exception.

चायः की ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वृत्ते । अथि पूजानिष्ठासनयोरित्येतस्य धातोर्वाङि परतः कीत्ययमादेशो 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 + य (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 षोष्वायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः स्फीत्ययमादेशो 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 ॥ निष्ठायांमिति वृत्ते सम्प्रसारणमिति च । स्फा इत्येतन्न स्वयंते । स्त्ये ष्ये वाङ्संघातयोर्द्वयोरप्येतयोर्जात्योः स्त्यारूपमापन्नयोः सामान्येन ग्रहणम् । स्त्या इत्येतस्य प्रपूर्वस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः सम्प्रसारणं भवति ॥

23. The verb स्त्या (स्त्यै and ष्ये) 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 स्त्यै and ष्ये both assume the form स्त्या and are included here. Thus प्र + स्त्या + क्त् = प्र + स्ति + त (VI. 1. 108) = प्रस्तीतः (VI. 4. 2), and प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ The त् 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 यणवत् for the application of VIII. 2. 43, no longer existing, the affix त् is not changed to न् ॥ But त् is optionally changed to म् by VIII. 2. 54 as प्रस्तीमः and प्रस्तीमवान् ॥

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

singly stood before, then the sūtra could well have run thus **प्रसंस्तीतः** ॥ 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 Bahuvrihi = **प्रः पूर्वो यस्य धातुपसर्ग-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 इयः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रवमूर्त्ति, स्पर्शयोः, इयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रवमूर्त्तौ द्रवकाठिन्ये स्पृशे वर्त्तमानस्य श्च्येद् गतावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

24. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the root **इया** (**इयै**) 'to go' when the **nishṭhā** 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 मेघः** "a coagulated butter, grease &c". The **त्** of **nishṭhā** is changed to **न** by VIII. 2. 47. But when the sense is that of 'cold', the **त्** is not changed; as **शीतं वर्त्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतशुक्लम्** ॥ 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 **संश्यानो वृश्चिकः** 'the rolled up scorpion'. The short **इ** is lengthened in **शीन** &c, by VI. 4. 2.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इय इति वर्त्तते । प्रतेरुत्तरस्य इयायतेर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

25. There is vocalisation of **इया** preceded by the upasarga **प्रति**, when the **nishṭhā** affixes follow.

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

विभाषा ऽऽभ्यवपूर्वस्य ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अभि, अव, पूर्वस्य, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्च्य इति वर्त्तते । अभि अव इत्येवंपूर्वस्य श्चायतेर्निष्ठायां विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

26. There is optionally the vocalisation of **इया** followed by the **Nishṭhā** 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, मेघः ॥ अवशीतो** or **अवश्यानो वायुः, &c. अवशीतं** or **अवश्यानमुत्कं** ॥

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 **Siddhānta 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 ॥ विभाषेऽथनुवर्त्तते । आ पाके इत्येतस्य धातोर्धन्तस्याप्यन्तस्य च पाके ऽभिधेये क्तप्रत्यये परतः
बृभावो निपात्यते विभाषा ॥

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

The word विभाषा is understood here. The roots श्रे 'to cook' of the Bhvādi class, and आ 'to cook' of the Adādi class, and आ 'to cook' of the Bhvādi sub-class Ghaṭādi, are meant here. In all these, शृ replaces आ, whether causative or not. Thus शृतं क्षीरं, शृतं हविः ॥ This is a vyavasthita vivhāshā; so that आ is invariably changed to शृ when referring to क्षीर and हवि, but not anywhere else. Thus आणा यवागूः, अपिता यवागूः (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 स्वयमेव, शृतं क्षीरं देवदत्तेन ॥

प्यायः पी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्यायः, पी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेऽथ । ओप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां विभाषा पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. पी is optionally the substitute of the root प्याय् 'to increase' before the Nishṭhā affixes.

The root ओप्यायी वृद्धौ belongs to Bhvādi class. The indicatory आ shows that the affixes क्त and क्तवत् are changed into क् and क्तवत् (VIII. 2. 45). Thus पीनं मुखम्, पीनो बाहू, पीनसुरः ॥ The option here is also a regulated option (vyavasthita-vibhāshā). The substitution takes place *invariably* when the root is without upasarga, and *never* when it is preceded by an upasarga. Thus प्रप्यानः. आप्यानश्चन्द्रगाः ॥ The substitution, however, must take place when the preposition आङ् precedes the root, and the words अशुः and ऊधस् are in composition : as आपीनोन्धुः, आपीनमूधः ॥

लिङ्यङ्गोश्च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यङ्गोः, च, (पी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेति निवृत्तम् । प्यायः पीत्येतच्चान्देशेनानुकूप्यते । लिङि यङि च परतः प्यायः पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

29. There is substitution of पी for प्याय् 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. 1. 17. Thus पी+लिङ्=पि+पी+त्त=पि+व्य+ए (VI. 4. 82 the व being substituted)=भापिव्ये with the affix भा. So also in the Intensive, as भापिपीयते, भापिपीयते, भापेपीयन्ते ॥

विभाषा इवेः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, श्वेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्घटोपिति वर्त्तते संप्रसारणमिति च । लिटि यङि च इवयतेर्धातोर्विभाषा 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 शुशावे or शिश्राय, शुश्रुवतुः or शिश्रुवतुः ॥ So also in the Intensive as शीश्रुयते or शशीयते ॥ 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. 1. 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. 1. 17. This explains the form शिश्राय, which by VI. 1. 17 would have been शुश्राय ॥ दिव+णल्=(श् उह+णल् VI. 1. 30)=शु+णल् (VI. 1. 108)=शु+शु+अ (VI. 1. 8)=शुशाव ॥

जौ च संश्रङोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जौ, च, सन्, चङोः, (संप्रसारणम्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा इवेरिति वर्त्तते । सन्परे चङ् परे च जौ परतः श्वयतेर्धातोर्विभाषा 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 शुशावयिषति or शिश्रावयिषति ॥ So also in the Reduplicated Aorist चङ्, as अशुशावत् or अशिश्रावत् ॥ By the maxim संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाश्रयं च बलीयो भवति (see sūtra VI. 1. 17), the antaranga substitution of Vriiddhi &c is superseded by the samprasāraṇa and the subsidiary operations relating to it here. The vriiddhi and the substitution of आत् 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. 1. 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 Vriiddhi &c are postponed. Thus श्वि+णि+सन् (VI. 1. 108)=शु+णि+सन्=शौ+इ+सन्=शाद्+इ+इद्+सन्=शावे+इद्+सन्=शावयि+सन् ॥ Here we requ-

ire reduplication. Here the substitute **आच्** in **घाच्** though not *caused* by **सच्**, is treated sthânavat under I. 1. 59 to **उ**, which is carried in reduplication. Similarly the Aorist: **भिव + पि + चङ् = शु + इ + भ = शु + शु + इ + भ = शु + शौ + इ + भ = शु + घाच् + इ + भ = शु + घाच् + इ ÷ भ (VII. 4. 1) = शु + घाच् ÷ • ÷ भ (VI. 4. 51) = अशूघावन् (VII. 4. 94)**

हः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, संप्रसारणम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ णौ च संभङ्गोरिति वर्त्तते । सन्त्यरे चङ् परे च णौ परतो हः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

The whole of the last sūtra is to be read into this sūtra. Thus **शुहाव-यिषति** and **शुहावयिषतः**; **शुहावयिषन्ति**; **अशूहवत्**, **अशूहवताम्** and **अशूहवन् ॥** The root **ह्वा** does not take the augment **अ** 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 ह्यतिः, कथाभ्यस्तस्य ह्यतिः, कारणं, तेनाभ्यस्तकारणस्य ह्यतेः प्रागेव 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 **शुहाव, ओह्यते**, and **शुह्वति ॥** This and the last sūtra are one, in the original of Pānini, they have been divided into two by the authority of a Vārtika.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ह् इति वर्त्तते । छन्दसि विषये ह्यतेर्द्धातोर्बहुलं संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

Thus **हुवे** or **ह्वयामि**, as **इन्द्राग्नी हुवे** 'Invoke Indra and Agni'. **देवी सरस्वती हुवे ॥** The form **हुवे** is Atmanepada, Present tense, 1st Pers. sing. the vikarana **घच्** is elided, then there is vocalisation and substitution of **उवह् ॥** So also **ह्वयामि मरुतः शिवान्, ह्वयामि विद्यान् वेवान् ॥** So also **ह्वः** as **शुधीह्वम् (Rig I. 2. 1.)** 'hear the invocation'.

चायः की ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहलं छन्दसीति वर्त्तते । चायतेर्द्धातोऽछन्दसि विषये बहलं कीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus विधुना निचिक्युः, नान्यं चिक्युर्न निचिक्युरन्यम् ॥ These are forms ending in the affix उस् of the Perfect. Sometimes there is no substitution. As अग्नि-
क्योतिर्निचाय्यः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्पृधेथाम् आनृचुः आनृहुः चिच्युषे तित्याज, भ्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः, आशीर्त्तः, एतेनिपात्यन्ते
छन्सि विषये ॥

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

The word छन्सि 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 अर्ष and अर्ह 'to respect, to worship', are derived आनृचुः and आनृहुः in the Perfect before the 3rd per. pl. उस्, 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 : अर्ह + उस् = अर्ह + उस् = अ + अर्ह + उस् = अ + अर्ह + उस् (VII. 4. 66) = आ + अर्ह + उस् (VII. 4. 70) = आ + नृ + अर्ह + उस् (VII. 4. 71) = आनृचुः ॥ The irregularity consists in the samprasāraṇa with the elision of अ ॥ Thus अथमा अर्कमानृचुः, न वसून्मानृहुः ॥ The secular forms will be आनृचुः, आनृहुः ॥ 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 चुच्युषिषे ॥ The form तित्याज is the Perfect of त्यङ्, the vocalisation of the reduplicate is the irregularity. The regular form is तित्याज ॥ From the root श्रीङ् 'to cook', is derived भ्राता before the Nishṭhā 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 शी, with the prefix आङ् and taking the affixes क्तिप् and क्त respectively. Before these शी is replaced by शीर्, and the non-addition of न in the Nishṭhā is irregular. As, तामाशीरा दुहन्ति आशीर्त्त ऊर्जव, शीरैर्मध्यत आशीर्त्तः ॥

न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संप्रसारणे, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥
वृत्ति ॥ संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न भवति ।
पार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋषिः श्रुत्तरपदादिलोपश्छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ र्येर्मतो 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 ध्; when ध् is once vocalised into ह, the preceding व् will not be vocalised into व ॥ 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 jñapaka 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 व, the ञ् is not changed as यूना ॥ It might be objected that when the व् of यु, and व the samprasāraṇa of व् coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two व's and this is sthānivat to the original, the व् and ञ् 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 (Sec I. 1. 58). Even though it be considered as sthānivat, it is still a separating letter.

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

Vart:—In the Chhandas there is diversely vocalisation of the semi-vowel of रचि followed by the affix मतुप् as रचि + मतु = रइ + मतु = र + इ + मतु = र + इ-1-मतु (VIII. 2. 15) = रेवत्; as, भा रेवानेतु नो विशः ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as रचिमान् पुष्टिर्वर्द्धनः ॥ The म here is not changed to व as required by VIII. 2. 15.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of कश्चा before मतु when a Name is meant: as कश्चिन्तं व भौशिशः ॥ This Vārtika is unnecessary. See VIII. 2. 12 where the form कश्चिन्तु 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 व in the Perfect is not vocalised.

The phrase न संप्रसारणं is understood here. Thus उवाच, ऊचतुः, ऊचुः ॥ The word लिटि 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 वकारादेशो 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 ऊचतुः or ऊचतुः, ऊचुः or ऊचुः ॥ According to Pātanjali, the phrase वश्चास्व of this sūtra could have been dispensed with; this much would have been enough:—अन्यतरस्यां किति वेशः ॥ Thus वे + भतुस् = वा + वा + भतुस् = ववतुः and ववुः (the vocalisation being prohibited). In the alternative:—वा + भतुस् = उ + भतुस् = उ + उवइ + भतुस् (VI. 1. 77) = ऊचतुः, ऊचुः ॥ Here there is vocalisation. In the case of वय् substitute, the व is never vocalised, so we have ऊचतुः, ऊचुः ॥ Thus all the three forms have been evolved without using वश्चास्व ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटित्यनुवर्त्तते । वेश् तन्तुसंतानइत्यस्य धातोर्लिटि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

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

Thus ववौ, ववतुः, ववुः ॥ This root belongs to वजादि 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 ॥ वेश् इत्यनुवर्त्तते । ल्यपि च परतो वेशः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

41. The semivowel of वेश् 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.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । उया वयोहानादित्यस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

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

Thus प्रज्याय, उपज्याय ॥

व्यञ्च ॥ 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 व्यञ्चेत्यनुवर्त्तते । परेहत्तरस्य व्यञ्चित्येतस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतो विभाषा संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

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

Thus परिवीच्य शृण्व् or परिव्याय ॥ The augment तुक् 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 Dhâtupâtha), 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 ग्लै-ग्ल्याता, ग्लायुम्, ग्लाय्यम्, 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 Dhâtupâtha? Observe चेत, स्तोता where चै and स्तो are not the forms taught in the first enunciation of the root in the Dhâtupâtha, but are secondary forms. Why do we say, before non-शित् affixes? Observe ग्लै-ल-शप् + तिप् = ग्लायति, ग्ल्याति ॥ Exception is, however, made in the case of the affix एच् of the Perfect: as जग्ले, मग्ले ॥ This is explained by interpreting the word शित् as शिदादि, that is the affixes having an indicatory श् in the beginning: एच् has श् at the end. This is done on the maxim यस्मिन् विधिस्तदादावल् प्रहणे "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 ग्लै and ग्लै are presupposed to end in आ when applying this affix: thus सुग्लः, सुग्लः ॥ Similarly by III. 3. 128 we apply डृच् to ग्लै and ग्लै by presupposing it as आदन्त roots: as सुग्लानः, सुग्लानः ॥

The word आ is understood in all the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 1. 57

न व्यो लिटि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, व्यः, लिटि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्येभ् इत्येतस्य धातोर्लिटि परत आकारादेशो 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 संविष्याय, संविष्यथिथ ॥ The reduplicate of the Perfect is vocalised here by VI. 1. 17. The Vriddhi in संविष्याय takes place by VII. 2. 115 before the णिन् affix णल् ॥

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्घञि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, घञि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेश इति वर्त्तते । स्फुर स्फुल चलनइत्येतयोर्द्धात्त्वारेचः स्थाने घञि परत आकारादेशो 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 ब after वि, as विष्फारः, and विष्फालः ॥

क्रीड्जीनां णौ ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री, इड्, जीनाम्, णौ, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इड्क्रीम् इत्येतेषां धातूनामेचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो 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, भ्रम्यापयति and जापयति ॥ The augment ऋ is added by VII. 3. 36, since these roots end in long आ ॥

सिध्यतेरपारलौकिके ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिध्यतेः, अपारलौकिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णावितिवर्त्तते । विधु हिंसासंराद्धयो रित्यस्य धातोरपारलौकिकेयं वर्त्तमानस्येचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो 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. 1. 109). The double Vṛidhi 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, धानं साधयति ॥ Why do we say when not referring to the next world? See वपस्तापसं सेधयति, स्नान्येवनं कर्माणि सेधयन्ति ॥ The force of सिध् is here that of knowledge, तापसः सिद्धति = ज्ञानावशेषमासादयति ॥ The ascetic acquires certain knowledge through austerities, the knowledge so acquired produces its result in the next world (परलोक) i. e. the next life, therefore, the साधन 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 Di/ādi class and not to the Bhvādi, as the form सिध्यति in the sūtra shows it.

मीनातिमिनोतिदीङां ल्यपि च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनाति, मिनोति, दीङाम्, ल्यपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रेच उपदेशात् वृत्ते । मीम् हिंसायाम्, डुमिम् प्रक्षेपणे, दीङ् क्षय, इत्येतेषां धातूनां ल्यपि विषये चकारादेशश्च विषये उपदेशएव प्राक् प्रत्वयोत्पत्तेरलोन्यस्य स्याने 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 णच्, and this substitution takes place, before the occasion for the applying of the affixes arises (उपदेशावस्थायाम् आत्वं 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, उपहाता, उपहातव्यम्, उपहातुम्, उपहाय ॥ 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 उपज्ञायो वर्त्तते, ईषदुपज्ञानं, formed by घञ् and युञ् by taking शी=ज्ञा and adding these affixes (III. 3. 128 and III. 3. 18) and not the affixes भञ् (III. 3. 56) and खल् (III. 3. 126).

विभाषा लीयते ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लीयते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीति वर्त्तते, आदेश उपदेशइति च । लीङ् श्लेषणइति दियारिः ली श्लेषणइति कृषादिस्तयोर्ह-
भयोरपि यत्रा निर्देशः स्मर्यते । लीयतर्द्रातोर्याप च एचञ् विषये उपदेशएवालोक्यस्य स्थानं विभाषा भाका-
रादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमीलित्यां खलचोः प्रतिबंधो वक्तव्यः ॥

51. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the final of ली 'to adhere', in the very dhâtupâṭha, 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 लै, this incipient diphthong ए is changed to आ by this rule. The same is the case with all the roots subsequently taught, thus सिद् will be खेद्, and then ए changed to आ, युर्=गोर् and अं 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, विलातभ्यम्, विलाय, विलेता विलेतुम्, विलेतव्यम् and विलीय ॥

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

The ली invariably takes आ substitution when the sense is that of 'showing respect,' 'deceiving' or 'insulting'. As कस्वामुक्तापयते, इयनो वृत्तिकामुक्तापयते ॥ 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.

खिदेश्छन्दसि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिदेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषति वर्त्तते । खिद् ऐन्यइत्यस्य धातोरेषः स्थानेः छन्दसि विषये विभाषा भाकार 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 चित्साद् or चिखेद् ॥ In secular literature we have चित्तं खेदयति ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपी उद्यमनइत्यस्य धातोरेपपूर्वस्य 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 अपगारमपगोरम् ॥ So also this affix is added by III. 4. 53: as, अस्यपगारं युभ्यन्ते or अस्यपगोरं युभ्यन्ते '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 ॥ णाविति वृत्तेने विभाषयति च । वी गतिप्रजनकान्त्यसनखाइनेषु इत्यस्य धातोः प्रजने वृत्तानस्य 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 चि 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 पुरो वानो गाः प्रवापयति or प्रवाययति = गर्भं माह्वयति ॥ 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 ॥ णाविति वृत्तेने विभाषयति च । हेतुर्हि पारिभाषिकः स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजकस्ततो यद्भवत्, स यस्य भयस्य साक्षाद्धेतुः, तद्भवत् हेतुभयम् । तत्र वृत्तानस्य मिमी 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 घृण्णो भाषयते (VII. 3. 36) or भीषयते (VII. 3. 40). So also जटिलो भाषयते 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 भो + 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 क्लृञ्चिक्रयैर्न भाषयति देवदत्तः ॥ Here the fear is produced from the क्लृञ्चिक्रा and not from Devadatta the Agent.

नित्यं स्मयतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, स्मयतेः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ णाघति वर्त्तते, हेतुभयशति च । नित्यमहणाद्दिभाषति निवृत्तम् । स्मिद् ईषद्धसनइत्यस्य धातोर्हेतु-भयैर्न णौ परतो नित्यमाक्ररोदशो 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 घृण्णो जटिलो वा विस्मापयते ॥ Otherwise we have क्लृञ्चिक्रयैर्न विस्मापयति ॥ 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 भीस्मि together; the proper word ought to have been हेतुस्मये in connection with स्मि, and हेतुभये in connection with भी ॥

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

वृत्ति ॥ सृज् विसर्गे, दृशिर प्रेक्षणे, इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वाद्झलिशावाकिति प्रत्यये परतो ऽमागमो भवति ॥

58. The augment अम् (अ) comes after the ऋ of सृज् 'to create', and दृश् '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 + तृन् = सृ + अ + ज् + तृ = सृद् nom. sing. सृद्वा, so also सृद्म, सृद्व्यम्, दृदा, दृद्म, दृद्व्यम् ॥ This अम् augment prevents the guṇa substitute ordained by VII. 3. 86. But in भस्माक्षीन् and भद्राक्षीन् the Vṛiddhi 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 सर्जानम्, र्दानम् with सु ॥ 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 रञ्जुसृद्भ्याम्, देवदृग्भ्याम् ॥ Here the words are used as nouns rather than verbs. For the maxim धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे सत्यस्ये कार्ये applies here.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशइति वर्त्तते, ह्यल्पमकृतीति च । उपदेशे ऽनुदात्तस्य धातोर्ऋकारोपधस्य ह्यलासावकिति प्रत्यये
परतो ऽन्यतरस्याममागमो भवति ॥

59. The augment अम् comes optionally after the ऋ of those roots which are exhibited in the Dhâtupâtha as anudâta, 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 indicative क् ॥

The word उपद्वा is understood here, so also ह्यल्पमकृतीति ॥ Thus वप्ता or तर्पिता or तप्ता, व्रप्ता, र्पिता or रप्ता ॥ 'The roots वृष 'to satisfy', and वृष् '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 anudâta in their first enunciation.

Why do we say "which are anudâta in the Upadesâ or the system of grammatical instruction"? Observe वर्ता, वर्तुम्, वढ्यम्, from वह उद्यमन which is exhibited as उदात्त, and because it has an indicative ऊ it takes इद् optionally. Why do we say 'having a penultimate ऋ letter'? Observe भत्ता, छत्ता ॥ Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a mute or a sibilant'? Observe तर्पणम्, दर्पणम् ॥ Why do we say 'not having an indicative क्'? Observe वृप्तः, वृप्तः ॥ Before affixes not beginning with a ह्यल् consonant this augment will not be inserted, as तर्पणम्, दर्पणम् ॥

शीर्षदृच्छन्दसि ॥ 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 शीष्णो हि तत्र सोमं क्रीतं हरन्ति, यत्ते शीष्णो र्शैर्भाग्यम् ॥ In the secular literature there is only one form शिरः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्निति वृत्तते । आवेशोयमिष्यते स कथं तद्धितज्ञाने हि परं निमित्तमुपासीयते स तदनुपूर्वा
प्रकृतिं शिरःशब्दमाक्षिपति । यकाराक्षी तद्धिते परतः शिरःशब्दस्य शीर्षन्नादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ 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 युष्यो 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 णन् not being replaced by anything else (VI. 4. 168). Why do we say when 'a Taddhita-affix follows'? Observe शिर इच्छति = शिरस्थिति, here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

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

अचि शीर्षः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, शीर्षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ ताज्जिते शिरसः शीर्षशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus हास्तिशिरसोऽपत्यं = 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 हास्तिशीर्षिः, we must apply the last rule and change the शीर्ष into शीर्षन् (for शीर्षन् being the substitute of शिरस् 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, हास्ति-शीर्षिः + व्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्षिण् + 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 ādeśa becomes sthānivat 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 sthānivat to इञ् affix.

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

पद्भ्योमास् इति शसन्यूषन्दोषन्यकञ्चकन्नुद्भासञ्छस्प्रभृतिषु ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, दत्, नस्, मास्, हत्, निश्, अत्, यूषन्, दोषन्, यकन्, शकन्, उदन्, आसन्, शस्, प्रभृतिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाद वन्त नासिका मास हृद्य निशा असृज यूष शेष यकन् शकन् उक्क भासन इत्येतेषां शब्दानां स्थानं शस्प्रभृतिप्रत्ययेषु परतः पद् दत् नस् मास् हन् निश अत् यूषन् शेषन् यकन् शकन् उदन् भासन् इत्येते आदेशा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

वा० ॥ पशुषु मांस्तृत्सुनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ नस् नासिकाया यन्तस्प्रभृतेषु ॥

वा० ॥ यति वर्णनगरयानैति 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 मास, हृद् for हृदय, निश for निशा, असन् for असृज्, यूषन् for यूष, दोषन् for दास्, यकन् for यकृत्, शकन् for शकृत्, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kāśikā gives आसन् as the substitute for आसन, the Sidhanta Kaumudi 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. 1. 59 and hold that these substitutes are optional and not compulsory.

Examples :—1. पद्—निपश्चतुरो जहि, पशवतंय गोदुहम् ॥ 2 दन्—या इती धावति तस्ये ऋचावदन् ॥ 3 नस्—सूकरस्त्वखनत्रसा ॥ 4 मास्—मासित्वा पश्यामि चक्षुषा ॥ 5 हृद्—हृसा पूतेन मनसा जातवदसम् । 6 निश—अमावास्यायां निशि यजेत ॥ 7 असन्—असित्को स्नावरोहति ॥ 8 यूषन्—या पात्राणि यूषण आसिचनानि ॥ 9 दाषन्—यत्ते दाष्णो दौर्भाग्यम् ॥ 10 यकन्—यक्रो वद्याति ॥ 11 शकन्—यक्रो वद्याते ॥ 12 उदन्—उदो ङिव्यस्य नावा ते ॥ 13 आसन्—आसनि किं लभे मधुनि ।

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

व्यायामक्षुण्ण गात्रस्य पद्भ्यामुहूर्तितस्य च ।

व्याधयो नोपसर्पन्ति वैनतेयमिवोरगाः ॥

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

Vārt :—The following substitutions also take place : मांस for मांस, पन् for पतना, and स्तु for सानुः as यस्त्रीक्षणं मांसचन्याः for मांसपचन्याः (Yaj. XXV. 36), पृस्त्व मर्त्यम् for पृतनासुमर्त्यम्, 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. 1. 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 षः सः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धात्वादेः, षः, सः ॥

वृणि ॥ धातोरदिः षकारस्य स्थाने सकारदिशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शुभ्रातुष्टिवृष्वक्कीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य ॥

64. There is the substitution of स in the room of the ष 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—सहेत, षिष्—सिषति ॥ Why do we use the word 'root'? Observe

षोडश, षडिकः, षण्डः ॥ Why do we say 'initial'? Observe—कथति, कथति ॥ 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 ष, would it not have been easier to spell at once these words with a ष? This appears cumbersome no doubt, but the spelling of the roots with ष is for the sake of brevity. Certain roots change their ष into ष when preceded by certain letters: those roots which thus change their letter ष for ष have been at once taught with an initial ष, and thus by VIII. 3. 59 their ष 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 ष 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 ष 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 स्वि, स्वद्, स्विद्, स्विञ् and स्वप्, though followed by व् or व् ॥ The following roots though followed by a vowel or a dental are not taught with an initial ष viz. सुप्, सुञ्, ल्, ल्या, सेक्, and सृ ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated of the roots derived from nouns, and of छिच् and व्क्क ॥ Thus षोडयते, षण्डयते are roots derived from nouns, and though these roots begin with ष are not changed: so छिच्—छिचति, व्क्क—व्क्कते ॥ The word छिच contains in it two roots छिच् and चिच्, one with ष, another with च, and thus we have two forms in the reduplication:—तेछीच्यते, तेचिच्यते ॥ The substitution of ष for ष takes place in the case of the root that has च ॥

णो नः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ णः, नः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरादेशित्यनुवर्त्तते । धातोरादेशकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति ॥

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

The phrase धाःषाः is understood here. Thus णीञ्—नयति, णम—ममति, णह—महति ॥ But not अण्—अणति ॥ This does not apply to roots derived from nouns. णकारमिच्छति=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 नायृ ॥

लोपोर्व्योर्त्रे लि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, व्योः, वलि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरादेशित्यनुवर्त्तते । धातोरादेशकारस्य लोपोर्व्योर्त्रे लि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

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

The final स् or ष् 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 स् ॥ Thus दिष् + वल् (III. 2. 107) = दिष् + दिष् + वल् = दिदिवस् nom. singular दिदिवान्, दिदिवांसौ, दिदिवांसः ॥ Thus ऊष् + त = ऊतं, 'spun', कृष् + त = कृतं 'made a noise'. So also the affix ष्क् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129). Of the affix ष्क्, ष is replaced by एष् (VII. 1. 2). Thus गोधा + एष् + र = गौधेरः (the ष् of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पञ्चैरन्, यञ्जैरन् the ष् of लिङ् (III. 4. 102) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105). So also ष is elided in the following:—from जीष्—जीरसानुः (by Uṅādi affix जींश् रसानुक्) from सिष्—अज्ञेमाणम् formed by the Uṅādi affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Uṅādi affixes (III. 3. 1), there is not ऊद् substitution for स् as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except स्?" Observe कृष्यते, कृष्यते when ष् is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of स् and ष् should take place prior to the elision of the aprīkta स् taught in the next sūtra. Thus कण्डूय + क्विष् = कण्डू ष् (VI. 4. 48) = कण्डू + ष् = कण्डूः ॥ So लोपुष + क्विष् = लोपुः ॥ Why स् 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 स् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the ष is taught for the sake of forms like वृश्चति by samprasāraṇa. and व्रश्च by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasāraṇa, and the elision of र् by इलादिशेषः are Bahiranga.

वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, अपृक्तस्य ॥

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

67. There is elision of the affix चि when reduced to the single letter च् ॥

The affix चि includes क्विष्, क्विन्, चि्व &c. In all these, the real affix is च्, which being an aprīkta (I. 2. 41), is elided. Thus ब्रह्महा, भ्रूणहा (III. 2. 87). Here the affix क्विष् 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 चि्व is elided.

Why do we say "of an aprīkta—an affix consisting of a single letter"? Observe इविः formed by the affix चिन् (चि being the real affix); so also जानृविः formed क्विन्, see Uṅādi 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. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus च्चि words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

हञ्ङ्याभ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्वपृक्तं हल् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्, ङ्याभ्यः, दीर्घात्, सु, ति, सि, अपृक्तम्, हल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्त्तते । तदिह लौकिकेनार्थेनार्थवत् कर्मसाधनं ब्रह्मव्यम् । लुप्यतइति लोपः । हलन्तान् रूपन्ताशाबन्ताच्च दीर्घात्परं सु ति सि इत्येतत्पृक्तं हल् लुप्यते ॥

Kārikā :—संशोणान्तस्य लोपे हि नलोपादिर्न सिद्धयति । रात्तु तेनैव लोपः स्याद्दलस्तस्मान्नेपीयते ॥

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 ङी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix स् ॥

The sūtra translated literally means:—After a word ending in a consonant, or ङी, 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) + ० = राजा, तक्षा, उखासन्, पर्णधत् ॥ After a ङी:—as, कुमारी, गौरी, चार्त्तरी ॥ After आप्:—खट्वा, बहुराजा, कारी षगन्त्या ॥ The elision of ति and सि takes place only after consonants:—as, अविभर्भवान् (अ + लङ् + तिप् = अ + अ + लु + त् = अ + अ + अ + त् (VI. 1. 10) = अ + भर् + अ + त् (VII. 4: 66 and I. 1. 51) = अ + भ + अ + त् (VII. 4. 60) = अ + अ + अ + त् (VIII. 4. 54) = अ + वि + अ + त् (VII. 4. 76) = अ + वि + भर् + त् (VII. 3. 84) = अविभर् + त् = अविभर् ॥ So also अजागर्भवान् ॥ In both these cases त् of the Imperfect has been elided. The स् is elided in the following:—अभिनोऽञ्, अञ्छिनोऽञ् ॥ (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 घामणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say “after a long vowelled feminine affix”? Observe निष्कौशाम्भिः, अतिसङ्घः, 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 भिनत्ति, छिनत्ति ॥ Why do we say ‘the consonant is elided’? Observe विभेद्, चिच्छेद् ॥ Here the aprikta 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 (त्तप्) and र् (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 राज्ञा, तक्ष्णा could not be evolved. As राज्ञन्+स्=राज्ञान्+स् (VI. 4. 8)=राज्ञान्स् and by eliding स् by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राज्ञान्, 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 उखास्रन् and पर्णधन् ॥ उखा+स्रन्+विद्यप् III. 2. 76=उखा+स्रन् (the nasal being elided by VI. 4. 24); now add सु, we have उखास्रन्+स्=उखास्रन्स्; elide the final स् not by this rule, but by VIII. 2. 23, we have उखास्रन्, here we cannot change the स् into र् 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 अभिनोऽन्न ॥ The word अभिनः is 2nd. Pers. sing. of the Imperfect of भिद् of Rudhâdi class. Thus भिद्+लङ्+सिप्=अ+भिद्+इन्+स्=अ+भिनद्+स्=अभिनद्+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+अन्न, the र् would not be changed into ङ to form अभिनोऽन्न by VI. 1. 113 since the ellision 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 रात्सस्य (VIII. 2. 24), i. e. स् only and no other consonant is elided after र्, therefore there will be no elision of न् in अविभर्न् by VIII. 2. 23.

एङ्ह्रस्वात्सुंबुद्धेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्ह्र, ह्रस्वात्, सम्बुद्धेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्त्तते, हलिति च । अपृक्तामति न धिक्रियते । तथा च पूर्वसूत्रे पुनरपृक्तमहणं कृतम् । एङ्ह्रन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् ह्रस्वान्ताच्च परो ह्रस्वप्यन्तस्येत्संबुद्धेर्भवति ॥

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 ह्रस्व ॥ 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 नदि and वधु for नदी and वधु ॥ Now applying the present sūtra, the affix स् is elided after

all the above words. As हे भग्ने !, 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 ङ् of the nominative, the अ of अम् and the final ङ 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 ङ 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 ङ 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 कतरन् ! there is not the elision of the ङ of the affix अन्, the substitute of सु for the affix there is अद् (VII. 1. 25). This affix being डित् causes the elision of the final अ of कतर (VI. 4. 143), and we have कतर् + अन्, here we have not a prātipadikā which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence ङ 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,

देशछन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतस्य बहुलं छन्दसि विषये 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 + चि + क्विप् = आग्निचित्, so also सोमसुत् ॥ Similarly प्रकृत्य and महृत्य and उपस्तृत्य formed by the affix ल्यप् ॥ Why do we say "ending in a short vowel"? Observe आलूय, आमणीः ॥ Why do we say "having an indicatory ए"? Observe कृतम्, हृतम् ॥ Why do we say "a kṛit affix"? Observe पदुतरः, पदुतमः, with the Taddhita-affixes तरप् and तमप् ॥ In the compound ग्रामाणिकुलम्, 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 बाह्यमन्तरङ्गे ॥ "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 परमेकवर्जमिति यावत् । प्रागेतस्मात्सूत्रादित उत्तर यद्वक्ष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं सङ्घेदितव्यम् ॥

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 द्भ्यन्न, म्भ्यन्न the इ and उ are changed to न्न and न्न when the two words are pronounced without any hiatus. Otherwise we shall have सधि 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 ह्रच्छति, गच्छति ॥ The त् is changed to च् by VIII. 4. 40. The short vowel itself is the भागमी (the thing to which the augment is added), and not the word ending in that short vowel. Therefore in चिच्छित्तुः, चिच्छित्तुः, 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 ह्लादिः षष् (VII. 4. 60) rule applying to reduplicates. This follows on the maxim नावयवावयवः सप्रुदायावयवो 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.

आङ्माङ्गोश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, माङ्गोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुगित्यनुवर्त्तते, छहति च । आङो ङित ईषसादिषु चतुर्ष्वर्थेषु वर्त्तमानस्य माङ्गश्च 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 (अनिविधि) and 4. the limit exclusive (मर्दात्). 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, माच्छस्तीन्, माच्छित् ॥ The इ in आङ्

and माङ् shows that आ when used as a Gati and a Karmapravachantiya and न् when used as a negative particle are meant. Therefore, the त् is not necessary in the following :—आछाया मानयति, प्रमाछन्ः॥ The तुक् may be optionally added in these as आच्छाया and प्रमाच्छन्ः॥ 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 ङ् ॥

दीर्घात् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, तुक् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ छे तुगिति वृत्तते । दीर्घात्परो यच्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus झीच्छति, 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 ॥ दीर्घाच्छेत्तुगिति वृत्तते । पदान्तादीर्घात्परो यच्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य पूर्वेण नित्यं प्राप्नोति वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ 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 छे ॥

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 कूटीच्छाया or कुटीछाया, कूबलीच्छाया or कुबलीछाया ॥ 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 कुमारीच्छन् हर देवदत्तस्य, “let the girl stay. Take the umbrella of Devadatta”. Here कुमारी and छन् are not in construction, but तुक् is still added optionally.

Vārti :—The augment त् is optional in the Chhandas, after the words विश्वजन &c. As, विश्वजनच्छन् or विश्वजनच्छन्, नच्छायां कुरवोपराम् or नछायां कुरवोपराम् ॥

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

वृत्ति ॥ अचि परत इको यणविशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णदीर्घबाधनार्थं यणविशो वक्तव्यः ॥

77. The semivowels य्, व्, र्, ल् are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ए (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 वधि + अन् = वध्यन्, मधु + भव = मध्यन्, कर्तृ + अर्थम् = कर्त्तृर्थम्, हर्तु + अर्थम् = हर्त्तृर्थम्, एह आकृति = लाकृतिः ॥

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 भग्ना इ इन्द्रं = अग्ना इ विन्द्रम्, पदा इ उ उक्कम् = पदा इ बुक्कम्, भग्ना इ इ भाशा = अग्ना इ भाशा, पदा इ उ भाशा = पदा इ वाशा ॥ भो इ इ इन्द्रम् = भो इ 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 आच् इत्येते भावेषा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus चि + ल्युद् = चे + अन = चयनम्, लो + अन = लवनं, धि + अक = चायकः, लौ + अक = लायकः ॥ So also कथेते, व्येथेते, याववरुणद्धि, ह + युच् (III. 2. 148) = रे + अन = रयणः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ योयमेषः स्थाने वान्तादेश ओकारस्य अच् औकारस्याच् स यकाराक्षौ प्रत्यये परतो भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गार्थुतो छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ अश्वपरिमाणे च ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The words एषः, वान्तोयि प्रथये are understood in this sūtra. The word सन्निमित्त means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with च ॥ Thus लृ forms its Future Passive Participle by यत् (III. 1. 97), this affix causes the guṇa of ऊ by VII. 3. 84: Thus लृ + च = लो + च, which according to the present sūtra becomes लव्यम् ॥ So also पू-पो + च = पव्यम् ॥ लृ + ष्यत् (III. 1. 125) = लो + च = अवद्य लाव्यम् and अवद्य 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 बहु + च = बाधो + च = बाध्व्यः; it will not apply to cases like गो + च = गव्य, नौ + च = नाव्य, where भा 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 भा + वे + यत् + ते = Here by Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15), वे becomes उ, as भा + उ + च + ते; now by sandhi भा + उ = भौ (VI. 1. 87), we have भा + यत् = भौयते ॥ Since भौ is not caused by च, there is no अच् substitution. So also भौयत, लौयमानिः, पौयमानिः (IV. 1. 95). The word एष in the aphorism has the force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, भौ and भौ before च are changed then only to अच् and आच् when च has caused the production of भौ and भौ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the च has caused the production of भा and भौ or not.

क्षय्यज्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षय्य - ज्यौ, शक्य - अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षि जि इत्येतयोर्दात्वोर्धति प्रत्यये परतः शक्यार्थे गन्वमाने एकारस्यायादेशो निपात्यते ॥

81. In क्षय्य and ज्यौ 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 + च = क्षे + च); so also ज्यौ ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe क्षेयं पापं, ज्यौ वृषलः ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रय्यः, तदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीणानेर्दातोस्तदर्थे क्रयार्थं यत्स्मिन्नभिधेये 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 च ॥ The word तदर्थे means 'for the purpose of that'

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

भय्यप्रवय्ये च छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भय्य - प्रवय्ये , च, छन्दसि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विभेतेर्धातोः प्रपूर्वस्य च वी इत्येतस्य यति प्रत्यये परतश्छन्दसि विषयेऽद्यादेशो निपात्यते ॥
चास्तिकम् ॥ ह्रस्व्या आप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

83. The forms भय्य and प्रवय्या 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 क्लिप्सीत् ॥ वस्ततरी प्रवय्या ॥ The यत् is added to भी with the force of Ablative by virtue of the diversity allowed by कृत्यलुटो बहुलं (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 do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe वेयम्, प्रवेयम् in secular literature.

Virt. :—The word ह्रस्व्या should also be enumerated when referring to water. As ह्रवे भवा = ह्रस्व्या आपः ॥ The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 110 (ह्रवे + य = ह्रव्य + य) ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आधिकारोयम् । ख्यत्यात्परस्येति प्रागेतस्मात्सुभ्राहित उत्तरं यद्दक्षयामस्तत्र पूर्वस्य परस्य द्वयोपि स्थाने एकादेशो भवतीत्येतद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

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 it 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 sthāni, such as we find in the sūtra VIII. 2. 42 (एकान्यां निष्ठातो नः, पूर्वस्य च हः, "न is the substitute of the त of niṣṭhā, after र् and ह, and of the preceding ह"). Here न् is taught as substitute both of त् and ह्, 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, ॥

शुक्तिः ॥ एक इति वर्त्तते पूर्वपरयोरिति 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 sthāni, but in an ekādeśa, the sthāni is indeterminate, or rather the sthāni 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 भ् 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 लद् + भा = लद्भा ॥ Here the

ekâdeśa आ is as the final अ of खद्ग, 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 अ, so the Instrumental plural of खद्गा will not end in ऐः, but will be खद्गाभिः ॥ So also in जुहाव ॥ It is the Perfect 3rd per. sing. of ह्वे or ह्वा (VI. 1. 45). By VI. 1. 53, the व् is changed to ङ, and we have जुह्वआ = जुह्वङमा which by VI. 1. 108 becomes जुहु, the ङ being the single substitute of ङ and आ ॥ This single-substitute ङ should not be considered asआ for the application of the rule VII. 1. 34 by which the Perfect affix जल् (अ) is changed in आँ after roots ending in आ ॥ Similarly in अस्त्यै + अभ्यः = अस्त्या अभ्यः (the ङ being elided by VIII. 3. 19). अस्त्यै is the Dative singular of ह्वस् 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 = अस्त्यै ॥ 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 sthâniavad 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 ॥ संसारणङीदृशु 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 debars operations dependent upon the âdeśa, and gives scope to the operations dependent upon the general rule (असिद्धश्च नमादेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थमुत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥) Thus क्राऽसिचत् here स is not changed to ष ॥ The equation is thus exhibited : कस् + असिचत् = क्रा + असिचत् (the स changed to र by VIII. 2.66) = क्रा + असिचत् (र being substituted for र by VI. 1. 113) = क्रो + असिचत् (अ-र-ङ = ओ VI. 1. 87) = क्रोऽसिचत् (ओ-र-अ = ओ 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 अभीत्य 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-ल-य=प्रैत्य. Here also अ-इ=ए is considered asiddha,

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of samprasâraṇa, the Locative singular case-ending ङि (इ), and the 1st per. sing. Atmanepada affix इद् ॥ Of vocalisation we have the following : शकभूषु = शकान् ह्यति, then we add क्विप्, before which there is vocalisation of इ, this उ combining with in the following आ becomes उ ekâdeśa: as शकहा-ल-क्विप् = शकहउआ-ल-० (VI. 1. 15) + शकह (VI. 1. 108). The Locative plural is formed by सु : शकह-ल-सु = शकभूषु (the lengthening taking place by VI. 4. 2). Here स is changed to ष the ekâdeśa उ for उ-अ not being considered asiddha. So also परिधीषु (परि + ध्ये + क्विप् = परि + इए + क्विप् = परिधि, add सु) ॥ Of the affix ङि we have:—वृक्ष-ल-इ = वृक्षे, add छत्रम्, then the single substitute ए being considered not asiddha we have वृक्षेच्छत्रम् or वृक्षेच्छत्रम् ॥ Of the affix इद् of 1st Pers. Atmanepada we have अपचे-ल-छत्रम् = अपचेच्छत्रम् or अपचेच्छत्रम् ॥ 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 optional and not compulsory.

आद्गुणः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभीत्यनुवर्तते । अवर्णात्परो यो ऽच् आत्ति च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोस्वर्णाचोः स्थाने एकोऽपुण 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 आत्ति 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 + इवम् = तवेवम्, खट्वा + इन्द्रः = खट्टेन्द्रः, माला + इन्द्रः = मालेन्द्रः, तव + ईहते = तवेहते, खट्वा + ईहते = खट्टेहते, तव + उवकम् = तवावकम्, खट्वा + उवकम् = खट्टोवकम्, तव + ऋभ्यः = तवर्भ्यः, खट्वा + ऋभ्यः = खट्टवर्भ्यः, तव + लकारः = तवलकारः, खट्वा + लकारः = खट्टलकारः ॥ 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.

वृद्धिरेचि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, एचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्षिति वर्तते । अवर्णात्परो य एच् एचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोस्वर्णेषोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

88. The Vriddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or अ-1-diphthong = vriddhi).

The word आन् 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 Vriddhi. This debars guṇa taught in the last sūtra. Thus ब्रह्म + एडका = ब्रह्मैडका, खट्वा + एडका = खट्वाैडका, ब्रह्म + ऐतिकायनः = ब्रह्मैतिकायनः, खट्वा + ऐतिकायनः = खट्वाैतिकायनः ॥ ब्रह्म + ओदनः = ब्रह्मौदनः, खट्वा + ओदनः = खट्वाौदनः, ब्रह्म + औपगवः = ब्रह्मौपगवः, खट्वा + औपगवः = खट्वाौपगवः ॥

एत्येधत्यृहसु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, एधति, ऊठसु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिरेचीति वर्तते, आहिति च । तदेतदेज्जमहणमेतेरेव विशेषणं न पुनरेधतेरव्यभिचारावृद्ध्यासंभवात् । इत् गतावित्येतस्मिन्धातोर्विचि एध वृद्धावित्येतस्मिन् ऊठि च पूर्वं यद्वर्णं ततश्च परो योश्च तयोः पूर्वप-हयोरवर्णाचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अक्षावृद्धिन्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ स्वाक्षीरोर्योर्वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रावृद्धोदाहरेष्वेषु वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ ऋते च तृतीयासमासे ऽवर्णाद् वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रवत्सतरकम्बलवसनानापृणे वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ ऋणवशाभ्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

89. The Vriddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-1-ए of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-1-ऊ of ऊठ् (the substitute of वा in वाह् by VI. 4. 132).

The whole of the last sūtra and आन् 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 Vriddhi 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 = उपेति, उप + एधि = उपेधि, उपेभिः, उपेभिः; उप-1-एधते = उपेधते, प्रैधते; प्रध-1-ऊहा = प्रधौहा ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87, the present sūtra ordains Vriddhi instead. In the case of एति and एधति, the Vriddhi 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 पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान् विधिन् 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-1-इत = उप + एत = उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form उपेहि is wrong. So also उप-1-इत = उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एधि qualifies the root इ ॥

Vdt:—The Vriddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by ऊहिनी, as भाक्षोहिणी सना ॥

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्वर is followed by ईर or ईरिण, or ईरिणी thus स्वेरम्, स्वेरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix घञ् added to ईरगतौ (Acl. 8; स्वेनाभिप्रायेण ईरणं = स्वेरम् the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32. Another form is स्वेरी = स्वेनाभिप्रायेणैर ते गच्छति with the affix णिनि (III. 2. 78).

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊह, ऊह, ऊहि, एष, एष्य; as प्रौहः, प्रौहः, प्रौहिः, 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 ण्यत् ॥ 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 भ is followed by क्त and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound: as सुखेन क्तः = सुखार्तः, दुःखेन क्तः = दुःखार्तः, but सुखेन इत्तः = सुखेतः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमर्तः ॥ Why 'Compound'? See सुखेनर्तः ॥

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

Vārt—So also when the words कृण and वृष are followed by कृणः—as, कृणार्णम् and वृषार्णम् ॥ The word कृणार्ण means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasārṇa is the name of a river and of a country.

आटञ्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आटः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचीति निवृत्तम् । अचीत्यनुवर्त्तते । आटः परो यो ऽच् अचि च पूर्वो च आट तयोः पूर्वपरयोरा-
उचोः स्थानि वृद्धिरेकविधो भवति ।

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

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

The 'and' in the sūtra shows that the पररूप rule, taught in VI. 1. 95, 96 when उस्, ओं and आङ् follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आद् ॥ Thus औक्षीयत्, औक्कारीयत् ॥ आ-। ऊडा = ओडा, तमिच्छत् = औक्षीयत् ॥

उपसर्गादति धातौ ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, ऋति, धातौ ॥

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

91. The Vriddhi 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 Vriddhi 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, उपाधोति ॥ Why do we say 'after a preposition'? Observe खदुच्छति, 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 + क्कारि यति = उपकारियात् ॥ 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 क् ॥ 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 । उपसर्गादति धाताविति च । सुबन्तावयवे धातावृकारादौ परतो ऽवर्णान्तादुपसर्गात्पूर्वपरयोरापिशलेराचार्यस्य मतेन वा वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ओतो ऽमि शसि च परतः पूर्वपरयोराकार 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 **भौतः** is a compound of **भौ** + **भौतः** ॥ Thus **गौ** - **अम्**, = **गाम्**, **गौ-अम्** = **गाः** ॥ Thus **गां पश्य**, **गाः पश्यः** ॥ This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also **द्यां** or **द्याः पश्य**; as the word **द्यां** is also a nominal stem ending in **भौ** ॥ The Sārva-nāmsthāna affixes are **णित्** after this word also (see VII. 1. 90) 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 **श्चस्**, 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 ॥ भादित्येव, उपसर्गाद्भाताविति च । भवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादेकादौ धातौ पूर्वपरयोः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ शकन्धादिषु पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एवे चानियोगे पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भौत्वोष्ठयोः समासे वा पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एमन्नादिषु छन्दांस पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

The words **भ्रात्**, **उपसर्गाद्भातौ** are understood here. In an upasarga ending in **अ** or **आ** followed by a root beginning with **ए** or **भौ**, 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**, **प्रोषति** ॥ 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 **उपेडकीयति**, **उपोदनीयति** or **उपोदनीयति** ॥

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place in the case of **शकन्धुः** &c. As **शक-अ-अन्धुः** = **शकन्धुः**, **कुल + अटा** = **कुलटा**, **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-अ-एव** = **इहेव**; **अद्य-अ-एव** = **अद्येव** ॥ When the sense is that of **नियोग**, the Vṛiddhi takes place: as **इहेव भव**, **माऽन्यथ 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 **विम्बोष्ठी** or **विम्बोष्ठी** ॥ When not a compound, the Vṛiddhi is compulsory: as **तिष्ठ देवत्तौष्ठं 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 भोद्यन्** = **अपां त्वाद्यन्** ॥

ओमाङ्गोश्च ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम् - आङ्गोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भादित्येव । भवर्णान्तादौ भौ 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 कौमित्ययाचत्, यौमित्ययाचत् ; आ-1-ऊढा = ओढा, then अद्य-1-आंढा = अद्योढा, कसा-1-आंढा = कसोढा, तसा + ओढा = तसोढा ॥ आ + कइद्यान् = अइर्यान्, then अद्य-1-अइर्यान् = अद्यइर्यान् ॥ Thus this rule supersedes both the Vriddhi and the lengthening (VI. I. 88, and 101).

उस्यपदान्तात् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उसि, अपदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिस्त्वैव । अथर्णात्पदान्तात्पूर्वपरयोराहुणापवादः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

96. For the अ or आ (not standing at the end of a Pada or full word) + उ of उस 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 भिन्धा-1-उस् = भिन्धुः, छिन्धा-1-उस् = छिन्धुः ॥ अज्ञा-1-उस् = अजुः, (लुङ् of ज्ञा) अया-1-उस् = अयुः ॥ All these are examples of लिङ् (Potential) and लङ् (Imperfect). Thus भिन्द् + यासुद् + ह्यि (the यासुद् is added by III. 4. 103) = भिन्द् + य + उस् (जुस् replaced ह्यि III. 4. 108) = भिन्धुस् ॥ अज्ञा + सिच् + ह्यि = अज्ञा + 0 (II. 4. 77) + जुस् (III. 4. 110) = अज्ञा + उस् = अजुः ॥ अ + या + ह्यि = अ + या + उस् (VI. 4. 111) = अयुः ॥ The उस् is also the substitute of ह्यि in लिट् (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 :—चकृ-1-उस् = चकृः ॥ So also from श्री we have अश्रिभे-1-उस् = अश्रिभयुः ॥ 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 उस् (whether an affix or part of an affix or not), then the limitation of अपदान्तात् becomes valid. Thus का + उसा = कौसा, का + उषिता = कौषिता ॥ 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 वचंते । अकारात्पदान्ताहुणं परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्यागे 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-अण्-1-अन्ति = पच-1-अन्ति = पचन्ति so also यजन्ति ॥ This debars lengthening of VI. I. 101. पच + ए = पचे, यज + ए = यजे, here the Vriddhi 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-अम् = षण्डामम्, यूपामम्, क्षुद्रामम् ॥

अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्य, अतः, इतौ ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तमपरिस्फुटवर्णे तदनुकरणं परिस्फुटवर्णमेव केन चिस्तादृश्येन तदव्यक्तमनुकरोति तस्य यो-
 ष्छब्दस्तस्मादितौ पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकाश्च इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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 पटन्-1-इति = पटिति, घटन् + इति = घटिति, झटन् + इति = झटिति, छमन् + इति = छमिति ॥

Why do we say 'imitation of an inarticulate sound'? Observe अगन्-1-इति = अगदिति ॥ Why do we say "of अत्"? Observe मरद् + इति = मरडिति ॥ Why do we say when followed by इति? Observe पटन् + अञ्च = पटदञ्च ॥

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

नाम्नेडितस्थान्त्यस्य तु वा ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आम्नेडितस्य, अन्त्यस्य, तु, वा ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्याम्नेडितस्य यो ष्छब्द 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 पटन्पटदिति or पटन्पटेति करोति (पटन्पटन् + इति = पटन्पट + इ + ति = पटस्पटेति) ॥ The word is doubled by VIII. 1. 4. The para-rûpa substitution will take place when the whole word so reduplicated denotes a sound imitation, thus पटस्पदिति 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 चानुवर्जते । डाच्यरं याम्नेडितं तस्मिन्पूर्वस्याव्यक्तानुकरणस्या-
 ष्छब्दस्य 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 क्कान्त (V. 4. 57), दमदमा क्रोति ॥ पटत्पटत्-डाच् (V. 4. 57) = पटत्पटा = पटपटा (त् + प् = प्) ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika. When the affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) is added to पटत्, 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 ऽपि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने दीर्घ एकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सद्वर्णदीर्घत्वे 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 इण्ड + अग्रम् = इण्डाग्रम्, इधि + इन्द्रः = इधीन्द्रः, मधु + उदके = मधुदके and होतृ + अक्षय्य होतृदयः ॥ Why do we say 'an अक or simple vowel?' Observe अग्ने-1-ए = अग्नये ॥ Why do we say 'by a homogenous vowel?' Observe इधि-1-अत्र = इधयत्र ॥ The word अक्षि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अक्षि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी शेते ॥ The ई and श्च are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10 : for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श्च, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुद्विस्ववर्णस्य चामृत्ययः (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 महणकवाक्ये (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 श्च are not सवर्ण by I. 1. 10 : the long ई and श्च would be savarṇa.

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 1½ 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 दीर्घ of लृ is ऋ ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इति दीर्घ इति वर्तते । प्रथमाशब्दो विभक्तिविशेषे रुडस्तत्साहचर्यान् द्वितीयापि प्रथमेत्युक्ता । सत्यां प्रथमायां द्वितीयायां च विभक्तावपि अकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घ 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 अकः and दाघः 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-औ = अग्नी ; वायु-1-औ = वायू ; वृक्ष-1-अस् = वृक्षाः, so also ह्रक्षाः, वृक्षान्, ह्रक्षान् ॥ 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 = वृक्षः, and that rule would have debarred the lengthening rule VI. 1. 101 on the maxim "apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede those rules that stand nearest to them ;" but not this पूर्वसवर्णं lengthening rule as it does not stand nearest. The word अच् 'when a vowel follows' is understood here also. Thus वृक्ष-1-स् = वृक्षः, ह्रक्षः ॥ The word अक् 'the simple vowel' is understood here also. Thus नौ-1-औ = नौवौ ॥ 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 ॥ तस्मात्पूर्वतावर्णशीर्षादुत्तरस्य शसो ऽवयवस्य सकारस्य पुंसि नकारदेशो भवति ॥

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, वायून्, ऋतून्, होतून्, पण्डितान्, ह्यूरान्, अरकान्, पञ्च &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 पञ्च, चञ्चिकाः पञ्च ॥ 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 औ-1-अ by VI. 1. 93. Here ह् will not be replaced by न् as गाः पञ्च ॥ Why do we say 'of the Accusative plural?' Observe वृक्षाः, ऋक्षाः endings in अन् Nom Pl. Why do we say "in the masculine?" Observe, धेनुः, बह्वीः, कुमारीः ॥

नाद्दिन्नि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आत्, इचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णादिचि 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, लक्षौ, 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.

दीर्घाज्जसि च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, जसि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाज्जसि इचि 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 कुमार्यौ, कुमार्यः, ब्रह्मवन्श्रौ, ब्रह्मवन्श्रः ॥

वा छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाच्छन्दसि विषये जसि च इचि 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 मारुत्याः, पिण्डीः or पिण्ड्याः, वाराही or वाराह्यौ; उपानही or उपानह्यौ ॥

अमि पूर्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमि, पूर्वः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अक इत्येव । अमि परतो ऽकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं 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) लक्षम्, 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 शर्मौ 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. I. 23, 24 and 28).

संप्रसारणाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्प्रसारणात्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व इत्येव । संप्रसारणादधि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं 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-न्त = इअञ्-न्त (VI. I. 15) = इष्टम् (इ-अ = इ); so उमम् (वृ-न्त = उ अय्-न्त), मर् + इत = गु अर्-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 = उमप् + त, if the अ did not merge in उ, then it would cause sandhi, and उ would be changed to वृ by इकोयणञि and the word would again assume the form वप् ॥ But this यणादेश would cause samprasāraṇa rule non-effective, hence it follows that but for the present rule, the two vowels would have been heard separately as उ अत् ॥

The rule of option in the Chhandas (VI. I. 106) applies here also. Thus we have यज्यमानो मित्रावरुणो or इज्यमानो ॥ "When you have just said that the two vowels will remain separate and there will be no यणादेश 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 यणादेश 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 = शकहा + क्विप् = 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 + अर्थे = शकहूर्थम् ॥ In fact when once the para-purvavta 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.

एङ्: पदान्तादति ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्:, 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 अद् and अत् ॥ Why do we say 'of ए or ओ'? Observe द-अच्, मध्वच् ॥ Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe चे-1-अच् = चयत्, लो-1-अच् = लबन्त् ॥ 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 वृत्ते, अतीतिच । एङ उत्तरयोर्इसिङ्सोरिति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व 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 guṇa-ated 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 पूर्वपरयोर्ऋकार 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-अम् = होत्सुम् (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 होत्सुम् = होत्सुः ॥ Thus होत्सुरागच्छति, होत्सुः स्वम् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इसिङ्सोरिति वृत्ते उक्ति च । ख्यत्यादिति खिशब्दस्त्रीशब्दयोस्तिशब्दस्त्रीशब्दयोश्चकृतयणादेशयोर्इसिङ्सोरिति, ताभ्यां परस्य इसिङ्सोरिति 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 ङसिङ्सोः and उन् are understood here also. The ङ् means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to य, and ख्य denotes खि and खी, 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-म्यच् (III. 1. 8) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding क्विप् 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 खी we have the following example. लुनमिच्छति = लुनीय, add क्विप् = लुनीः, the Ablative and Genitive singular of which is also लुन्युः, the न् of लुनी being the substitute of न् of Nishṭhā, is considered like न् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of ख्य and ख्य 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 खि 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 ग्रहणवशा प्रातिपदिकेन सन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika 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 खी, such as सुखीः 'one who loves pleasure' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखीय-1-क्विप्). and सुतीः 'one who wishes a son' (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय-1-क्विप्) : Thus सुख्युः, सुत्युः &c.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अति, उदिति वर्तते । अकाराप्लुतादुत्तरस्य रेरेकस्य उकारानुबन्धविशिष्टस्य अकारे ऽप्लुते परत उकारदेशो भवति ॥

113. The उ is the substitute of र (the र 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-अन् = वृक्षउ-1-अन् = वृक्षो-1-अन् (VI. 1. 87) = वृक्षोऽन् (VI. 1. 109); so also वृक्षोऽन् ॥ This ordains उ for र्, whereby VIII. 3. 17, there would have been otherwise य्; and this उ does not become asiddha (as it depends upon र् 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-अन् = अग्निरन् ॥ Why do we say 'a short अ'? Observe वृक्षाः-1-अन् = वृक्षा अन् ॥ Why do we use उ with its indicative उ, and not use the र् generally? Observe स्वर-1-अन् = स्वरन्, प्रातर-1-अन् प्रातरन् ॥ Here the final र् is part of the words, and is not produced from स् ॥

The word अति is understood here also from VI. 1. 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-अभिहितः = वृक्ष अभिहितः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ'? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As, सुस्रोता इ अच स्वमसि (VIII. 2. 84). Why do we say "when followed by an apluta अ"? Observe तिष्ठतु पय आग्निवत् (VIII. 2. 86). Here प्लुत being held asiddha, there would have been उ substitution, had not the phrase अन्तुं been used in the aphorism.

हृदि च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदि च परतो ऽत उत्तरस्य रोक्कारादेशो भवति ॥

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

The हृष् pratyāhāra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus पुरुषो वाति or हसति or वसति &c.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एङो ऽस्तीत्येव । एङ इति यत्पञ्चम्यन्तमनुवर्त्तते तदर्यादिह प्रथमान्तं भवति । प्रकृतिरिति स्वभावः कारणं वा ऽभिधीयते । अन्तरित्यन्वयमधिकरणभूतं मध्यमाचष्टे । पादशब्देन च ऋक्पादस्यैव ग्रहणमिष्यते न तु श्लोकपादस्य । अन्तःपादकारपरे 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 ष or श् ॥

The word एङ् 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 secular poetry. The word अति is also understood here. Thus ते अग्ने अश्वमायुञ्जन्; ते अस्मिन् अवमावधुः, उपमयन्तो अप्परश्; शिरो अपदयम्; सुजाते अश्वसूनुते (R. Veda. V. 79. 1); अप्पर्यो अद्विभिः सुतश् (Rig IX. 51. 1); शुकं ते अन्वत् (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 इ or इ does not follow अ?" Observe तेऽवन् (Rig X. 109. 1), तेऽयस्मयम् ॥ Why do we say ए or ओ? Observe अन्वग्निरुषसामग्रमख्यत् ॥ Some read this sūtra as नान्तः पादमध्यपरे ॥ According to them, this sūtra supersedes the whole rule of juxtaposition or संहिता (VI. 1. 72).

अव्याद्वद्याद्वक्रमुरध्वायमवन्ववस्युषु च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यात्, अव
घात्, अवक्रमुः, अव्रत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्युषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यात् अवघात् अवकषुः अव्रत अयम् अवन्तु अवस्यु इत्येतेषु यकारवकारपरेष्यति परतोऽन्तः
पारंभङ् 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, अवघात्, अवक्रमुः, अव्रत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्यु ॥

Thus अग्निः प्रथमोवसुभिर्नो अव्यात् ॥ मित्रमहो अवघात् (Rig IV. 4. 15), मा शि-
वासो अवकषुः (Rig VII. 32. 27); ते नो अव्रताः (Not in the Rig Veda). Prof.
Bohtlingk gives the following examples from the Rig Veda:—सीक्षन्तो अव्रतम्
(VI. 14. 3), सर्वहन्ता अव्रतान् (IX. 73. 5), कर्ते अव्रतान् (IX. 73. 8). शतधरो 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 एतन्तो 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 यजुष्युरोः ॥ They take the word as उद् ending in उ, which in the Vocative
case assumes the form उरो ॥ They give the following example उरो अन्तरिक्षं सज्ज ॥
But in the Yajur Veda VI. 11, the text reads उरोऽन्तरिक्षत् सज्जः ॥ In the Yajur
Veda, there being no stanzas, the condition of अन्तः पारं does not apply here. :

आपोऽनुषाणोऽवृष्णोऽवर्षिष्ठेऽम्बेऽम्बालेऽम्बिकेऽपूर्वे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, जुषाणः,
वृष्णोः, वर्षिष्ठे, अम्बे, अम्बाले, अम्बिके, पूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्ठे इत्येते शब्दा अम्बे अम्बाले इत्येता च यावम्बिकेऽम्बालेऽपूर्वौ
यजुषि पठितौ त भवति परतः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus आपो अस्मान् प्रातरः ह्यन्धयन्तु (Yaj. IV. 2). जुषाणो अप्तुराज्यस्य (Yaj.
V. 35), वृष्णो अंशुभ्यां गभस्ति पूतः (Yaj. VII. 1). वर्षिष्ठे अधिनाके ॥ The Vajasaneyi
Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठेऽधि (V. S I. 22): The Taittiriya Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठे 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.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गशब्दे य एङ् तस्यै चाकारे यः पूर्वः स यजुषि विषये प्रति 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 असाभ्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निर्दिभ्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निर्दिभ्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निर्दिभ्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे असाचिषम् (Yaj. 6. 20).

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

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

120. In the Yajur Veda, when an anudātta 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 अयोऽमे, here अये 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 । अनुदानहति चशब्देनानुकुष्यते । अवपथाःशब्दे ऽनुदात्ते ऽक्रापतौ 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 अ-न-वप्-न-थास ॥ 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 गोरेङ् 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 गोऽमं or गो अमं ॥ In the Vedas also अपशवो वा अन्ये गो अर्थेभ्यः, पशवो गोऽश्वः ॥

अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवङ्, स्फोटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीति निवृत्तम् । अतीत्येवस्वतुयत्तएव । अचि परतो गोः स्फोटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेनावङ्गा-देशो भवति ॥

123. According to the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, 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 + अम = गवामम्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवोदनम्, गवाष्टम्, or in the alternative we have गोऽमम्, गोऽजिनम्, गवोदनम्, गवुष्टम् ॥ 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 अममस्य = गैवामः ॥ In other places, however, this accent will be superseded by the samāsānta Udātta accent (VI. 1. 223) The mention of Sphoṭāyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. This is a vyavasthita vibhāshā, hence in गवासः the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्ये ऽचि परतो गौर्नित्यमवङोदेशो 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 गवेन्द्रः ॥ So also गवन्द्र यत्तः ॥ The word नित्य is not found in some texts or in Mahābhāshya.

प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्लुताश्च प्रगृह्याभाषि 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 देवसत्ता इ अच न्वति, यज्ञसत्ता इ इवन् आनय ॥ These are examples of prolated vowels. The prolation of vowels is taught in the tripādi or the last three chapters of Ashtadhyāyi; 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, वायु 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, इजति here in combining जानु + उ into जानू, the इ 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 इकोयणाच्च, but by मय उग्रो वो वा (VIII. 3. 33). In fact, the repetition of आंच in this sūtra is necessary, in order to enable us to give this peculiar meaning to the sūtra. Otherwise, had the sūtra been simply प्लुतप्रगङ्गाः, it would have been translated ordinacily thus: "The Pluta and Pragrihya retain their form, when ever a vowel follows". Therefore in जानु इ अस्य, since इ is followed by a vowel, it will retain its form, and will not coalesce with the इ of जानु ॥ But this is not intended. Hence the repetition of the word आंच, 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 इ अस्य रुजति. the इ + इ will become lengthened, because अ is not the cause of lengthening; it causes the change of इ to इ, 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. 1. 127.

आङो ऽनुनासिकश्छन्दसि ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, अनुनासिकः, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आङो ऽचि परतःसाहित्यायां छन्दसि त्रिषये ऽनुनासिकविशो 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 अन्न आँ अयः (Rig V. 48. 1); गभीर आँ उग्रपुत्रे त्रिषांसतः (Rig VIII. 67. 11). Some read the word बहुलं into this sūtra. Hence there is coalescence here: इन्द्रो बाहुभ्यामातरन् = आ अतरन् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इको ऽसवर्णे ऽचि परतः शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वश्च तस्यैकः स्थाने भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सिन्नित्यसमासयोः शाकल्यप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ईषामक्षारिषु छन्दसि प्रकृतिभावमात्रं 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 अन्न, मधु अन्न, कुमारि अन्न, किशोरि अन्न ॥ In the alternative we have इधन्न, मध्वन्न, कुमार्यन्न, किशोर्यन्न ॥ Why do we say 'the इक vowels i. e. simple vowels with the exception of अ'? Observe खड्गेन्द्रः ॥ 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 योनिर्दस्वियः, प्रजां विदाम ऋत्स्वियाम्. The word ऋत्स्विय 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, कुमार्ययम् which are so by II. 2. 18 &c.

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वभेत्येतदनुवर्त्तते । ऋकोर परतः शाकल्यस्यार्थायस्य 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, कुमारि ऋभ्यः, होतृ ऋभ्यः ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ? Observe, खद्वेन्द्रः ॥ Why do we say “the simple vowels (अकः)” ? Observe वृक्षावृद्भ्यः (वृक्षा + ऋभ्यः) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ उपस्थित नामानार्थ इतिकरणः सशुदायादवच्छिद्य परं येन स्वरूपे ऽवस्थाप्यते तस्मिन्परतो ऽप्लुत-वद्भवति ॥ प्लुतकार्ये 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 सुश्लोका 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 prakṛiti bhāva in the case of pluta and pragrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrihya, nor a pragrihya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrihya at one and

the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्नी or वायु, the इ and ऊ are prāgrihya. They may be made pluta also as 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 prāgrihya 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 ॥

ईरे चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईरे कारः प्लुतो ऽपि परतश्चाक्रवर्मणस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाप्लुतवद्भवति ॥

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

Thus अस्तु हीत्यवधीत or अस्तु हीरे इत्यवधीन् ॥ चिनु हीदम् or चिनु हीरे इदम् ॥ The name of Chākṛavarmaṇa 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 bhāva optionally, when there would have been always prakṛiti bhāva by VI. 1. 125. This is a case of उभयत्रविभाषा, prāpta and aprāpta both.

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

दिव उत् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, उत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एठः पदान्तादसीत्यतःपदप्रणमनुवर्तते । दिव इति प्राति पदिकं गृह्यते न धातुः, सातुबन्धकत्वात् ॥

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 = शुक्रामः, शुमान्, विमलसु दिनं, शुभ्याम्, शुभिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prātipadika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu 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 इ by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have अक्षशुभ्याम्, अक्षशुभिः ॥ The उत् with a त् shows that short उ is meant, and debars ऊठ (VI. 4. 19). In the case of ऊठ substitution the forms will be शुभ्याम्, शुभिः ॥ The ऊठ also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe दिवौ, दिवः ॥

पतच्चदोः सु लोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतत् - तदोः, सु लोपः, अकोः, अ - नञ् - समासे -, हलि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतन्नसौ वाचककारौ नञ्समासे न वर्तते तयोर्धः सुशब्दः कश्च तयोः सुशब्दो यस्तर्धेन संबद्धस्त-
स्य 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 क (V. 3. 71) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः + वदति = एष वदति, स वदति, एषभुङ्क्ते, स भुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say of एतद् and तद्? Observe यो वदति, यो भुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say "the case affix of the Nom. singular?" Observe एतौ गायौ चरतः ॥ Why do we say 'without क'? Observe एषको वदति, सको वदति ॥ The words एतद् and तद् with the affix भदाच्, which falls in the middle, would be considered just like एतद् and तद् 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: तन्मध्यपतित-
स्तद् मध्येन 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 वदति, असो वदति ॥ 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 ॥

स्यञ्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, छन्दसि, बहुलम्, (सोः, लोपः,) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स इत्येतस्य छन्दसि हलि परतो बहुलं सौलोपो भवति ॥

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

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

सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्याद्पूरणम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अचि, लोपे, चेत्, पाद्-
पूरणम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इत्येतस्याधि परतः सुलोपो भवति लोपे सति चेत्यावः पूर्यते ॥

Kārikā सैष हाशरथी 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 वेदु राजा क्षयति चर्पणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीरदुरुध्वसे (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 वाङ् as 'a foot of a Śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have:—**सैष साधारणी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः, सैष कर्णो महात्यागी, सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥**

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयं, पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायामिति यावत् । इत उत्तरं यद्व्यथामस्तत्र मुदिति कात्पूर्वं इति चैतदधिकृतं 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+न्=संस्कृता, संस्कृतुम्, संस्कृतव्यम् ॥ 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 स्क, 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 लिट्) 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 लिट् and सिच् (Imperfect and Aorist): as, संस्कृषीट् and रामस्कृत; and so also VII. 4. 29, does not apply as संस्कृयते 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-लिट्-word सं and the लिङन्त word कपोति, thus संस्करोति would have accent on the verb. It is a maxim स्वपिधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवन् '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 संचस्कारतुः 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 ङ् in सुट् is for the purpose of differentiating it from सु in the Sūtra VIII. 3. 70.

अङ्भ्यासव्यवायेपि ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, अभ्यास - व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्भ्यासव्यवाये ङ्भ्यासव्यवाये सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

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

Thus समस्केरात् (=सम्+अकरोत्), समस्कार्षीत्, संचस्कार (=सम्+चकार), परिचस्कार ॥ This sūtra is not that of Pānini, but is made out of two Vārtikas: अङ् व्यवायउप संख्यानाम्; 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 Antaranga and Bahiranga 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 Antaranga, i. e. a root is first joined with the Upasarga, and it undergoes other operations afterwards. Therefore, first the augment सुट् 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 सुट् is considered as unattached to क; and therefore, the augment अद् may be added after this सुट्, 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 सुट् 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 सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

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

Thus संस्कृता, संस्कृतम्, संस्कृतंभ्यम् ॥ The ष् of सम् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 5. So also परिष्कृता परिष्कृतं परिष्कृतंभ्यम् ॥ The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 70. So also with उप, as उपष्कृता, उपष्कृतम् उपष्कृतंभ्यम् ॥ 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 संस्कृतमत्रम् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायः सद्युशयस्तस्मिन्नर्थे करोती संपर्युपभ्यः कात्पूर्वः सुडागमो भवति ॥

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

The word समवाय means aggregation. Thus तत्र नः संस्कृतम् तत्र नः परि-
स्कृतम्, तत्र नः उपस्कृतम् = सद्युशितम् that is 'we assembled there'.

उपात्प्रतियज्ञवैकृतवाक्याध्याहारेषु ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रति, यज्ञ, वैकृत,
वाक्य - अध्याहारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सतो युणान्तराधानमाधिक्याय वृद्धस्य वा तादवस्थाय समीहा प्रतियज्ञः । विकृतमेव वैकृतम् ।
प्रज्ञादिस्वाङ् । गम्यमानार्थस्य वाक्यस्य स्वरूपेणापादानं वाक्यस्याध्याहारः । एतेष्वर्थेषु गम्यमानेषु करोती
धातौ परत उपात् सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

139. The augment सुद् is placed before क्, when the verb क् 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 प्रतियज्ञः ॥ That which is prepared or altered is called वैकृतं ॥ The word वैकृतं is the same as विकृतं, the affix अण् 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 अध्याहार of a sentence. Thus in the sense of 'taking pains' we have एधोक्कस्योपस्कुहते (See I. 3. 32); काण्डयुगस्योप-
स्कुहते ॥ In the sense of 'altering by preparing' we have: उपस्कृतं भुङ्क्ते, उपस्कृतं
गच्छति ॥ In the sense of 'supplying a thesis' we have उपस्कृतं जल्पति, उपस्कृतं-
मधीते ॥ When not having any one of the above five senses (VI. I. 137-139)
we have उपकरोति ॥

किरती लवने ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ किरती, लवने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादित्येव । उपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरती धातौ लवनविषये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ णमुल्लभवक्तव्यः ॥

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

Thus उपस्कारं मद्रका लुनन्ति, उपस्कारं कावनीरका लुनन्ति = विकल्प्य लुनन्ति ॥

Vart.—The above augment takes place when णञ् 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 उपक्रिति ॥

हिंसायां प्रतेश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसायाम्, प्रतेः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ किरतावित्येव । उपात्ततेभोत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ हिंसायां 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 उपस्कीर्णम् or प्रतिस्कीर्णे हन्त ते वृषल भूयात् = तथा ते वृषल विक्षपो भूयाद् यया हिंसामनुबभ्नाति ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ किरतावित्येव । अपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ चतुष्पाच्छकुनियु, यशलेखनं तस्मिन् विषये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

वात्तिक्रम ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेभ्यति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्वेव किरतेराम्नेपरस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

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 हटः, अपस्किरते कुक्कुटो भक्ष्यार्थी; अपास्करते श्वा भाभ्यार्थी = भालिख्य विक्रिपति ॥ Why do we say 'four-footed animals or birds'? Observe अपकिरति देवर्षः ॥

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

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

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 (कुन्सितानि तुम्बुरुणि) ॥ The word तुम्बुरु here means the fruit of the ebony tree.

अपरस्वराः क्रियासातत्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरस्वराः, क्रिया - सातत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपरस्वरा इति सुद् निपात्यते क्रियासातत्ये गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā लुप्तेऽवश्यमः कृत्वे तुं काममनसोरपि ।
समो वा दितततयोर्भासस्य पचियुद्धघञोः ॥

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

Thus अपरस्वराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सन्ततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ When the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरस्वराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परं च सकृदेव गच्छन्ति ॥ The सातत्य comes from सततं, by adding थ्यम् to form the abstract noun, सततस्य भावः (V. 1. 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 Kārikā:—"The म् of अवथ्यम् 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 दित and तत, the final म् of मांस is elided before पाक or पचन ॥ As (1) अवथ्य कर्तव्यं = अवथ्यकर्तव्यं, (2) भोक्तुम् कामः = भोक्तु कामः, श्रोतुमनः ॥ (3) सम्हितं = सहितं, सम् ततं = सततं ॥ (4) मांस पाकः, मांस पचनम् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ गोस्पदमिति सुद् निपात्यते तस्य च बलं सेविते ऽसेविते प्रमाणे च विषये ॥

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

Thus गोस्पदो देशः = गावः पचन्ते यस्मिन् देशे स गोभिः सेवितो देशः ॥ So also अगोस्पदान्यरण्यानि ॥ The word गोस्पद by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows'. Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोस्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रं, गोस्पदपुरं 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 गोपदम् = गोः पदम् ॥ What is the use of the word असेवित in the sūtra, the word गोस्पद will give अगोस्पद by adding the negative particle, न गोस्पद = अगोस्पद? The force of नञ् compound is that of सदृश "like that but not that". As अब्राह्मण means "a man who is a Kshatriya &c. not a Brāhmana, but does not mean a stone &c". Therefore अगोस्पद 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 अगोस्पद ॥

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

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

The word प्रतिष्ठा means 'firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority'. Thus आस्पद्म अनेन लक्ष्यम् ॥ Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe भा पदात् = भापद्म ॥

आश्चर्यमनित्ये ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्चर्यम्, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्यतया विषयभूतया ऽभुतस्वनिहलक्ष्यते तस्मिन्नाश्चर्ये निपात्यते । चरेराडि चागुराविति यस्त्वये कृते निपातनात्सुट् ॥

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

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

वर्चस्के ऽवस्करः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्चस्के, अवस्करः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितं वर्चो, वर्चस्कमन्नमलं, तस्मिन्नभिधये ऽवस्कर इति निपात्यते । भवपूर्वस्य किरतेः कर्मणि ऋशारप् 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 अप 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 अवस्करः ॥

अपस्करो रथाङ्गम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपस्करः, रथाङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्कर इति निपात्यते रथाङ्गं चेरवति । अपपूर्वात्किरतेर्ऋशारवित्यप्, 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 अपस्करः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ विकिर इति किरतेविपूर्वस्येयुपधत्तापीकिरः कः इति कप्रत्यये विहिते सुट् निपात्यते शकुनिश्चरवति । विकिराब्धाभिधेयो वा शकुनिर्भवति ॥

Verse सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या विष्किराः कुक्कुटादृते ।

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. 1. 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 शकुनयो भक्ष्या विष्कराः कुक्कुटाहत ॥ Though the sūtra विष्करोवाशकुनौ would have given the optional form विकर, the specific mention of this form in the sūtra indicates that विक्रि always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise विकर would have referred to some thing other than a bird.

ह्रस्वाच्चन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, चन्द्रोत्तरपदे, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन्द्रशब्दोत्तरपदे 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 सूर्याच्चन्द्रमसावित्र ॥ Why do we say 'in a Mantra'? Observe, सुच्चन्द्रा पौर्णमासी ॥ The उत्तरपद् 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 ॥

पतिष्कशाश्च कशोः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतिष्कशाः, च, कशोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश गतिशासनयोरित्येतस्य धातोः प्रतिपूर्वस्य पञ्चाद्याधि कृते सुद् निपात्यते, तस्यैव पत्वम् ॥

Verse माममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशाः ।

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

The word प्रतिष्कशा is formed by adding षष् affix (III. 1. 134) to the root, with adding the prefix प्रति ॥ Thus माममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशाः 'I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary'. The word प्रतिष्कशाः means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary". Why do we say "to the root कश"? Observe प्रतिगतः कशां = प्रतिकशाऽश्वः 'a horse guided by the whip'. Here though कशा is derived from कश, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कश, and not to a derivative word.

प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्कण्व हरिश्चन्द्रौ, ऋषी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्कण्वो हरिश्चन्द्र इति सुद् निपात्यते ऋषी चेत्यभिधेयो 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. 1. 151 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. When not referring to Rishis, we have प्रस्कण्वो दहाः, (कण्वं पापं तत्पगतं यस्मान्) हरिश्चन्द्रो मानवकः (हरिः चन्द्रो यस्य मुग्धस्य) ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्कर मस्करिन् इत्येतौ यथासंख्यं 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 सुट् 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 मकरोमाहः "an alligator", मकरा समुद्र "an ocean". Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix अच्, the long भा being shortened. Thus मा क्रियत यन प्रातापथ्यत = मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of ताच्छाल्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिन् ॥ Thus मा करणशाला = मस्करौ "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "मा कुरुतः कर्माणि शान्तिर्षः 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 कास्तोर 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 सुट् निपात्यते वृक्षभेदवति ॥

156. The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार+कृ+ट् (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 सुट् ॥ Thus पारस्करः 'a country called Pāraskara'. कारस्करः 'N. of a tree', रथस्या 'N. of a river', किञ्चुः 'N. of a measure', किञ्चिन्धा 'N. of a cave', तस्कर 'a thief', formed by inserting सुट् in the compound of तन्+कर, and eliding त् ॥ वृहस्पति 'N. of a Diety', formed similarly by inserting सुट् between वृहत्+पति and eliding the त् ॥ Why do we

say when meaning a thief and a diety? Observe तस्करः, बृहस्पतिः ॥ The words चौर and देवता are used in the Ganapātha merely for the sake of diversity, the word संज्ञा would have connoted that प्रस्तुम्पति गौः ॥ When the root क्षुप 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 प्रस्तुम्पति वनस्पतिः ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुद् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated :—प्रस्तुम्पति गौः, प्रस्तुम्पती गावो, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गावः ॥ This is an ākṛitigaṇa. Thus प्रायाञ्जनम्, प्रायाञ्जितः ॥

1 पारस्करो देशः, 2 कारस्करो वृक्षः, 3 रयस्या नदी, 4 किष्कुः प्रमाणम्, 5 किष्किन्धा गुहा, 6 तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयोः सुद् तलापञ्च (तस्करः चौरः, बृहस्पतिः=देवता), 7 प्रात् तुम्पतौ गावि कर्तारि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः) ॥ आकृतिगणः ॥

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

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

Kārikā आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च ।

पृथक्स्वरानिवृत्त्यर्थमेकवर्जं पदस्वरः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विभक्तिस्वरान्नस्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ विभक्तिनिमित्तस्वराच्चनस्वरो 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 anudātta or unaccented. This is a Paribhāshā or maxim of interpretation with regard to the laws of accent. Wherever an accent—be it acute (udātta) 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 anudātta 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 गोपार्येति the acute accent is on य, all the rest are unaccented. The root accent is superseded by आ accent, thus लुनीति has acute accent on ना ॥ The आ accent is superseded by तस् accent, as लुनीर्तः, has accent on तः ॥ The तस् accent is superseded by आम् accent, as लुनीतस्तरौम् ॥

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 अनङ्गर् when a sarvanāmsthāna affix follows". Thus चत्वारः, अनङ्गैर्, here the augment-accent

supersedes the accent of the stem, for चतुर was acutely accented on the first syllable, so also अनडुह्, these being formed by the affixes उरन् and असुन् respectively. Thus चत् + उरन् = चतुर (चतेरन् Un V. 58, accent VI. 1. 197); अनडुह् is thus derived : अनो वहति = अनस् + वह् + क्तिप्, the स् is replaced by ड्, and there is vocalisation of व् of वह् VI. 1. 15 = अनडुह् ॥ This word is formed by a Kṛit affix with a kārāka upapada, therefore, the second term will retain its original accent, namely the final acute of a root. (VI. 1. 162 and VI. 2. 139) अनस 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 अस्ति, वधि, सक्थि, 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 अस्त्यनि ॥ The word अस्ति 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 तव्यन् (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 apavāda 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 गोपायै 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 anudātta. Therefore, where there is a conflict of rules, the accent is guided by the following maxim: “परानित्यान्तरङ्गापवादैः स्वरैर्व्यवस्था सति प्रकृतिशिष्टेन च” ॥ 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 Apavāda 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 Kāśikā: 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 प्रत्ययस्वरः "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 (uttarāśanga) is of black color—the Son of Baladeva" the Bahuvrīhi-accent (VI.2.1) being an apavāda to Samāsa-accent (VI. 1. 223), debars the samāsa-accent; but this Bahuvrīhi-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 Bahuvrīhi. 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 ॥

Vart:—The नञ्-accent is stronger than the case-affix accent. Thus in अतिन्नः, 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 Tatpurusha.

Vart:—The accent of नञ् is stronger than the accent of that which is caused or occasioned by a vibhakti. Thus अन्वत्वारः ॥ Here the augment भाम् 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 देवदत्त! गौमभ्याज शुक्लीम् "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 डीप् 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 कुवल्यादिकारः = कौवलम् ॥ Similarly the word गर्भिणी formed from गर्भ (belonging to ग्रामादि class Phit II. 15), with, the affix हनि (V. 2. 115) and the feminine डीप् ॥ If here the affix हनि 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 भिक्तादि 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.

कर्षात्वतो घञो ऽन्त उदात्तः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ष, भत्वतः, घञः, अन्तः,
उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्षतेर्धातोराकारवत्तश्च घञन्तस्थान्त 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 कर्षः, पार्कः, स्यार्कः, रार्कः, सार्कः, धार्कः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 197 by which affixes having an indicatory ष have acute accent on the first syllable. The word कर्ष 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 Tudādigāṇa. The word कर्षः derived from Tudādi कृष् has acute accent on the first syllable.

उच्छादीनां च ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्छादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छ इत्येवमादीनामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus 1. उच्छः, 2. म्लेच्छः, 3. जञ्जः, 4. जल्पः ॥ These are formed by घञ्, and would have taken acute-accent on the first. 5. जर्षः, 6. बर्षः are formed by षप् 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 व्यर्षः also here. 7. युर्गः is derived from युञ्ज 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 योर्गः ॥ 8. गर्ः=(दूष्ये); is formed by षप्, and has this accent when it means 'poison', in other senses, the acute is on the first syllable. 9. वेर्गः, वेर्दः, वेर्दः (चेष्टः), and बन्धः, 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. स्तुयुहुवद्वच्छन्ति, e. g. परिर्दुन्, परिर्दुन्, संयुन् ॥ 11. वर्चनिः स्तोत्रे, the stotra means Sāma Veda, the word वृत्तानिः occurring in the Sāma Veda has acute on the last: in other places, it has the accent on the middle. 12. श्वञ्जे हरः, the हरः has end-acute when meaning 'a cave', otherwise when formed by षप् affix it has acute on the first. 13. साम्बतापो भावगर्हायाम्, thus साम्बः, त्तापः, in other senses, the acute is on the first. 14. उत्तमश्वत्तमौ सर्वच, e. g. उत्तमः, श्वत्तमः ॥ Some read the limitation of भावगर्हा into this also. 15. भक्षमन्थभोगमन्थाः (भोगदेहा) ॥ These are formed by घञ्, भक्ष though a षन्त root is here घञन्तं ॥

1 उञ्छ, 2 म्लेच्छ, 3 जञ्ज, 4 जल्प, 5 जप, 6 वध (व्यध), 7 युग, 8 गतो वृत्त्ये, 9 वेद-
वेगवेष्टवन्धाः, (वेष्ट वेष्ट) करणे, 10 स्तुयुद्बुवञ्छन्सि (परिन्दुत्, संयुत्, परिदुत्), 11 वर्तनिः स्तानि
12 श्वेते इरः, 13 साम्बतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, 14 उत्तमशश्वत्तनौ (उत्तमशश्वत्तमशश्वौ) सर्वत्र, 15 भक्षमन्य-
भोगमन्याः (भक्षमन्यभोगवेहाः) ॥

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

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

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

The word *udatta* is understood here. Thus कुमारे + ई = कुमारी ॥ The word कुमारे has acute on the last, when the unaccented (*anudatta*) ङीप् is added to it, the ई is elided (VI. I. 148), the *anudatta* ई becomes *udatta*. So also प्रथिन् + शस् = प्रथिः (VII. I. 88), प्रथिन् + ए = प्रथे, प्रथिन् + छा = प्रथी ॥ The प्रथिन् has acute on the last. So also कुसुर्व + इमत्तुप् = कुसुर्वीन् (IV. 2. 87), नद्वीन्, वेनस्वन् ॥ The words कुसुर्व &c, are end-acute, and the affix मन् (वन्) is *anudatta* (III. I. 4).

Why 'an *anudatta* vowel gets &c'. Observe प्रासङ्गः + यत् = प्रासङ्गयः ॥ (प्रासङ्गं वहात् IV. 4. 76). Here though प्रासङ्गः is end-acute (VI. 2. 144 formed by चञ् with gati) it is followed by य् which is svarita (VI. I. 185), this svarita causes the lopa of ई *udatta*: but it does not itself become *udatta*. No, this is not a proper counter-example. For by the general rule of accent VI. I. 158, when one syllable is ordained to be *udatta* or svarita, all the other syllables of that word become *anudatta*. Therefore when य् is taught to be svarita, all the other syllables (like ई) will become *anudatta*. So there is no *lopa* of *udatta* when य् comes. The word अनुदात्त is used to indicate that the *initial* *anudatta* becomes *udatta*. Had *anudatta* not been used, the *sūtra* would have been यत्रोदात्तलोपश्च, which would mean यस्मिन् प्रत्यये परत; उदात्तलुप्यते तस्यान्त उदात्ता भवात्, for the *anuvritti* of अन्त would then be read from the last. There would then be anomaly in the case of मा हि घुक्षाताम्, and माहि घुक्षायाम् ॥ From the root दुह we have formed घुक्षाताम् and घुक्षायाम् in the Aorist Atmanepada, dual. दुह् + वसि + आताम् = दुह् + स् (VII. 3. 72) + आताम् ॥ Here आताम् causes the elision of the *udatta* अ of स् ॥ Therefore the *final* of आताम् would be *udatta*, which is not desired. The augment अ is not added because of मा, had it been added, the ई would have been *udatta* (VI. 4. 71). Had हि not been given, then also the whole of घुक्षाताम् would have become *anudatta* in माघुक्षाताम् because of तिङ्ङित्ङः (VIII. I. 28). See VIII. I. 34 (हि च). Why have we used the word यत्र in the *sūtra*? If it was not employed, then the subsequent *anudatta* may be such which would not have caused the elision of the previous *udatta*; such *udatta* being elided by some other operator, and still such *anudatta* would have become *udatta*. Thus in भार्गवः, भार्गवौ, भृगवः ॥ Here भृगवः 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 अस्, but is a subject of अस् (not निमित्त but विषय). Therefore अस् does not become udatta, which would have been the case, had यच् 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 *udatta* is elided"? Observe बिद् + भस् (IV. 1. 104) = ^३बद् ॥ The feminine of this will be बैद् + ङीत् (IV. 1. 73) = बैद्दी ॥ Here ई causes the elision of auḍatta अ of इ, and hence remains unchanged. So also भौ ई ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ भन्त इत्येव । धातोर्न्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

The word भन्त is understood here. Thus पंचति, पठति, ऊर्षति, गोपयति, यति ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ चितो ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus भंगुरम्, भासुरम्, मेदुरम्. These are formed by घुरच् III. 2. 161. So also कुण्डिनाः by II. 4. 70 where the substitute कुण्डिनच् is employed. To कुण्डि is added हान in the sense of मनुष्, then is added the feminine affix ङीप्, thus कुण्डिनी has middle-acute. The descendants of Kuṇḍini will be कौण्डिन्यः (by यच् of Gargādi). The plural of Kauṇḍinya will be formed by eliding यच् and substituting कौण्डिनच् for the remaining portion. In the cases of affixes having an indicative च्, the acute accent falls on the final, taking the stem and the affix in an aggregate. Thus बहुपठुः ॥ The affix बहुच् is one of those few affixes which are really prefixes. (V. 3. 68.) The accent will not, therefore, fall on ह, but on the last syllable of the whole word compounded of the prefix + the base. So also with the affix अकृच्. It is added in the *middle* of the word, but the accent will fall on the *end*; as उच्चर्चुः (V. 3. 71).

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

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्त इत्येव । चितस्तद्धितस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

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

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

कितः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितस्येत्येव । तद्धितस्य कितोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus माडाग्र्यः formed by फक् (IV. 1. 99), so also आराग्र्यः ॥ Similarly भाक्षिकः, शालाक्षिकः formed by ठक् (IV. 4. 1).

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

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृभ्य उच्चरस्य 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 udātta. 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 अतिसृषौ 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 (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुरः शसि परतो ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus चतुरः 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 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. Its substitute चतसृ will also be so, by the rule of स्यानिवत् ॥ The special enunciation of आद्युदात्त with regard to चतसृ in the Vārtika चतसर्थाद्युदात्तनिपातनं 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 र substitute of ऋ being sthârivat, will prevent the udâtta formation of the ऋ of स; 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 चतुर्ः, Pro. Mâx Muller चतुर्ः ॥ I have followed Prof. Mâx Muller in interpreting this sūtra; for Bohtlingk's interpretation would make the ending शस् accented, and not the final of चतुर् ॥

सावेकाचस्त्वृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, एकाचः, तृतीयादिः, विभक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साविति सप्तमीबहुवचनस्य सुधाब्दस्य प्रथमम् । तत्र सौ य एकाच् तस्मात्परा तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरुवात्ता 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 वाचा, वाग्ध्याम्, वृग्भिः, वाग्ध्याः, वाता, वाद्भ्याम्, वाग्भिः ॥ Why do we say 'in the Locative plural'? Observe वृक्षा, वृक्षे ॥ Why do we say 'monosyllabic'? Observe शैरणा, गिरिणा, रौद्रसु ॥ Why do we say 'the Instrumentals and the rest'? Observe वाचौ, वाचः ॥ Why do we say "the case-endings (विभक्तिः)?" Observe वाक्तरा, वाक्तरा ॥ The plural of the Locative being taken in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to स्वैया and स्वैयि, 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 ॥ अन्तोदात्तात्, उत्तरपदात्, अन्यतरस्याम्, अनित्यसमासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच् इति वर्तते, तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरिति च । नित्यशब्दः स्वर्यते । तेन नित्याधिकारविहितः समासः पर्युदस्यते । नित्यसमासादन्यत्रानित्यसमासे यदुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तमेकाच् तस्मात्परातृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यामुवात्ता 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 "एकाच्" and तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः are understood here also. The nitya or *invariable* compounds are excluded by this rule. Thus परमवाचा or परमवाचौ, परमवाचः or वाचैः; परमवाचः or वाचैः ॥ So also परमस्वैचा or स्वैचैः &c. According to VI. 1. 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 **भवेवाचा, सुवेवाचा, सुस्वचा** ॥ 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 **उत्तरपदान्**, the aphorism would have stood as, **अन्तोदात्तादन्यतरस्यामनिस्वसमासे** 'In a loose-compound having acute on the final, the above affixes are acute, if the compound consists of a monosyllable'. The word **एकाचः** will thus qualify the compound and not the second member of the compound, which is intended. And thus the rule will apply to **द्वोर्के** (**शुन ऊर्के**) Ins. **श्वोर्जा, श्वोर्जे**: &c, and not to compounds having more than one syllable. Why do we say 'in loose compounds'? Observe **अग्निर्चिता, सोमर्मुता** ॥ 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** udatta.

अञ्चेश्छन्दस्यसर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चेः, छन्दसि, असर्वनामस्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः पराऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

170. In the Chhandas, the case-endings other than the sarvanāmasthāna, 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 अस्यभिः** (Rig I. 84. 13). Here the word **इधीर्च्** 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 asarvanāmasthāna has been used here to include the ending **चस्** also. As **प्रतोर्चो बाहून् प्रतिभङ्ग्येषाम्** ॥

ऊङिदम्पदाद्यपुत्रैद्युभ्यः ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊङ्, इदम्, पदादि, अप्, पुम्, रै, द्युभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊङ् इदम् पदादि अद् पुम् रै दिद् इत्येतेभ्योऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

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

The **ऊङ्** is the substitute of the **वा** of **वाह** (VI. 4. 132) and not the **ऊङ्** taught in VI. 4. 19 &c. Thus **प्रङ्गोर्हः, प्रङ्गोर्हो**, but not in **अक्षयुषा** (Ins. sing of **अक्षयूः** derived by **ऊङ्** substitution of **व्** in **अक्षदिच्** VI. 4. 19 &c). **इदम्**—**आभ्याम्, एभिः** The anuvritti of "अन्तोदात्तात्" is understood here, therefore, when the word

इत्थं is not end-acute, this rule will not apply. When, therefore, there is anvádeśa under II. 4. 32, the final being anudatta, this rule does not apply, as अथो और्ध्वं निपुणमधीत ॥ The पदादि words are पद्, इत् &c upto निश् in VI. 1. 63. Thus निपूर्वभूतुरो अहि, या इ तौधावति, अर्धः पद्मः, अर्द्धः, अर्द्धः, पुंसः, पुम्भ्योम्, पुम्भ्यः, पुंसो, पुंसो, रायः पद्म, राधोम्, राभिः, दिवः, दिवो, दिवो ॥ As regards the other cases of दिन् 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 udatta by VI. 1. 161 even after these. The case endings after these words are of course, anudatta, except when these words become monosyllabic :—As श्रीवावां बद्धो अपि कक्ष आसीनि, मस्यं न दीन उर्देनि क्षियन्तं ॥

अष्टनो दीर्घात् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो शीर्षान्ताइसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिश्चात्ता 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 udatta after the long form अष्टा and not after अष्ट ॥ Thus अष्टभिः 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. The use of शीर्षान्त् indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long अष्टा in VII. 2. 84, thus becomes optional, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word शीर्षान्त् 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 शीर्षान्त्, 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 शीर्षान्त् would become useless.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोऽज्ञादिति वर्त्तते । अनुम् यः शतृभ्यस्तन्ताइन्तोऽज्ञात्परा नदी अजादिर्विभक्तिरसर्वनामस्थानशुचात्ता भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धन्महतीरूपसंख्यानम् ॥

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 तुङ्गी, तुङ्गी, लुङ्गी, पुङ्गी, तुङ्गी, लुङ्गी, पुङ्गी, लुङ्गी from तुङ्, तुङ्, लुङ् and पुङ् ॥

Why do we say "not having the augment न्?" Observe तुङ्गी, तुङ्गी ॥ Here also by VI. 1. 186, after the root तुङ् which has an indicative अ, in the Dhâtupâtha, being written तुङ्, the sârvadhâtuka affix ण्त् (अन्त्) is anudâta. This anudâta अन्त्, coalescing with the udâta अ of तुङ् (VI. 1. 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 तुङ्गी, तुङ्गी, तुङ्गी &c. If the participle is not an oxytone, the rule does not apply. As ईङ्गी, ईङ्गी ॥ Here the accent is on the first syllable by VI. 1. 189.

Vart:—The words वृङ्गी and मङ्गी should also be included: as वृङ्गी, मङ्गी, वृङ्गी, मङ्गी ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तस्थाने यो यण हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा नदी अजादिर्या ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ 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 कुर्त् + ई = कुर्त्ती ; कर्त्ता, कर्त्ता, कर्त्ता, * प्रलुङ्गी, प्रलुङ्गी ॥ प्रलुङ्गी, प्रलुङ्गी ॥ All these are लृच् ending words and have consequently acute accent on the final (VI. 1. 163). Why 'acutely accented final vowel is replaced &c'? Observe कर्त्ती, कर्त्ता, ईर्त्ता, ईर्त्ता, formed by लृच् having acute on the first syllable. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe बहुलितुङ्गी—बहुलितुङ्गी ब्राह्मण्य (VIII. 2. 4) बहुलितुङ्गी अस्या इति बहुलितुङ्गी ॥ This compound with बहु gets udâta on the final by VI. 2. 175. In making the Instrumental singular of बहुलितुङ्गी, the ङ is replaced by लृच्, but as this लृच् is preceded by a vowel, the affix gets the svarita accent.

Vart:—The rule applies when the stem ends in लृच् though not in a semi-vowel, as वारूपणी, चित्पणी ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊङो धातोश्च य उदात्तयण हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा ऽजाद्यसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिर्नोदात्ता 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. 1. 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 **धीरबन्धु**, which has acute accent on **ऊ**, because **ऊ** 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 (**उदात्तवण्**) 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-वण्**):—**सकृल्ल्या**, **सकृल्ले**; **खल्ले** from **सकृल्ले**, **खल्ले** 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.

ह्रस्वनुङ्भ्यां मतुप् ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्व, नुङ्भ्याम्, मतुप् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोसात्तादित्वेव । ह्रस्वान्तादन्तोसात्तानुङ्भयोमतुङ् उदात्तो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ रेद्यस्याश्च मतुप् उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भेष प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

176. The otherwise unaccented **मत्** (**वत्**) 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 **अन्तोसात्तात्** is understood here also. Thus **अग्निर्मान्**, **वायुर्मान्**, **ऋतुर्मान्**, **हर्तुर्मान्** ॥ So also when **मत्** takes **नुङ्**, as **अक्षुर्वता**, **शीर्षुर्वता** ॥ Here by VII. 1. 76, the word **अक्षि** takes **अनङ्** and becomes **अक्षन्**, then is added **नुङ्** 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 **वैशुमान्** ॥ The word **वैशु** has acute on the first syllable, as it is formed from **वस्** with the affix **उ** (Uṇ I. 10) which is **निन्** (Uṇ I. 9) so the **मत्** retains its anudatta here. So also in the case of **मरुत्वान्**, the affix does not become acute, though the word **मरुन्** has acute on the final as the intervening **न्** makes the **उ** of **रु** heavy when the affix is added; the general maxim **ह्रस्वविधौ व्यञ्जनमधिक्यमानवत्** does not apply here, because the very fact that **न्** is only taken as an exception, shows this.

Vart:—The affix **मत्** becomes acute after the heavy vowel of **रे**: as **भारिवान्** = **रथिरस्यास्ति** ॥ There is vocalisation of **य** of **रथि**, as **र इ इ** then substitution of one, as **र इ**, then **गुण**, **रे** ॥

Vart:—The prohibition should be stated after **वि**: as **विद्यतीयाङ्यानु-
 जाक्या भवन्ति** ॥

नामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
**वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वग्रहणमनुवर्तते मतुग्रहणं च । तेन मतुपा ह्रस्वो विशेष्यते । मतुपि यो ह्रस्वस्तदन्तादन्तोसा-
 तादन्यतरस्यां 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, कर्तृणां or कर्तृणां (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 मत्तुप् should also be read into this sūtra, the meaning being "a stem which has a light vowel when followed by मत्तुप्, 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 सिद्धिणां, चतसृणां having light vowels before नाम् and not to the forms above given. Why do we read नाम् with the ह्रस्व augment (VII. 1. 54) and not ङाम्? The rule will not apply to धन्वां शकन्वां which get the acute on the final by VI. 1. 174. Why do we say 'after a stem ending in a light vowel'? Observe कुमारीणां (the word कुमारी is end-acute by Up. III, 138 and so is कुमारी by VI. 1. 161). Why do we say after an oxytoned word? Observe वैपूणां, वैसूनां the words वपु and वसु have acute on the first syllable.

ख्याश्चन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊचाः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊचन्ताच्छन्दसि विषये नाशुशान्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

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

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

षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हलादिः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, त्रि, चतुर्भ्यः, हलादिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भन्तोदात्तादित्येतन्निवृत्तम् । षट्संज्ञकेभ्यस्त्रिचतुर् 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 भन्तोदात्ताद् ceases, for the present rule applies even to words like वैचन् and नैवन् which are acute on the initial by Phit II. 5. Thus क्षणां, षड्भिः, षड्भ्यः, पंचानां, सप्तानां, त्रिभिः, त्रिभ्यः, त्रयाणां, चतुर्णां (See VII. 1. 55). Why do we say 'before case-affixes beginning with consonants'? Observe षतस्रः षट्य (VI. 1. 167 and VII. 2. 99).

श्लथ्युपोत्तमम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लि, उपोत्तमम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो या हलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्ते परे यदुपोत्तमशुशान्तं भवति । त्रिपञ्चतीनामन्यदुत्तमं तत्सप्तमीषे च यत्तदुपोत्तमम् ॥

180. The above numerals, when taking a case-affix beginning with a भ् 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 चतुर 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, तिस्रभिः, चतुर्भिः ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with भ् and स्'? Observe, पंचानाम्, सप्तानाम् ॥ Why do we say 'the penultimate syllable'? Observe षड्भिः, चतुर्भिः ॥

विभाषा भाषायाम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षड्चतुर्भ्यो या झलद्विर्विभक्तिस्तदन्तं पदं उपात्तममुशात्तं भवति विभाषा भाषायां विषये ॥

181. In the Secular language this is optional.

The झलदि 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 spoken ordinary language. Thus पंचभिः or पंचभिः ॥ In the alternative VI. 1. 179 applies. So also सप्तभिः or सप्तभिः, तिस्रभिः or तिस्रभिः ॥

न गोद्वन्त्साववर्णराडङ्कुडकुदभ्यः ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न.गो,द्वन्,सौ अवर्ण, राद्, अङ्, कुङ्, कुदभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो द्वन् साववर्ण सौ प्रथमैकवचने यदवर्णान्तं राड् अङ् कुङ् कुद 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 रज्, or after a stem ending in अञ्च्, nor as well as after कुञ्च् and कृन् ॥

Thus गौवा, गौवे, गौव्याम् ॥ Here by VI. 1. 168, the case-endings would have got otherwise the accent, which is however prohibited. So also सुर्युना, सुर्यवे and सुर्युव्याम् ॥ Here VI. 1. 169 is prohibited. So also ह्युना, ह्युने, श्वव्याम्, परमह्युना, परमह्युन and परमश्वव्याम् ॥ The word साववर्णः (सौ अवर्णः) means 'what has अ or आ before सु (1st. sing.)' Thus श्वेभ्यः, तेभ्यः, केभ्यः ॥ 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 प्राचा, प्राचं प्राचाम् ॥ कुङ् is also a क्तिन् formed word. Thus कुञ्चा, कुञ्चे, परमकुञ्चा ॥ 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 न् should not be considered asidha for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, the present rule will not apply to words like नृ and वितृ 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 मनुप् will get udatta after पिता by VI. 1. 176 as पितृमौन् ॥ But rule VI. 1. 176 will be debarred by the present in the case of वृक्षवान् because वृक्ष is a सावर्ण्ये ॥

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 वृक्षवान्, वृक्षिः ॥ This debars VI. 1. 168, 171. Why do we say 'beginning with a झल् consonant'? Observe दिवो, दिवे ॥

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, नृभ्योम्, नृषु, नृषु ॥ But not so नृभिः, नृभ्यः ॥

तित्स्वरितम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्, स्वरितम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तित्स्वरितं भवति ॥

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

Thus चिक्रीर्ष्यम्, जिहीर्ष्यम्, formed by क्त (III. 1. 97). कार्यम्, हार्यम् with प्यन् (III. 1. 124). This is an exception to III. 1. 3 which makes all affixes adyudatta. For exception to this rule see VI. 1. 213 &c.

तास्यनुदात्तेनङ्दिदुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विङोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तासि, अनुदात्तेत्, ङिद्, अदुपदेशात्, ल, सार्वधातुकम्, अनुदात्तम्, अ-ङु, इङो, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तास्यनुदात्तेनोङितो ऽकारान्तोपदेशाच्च ङङ्गात्परं लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तं च भवति ङुङ् 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 ङुङ् and इङ्) as indicatory letter, as well as after what has a final अ in the Grammatical system of Instruction (upadeśa).

Thus तासि :—कर्त्ता, कर्त्तारो, कर्त्तारः, this debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). Anudattet :—as, भास्—आस्ते, वस्—वस्ते ॥ ङिन् :—षुङ्—हृते, षीङ्—येते ॥ अन् उपदेशः :—as तुस्तः, तुस्तः, पैचतः, पैचतः ॥ A root taking षप् (अ) is considered as

taught (upadeśa) as if ending with an अ, as the indicatory letters च and ए are disregarded on the maxim अनुबन्धस्थानैकान्तिकत्वं (= अनवयवत्वं) ॥ Thus वैचमानः, वैजमानः ॥ The augment मुक् is added by अनि मुक् VII. 2. 82 which may be explained in two ways; *first*, the augment मुक् is added to the final अ of the base (āṅga) when आन (आनच् &c) follows; or *secondly*, the the augment मुक् is added to the base (āṅga) 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 अदागमास्तुणीभूतास्तद्महणेन 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 न 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 आनच् 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 ऋ is ङित् (I. 2. 4) with regard to operations affecting the prior term, and not those which affect the subsequent. Therefore though ऋ is considered as ङित् 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 ङित् in this sūtra may be taken as equal to ङिदुपदेश and not the आतिशेधिक ङित् like इनु ॥

Why do we use the word upadeśa? So that the rule may apply to वैचामः, वैजामः, but not to इतः, इयः the dual of इन् which ends in न् in upadesa. though before सच् and यच् it has assumed the form इ ॥ Therefore इतैः इयैः ॥ Why do we use the word ल (Personal endings)? Observe कतीह वैदमाना formed by आनच् added to वृ (III.2.128), which not being a substitute of लद्, is not a personal ending like आनच् ॥ Why do we use the word Sārvadhātuka? Observe शिद्वयं, शिद्वयैः, शिद्विरे ॥ Why do we say with the exception of हनुङ् and इङ्? Observe हनुतैः, वद् अधीते ॥

आदिः सिचोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, सिचः, अन्यतरस्याम्, घृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्त्तते । सिञ्चन्त्यान्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो 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 ना हि कौर्द्याम्, ना हि कौर्द्याम्; ना हि लाविद्याम् or ना हि लाविद्याम् ॥ In the last example the accent is on पि; and the

reason why मा 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.

V&rt:—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 v&rtika restricts the scope of the s&utra with regard to पित् affixes. Thus we get the following two forms, which otherwise would have one form only by dh&atu-accent, namely, acute on the first, for पित् is anud&atta. Thus माहि क&ar्षम् or मा हि क&ar्षम् ॥ But when it takes the इद् augment, there are two forms (1st.) मा हि ल&avिषम् as a तिङन्त, (2nd.) मा हि ल&avिषम् accent on वि (VI. 1. 163). but never मा हि ल&avिषम् ॥ When however the augment अ is added, the accent falls on this augment (VI. 4. 71).

स्वपादिर्हिसामञ्च्यनिटि ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपादि, हिसाम, अचि, अनिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लसार्धधातुकप्रहणं यदनुवर्तते तदञ्च्यनिटीति सम्बन्धादिह सप्तम्यन्तं भवति स्वपादीनां हिसेष्वाजाशावनिटि लसार्धधातुके परतोऽन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

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

The phrase लसार्धधातुके in the locative case is understood here. Thus स्वैपन्ति or स्वैपन्ति, 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 स्वप्यैत्, हिंस्यैत् ॥ Why do we say 'not taking the augment इद्?' Observe स्वपितैः and श्वसितैः ॥ This rule applies to those vowel-beginning affixes which are ङित् ; it does not apply to स्वैपानि, हिंसैपानि ॥

अभ्यस्तानामादिः ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तानाम्, आदिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तानामजाशावनिटि लसार्धधातुके परते 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 s&arvadh&atuka personal ending.

Thus वैशति, वैशतु, वैधति, वैधतु, जैशति, जैशतुः, जैमति, जैमतुः ॥ Before consonant affixes: द्यौन् ॥ Before सेद् affixes:—जशितैः ॥ 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.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानोदात्ते च लसार्धधातुके परतोऽभ्यस्तानामादिरुदात्तो 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 लिप् are anudatta (III. 1. 4). This sūtra applies to those personal endings which do not begin with a vowel. Thus ईवाति, ज्ञेहाति, ईधाति, जिहीते, भिभीते ॥ The word अनुदात्त is to be construed here as a Bahuvrīhi 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 ईधात्, and ईधात्यत्र ॥

सर्वस्य सुपि ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दस्य सुपि परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वस्योऽनकच्छ्वेति 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 वं ॥ The word सर्व has acute on the final, as it is so taught in the Uṇādi list by निपातन् ॥ It thus being anudattādi takes the affix भक् 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 ॥

Vdt:—The rule does not apply when the affix भक् is put in : as सर्वकः ॥ Here the accent is on the final by चित् accent (VI. 1. 163).

भीहीभृहुमदजनधनदरिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वे पिति ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद्, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, जागराम, प्रत्ययात्, पूर्वम्, पिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी ही भृ हु मद् जन धन दरिद्रा जाग् इत्येतेषामभ्यस्तानां लसार्धधातुके पिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वश्रुतं भवति ॥

192. In भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद्, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, and जाग्, in their reduplicates, the acute accent is, before the sâr-vadhātuka unaccented endings of the three persons in singular, (पित्), on the syllable which precedes the affix.

This debars the accent on the beginning. Thus बिभ्रति, जिह्रति, बिभ्रन्ति, जुह्रति, मर्वन्तु नः परिज्मा ॥ Here the root मर् has diversely taken in the Chhandas the vikaraṇa भ्रु, though it belongs to Divādi class. जज्ञेनत्, इन्द्रम् ॥ The verb is here लृट् or the Vedic Subjunctive, so also is the next example. इधनत् from धन धान्ते,

the इ of ति being elided by III. 4. 97, and the augment अद् being added by III. 4. 94. वधेनत्, हरिद्विति, आर्षेति ॥ In the case of other verbs we have हिसति ॥ 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 हरिद्विति ॥

लिति ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमरात्तं भवति ।

193. The acute accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding the affix that has an indicatory ल् ॥

Thus चिकीर्षकः, जिहीर्षकः with the affix ण्वुल् (III. 1. 133), भौरिकिविधम् and ऐषुकारिभक्तम् with the affixes विधल् and भक्तल् (IV. 2. 54) accent on the कि and रि ॥

आदिर्णमुल्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, णमुलि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः । णमुलि परतोऽन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

194. The first syllable may be optionally acute when the absolutive affix णमुल् follows.

Thus लोलूयम् 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 लिट् accent. This rule is confined to polysyllabic Absolutes, namely to reduplicated Absolutes (VIII. 1. 4).

अचः कर्तृयकि ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्तृ-यकि ॥

वृत्तिः । उपदेशइति वर्त्तते । अजन्ताथे 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 च (VI. 1. 186).. This rule applies to जन्, खन्, and सन् when they get the form जायते, सायते and खायते; the long भा (VI. 4. 43) substitute is considered as if these verbs were taught in the Dhātupāṭha with long भा ॥ Thus जायते or जायते स्वयमेव सायते or सायते स्वयमेव; खायते or खायते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in a vowel'? Observe भिर्यते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say "when the sense is Reflexive (कर्तृ)"? Observe लूयते केशरोः स्वयमेव ॥

थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, इडन्तः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेटि थलि इट वा उदात्तो भवति अन्तो वा भादिर्याऽन्यतरस्याम् ।

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 थ has an' indicative इ, the syllable preceding the affix may have also the accent (VI. I. 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 लिट् accent (VI. I. 193):—यथीथ ॥

अनित्यादिर्नित्यम् ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिति, आदिः, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति नाते च नित्यमादिहसक्तो भवति ।

197. Whatever is derived with an affix having an indicative अ or ण, has the acute accent invariably on the first syllable.

Thus गर्थ with अस् (IV. I. 105), वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः with वुन् (IV. 3. 98). This is an exception to III. I. 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. I. 62. Therefore गर्गाः, विर्गाः, चर्वाः having lost अस्, अम् and क्, have lost their accent also.

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्यादिहसक्तो भवति ।

198. The first syllable of a Vocative gets the acute accent.

Thus देवदत्त !, देवदत्तो !, देवदत्ताः ॥ This debarb the final accent ordained by VI. 2. 148. Though the affix may be elided by a लुप्तान् word (लुक्, लुप् or ल्लु), yet the effect of the affix remains behind in spite of I. I. 63. As संप्रसारणच्छ ! संप्रसारणच्छत ! ॥

पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथोः, सर्वनामस्थाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमथिशब्दाद्यौणादिकादिनिप्रत्ययान्तौ प्रत्ययसंश्लेषान्तरात्तौ तयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत भासि-
हसक्तो 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. I. 3. They become ādyudātta before strong cases. Thus पथ्याः, पथ्यान्तो, पथ्यानाः, मथ्याः, मथ्यान्तो, मथ्यानाः ॥ Before other cases we have:—पथेः पथ्य, मथेः पथ्य ॥ The accent is on the final by VI. I. 162, there being elision of the udātta इन् ॥ The rule I. I. 62, about the remaining effect of the affix, does not apply here. As पथिंमिथ्या, 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 क्तवै, ईतवै ॥ 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 आयुशो भवति ।

201. The word क्षय has the acute on the first syllable in the sense of 'house, dwelling'.

Thus क्षेये जागृहि प्रपश्यन् ॥ 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 दस्युनाम् ॥ The word is formed by भच् (III. 2. 31),

जयः करणम् ॥ २०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जयः, करणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जयशब्दः करणवाची आशुशान्ता 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 इत्यवमासीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

203. The words वृष &c have the acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1. वृषः, 2. जैनुः, 3. ज्वैरुः, 4. मद्रः, 5. ह्यैः, 6. मयैः ॥ These are formed by भच् (III. I. 134). The word मय is from मे-मायते, irregularly it is treated as मे ॥ 7. नयः, 8. तायः, 9. तयः, 10. चयः, 11. भयः, 12. वेरुः, 13. सुरुः, 14. वरुः (formed by भच् numbers 8 to 11 are not in Kāśika). सुरु is formed by क (III. I. 135) 15. अंशः, 16. युज्ञ (formed by अङ् III. 3. 104). 17. क्षमरणं संज्ञायां संमतौ भावकर्मणोः :— क्षमः and रणः, 18. मन्त्रः (formed by भच् III. I. 134), 19. क्षान्तिः formed by क्तिच्, 20. कामः, 21. यामः, both formed by घञ्, 22. भारा, 23. धारा, 24. कारा, (all three formed by अङ् III. 3. 104), 25. वहः = गोचरादिषु formed by घञ् 26. कल्पः, 27. पारः 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 ऊवर 4 महः 5 ह्यः, 6 गयः, 7 नयः, 8 ताय*, 9 तयः, 10 चयः*, 11 भ्रमः*, 12 वेदः, 13 सूदः°, 14 अंशः, 15 शुहा, 16 रामरणौ 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 स्वः, 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 चञ्चुः, वैघ्निका, खरकुटी, हौसी ॥ 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 अग्निर्माणवकः ॥ When it is not an upamāna we have देववर्त्तः (VI. 2. 148).

निष्ठा च द्व्यजनात् ॥ २०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, च, द्व्यच्, अनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च द्व्यच् संज्ञायां विषये आद्युदात्तं भवति चकाराकारो न भवति ॥

205. A disyllabic Participle in त् (Nishṭhâ), when a Name has the acute on the first syllable, but not if the first syllable has an आ ॥

Thus शुभ्रः, कुञ्जः, ईक्षः ॥ This debar 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, चार्त्तैः, आर्त्तैः ॥ When the Participle is not a Name we have, कर्त्तम्, इर्त्तम् ॥

शुष्कधृष्टौ ॥ २०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क, धृष्टौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिदशच्च 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 कर्त्ता ॥ २०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशितः, कर्त्ता ॥

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'. **आशितमन्नम्** 'the eaten food'. The former is **भावे क्त**, the second is **कर्मणि क्त** ॥

रिक्ते विभाषा ॥ २०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिक्ते, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिक्तशब्दे विभाषा आदिरुशात्तो 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 आद्युशात्ते 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 नित्यमाद्युशात्ते भवतः ॥

210. In the Mantras, these words **जुष्ट** and **अर्पित** have always the acute on the first syllable.

Thus **जुष्ट 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. **तस्मिन्साकं चिदाता न संकरोर्पितौ** ॥

युष्मद्-अस्मदोर्डासि ॥ २११ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः, डासि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदी मदिक्प्रत्ययान्ते ऽन्तांशात्ते तयोर्डासि परत आदिरुशात्तो 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 + ऋस् = युष्मद् + अश्** (VII. 1. 27) = **तव अद् + अश्** (VI. 2. 96) = **तवै + ऋश्** (VII. 2. 90) = **तव** (VI. 1. 97). Here by VIII. 2. 5, **व** would have been **udatta**, the present **sūtra** makes **त** **udatta**. So also with **मम** ॥

डयि च ॥ २१२ ॥ पदानि ॥ डयि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्डासि वर्तते, आदिरुशात्ता इति च । इत्येतस्मिन्न परतो युष्मदस्मदोर्डासिर्डासो भवति ॥

212. The acute accent is on the first syllable of **युष्मद्** and **अस्मद्** in the Dative Singular.

Thus **तुभ्यम्** and **मैत्र्यम्**, the forms **त** and **मै** 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 **युष्मद्भ्यश्च ईङितोः**, 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 द्व्यञ्महणमनुवर्त्तते । यन्प्रत्ययान्तस्य द्व्यञ् आदिरुदात्तो भवति न चञौ-
शाब्दात्परो 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 **द्व्यञ्** is understood here from VI. I. 205. Thus **चैर्यम्**, **जैर्यम्** (III. I. 97); **कैर्यम्**, **कौर्यम्** (V. I. 6). This rule debar the Svarita accent required by **त्त्** (VI. I. 185) ॥ But **नौ-नाव्यम्** ॥ The rule does not apply to words of more than two syllables, thus:—**चिकीर्यम्**, **ल्लान्यम्** ॥

ईङितवृत्तसंशुद्धां ण्यतः ॥ २१४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईङ्, वन्द्, वृ, शंस्, दुहाम्, ण्यतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईङ् वन् वृ शंस् दुह इत्येतेषां या ण्यत् तदन्तस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

214. The acute accent is on the first syllable of **ईङ्**, **वन्द्**, **वृ**, **शंस्** and **दुह**, when they are followed by the affix **ण्यत्** ॥

Thus **ईङ्यम्**, **वैर्यम्**, **वौर्यम्**, **वैर्यम्**, **वैर्या** 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 **वृम्** of स्वादि class takes **kyap** affix. See III. I. 109.

विभाषा वेण्विन्धानयोः ॥ २१५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेणु, इन्धानयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेणु इन्धाने इत्येतयोः विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ।

215. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable of **वेणु** and **इन्धान** ॥

Thus **वेणुः** or **वेणुः**; **इन्धानः** or **इन्धानः** or **इन्धानः** ॥ The word **वेणु** is derived by the **Uṇḍi** affix **णु** (III. 38), which being a **नित्** 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 **चानच्**, the affix being a **sārvadhātuka** is **anudatta**, and as it replaces **udatta** final of the root, it becomes **udatta** (VI. I. 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 **upamāna** **वेणुरिव वेणुः**, then it is *invariably* acutely accented on the first (VI. I. 204).

त्यागरागहासकुहश्वठक्रथानाम् ॥ २१६ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, क्रथानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः । त्याग राग हास कुह श्वठ क्रथ इत्येतेषां विभाषा भादिरुशात्तो भवति ।

216. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllables of त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, and क्रथ ॥

Thus त्यागः or त्यागोः, रागः, हासः, हासोः ॥ These are formed by चम् affix and by VI. 1. 159 would take acute on the final, this ordains acute on the first syllable also. कुहः or कुहोः, श्वठः or श्वठोः, क्रथः or क्रथोः formed by अच् (III. 1. 13).

उपोत्तमं रिति ॥ २१७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपोत्तमम्, रिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिन्तस्थोपोत्तममुशात्तं भवति । त्रिप्रश्नीनामन्स्थमुत्तमं तस्य संभवे 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 कर्णोद्यम् and हरणोद्यम् formed by अनीयद् (III. 1. 96); पदुजातीयः, यदुजातीयः by जातीयर् (V. 3. 19). This debars III. 1. 3.

चङ्चन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङन्ते अन्यतरस्यामुपोत्तममुशात्तं 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 ना हि चीकरोताम् or चीकरोताम् ॥ The augment अच् is elided by the addition of ना, VI. 4. 74; हि prevents the verb from becoming anudatta VIII. 1. 34 then comes the चित् accent of चङ् ॥ The augmented form with अच् 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, नाहि इधेत् ॥

मतोः पूर्वमात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियाम् ॥ २१९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः, पूर्वम्, आत्, संज्ञायाम्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतोः पूर्व आकार उशात्तो भवति तद्येन्मत्सन्तं 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 अदुम्बरवती, पुष्करवती, शरवती (IV. 2. 85). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 120. वीरजावती ॥ Why do we say 'the आ'? Observe इक्षुमती, इक्षुमती ॥ The words इक्षु Un. III. 157 and इक्षु (V. 2. 108) are end-acute, so accent is on मत्तुर् by VI. 1, 176. Why do we say when a name? Observe खड्गावती ॥ खड्गा is formed by कृन् and has acute on the first (Un. I. 151). Why do we say in

the Feminine Gender? Observe **सारावाङ्** ॥ Why do we say when followed by **मत्**? Observe **मसादिनी** ॥

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 **अजिर्वती**, **खडिर्वती**, **इसर्वती**, **कारण्डवती** ॥ 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 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 asidddha for the purposes of this rule.

ईवत्याः ॥ २२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईवत्याः, (उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईवतीशब्दान्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति स्त्रियां संज्ञायां विषये ।

221. The Names ending in **ईवती** have the acute on the last syllable.

Thus **अहीवती**, **कृषीवती**, **सुनीवती** ॥
चौ ॥ २२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चात्रित्यङ्प्रतिभ्रमनकारो गृह्यते । तस्मिन्परतः पूर्वस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चात्रतद्धितइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

222. In compound words ending in **अङ्च्**, the final vowel of the preceding word has the acute accent in the weak cases in which only **च्** of **अङ्च्** remains.

Thus **दधीचः पद्यः**, **दधीचा**, **दधीचेः**; **मधूचः पद्यः**, **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 **दाधीर्चः**.
माधूर्चः ॥ 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 **राजपुरुषः**, **ब्राह्मणकन्धर्मेः**, **कन्याखर्मेः**, **पटहशर्मेः**, **नदीधोर्मेः**, **राजदूर्मेः**, **ब्राह्मणसर्मिन्** ॥ 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 पूर्वपदस्ये स्वर उदात्ते स्वरिते वा वर्त्तते । बहुव्रीहौ समासे पूर्वपदस्य वः स्वरः स प्रकृत्या भवति, स्वभावेनावतिष्ठते, न विकारमनुवात्तस्वमापद्यते ॥

I. In a Bahuvrīhi, the first member preserves its own original accent.

The word पूर्वपदम् means here the accent—whether udātta or svarita—which is in the first member : प्रकृत्या means, retains its own nature, does not become modified into an anudātta 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 anudātta, 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 anudātta; with the present sūtra commences the exceptions to the rule that the final of a compound is always udātta. Thus कौर्णोत्तरासङ्गाः ॥ The word कौर्ण is derived by the Taddhita affix अम् (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 वृषवलङ्गः; the word वृष is derived from वृ by the Uṇādi affix ष (Uṇ III. 27), before which the vowel becomes lengthened (Uṇ III. 25) and the affix is treated as त्रिन् (Uṇ 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. udātta on the first syllable. So also अर्ध्यापकपुत्रः, the word अर्ध्यापक is accented on the middle as it is formed by a त्रिन् 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. अनुष्यनायः, the word अनुष्य being formed by चन् (IV. 1. 161) a त्रिन् affix is svarita (VI. 1. 185).

The words udâṭṭa and svarita are understood in this aphorism, Therefore if *all* the syllables of the pûrvapada are anudâṭṭa, the present rule has no scope there, and such a compound will get udâṭṭa on the final by the universal rule enunciated in VI. 1. 223. Thus समाम्गैः, here सम being *all* anudâṭṭa, the accent falls on ङ ॥

तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, तुल्यार्थे, तृतीया, सप्तमी, उपमान, अव्यय, द्वितीया, कृत्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे तुल्यार्थे तृतीयात्तं सप्तम्यन्तश्च उपमानवाचि अव्ययं द्वितीयात्तं कृत्यान्तं च तत्पूर्वपदं सप्तम्यकृतस्वरं भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अव्यये न भूकुनिपातानामिति 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, सदैकश्वेतः, सदैगलोहितः, सदैगमहान् ॥ These are Karmadhāraya compounds formed under II. 1. 68 : and तुल्य being formed by वत् is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 216). The word सदैक is formed by क्तिन् (III. 2. 60 Vārt), and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 197 and VI. 2. 139). So also सदैगश्वेतः सदैगलोहितः, सदैगमहान् ॥ The word सदैग is formed by कश् added to दैक, and by VI. 1. 197 the accent falls on दै (VI. 2. 139). (2) When the first member is in the Instrumental case, as :—शकुलया खण्डः = शकुली-खण्डः; so also किरिकाणः (II. 1. 30) शकुल is derived from शकु + ला ॥ To the root ला is added the affix क with the force of षच्, and thus the noun ला is udâṭṭa ; or the whole word शकुल is a word formed by झ् affix and hence VI. 1. 165 applies and is final-acute. किरिः is formed by the Uṇādi affix इ to कृ (Uṇ IV. 143), and it being treated as a क्तिन् (Uṇ. IV. 142) has udâṭṭa on the final.

(3) When the first member is a word in the Locative case, as :—अक्षेण शोण्डः = अक्षेणशोण्डः, so also पानशोण्डः ॥ The word अक्ष is formed by the affix स added to अक्ष (Uṇ III. 65), and is final acute (III. 1. 3). The word पान is formed by लृट् affix added to प, and is acute on the first (VI. 1. 193) owing to the लिट् accent. (4) When the first member is a word with which the second member is compared, as :—सर्व्वीश्यामा, कुशुदयेनी, हंसगद्गहा, न्यमोर्धपरिमण्डला, इर्व्वि-कर्ण्डश्यामा, शरकण्डगौरी ॥ These compounds are formed by II. 1. 55. सर्व्वी is formed by डीष् and is final-acute ; कुशुद is formed by क् affix (कौ मोरते = कुशुद) : see III. 2. 5. Vārt : and is acutely accented on the first, or by Phit sūtra II. 3 it has acute on the first. हंस is formed by the Uṇādi affix स added to हन्

(Uṇ III. 62), and is finally accented (III. 1. 3). न्यघोइति = न्यघोषः formed by अच् (III. 1. 134), and इ is irregularly changed into घ as Pānini himself uses this form (VII. 3. 5): and it is accented in the middle. The words घूर्वाकाण्ड, घोरकाण्ड 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, अद्वाहणः, अद्दृषलः, कुद्वाहणः, कुद्दृषलः ॥ निष्कोद्याम्बिः, निर्वाराणसिः, अतिस्वद्वः, अतिमालः ॥ 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 क्, and by Particles (nipāta). Though नञ् is one of the Nipātas, its separate mention indicates that नञ्-accent debars even the subsequent कृत्-accents as अकरणिः ॥ Therefore, it does not apply here स्नात्वाकालकः which has acute on the final and belongs to Mayuravyāṣakādi class.

(6) When the first member as in the accusative case, as:—मुहूर्त्तसुखम्, मुहूर्त्तरमणीयम्, सर्वरात्रिकल्याणी, सर्वरात्रेशोभना ॥ They are formed by II. 1. 29. मुहूर्त्त belongs to पृषोदरादि class and is acutely accented on the last. सर्वरात्रि is formed by the samāsanta affix अच् and is finally accented.

(7) When the first member is a Kritya-formed word, as, भोज्यलवणम्, भोज्योष्णम्, पानीयशीतम्, हरणीयचूर्णम् (II. 1. 68). भोज्य is formed by प्यत् and has svarita on the final: पानीय and हरणाय are formed by अनीयत् and are accented on the penultimate (VI. 1. 185 and 217) i. e. on ई ॥

घर्णोवर्णोऽवनेते ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घर्णः, वर्णेषु, अनेते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं, तस्यरुपइति च वर्तते । वर्णं वर्णवाचि पूर्वपदं वर्णवाचिष्वेवोत्तरपदेषु एतद्यववाचि-
सिषु परतस्तस्यरुपे 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 कृष्णसारङ्गो, लोहितसारङ्गी, कृष्णकल्पाशः, लोहितकल्पाशः ॥ कृष्ण is formed by क् affix (Uṇ III. 4) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). लोहित is formed by the affix तद् added to र्ह् (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 कृष्णतैः, लोहितैः ॥ The compounding takes place by II.1. 69.

गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाध, लवणयोः, प्रमाणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणवाचिनि तस्यरुपे समासे गाध लवण इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

4. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when the second term is गार्ध or लवण, and the compound expresses a 'measure or mass'.

Thus स्याम्बगाधसुदकम्, अरिर्त्रिगाधसुदकम् 'water as low or fordable as a Samba or an Aritra i. e. of the depth of an oar or a pestle'. मूलिलवणम्, ईश्वरलवणम् 'so much salt as may be given to a cow or a horse'. These are Genitive Tatpurusha compounds. स्याम्ब is formed by adding वन् to स्याम् (Uṇ. IV. 94), and has acute on the first (VI. I. 197). अरिम्ब is formed by the affix इम्ब added to अरि (III. 2. 184), and has acute on the middle (III. 1. 3); गो is formed by जो (Uṇ. II. 68) and has acute on the final जो; ईश्वर is formed by वन् affix added to ईश्वर (Uṇ. I. 151), and has acute on the first (VI. I. 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 परमगार्धम् and परमलवणम् ॥

दायाद्यं दाय्यादे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाय्याद्यम्, दाय्यादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्युक्ते समासे दाय्याद्यञ्चत्तरपदे दाय्याद्यवाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

5. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word दाय्याद् as its second member, the first member denoting inheritance preserves its original accent.

Thus विद्यादायाद्, धनदायाद् ॥ The word विद्या is formed by the affix द्यप् (III. 3. 99) which is udatta (III. 3. 96). The word धन is derived by adding द्यु to धाम् (Uṇ. II. 81). Though the Uṇādi Sūtra II. 81 ordains द्यु 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 दाय्याद् 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 शेषिक 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 दाय्याद् &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 debar 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 परमज्ञायाईः (VI. 1. 223) taking the final acute of a compound.

प्रतिबन्धि चिरकृच्छ्रयोः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिबन्धि, चिर, कृच्छ्रयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्युत्थे 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 स्युद् 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 शुचकृच्छ्रम् ॥

पदेऽपदेशे ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदे, अपदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदेशो व्याजस्तद्वाचिनि तस्युत्थे 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, उच्चारणपदेन प्रस्थितः ॥ Gone on pretext of voiding urine or excreta.

The word मूत्र is derived by adding the affix इत् to the root मुञ्, the ङ being substituted for उच् of मुञ्, (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 पदम् = विष्णुपदम् ॥

निवाते वातप्राणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निवाते, वात-प्राणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवातशब्दउत्तरपदे वातप्राणवाचिनि तस्युत्थे 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 कुच्येन निवातं = कुचीनिवातम् 'a hut as the only shelter from the wind'. So also क्षीमीनिवातम्, कुच्यनिवातम् or कुच्यनिवातम् ॥ The word निवात is an Avyayi-

bhāva compound = वातस्य अभावः (II. 1. 6): or a Bahuvrihi = निरुद्धो वातोऽस्मिन् ॥ The words कुटीनिवातश्च &c, are examples of compounds of two words in apposition. कुटी and वाती are formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). Some say that कुड्य is derived from कुं by adding यत् with the augment डक् 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 राजनिवाते वसति, सुखं मातुनिवाते = 'he lives under the shelter of the king'; 'pleasant is the shelter or the protection of the mother'. Here निवात = पार्श्वः or vicinity.

शारदेऽनार्तवे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शारदे, अनार्तवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतौ भवमार्तवम् । अनार्तववाचिनि शारदशब्दउत्तरपरं तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपरं 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 अनार्तव means appertaining to season (ऋतु) i. e. when the word शारद् does not refer to the season of शरत् or autumn. Thus रञ्जुशारदमुदकम् 'fresh drawn water'. So also हर्षत् शारदाः सक्तम् 'the saktu flour fresh from the mill'. The word शारद् means here 'fresh' 'new': and it forms an invariable compound. The word रञ्जु is formed by ञ् affix added to सृञ् (Uṇ. I. 15), the स being elided. The affix ञ् 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 ह 'to tear' (हणाति), and the affix भविक् (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 ॥ अध्वर्यु, कषाययोः, जातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युकषाय इत्येतयोर्जातवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपरं 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 प्रौष्याध्वर्युः, कर्षाध्वर्युः, कालापाध्वर्युः ॥ These are Appositional compounds denoting 'genus or kind', with a fixed meaning. प्राष्य is formed by यत्, and has accent on the first (VI, 1. 213). कठ is derived by अष् 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 इन् of कलापिन् will be elided (See VI. 1. 144 vart). Thus कालाप gets accent on the final (III. 1. 3). So also सर्पिर्मण्डकपायम्, उमापुष्पकपायम्, दौवारिककपायम् ॥ These are Genitive compounds. The words सर्पिर्मण्ड and उमापुष्प are Genitive compounds and have accent on the final (VI. 1. 223). The word दौवारिक is formed by डक् affix added to द्वार and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 165). Why do we say when meaning a 'genus'? Observe, परमाध्वर्युः, परमकषायः (VI. 1. 223).

सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदृश, प्रतिरूपयोः, सादृश्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदृश प्रतिरूप इत्येतन्नोरुत्तरपदयोः सादृश्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतित्त्वं 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 विहंसदृशः, मातृसदृशः ॥ The words विहृ and मातृ are formed by Unādi affix वृच् (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 दासीः सदृशो, वृषलीः सदृशः ॥ Here दासी and वृषली are finally acute, and the case-affix gets the accent when semivowel is substituted (VI. 1. 174). So also विहंसप्रतिरूपः, मातृप्रतिरूपः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning resemblance'? Observe परमसदृशः, उत्तमसदृशः (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 पूर्वपदं प्रकृतित्त्वं 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-मन्त्र, the affix मात्रच् denoting 'measure' (V. 2. 37) is elided (See V. 2. 37 Vart) प्राच्यधासौ 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 त्रीहिप्रत्ययः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting measure?' Observe परमसप्तसमः ॥

गन्तव्यपण्यं घाणिजे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गन्तव्य, पण्यम्, घाणिजे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घाणिज्याब्जुत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे गन्तव्यवाचि पण्यवाचि च पूर्वपदं प्रकृतित्त्वं भवति ॥

13. Before the word वाणिज् '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 ध्ववहरन्ति 'the Madra-merchants i. e. who trade by going to Madra &c' All these are Locative compounds. मद्र is derived by रक् affix (Un II, 13) and is acutely accented on the last (VI. 1. 165). काश्मार belongs to Kṛshodarādi class (VI. 3. 109), and has acute either on the first or the second syllable. The word गान्धारि belongs to the Kardamādi 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. गो 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 परमवाणिजैः, उत्तमवाणिजैः ॥

मात्रोपज्ञोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम, छाये, नपुंसके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रा उपज्ञा उपक्रम छाया एतेषु उत्तरपदेषु नपुंसकवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतित्त्वरं 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 इवाति याच्यतः, सद्युद्धमात्रं 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 भ् (III. 3. 103), and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सद्युद्ध has also acute on the final as it is a word denoting 'a sea', (Phit sūtra I. 2). So also with उपज्ञा, as पाणिनीयज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम्; व्यौदुषपत्रं दुष्करणम् भाषिणस्तुपत्रं युक्तायव (see II. 4. 21). All these are Genitive compounds. The word पाणिनि is derived by अण् affix from पाणिन् (पाणिनोऽपत्यम् = पाणिनेः), 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 भाषिणलि ॥ So also with उपक्रम, as आर्षोपक्रमं प्रासादः, इर्षोपक्रमम्, सुकुमारोपक्रमम्, नन्दोपक्रमानि मानानि ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. The word आढ्ये (तत्रैवेनं ध्यायन्ति) is derived from आ + धे + क् affix added with the force of चस्, 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 इर्षोनीय is formed by अनीयर् and has acute on the penultimate नी owing to the indicatory इ (VI. 1. 217). The word सुकुमार has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172. The word नन्द is formed by अण् (III. 1. 134). The Tatpurusha compounds ending in उपज्ञा and उपक्रम are neuter by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, as ह्युच्छायम्,

धनुष्ठावम् ॥ The word **दुष्** is derived from **दुष्** by **ठ** affix (Un I. 13), and it being treated as **निष्** (Un I. 9) the acute falls on **दु** 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—**दुष्ठां ङाया**; and it is Neuter by II. 4. 22. When the compound is not a Neuter we have **कुञ्चङाया** (II. 4. 25).

सुखप्रिययोर्हिते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख, प्रिययोः, हिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्हितवाचिनि तस्यरूपे 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**, **प्यार्हणसुखम्**, **गमनप्रियम्**, **वैचनप्रियम्**, **प्यार्हणप्रियम्** ॥ These are appositional compounds. All the above words are formed by **स्युद्** 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 गन्धमानायां सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तस्यरूपे 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**", **छार्त्तमियोऽनप्यायः ॥ कन्याप्रियो मृदङ्गः ॥** &c. The words **ब्राह्मण** and **छाय** 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** ॥

स्वं स्वामिनि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, स्वामिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिद्यद्भ्रतत्तरपदे तस्यरूपे 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**, **केश्वस्वामी**, **धनस्वामी** ॥ The accents of **गौ**, **केश्व** and **धन** have already been mentioned before in VI. 2. 14.. When the first member is not a word denoting possession, we have **परमस्वामी** ॥

पत्यावैश्वर्ये ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्यौ, वैश्वर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दत्तरपदे वैश्वर्यवाचिनि तस्यरूपे 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 Sūdrā".

न भू वाक्चिदिधिषु ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, वाक्, चित्, दिधिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपरे ऐदवर्थवाचिनि तस्यरूपे समासे भू वाक् चित् दिधिषु इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि प्रकृतित्स्वरानि न भवन्ति ॥

19. The words भू, वाक्, चित् and दिधिषु, 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, चित्तपतिः, दिधिषूपतिः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds and are finally accented by VI. 1. 223.

वा भुवनम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भुवनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपरे ऐदवर्थवाचिनि तस्यरूपे समासे भुवनशब्दः पूर्वपदं वा प्रकृतित्स्वरं 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 ब्युन् (Un. II. 80), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Though Sūtra II. 80 (Unadi) ordains ब्युन् after नृ in the Vedas only, yet on the theory of बहुल (III. 1. 3), it comes in the secular literature also, as भुवनपातरादेत्यः ॥

आशङ्काबाधनेदीयस्तु संभावने ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशङ्क, आ बाध, नेदीयस्तु, संभावने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं तस्यरूपइति वर्त्तते । आशङ्क आबाध नेदीयस् इत्येतेषुत्तरपरेषु संभावनवाचिनि तस्यरूपे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतित्स्वरं 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 = अस्तिस्वाध्यवसायः "the hesitation about the existence of a thing". Thus गमनाशङ्कं वर्त्तते 'one fears the journey'; so also वैचनशाङ्कं, व्याहरणाशङ्कं, &c. Similarly गमनाबाधम् वर्त्तते = गमनं बाध्यते इति संभाव्यते "it has stepped in as

an obstacle to journey". So also वैचनानावाधम्, व्याहरणानावाधम् ॥ Similarly गमननेरीचो वर्तते, वैचननेरीचः व्याहरणनेरीचः = गमनमिति निकटतरमिति संभाव्यते "the journey stands directly before".

Why do we say when a supposition is meant? Observe परमनेरीचः ॥ All the above words are formed by ल्युट् affix and have लिट् accent. (VI. 1. 193).

पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, भूतपूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्यत्तरपदे भूतपूर्ववाचिनि तस्यस्ये समासे पूर्वपरं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

22. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent when the word पूर्वे 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-vyāṅsakādi class. So also वर्धनीयपूर्वः, सुकुमारपूर्वः ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'had been lately'. Observe परमपूर्वः, वक्ष्यपूर्वः, which should be analysed as परमन्वासौ पूर्वमेति ॥ 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 इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु सामीप्यवाचिनि तस्यस्ये समासे पूर्वपरं 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 मङ्गसविधम्, गान्धारिसविधम्, काश्मीरसविधम् ॥ So also मङ्गसनीडम्, मङ्गसमर्यादम्, मङ्गसवेशम् and मङ्गसदेशम्. So also with गान्धारि and काश्मीरि ॥ The accents of these words have been taught before in Sūtra VI. 2. 12, 13. The words सविध &c, are derived from सह विधया &c, but they all mean 'in the vicinity': मङ्गसविधं = मङ्गानां सामीप्यम् ॥ Why do we say when meaning in the vicinity thereof? Observe सह मर्यादया वर्तते = समर्यादं क्षेत्रम् 'a field having boundary'. देवदत्तस्य समर्यादं = देवदत्तसमर्यादं "the bounded field of D'. Why do we say सविध &c? Observe देवदत्तसमर्यादं ॥

विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विस्पष्ट, आदीनि-गुणवचनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विस्पष्टादीनि पूर्वपदानि गुणवचनेषुत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरमिति भवति ॥

24. The words **विस्पष्ट** &c preserve their accent when followed by an Adjective word in a compound,

Thus **विस्पष्टकटुकम्**, **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 **विचित्रः**, 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**, **पैदु** or **कटु**, **पण्डितं**, **कुशलं**, **चपलं** and **निपुणं**. Of these, the word **संपन्नं** has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144; **पैदु** is formed by **द** (Uṇ I. 18), which being considered as **निद्** (Uṇ I. 9), it has acute on the first. **पण्डित** is formed by **क्त** to the root **पद्**, and is finally acute (VI. 2. 144). **कुशल** has accent on the final being formed by a kṛit affix (**कुशालं** लाति = **कुशलः**, ला भाशाने, or Uṇ I. 106), **चपल** being formed by a **चित्** affix (Uṇ I. 111), has acute on the final (VI. 1. 163), for **चित्** 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** ॥

अज्याधमकन्यापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, ज्य, अधम, कन्, पापवत्सु, भावे, कर्मधारये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अ ज्य अधम 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 **अ** (V. 3. 60), **ज्य** (V. 3. 61) **अधम** and **कन्** (V. 3. 64), and before a form built from the word **पाप** ॥

Thus **गैमनश्रेष्ठम्**, or **गैमनश्रेष्ठः**, **वैचनश्रेष्ठम्** or **वचनश्रेष्ठः**; **गैमनावमम्**, **वैचनावमम्**, **गैमनकनिष्ठम्** or **गमनकनीचः** ॥ So also **गैमनपापिष्ठम्**, **गैमनपापीचः** ॥ All the first members are **प्युद्** formed words and have **क्लिन्** 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 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 डेन 'a carriage'. Why do we say 'a Karmadhâraya compound'? Observe गमन 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 कुमारकुलटा, कुमारश्रमणा, कुमारतापसी ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the final as it is derived from the root कुमार क्रीडायाच् with the affix अच् 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 लक्षणप्रतिपक्षोक्तयोः प्रतिपक्षोक्तस्यैव महणम् "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 ॥ कर्मधारयवृत्ति वर्तते । प्रतिगत एनसा प्रतिगतमेनो वा यस्य सः प्रत्येनाः । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपदे कर्मधारयवृत्तिरुच्यते 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 udâtta is required to be read into the sûtra to complete the sense: for the construction of the sûtra requires it, and the anuvriti 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 कुमारस्यान्यतरस्यामविरुदात्तो 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 वृग means 'a multitude, a collection &c'. See V. 3. 112 also. Thus कुंमारवातकाः or कुमारवातका (VI. 2. 26), or कुमारवातकाः ॥ So also कुमारलोहध्वजाः or कुमारलोहध्वजाः or कुमारलोहध्वजाः ॥ So also with कुमारबलाहकाः, कुमारीश्वतकाः ॥ Here वातक &c, are horde-names; and the affix उञ् 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 प्रतिपद्योक्त 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 प्रकृतित्त्वं 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 नाञ्च् is always elided in Dvigu (V. 2. 3 VArt). So also वैञ्चमास्यः, ईशमास्यः = पञ्च मासान् वृत्तो भूतो भावी वा. This is also a Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), formed by the affix अच् (V. 1. 80—82). So also वैञ्चवर्षः, ईशवर्षः the affix षच् 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 अच् being elided by IV. 1. 88.

Why do we say "before an इगन्त stem &c"? Observe पञ्चभिरन्धैःक्रीतः = पञ्चार्धैः, इशार्धैः ॥ Why do we say "in a Dvigu Compound?" Observe परमात्निः, परमशरावैश्च ॥

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 वैञ्चारत्न्यः or वैञ्चारत्नयः ॥ This is done on the strength of the maxim अस्तिद्धं 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 sthānivat to the short-vowel which they replace.

बह्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुशब्दः पूर्वपदमिगन्तादिपूत्तरपदेषु द्विगौ समासे जन्यतरस्यां 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 बहुशब्दः or बहुशब्दः, 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 ङ is changed to इ, 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 इत्येतयोर्नृत्तरपदयोर्द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदन्यतरस्यां 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 वैञ्चदिष्टिः or पञ्चदिष्टिः, वैञ्चवितस्तिः or पञ्चवितस्तिः ॥ The affix नाञ्च् is elided after the म्नाण 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 चैतसप्तमी 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 सांक्राञ्चसिद्धः or सांक्राञ्चसिद्धः, काम्पिल्यसिद्धः or काम्पिल्यसिद्धः ॥ The words sāmkrāśya and kāmṭilya have acute on the final, and by Phiṭ Sūtra (III. 16) in the alternative the accent falls on the middle also. So also निर्धनशुष्कः, ऊर्कशुष्कः ॥ The word निर्धन is derived by ष्यु affix added to नि-धाञ्च् and has acute on the middle ; the word ऊर्क is formed from अर् root by the affix कर्, and has acute on the final. So also कूर्मपक्वः, कलशीपक्वः ॥ The words Kumbhī and Kalaśī are formed by ङीप् affix and have acute on the final ; the word भाष्ट्र is formed by ष्ट्र् affix, and has acute on the beginning. So also चक्रबन्धः, चौरकबन्धः ॥ 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 पूर्वाह्नसिद्धैः, अपराह्नसिद्धैः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 41. The accent of the Locative Tatpuruṣa 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 re-ordains the Locative Tatpuruṣa accent when the Kṛit-words are सिद्ध &c.

परिप्रत्युपाया चर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि,प्रति, उप, अपाः, चर्ज्यमान, अहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि प्रति उप अप इत्येते पूर्वपदभूता चर्ज्यमानवाचिनि अहोरात्रावयव वाचिनि रात्र्यवयववाचिनि 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 Avyayibhāva compound also).

Thus परिनिगतं वृद्धो 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-निगतं वृद्धो देवः, अपसौवीरम्, अपसार्वसेनी (II. 1. 11 and 12).

By Phiṭ 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 Tatpuruṣa 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 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, 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 शालभाः 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.

राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्धकवृष्णिषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्य, बहु वचन, द्वन्द्वे, अन्धक, वृष्णिषु, (पूर्वपदप्रकृत्स्वरं)

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यवाचिनां बहुवचनान्तानां यो द्वन्द्वो ऽन्धकवृष्णिषु वर्तते 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 Vṛishṇi.

Thus श्वाफल्कैश्चैत्रकाः, चैत्रकैरोधका, शिनिवासुदेवाः ॥ The words Śvāphalka 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 = हैभेरपत्यं युवा ॥ These names belong to Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans, but are not the warrior-names. The word राज्ञ्य here means those Kshatriyas who belong to the family of annointed kings and warriors (अभिविक्तवंश्याः); these (Dvaipya and Haimāyana) 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 कुमारः = वृष्णिकुमारौ ॥ Why do we say 'of Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans'? Observe कुरूपञ्चालैः ॥

संख्या ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रसमासे संख्यावाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

35. The Numeral word, standing as the first member of a Dvandva compound, preserves its accent.

Thus एकदश, द्वीदश, त्रयोदश or चतुर्दश ॥ The word एक is derived from इण् by क् affix (Uṇ III. 43) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The चतस् is the substitute of त्रि (VI. 3. 48) and has acute on the final.

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि । आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्तेवासी, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिनां यो इन्द्रस्तत्रपूर्वपदं 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, पाणि मैत्रि-रौढीयाः, रौ ढीयकाशकृत्स्नाः ॥ The son of Apisāla is आपिशलि the name of a Teacher or founder of a school—an āchārya : 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 Apisālam are also called आपिशलाः the affix denoting 'to study' is elided by (IV. 2. 59 and 64). Or the pupils of Apisāli will be also called Apisālāḥ. Thus in both ways Apisālāḥ is a scholar name derived from the name of a teacher. 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 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 आपिशालपाणिनीये शास्त्रे ॥

कार्तिकौजपादयश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्तिकौजप, आदयः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कार्तिकौजपादया ये इन्द्रास्तेषु 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. कार्तिकौजपो (formed by अण् IV. 1. 114 in the sense of Patronymic, from कृत and कुजप these being Rishi names) ॥ 2. सावर्णिमाण्डूकेयौ (sāvarni is formed by इञ् Patron. affix and माण्डूकेय by डक् IV. 1. 119). 3. भावन्यदमकाः The word Avanti is end-acute, to which is added the Patron affix ñyañ by IV. 1. 171, which being a Tadrāj is eiided in the plural; अवन्तीनां निवासो जनपद = अवन्ति the quadruple significant अण् being elided.

4. पैलश्यापर्णेयाः (Paila is derived from Pīlā the son of Pīlā is Paila, the yuvan descendent of Paila will be formed by adding फिञ् IV. 1. 156, which is, however, elided by II. 4. 59.) The word Śyāparṇa belongs to Bidādi class IV. 1. 104, the female descendant will be Śyāparṇi, the yuvan descendant of her will be Śyāparneya. It is not necessary that the compound should be plural always We have पैलश्यापर्णेयौ also.

5. कपिश्यापर्णेयाः (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. सैतिकक्षपाञ्चालेयाः (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. Pāñchāla's female descendant is Pāñchālī, her yuvan descendant is Pāñchāleya. The plural number here is not compulsory. We have सैतिकक्षपाञ्चालेयौ also.)

7. कटुकवार्धलेयाः 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 शुनकपान्त्रेयः ॥

9. अणकृवाभवाः (the son of Babhru is Bābhraṇa). 10. आर्चाभिपौडलाः (Archāvīṇaḥ are those who study the work produced by Rīchāva, the affix

गिनि being added by IV. 3. 104. Mudgala belongs to Kañvâdi class IV. 2. 111; Maudgalâḥ 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 ताडेन Bhvâdi 300, वतण्ड is formed from the same root with the prefix अव, the ञ 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 वस् is elided by II. 4. 64. 14. गर्गवत्साः Here also वस् affix is elided II. 4. 64. 15. अविमत्तकामवधाः or विद्धाः ॥ Avimatta has acute on the first being formed by the नश् particle. Both the words lose इच् patronymic by II. 4. 66.

16. बाभ्रवशालङ्कायनाः The son of Babhru is Bâbhruva, and the son of Śalañku or Śalañka of नडादि IV. 1. 99 is Śalañkâyana.

17. बाभ्रवदानच्युताः Dâñchyuta takes इच् in the patronymic which is elided by II. 4. 66.

18. कठकालापाः, Kaṭhâḥ are those who read the work of Kaṭha, the affix गिनि (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. कठकौथुनाः Those who study the work of Kuthumin are कौथुनाः formed by अण् IV. 1. 83 the इन् being elided before अण् by VI. 4. 144 Vârt already referred to above.

20. कौथुमलौकाक्षाः 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. मौद्वैप्पलाशाः, the son of Muda is Maudi, the pupils of latter are Maudâḥ. So also Paippalâdâḥ.

23. मौद्वैप्पलाशैः 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 Pṛithu are so called they take अण् IV. 1. 83. 26. जरावृष्ट्यु, 27. याज्यानुवाक्ये Yâjya is formed by ष्यत्, added to यञ्, the ञ 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 + ष्यत् ॥

महान् व्रीह्यपराङ्गुष्टीष्वासजाबालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ महान्, व्रीहि, अपराङ्ग, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जाबाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, प्रवृद्धेषु, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदमिति वर्त्तते, इन्द्रइति निवृत्तम् । महानित्येतत्पूर्वपदं व्रीहि अपराह्, गृष्टि इष्वास जाबाल भार भारत हैलिहिल रौरव प्रवृद्ध इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

38. The word महत् (महा) retains its accent before the following : व्रीहि, अपराह्, 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 प्रतिपदोक्त 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 Karmadhāraya 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 Karmadhāraya 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 महान्श्च 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 क्षुल्लं लति = क्षुल्लः to which the Diminutive क (V. 3. 73 &c) is added : and the word has udātta on the final.

उष्ट्रः सादिवाम्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रः, सादि, वाम्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रशब्दः पूर्वपदं सादिवाम्योरुत्तरपदयोः प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

40. The word 'ushtra' retains its accent before 'sādi' and 'vāmi'.

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 Karmadhāraya or a Genitive compound. In some texts the above examples are given with a visarga 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 गोःसाद्: or गां साद्यति = गो^१साद्:, गोः सादि: = गो^१सादि:, and गो^१सारथि: ॥ साद् is formed from सद् with the affix घञ् and forms a Genitive compound (गोः साद्:). Or from the causative verb साद्यति, we get गोसाद्: 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 साद् and सादिन्, the Samâsa-accent VI. 1. 223 in the case of सारथि ॥

कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगुर्वसूतजरत्यश्लीलदृढरूपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रूः पण्यकम्बलो दासीभारणां च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरुगार्हपत, रिक्तगुरु, असूतजरती, अश्लीलदृढरूपा, पारेवडबा, तैतिलकद्रूः, पण्यकम्बलः, दासीभारणाम्, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरुगार्हपत रिक्तगुरु असूतजरती अश्लीलदृढरूपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रू पण्यकम्बल इत्येते समासास्तेषां दासीभारणां च पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुरुवृत्तयोगार्हपतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ संज्ञायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

42. The first member retains its accent in the following :—'Kuru-gârhapata', 'Rikta-guru', 'Asûta-jarati', 'Aslila-driḍha-rûpâ', 'Pâre-vaḍabâ', 'Taitila-kadrûḥ', 'Paṇya-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 कुरुगार्हपतम् (कुरुणां गार्हपत, Kuru is formed by क् affix added to कृ Uṇ I. 24,) and has acute on the final.

Vart:—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, अश्लीलदृढरूपा = अश्लीलदृढरूपा ॥ Asûta and aslilâ 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 पारेवडबा, this is = पारेवडबेव ॥ 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 = तैतिलकद्रूः, the son or pupil of Titilin is Taitila formed by अण् affix. पण्यकम्बलः, panya ends in यत् and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 213).

Vart:—पण्यकम्बलः has acute on the first only when it is a name. Otherwise in पणितथ्ये 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 kritya 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 kritya compounds such as ordained by कृत्यतुल्याख्या भजात्या II. 1. 68, while here the compound is by विशेषणं विशेष्येण II. 1. 51 and is a general compound. So also रास्याभारः = रासीभारः ॥ 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 देवैज्ञतिः, देवैसृतिः, देववीतिः, वैसुनीतिः ॥ Vasu has acute on the first being formed by a नित् affix (Un I. 9 10). भोषधिः = भोषोधीयतेऽस्याम्, formed by कि affix (III. 3. 93), भोष being formed by घञ् has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). चन्द्रमाः is formed by अस्ति affix added to the root माच् माने preceded by the upapada चन्द्र as, चन्द्र + मा + अस् = चन्द्रमस्, the affix being treated as ङित् (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 तदर्थवत्तरपदे तदभिधेयार्थं यत्तद्वाचिन्नुत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । तदिति चतुर्थ्यन्तस्यार्थः परामृश्यते ।

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 द्यूपहार, कुण्डलैरिण्यम् ॥ The word द्यूप् has accent on the first syllable, as it is formed by प् (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 रथहार, वल्लीरिण्यम् ॥ Ratha is first-acute formed by kthan affix (Un II. 2). Valli 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 ॥ अतुर्थीति वर्तते । अर्थसाम्यत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

44. Before the word 'artha', the first member in the Dative retains its accent.

Thus माचे हरं = मात्रार्थम्, देवैतार्थम्, अतिथ्यर्थम् ॥ The words मातु and पितु 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 सव्यं and अर्य is that the former, like वारु 'wood', हिरण्य 'gold', has not inherent in it the sense of adaptability, while अर्य means 'adapted'. Some say that the making of two sūtras, one with सव्यं and the other with अर्य 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 अश्वघासः, अश्वसुरम् &c, though 'grass be suited for the horse' &c.

केच ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तान्ते चोत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

45. The first member in the Dative case retains its accent before a Past Participle in क्त ॥

Thus गौहितम्, मनुष्यहितम्, अश्वहितम्, गोरक्षितम्, अश्वरक्षितम्, तापसैरक्षितम् वनम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 36. The compound गोरक्षितं means गो-भ्योऽर्षिते 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 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 अणि-कृताः, पूर्णकृताः, ऊर्णकृताः, निर्धनकृताः ॥ The word अणि has acute on the first as it is formed by the affix णि which is considered णिन् (Uṇ IV. 51). The word पूण is end-acute as it is formed by the affix ग् (Uṇ I. 124). The word ऊर्ण is also end-acute (VI. 2. 32). The word निर्धन् has acute on the middle. Why do we say in a Karmadhāraya compound? Observe अण्य कृतं = अणिकृतम् ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a non-nishṭhā 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 ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्वितीयानुपसर्गइति 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 कर्षितः, विशकलपतितः, भौमगतः ॥ Karsṭha has acute on the end, triśakala is a Bahuvrīhi compound (triṇi śakalāni asya), and consequently acute on the first: grāma has acute on the first as it is formed by the णिन् affix

न् added to मत्, the final being replaced by मा (Uṇ I. 143) ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning separation'? Observe कान्तापत्तिः, योजनापत्तिः, because one has taken himself beyond kântāra and yojana.

Virt.—This rule does not apply when the Past Participle has an upasarga attached; as सुखपार्तिः, दुःखपार्तिः सुखापत्तिः, दुःखापत्तिः (VI. 4. 144). This is an exception to rule VI. 2. 144.

तृतीया कर्मणि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, कर्मणि, (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मवाचिनि क्तान्तउत्तरपदे 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, नखनिर्मिन्ना, नखलूना ॥ The word 'ahi' is derived from हन् with the proposition मा 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 टन्; nakha is formed by ख affix added to नह् (Uṇ V. 23) or it may be a Bahuvrihi नास्य खमिति = नखः, formed by भञ् (V. 4. 121), and has acute on the final: Dātra is formed by द्रन् (III. 2. 182). Why do we say when having a Passive signification? Observe रथेन यातः = रथयातः, the 'kta' is added to a verb of motion with an Active signification.

गतिरनन्तरः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, अनन्तरः (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ते कर्मणीति वचते । कर्मवाचिनि क्तान्तउत्तरपदे 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 debar all these. Why do we say 'immediately?' Observe अभ्युद्धृतः, सद्युद्धृतः, सद्युद्धृतः ॥ Where the distant Gati words अभि and सम् do not preserve their accent, but the immediately preceding Gati, as उद् does retain its accent, though it is not the first member of the compound word. Compare also VIII. 2. 70. But in दूरात् + अगताः (āgata being governed by this rule) we have दूराहागर्तः, (II. 1. 39 and VI. 3. 2) where VI. 2. 144 has its scope, though it had not its scope in अभि + उद्धृतः = अभ्युद्धृतः ॥ In the former case this maxim applies कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं ॥ "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.

तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तादौ, च, निति, कृति, अ-तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकाराद्यै च तुशब्दवर्जिते निति कृति परतो गतिरनन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वर्यो 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 **त्**, but not before **तु** ॥

Thus **प्रैकर्ता** (with **त्**) **प्रैकर्तुम्** (with **तुम्**), **प्रैकृतिः** (with **क्तिन्**) ॥ This sūtra debars the Kṛit-affix accent (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say "before an affix beginning with **त्**"? Observe **प्रैल्ल्पाकः** 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 **निन्**'? Observe **प्रकर्ता** formed by **त्** affix. When a Kṛit-affix takes the augment **इद्**, it does not lose its character of beginning with **त्** on the Vartika **कृदुपदेशो वा ताद्यर्थमिडर्थम् ॥** Thus **प्रैलपिता**, **प्रैलपितुम्** ॥ Why do we say "but not before **तु**"? Observe **भागन्तुः** with the **Uṇādi** affix **तुम्** ॥

तवै चान्तश्च युगपत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवै, च, अन्तः, च, युगपत्, (उदात्तः प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवैप्रत्ययस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति गतिश्चानन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वर इति एतदुभयं 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 **अन्वैतवै**, **परिस्तरितवै**, **परिपातवै**, **अभिषरितवै** ॥ 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 **कृत्** accent (VI. 2. 139) and is an exception to the rule that in a single word, a single syllable only has acute.

अनिगन्तोच्चतौ वप्रत्यये ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनिगन्तः, अच्चतौ, वप्रत्यये, (प्रकृतिस्वरः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिगन्तो गतिः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवत्यच्चतौ 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 प्राह्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः or प्राह्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥ The accent is acute and optionally svarita by VIII. 2. 6. So also पैराह्, पैराञ्चौ, पैराञ्चः, पैराचः, पैराचा ॥ But with प्रति which ends in इ, we have प्रत्यह्, 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 अञ्चत्तावप्रत्यये ॥ The affix च् is like क्चिप् &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 न्यह्, न्यञ्चौ, न्यञ्चः ॥ The ञ् becomes svarita by VIII. 2. 4. So also अँध्यह्, अँध्यञ्चौ, अँध्यञ्चः, अँधीचः, अँधीचः, नैीचः, नैीचा ॥

ईषदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्, अन्यतरस्या, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्येतत्पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां 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 धनशब्दउत्तरपदे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

55. The first member, denoting the quantity of gold, retains optionally its original accent, before the word धन ॥

Thus द्विसुवर्णधनम् or द्विसुवर्णधनेम् ॥ This is a Karmadhāraya compound द्विसुवर्णो परिमाणमस्य = द्विसुवर्णं, तदेव धनम् ॥ It may also be treated as a Bahuvrihi compound, then the accent will be of that compound, as द्विसुवर्णधनः or द्विसुवर्ण-धनेः ॥ Why do we say 'gold'? Observe प्रत्ययधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'quantity'? Observe क्वाचनधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'धन'? Observe निष्कमाला ॥

प्रथमो ऽचिरोपसंपत्तौ ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमः, अचिरः, उपसम्पत्तौ (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमशब्दः पूर्वपदमचिरोपसंपत्तौ गम्यमानायामन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । अचिरापसंपत्ति-
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 = संप्रतिष्याकरणमध्येतुं प्रवृत्तः 'one who has recently commenced to study Grammar'. The word प्रथम is derived from प्रथ by भ्रमश् (Uṇ V. 68) and by चित् accent the acute falls on the last. Why do we say when meaning 'a Novice?' Observe प्रथमवैयाकरणैः (वैयाकरणानामाद्यो मुखयो 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 Karmadhāraya.

Thus कतरकठः or कतरकठैः, कतमकठैः or कतमकठैः ॥ The word Karma-dhāraya 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 Karmadhāraya 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 Karmadhāraya, before the words ब्राह्मण and कुमार ॥

Thus आर्यब्राह्मणः or आर्यब्राह्मणैः, आर्यकुमारः or आर्यकुमारैः ॥ The word आर्य is formed by ण्यन् affix and has svarita on the final. Why do we say 'Arya'? Observe परमब्राह्मणैः, परमकुमारैः ॥ Why do we say before 'Brāhmaṇa' and 'Kumāra'? Observe आर्यक्षत्रियः ॥ Why 'Karmadhāraya'? 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 'Brāhmaṇa' and 'Kumāra', in a Karma-dhāraya.

Thus **राजब्राह्मणः** or **राजब्राह्मणः**, **राजकुमारः** or **राजकुमारः** ॥ 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 **yathāśankhya** rule and also for the sake of the subsequent **sūtra** into which the **anuvritti** of **राजन्** runs and not of **आद्ये** ॥

षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, प्रत्येनसि, (अन्यतरस्याम् राजा प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राज्ञेति वर्त्तते, अन्यतरस्यामिति च । षष्ठ्यन्तो राजशाब्दः पूर्वपद प्रत्येनस्युत्तरे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

60. The word 'râjan' ending in the Genitive case optionally retains its accent before the word **प्रत्येनसि** ॥

The words **राजन्** and **अन्यतरस्याम्** are understood here also. Thus **राज्ञः प्रत्येनाः** or **राज्ञः प्रत्येनाः** ॥ The sign of the Genitive is not elided by VI.3. 21. When **आक्रोश** is not meant we have, **राज्ञप्रत्येनाः** or **राज्ञप्रत्येनाः** ॥ Why do we say 'ending in the Genitive'? Observe **राजा चासौ प्रत्येनाम् = राजप्रत्येनाः** 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 **क्** ॥

Thus **नित्यप्रहसितः** or **नित्यप्रहसितः**, **सततप्रहसितः** or **सततप्रहसितः** ॥ These are Accusative compounds formed under Rule II. 1. 28. **नित्य** is formed by **त्यप्** affix added to the upasarga **नि** (IV. 2. 104 Vārt); and has acute on the first, the upasarga retaining its accent, the affix being **anudatta** (III. 1. 4). The word **सतत** being formed by **क्** affix with the force of **आद्यः**, has acute on final by VI. 2. 144. If it be considered to have been formed by **कर्मणि क्**, then the accent will be on the beginning by VI. 2. 49. Why do we say when the first term means 'always'? Observe **सुहृत्प्रहसितः** ॥ In the case of **नित्यप्रहसितः** &c the **samāsa** accent VI. 1. 223 was first set aside by the Accusative Tatpurusha accent VI. 2. 2. this in its turn was set aside by **क्** accent VI. 2. 144, which is again debarred by the present.

ग्रामः शिल्पिनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामः, शिल्पिनि, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशाब्दः पूर्वपदे 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 śilpi a professional workman’? Observe **ग्रामरथ्या**; where there is no option.

राजा च प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च, प्रशंसायाम्, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजशब्दः पूर्वपदं शिल्पिवाचिन्नुत्तरपदे प्रशंसायां गम्यमानाया मन्यतरस्यां 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 इत्येतदधिकृतमित् उत्तरं यद्ग्रन्थामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्देदितव्यम् ॥

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 ‘**adir udatta**’ 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 **हृत्पेशाणः**, **शुकुदे कार्पापणम्**, **यैज्ञिकाश्वः**, **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.

सप्तमोहारिणौ धर्म्ये ऽहरणे ॥ 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 **धर्म्यं** is formed by **यत्** under IV. 4. 91 and 92 and has the sense of both. Of Locative words we have the following examples: — **स्तूपे-घ्राणः**, **कुटे-कार्षापणम्**, **हैले-त्रिपदिका**, **हैले-त्रिपदिका**, **हैषदि-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:—**श्रौतिकाम्बः** 'the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer'. So also **धैयाकरणहस्ती**, **मातुलाम्बः**, **पितृव्यगवः** ॥ In some places the established usage is to give a **घ्राण** coin in every sacred **Tope** &c; or to give a horse to a sacrificer &c. Why do we say 'what is lawful'? Observe **स्तम्बेरमैः**, **कर्मकरवर्द्धितकैः** **वर्द्धितको** नाम मूले स्थूलोमे सूक्ष्म भोजन पिण्डः, स कर्मकराय दीयते, अन्यथा कर्म न कुर्यादिति, न त्यजे 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 **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': **ईश्वबल्लवः**, **गोमणिन्दः**, **ईश्वमणिन्दः**, **गोतंस्यः**, **ईश्वतंस्यः** ॥ All these word **बल्लवः**, **मणिन्दः**, **संस्यः** &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 **गौवाध्यक्षः** or **गवाध्यक्षैः** 'a superintendent of cows': **ईश्व्राध्यक्षः** or **भश्व्राध्यक्षैः** ॥

पापं च शिल्पिनि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पापम्, च, शिल्पिनि, (विभाषा)(आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पापशब्दः शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे 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 samāsa 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 ॥ गोत्रवाचिन्यन्तेवासिवाचिनि 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 जैयावात्स्यः = यो जंघादानं वान्यहमिति वात्स्यः, संपद्यते सः; यत्र श्राद्धादौ वात्स्यानामेव पादप्रक्षालनं क्रियते, तत्रावात्स्यः सन् वात्स्याऽहमिति हुते तन्नाभाय सः ॥ भार्यासौश्रुतः 'a descendant of Suśruta under the petticoat government of his wife'. The compounding takes place by the analogy of चाक्रुपार्थिवः ॥ वैशाब्राह्मणकृत्यः (Brahmakrita belongs to Subhrādi class). The above are examples of Gotra words. Now with scholar names. कुरुमारीवाक्ताः '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'. कैम्बलचारायणीयाः, धृतरोदीयाः, and कौटिल्यपाणिनीयाः &c. भिक्षामाणवः = भिक्षालप्स्येऽहमिति माणवो भवति ॥ वृषसीब्राह्मणः, वृषली ब्राह्मणः, भैयब्राह्मणः = 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 वासीश्रोत्रियैः ॥ Why do we say 'when reproach is meant?' Observe महाब्राह्मणः ॥

अङ्गानि मैरेये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गानि, मैरेये, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मैरेयशब्दउत्तरपदे 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 मैरेय ॥

भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ताख्याः, तदर्थेषु, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तमन्त्रं तदाख्यास्तद्वाचिनः शब्दास्तदर्थेषु उत्तरपदेयु 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, भैक्षकंसः, भ्रौणाकंसः, 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 = समश्नानं is the name of an 'action' and not of a 'substance'). Why do we say 'tadartheshu suited to contain that'? Observe भिक्षाप्रिदः which is a Bahuvrihi, and the first member gets acute on the final.

गोबिडालसिंहसैन्धवेपुपमाने ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, बिडाल, सिंह, सैन्धवेपु, उपमाने, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवाक्षिपुपमानवाप्तिपुत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

72. A word denoting the object of comparison gets the acute on the first syllable when standing before गो, बिडाल, सिंह, and सैन्धव ॥

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 Akritigana. The meaning of the compound must be given according to usage and appropriateness. Thus धान्यगवः means गवाकृत्याऽवस्थितं धान्यं ॥ So also हिरण्यगवः, भिक्षाबिडालः, भ्रौणबिडालः, भ्रौणसिंहः, कौर्षसिंहः, सैन्धुसैन्धवः, पानसैन्धवः ॥ Why do we say "when denoting the object of comparison"? Observe परमसिंहः ॥

अके जीविकार्थे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अके, जीविकार्थे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

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 ह्यन्तलेखकः, नखलेखकः, अक्षरशोधकः, रमणीयकारकः = ह्यन्तलेखनादिभिर्येषां जीविका ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say when meaning 'means of living'? Observe ह्यभक्षिकां मे धारयसि ॥ All affixes which ultimately become अक by taking substitutes, are called अक affixes. Thus ण्वल्, बुन् &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 ह्यच् is added in the sense of sport and not of livelihood.

प्राचां क्रीडायाम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, क्रीडायाम्, (आद्युदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्देशवृत्तिनां वा 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 ईहालकपुष्पभञ्जिका, वीरणपुष्पप्रचायिका, शीलभञ्जिका, शीलभञ्जिका ॥ These are formed by ण्वुङ् affix (III. 3. 109), and the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say 'of the Eastern Folk'? Observe जीवपुष्पप्रचायिका, which is a sport of the Western People. Why do we say 'when denoting a sport'? Observe हवपुष्पप्रचायिका 'thy turn for &c,' which is formed by ण्वुच् (III. 3. 111) and denotes 'rotation or turn'.

अणि नियुक्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणि, नियुक्ते, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्तरत्तरपदे 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, हूणीधारः, कैमण्डलुमारः, रथधारः ॥ Why do we say when meaning 'a functionary'? Observe काण्डलावः, शरलावः ॥

शिल्पिनि चाकृञः ॥ ७६ ॥ शिल्पिनि, च, अकृञः, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिल्पिवाचिनि समासे ऽणन्तरत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति स चेषण् 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, तुम्बवायः, शीलवायः ॥ 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 ऽणन्तरत्तरपदे 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'. शीलवायः 'the hill Valavāya'. But not so अण् with कृ; as रथकारैः 'the name of a Brāhmaṇa caste'.

गोतान्तिथयं पाले ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, तन्ति, थयम्, पाले, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो तन्ति थय इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पालशब्दत्तरपदे 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 + क्तिच्). This applies to words not denoting a functionary, which would be governed by VI. 2. 75. Why do we say गो &c ? Observe वस्सपालः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by पाल' ? Observe गोरक्षः ॥

गिनि ॥ ७९ ॥ पढानि ॥ 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 सुष्पहारिन्, कैलहारिन्, पैर्णहारिन् ॥

उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव ॥ ८० ॥ पढानि ॥ उपमानम्, शब्दार्थं, 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 उँड्रक्रोशिन्, धैाहृक्षराविन्, खँरनादिम् ॥ 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 गर्दभोधारिन्, कोकिलभिव्याहारिन् ॥ Here the second terms radically (i. e. chārin and hārin) do not denote sounds, but it is with the help of the Prepositions इन् 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 चानुपमानं चाद्युदात्तमिष्यते) ॥ As पुष्कलजल्पिन्, 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 upamāna 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 upamāna word or not. The word एष therefore restricts upamāna; 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 upamāna 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 आगतनर्ही, 6 आगतनन्ही, 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 युक्ताप्यारोहिन् ॥ 8 आगतमस्स्या or °स्स्य, 9 क्षीरहोता, 10 भगिनीभर्ता ॥ The last two are Genitive compounds under Rule II. 2. 9. 11 आमगोशुक, 12 अश्वत्रिरात्रः, 13 गर्गत्रिरात्रः, 14 व्युष्टिरात्रः, 15 घनपादः (गणपादः), 16 समपादः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. 17 एकचित्तिपात् = एकःचित्तिःपादोऽस्य ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi of three terms. The word एकचित्तिः 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 एकचित्तिः 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 चित्ति are not governed by VI. 2. 29, therefore द्विचित्तिपाद् has acute on चित्ति ॥ The enumeration of the एकचित्तिपात् further proves by implication that the (एकचित्तिपात् स्वरवचनं ह्यपक निमित्तस्वरवलीयस्वस्य) accent for the application of which a case is present is stronger. (See Mahābhāshya II. 1. 1.) The class of compounds known as पात्रेसमित्त &c, (II. 1. 48) also belong to this class.

1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवञ्ची, 5 आगतनन्ही (आगतनर्ही), 6 आगतप्रहारी, 7 आगतमस्स्यः (आगतमस्स्या), 8 क्षीरहोता, 9 भगिनीभर्ता, 10 आमगोशुक, 11 अश्वत्रिरात्रः, 12 गर्गत्रिरात्रः, 13 व्युष्टिरात्रः, 14 गणपादः (घनपादः), 15 एकचित्तिपात्, 16 पात्रेसमित्तादयश्च (पात्रेसमित्तादयश्च), 17 समपादः ॥

दीर्घकाशतुषभ्राष्ट्रवटं जे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घ, काश, तुष, भ्राष्ट्र, वटम्, जे, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घान्तं पूर्वपरं काश तुष भ्राष्ट्र वट इत्येतानि च अउत्तरपरे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

82. When the first member is a word ending in a long vowel, or is काश, तुष, घ्राष्ट्र or घट, and is followed by ज, the acute falls on the first syllable.

Thus कुंदीजः, रौमीजः, कौशजः, तुषजः, घ्राष्ट्रजः, घटजः. These are formed by the affix ड added to ज (III. 2. 97).

अन्त्यात्पूर्वं बहुचः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, बहुचः (उदात्तम् जे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरपदे बहुचः पूर्वपदान्यात्पूर्वपदान्तं भवति ॥

83. In a word consisting of more than two syllables, followed by ज, the acute falls on the syllable before the last.

Thus उपसर्जः, मन्कुरजः, भामलकीजः, and वरुवाजः (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 रन्ध्रजानि तृणानि ॥

ग्रामेऽनिवसन्तः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामे, अनिवसन्तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दरूपे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति न च्चेन्निवसद्वाचिभवति ॥

84. Before ग्राम, the first syllable of the first member has acute, when thereby inhabitants are not meant.

Thus मङ्गग्रामः, वैणिग्रामः ॥ Here ग्राम is equal to समूह 'an assembly'. देव-ग्रामः = 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, दक्षिपत्थलः, दक्षिबस्ती, दक्षिवनमः, दक्षिद्वरः, दक्षिपिङ्गलः, दक्षिपिचाङ्गः, दक्षिमाला, दक्षिरक्षा, दक्षिद्याला, or (रक्षः or र्द्यालः), दक्षिद्याल्पी, दक्षिश्वयः, दक्षिद्याल्मी, कुन्दतृणम्, आश्रमशुनिः, 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 अनिवसन्तः in this aphorism, others however read it.

1 घोष, 2 कट (घट), 3 वनम (पत्थल), 4 द्वर, 5 बस्ती (बस्ती), 6 पिङ्गल, 7 पिचाङ्ग, 8 माला, 9 रक्षा (रक्षः), 10 द्याला (द्यालः), 11 कूट, 12 द्याल्मी, 13 श्वय, 14 तृण, 15 द्याल्पी, 16 शुनि, 17 प्रेक्षा (प्रेक्षाकू; पुंसा) ॥

छात्र्यादयः शालायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छात्र्यादयः, शालायाम्, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शालायाद्युत्तरपदे छात्र्यादय आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

86. The words छात्रि &c, get acute on the first syllable when followed by the word शाला ॥

Thus छात्रिशाला, ऐलिशाला, आण्डिशाला ॥

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 आण्डि, 4 व्याडि, 5 आखण्डि, 6 आदि, 7 गामि (गौमि) ॥

प्रस्थे ऽवृद्धमकर्क्यादीनाम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थे, अवृद्धम्, अकर्क्यादीनाम्, (पूर्वपठम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थश्चत्तरपदे कर्क्यादिवर्जितमवृद्धं पूर्वपठमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

87. The first member, which has not a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, or which is not कर्की &c, gets the acute on the first syllable before प्रस्थ ॥

Thus ईन्द्रप्रस्थः, कुण्डप्रस्थः, ईरप्रस्थः, सुवणप्रस्थः ॥ But not in शक्तिप्रस्थः, माहिकप्रस्थः which have Vṛiddhi in the first syllable ; nor also in कर्कीप्रस्थः मधीप्रस्थः &c.

1 कर्की, 2 मधी (मधी), 3 मकरी, 4 कर्कन्धु (कर्कन्धू), 5 क्षमी, 6 करीर, 7 कन्दुक (कटुक), 8 कवल (कुबल ; कूरल), 9 बहरी (बहर) ॥

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. 1. 75).

1 माला, 2 शाला, 3 शोणा (शोण), 4 ब्राह्मा, 5 ज्ञाता, 6 क्षामा, 7 काञ्ची, 8 एक, 9 काम, 10 क्षौमा ॥

अमहन्नवं नगरे ऽनुदीचाम् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, महत्, नवम्, नगरे, अनुदीचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरशब्दउत्तरपदे महन्नवशब्दवर्जितं पूर्वपठमाद्युदात्तं भवति तद्येदुदीचां 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 सुवृद्धनगरम्, सुवृद्धनगरम्, विशद्वनगरम् ॥ But not in महानगरम् and नवनगरम्, Why do we say "but not of Northern People"? Observe नान्दीनगरम् कान्तीनगरम् ॥

अर्मे चावर्णे द्रव्यच्ञ्यच् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्मे, च, अवर्णम्, द्रव्यच्, ञ्यच्,
(पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्मेचाब्दउत्तरपदे द्याच् ञ्यच् पूर्वपदमवर्णान्तिमाद्युदात्तं 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, शूर्तार्मम्, कुक्कुटार्मम्, वीयसार्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in अ (long or short)?' Observe बृहवर्मम् ॥ 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 ॥

नं भूताधिकसंजीवमद्राश्मकञ्जलम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भूत, अधिक, संजीव,
मद्र, अश्म, कञ्जलम्, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत अधिक संजीव मद्र अश्मन् कञ्जल इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि अर्मेचाब्दउत्तरपदे नाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ 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. 1. 223.

Vdt:—In the Vedas the words द्विवोदास &c, have acute on the first syllable. Thus द्विवोदासाय गायत, वध्यधाय दाशुषे ॥

अन्तः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्दश्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्थान्त 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 ॥ सर्वचाब्दः 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, सर्वमहात् ॥ Why do we say सर्व ? Observe परमश्वेतः, here the attribute of श्वेत pervades through and through the object referred : 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 गुणकार्त्स्न्य here at all, but a विकारकार्त्स्न्य ॥ Why do we use the word 'Kārtsnya 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 "kārtsnya" 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 Vārtika गुणात्तरेण समासो वक्तव्यः, तरलोपश्च ॥

संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, गिरि, निकाययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गिरि निकाय इत्येतयोस्तत्परयोः पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

94. The last syllable of the first member before गिरि and निकाय has the acute, when the compound is a Name.

Thus अञ्जनागिरिः, भञ्जनागिरिः, The finals of añjana and bhañjana are lengthened by VI. 3. 117. चापिण्डिनिकायः, मौण्डिनिकायः, चिसिद्धिनिकायः ॥ 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. अर्तकुमारी ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 49 with अरती ॥ The words become masculine by VI. 3. 42 in both examples. Q. The word कुमारी was formed by ङीप् 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 अरती; 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 अरती is applied. Why do we say "when the compound denotes age"? Observe परमकुमारी ॥

उदके केवले ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदके, अ, केवले, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकेवलं मिश्रं तद्वाचिणि 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 शुद्धोदकम् or शुद्धोदकम्, तिलोदकम् or तिलोदकम् ॥ When we have already made the उ and ल acute by this rule, then the svarita accent may result optionally, by the combination of the acute अ of गुदा and तिला and the subsequent grave उ of उदक, by Rule VIII. 2. 6. The word अकवल means mixture. When mixture is not meant, this rule does not apply. As क्षितिलकम्, 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, कुसुमविन्वीसमरात्रः = गर्गाणां चिरात्रः &c. Why do we say 'before a Dvigu compound'? Observe अतिरात्रैः (रात्रिमत्तिक्रान्त इति प्राक्समासः) 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 बिल्वसमरात्रः = बिल्वशतस्य बिल्वहोमस्य वा समरात्रः ॥

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, क्षीसभम्, क्षीसभम्, 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 देशे 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 ललाटपुरम्, काँधीपुरम्, शिवरत्नपुरम्, कार्णोपुरम्, नामपुरम् ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe शिवपुरम् ॥

अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अरिष्ट, गौड, पूर्वे, 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 हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, हास्तिन, फलक, मार्देयाः, (अन्तोदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हास्तिन फलक मार्देय इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पुरशब्द उत्तरपदे नान्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

101. But when the words हास्तिन, फलक and मार्देय precede पुर, the acute does not fall on their final.

This is an exception to VI. 2, 99. Thus हास्तिनपुरम्, फलकपुरम्, मार्देयपुरम् ॥ The son of वृद् is मार्देय formed by ङक्, the word belonging to Subhrādi class. The ङ is elided by VI. 4. 147.

कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ, शालम्, बिले ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुसूल कूप कुम्भ शाला इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि बिलशब्द उत्तरपदे अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

102. The words कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ and शाला have the acute on the last syllable before the word बिल ॥

Thus कुसूलैबिलम्, कूपैबिलम्, कुम्भैबिलम्, शालैबिलम् ॥ But not so here सर्व-बिलम् ॥ Why do we say 'before बिल'? Observe कुसूलशामी ॥

दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्शब्दाः, ग्रामजनपदाख्यान, चानराटेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्शब्दाः पूर्वपदानि अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ग्रामजनपदाख्यानवाचिषु उत्तरपदेषु 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 पूर्वैषुकामशामी, अपरैषुकामशामी or पूर्वै and अपरे' (VIII. 2. 6). The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. पूर्वै कृष्णवृत्तिका, अपरै कृष्णवृत्तिका ॥ Country name—पूर्वै पञ्चालाः, अपरै पञ्चालाः ॥ These are Karmadhāraya compounds (II. 1. 58). Story name:—पूर्वाधिरामम् or पूर्वा, पूर्वयायात्तम्, पूर्वाधिरामकम्, अपरयायात्तम् ॥ So also पूर्वचानराटम्, अपर चानराटम् ॥ The employment of the term शब्द in the aphorism shows that time-denoting दिक् words as in पूर्वयायात्तं should also be included. The word आधिरामम् is derived from अधिराममधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः (IV. 3. 87).

आचार्योपसर्जनश्रान्तेवासिनि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्ते-घासिनि, (अन्तोदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनश्रान्तेवासिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे 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 सर्वे च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर-पद-वृद्धौ, सर्वम् च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्यधिकृत्य या विहिता वृद्धिस्तदस्युत्तरपदे सर्वशब्दोदिकसम्बन्धात्तोगत्ता 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 अ, ण् or क् follow, the Purvapada being दु, 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 पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरंपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः ॥ These are formed by वृम् 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 सर्वे 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 ऽन्तोत्तं भवति ॥

106. The word विश्व has acute on the final, being first member in a Bahuvrīhi, when it is a Name.

Thus विश्वदेवः, विश्वयज्ञः, 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 विश्वदेवा अस्य = विश्वदेवः ॥ But विश्वानिर्घः and विश्वानिर्घः 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 वृन् added to विश् ॥ This rule has unrestricted scope in विश्वदेवः, विश्वयज्ञः. and rule VI. 2. 165 has unrestricted scope in कुलनिघः, कुलानिघः ॥ But in विश्वानिघः and विश्वानिघः there is a conflict, as both these rules would apply, therefore by the maxim of vipratishedha, VI. 2. 165 supersedes this.

उदराभेषुषु ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदर, अभ्व, इषु षु ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उदर अभ्व इषु इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञाया विषये पूर्वपरमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

107. The first member in a Bahuvrîhi, before the words उदर, अभ्व and इषु, gets acute on the final syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

Thus वृकोदरः, शोभोदरः, इर्थभः, यौवनोभः, सुवर्णपुङ्खेषुः and मेहेषुः ॥ 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 शोभ is formed by मनिन् affix (Uṇ IV. 145) and is first acute; ईरि 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 Bahuvrîhi word सुवर्ण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, the second Bahuvrîhi compound सुवर्णपुङ्खाः has acute on णे by VI. 2. 1, the third Bahuvrîhi 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 पूर्वपरमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

108. A word before उदर, अभ्व and इषु in a Bahuvrîhi gets acute on the final, when reproach is meant.

Thus कुण्डोदरः, घटोदरः, कटुकाभः, स्यन्दितोभः, अनिघातोषुः, चलाचलोषुः ॥ 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 Bahuvrîhi 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. स्यान्दित is formed by the Nishṭā affix क्त ॥ The word अनिघात being an avyaylbhāva, the first member would have retained its original accent. In this and the last sūtra, all the acutes may optionally be changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 6. But अनुदरः and मूदरः 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 पूर्वपरमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

109. In a Bahuvrîhi 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 गर्गीबन्धुः, वास्तीबन्धुः ॥ The words गर्गी and वास्ती are formed by adding डीष् (IV. 1. 16) to गार्ग्य and वास्त्व ending in यम् (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 गर्गीमियः ॥

निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपसर्ग-पूर्वम्, अन्य-तरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे निष्ठान्तप्रसर्गपूर्वे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यामन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

110. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, a Participle in क् preceded by a preposition, standing as the first member of the compound, has optionally acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रथोतुलः or प्रथोतुलः (VI. 2. 169), or प्रथोतुलः (VI. 2. 49 and 1) प्रक्षालितपादः or प्रक्षालितपादः ॥ When the word तुल means (mouth) then by VI. 2. 167 which is an optional rule, the accent falls on the last syllable लः ॥ 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 प्रसक्तुलः 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 शुक्लतुलम् which has acute on the first by VI. 1. 206.

उत्तरपदादिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर, पदादिः, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदाशिरित्येतदधिकृतम् । यदित उर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम उत्तरपदस्यादिरुशात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

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 उत्तरपद exerts its influence upto the end of the chapter, while the word आदि has scope upto VI. 2. 187 exclusive.

कर्णो वर्णलक्षणात् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णः, वर्ण, लक्षणात्, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे वर्णशाचिनो लक्षणशाचिनश्च कर्णशब्दउत्तरपदमाद्युशात्तं 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 शार्ङ्गकर्णः शङ्खकर्णः, the lengthening of शब् and शङ्कु 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 'कर्ण' ? Observe श्वतपादः, कूटशृङ्गः here श्वत being formed by अच् (II. 1. 134) is end-acute, and कूट being formed by कृ (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 शोभनपादः where शोभन being formed by शुच् (III. 2. 149) is end-acute and this accent is retained (VI. 2. 1).

संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, औपम्ययोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामौपम्ये च यो बहुव्रीहिर्यन्तं तत्र कर्णशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युक्तं 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".

कण्ठपृष्ठश्रीवाजङ्घं च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, श्रीवा, जङ्घम्, च, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्ठ पृष्ठ श्रीवा जङ्घा इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञौपम्ययोराद्युक्तानि 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 काण्डपृष्टः, नाकपृष्टः ॥ Resemblance गोपृष्टः, अजपृष्टः ॥ Name सुश्रीवः, नीलश्रीवः, श्वश्रीवः ॥ Resemblance गोश्रीवः, अश्वश्रीवः ॥ Name नाडीजङ्घः, ठालजङ्घः ॥ Resemblance गोजङ्घः, अश्वजङ्घः, एणीजङ्घः ॥

The sūtra कण्ठपृष्ठश्रीवाजङ्घं is in Neuter gender, and जङ्घा 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 ॥ शृङ्गम्, अवस्थायाम्, च (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शृङ्गशब्द उत्तरपदमवस्थायां संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च बहुव्रीहौ आद्युक्तं 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, द्व्युलशृङ्गः, अंगुलशृङ्गः ॥ 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:—कप्यशृङ्गः comparison: गोशृङ्गः, मेवशृङ्गः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'age &c'. Observe स्थूलशृङ्गः ॥

नञो जरमरमित्त्वमृताः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, जर, मर, मित्र, मृताः, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ उच्यते जरमरमित्त्वमृता बहुव्रीहौ समासे भाद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

116. After a Negative Particle, in a Bahuvrīhi, 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 ब्राह्मणमिशः ॥ Why do we say “जर &c”. Observe अशर्तुः when the final gets the acute by VI. 2. 172.

सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, मन्-असी, अ लोम, उषसी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोरुत्तरमनन्तमसन्तं च बहुव्रीहौ समासे भाद्युदात्तं भवति लोमोषसीवर्जयित्वा ॥

117. After the adjective सु in a Bahuvrīhi, a stem ending in मन् and अस्, with the exception of लोमन् and उषस् has acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुकर्मन्, सुधर्मन्, सुप्रथिमन्, सुप्रयत्, सुयत्, सुस्रोतस् so also सुस्रत् and सुध्वत् from the root संस् and ध्वस् with the affix क्तिप् ॥ 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, कृतयत् ॥ 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 ज्ञ and त्, but with सु, the accent is thrown on the final by VI. 2. 172. Why do we say with the exception of लोमन् and उषस्? Observe सुलोर्मन् and सुर्वस् (VI. 2. 172). The following maxim applies here : अनिमस्मन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च सन्तर्विधि 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 मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 145), and प्रथिमन् is formed by इमनिष् affix (V. 1. 122) in which मन् is only a part. Similarly यत् is formed by असुन् (Uṇ IV. 191), and so also स्रोतस् (Uṇ IV. 202); but in सुध्वस् (सुध्वस् from ध्वस् with the affix क्तिप् III. 2. 76) the rule applies also, though अस् is here part of the root. But when the samāsānta 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 supersedes the present rule: thus सुकर्मकः, सुस्रोतकः ॥

क्रत्वाद्यञ्च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रत्वाद्यः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रत्वाद्यः सोरुत्तरे बहुव्रीहौ समासे भाद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

118. After सु in a Bahuvrīhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of क्तु &c.

Thus सुकैतुः, सुदृशीकः, सुर्मूर्तिः, सुर्व्यः, सुर्मगः, सुर्मतिकः ॥

आद्युदात्तं द्वयच्छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्युदात्तम्, द्वयच्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तं द्वयञ् उपरपदे बहुव्रीहौ समासे सौरुत्तरं तदाद्युदात्तमेव भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

119. In a Bahuvrīhi 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:—स्वद्वसिन्धुः सुरथा सुरासां (Rig Veda X. 76. 8). Here ईद्वश्च and सुरथः have acute on अ and र, which they had originally also, for अश्च and रथ are formed by क्तु (Uṇ I. 151) and कथन् (Uṇ II. 2) respectively and have the निच् accent (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'having acute on the first syllable'? Observe वा सुव्राहुः 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 सुयुसत्, सुाहरण्यः ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 172.

वीरवीर्यौच ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ वीर, वीर्यौ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वीर वीर्य इत्येतौ च शब्दौ सौरुत्तरे बहुव्रीहौ समासे छन्दसि विषये आद्युदात्तौ भवतः ।

120. In a Bahuvrīhi compound in the Chhandas, after सु, the words वीर and वीर्य have acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुवीरेण ते, सुवीरस्ते जजिता (Rig IV. 17. 4) सुवीर्यैस्वद्वयस् (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 Adyudatta.

कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसममव्ययीभावे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष, समम्, अव्ययीभावे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल तीर मूल मूल शाला अक्ष सम इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि भव्ययीभावं समासआद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

121. In an Avyayībhāva compound, the following second terms have acute on their first syllable : कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष and सम ॥

Thus परिकूलम्, उपकूलम्, परित्तीरम्, उपत्तीरम्, परित्तूलम्, उपत्तूलम्, परित्तूलम्, उपत्तूलम्, परिशालम्, उपशालम्, उपोक्षम्, पर्यक्षम्, सुर्वमम्, विर्वमम्, निर्वमम् and दुर्वमम् ॥ 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 भव, 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 द्विवगौ ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाय्य, काण्डम्, द्विवगौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कंस मन्थ शूर्प पाय्य काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि द्विवगौ समासआयुसात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

122. In a Dvigu Compound the following second members get acute on their first syllable :—कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाय्य and काण्ड ॥

Thus द्विकंसः, (शाभ्यां कंसाभ्यां क्रीतः the affix टिट् V. 1. 25 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिकंसः, द्विमन्थः, (the affix इक् V. 1. 19 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिमन्थः, द्विशूर्पः, (the affix भश्च 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 ॥ शालाघञान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे उत्तरपदमायुसात्तं भवति ॥

123. The word शाला at the end of a Tatpurusha compound when exhibited in the Neuter has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ब्राह्मणघञौलम्, क्षत्रियघञौलम् ॥ The compound becomes Neuter by II. 4. 25. Why do we say "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe दृढेशालं ब्राह्मणकुलम् which is a Bahuvrihi compound and therefore first member retains its accent VI. 2. 1, and as the first member is a Nishthā word, it has acute on the final. Why do we say "the word घञात्?" Observe ब्राह्मणसेनम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Neuter'? Observe ब्राह्मणशालम् ॥ Compare VI. 2. 86.

कन्या च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्या, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे कयाघञ उत्तरपदमायुसात्तं भवति ॥

124. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्या, the acute falls on the first syllable of the second member.

Thus सौमनिकन्यम्, माहुरकन्यम्, चक्रकन्यम् ॥ The word सौमनिः denotes the descendant of सुमनः (सोमनः सुमो ऋच) माहुर is formed by the preposition आ with the verb ह् 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 शशिकन्या ॥

आदिश्चिहणादीनाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, चिहणादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्यान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे चिहणादीनामादिह्रस्वतो भवति ॥

125. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in first syllable of चिहण &c have the acute.

As चिह्नकन्यम्, मंडकन्यम्, मंडुकन्यम् ॥ The repetition of the word भादि in this sūtra, 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 चिन् which gives चित् and ह्न is formed by adding अच् (III. 1. 134) to ह् ॥ चित् + ह्न = चिह्न the elision of न् is irregular.

चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हायाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेल, खेट, कटुक, काण्डम्, गर्हायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चेल खेट कटुक काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि तस्यरूपे समासे गर्हायां गम्यमानायामाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

126. The words चेल, खेट, कटुक and काण्ड at the end of a Tatpuruṣa have acute on the first syllable, when a reproach is meant.

Thus पुत्रचे लम्, भार्याचे लम्, उपानत् खेटम्, नगरखेटम्, (खेट इति वृणनाम, तद्वद् दुर्बला उपानत्) श्विकेडुकम् (कटुकमस्वाद्) उश्वित्केडुकम्, भूतकोण्डम् (काण्डमिति धरनाम, तद्यथा सत्वपीडाकर मेव भूतमपि) प्रजाकोण्डम् ॥ The reproach is denoted of the sons &c by comparing them to चेल &c. The analysis will be पुत्रचेलमिव i. e. चेलवत् सुच्छम् and the compounding takes place under II. 1. 56: the Vyagrādi class being an akṛti-gaṇa. When reproach is not meant, we have परमचेलम् ॥

चीरमुपमानम् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चीरम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चीरुत्तरपदमुपमानवाचि तस्यरूपे समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

127. The word चीर, at the end of a Tatpuruṣa, has acute on the first syllable, when something is compared with it.

Thus वस्त्रम् चीरमिव = वस्त्रचीरम्, पटचीरम्, 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 तस्यरूपे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

128. In a Tatpuruṣa 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 शुडपललम्, घृतपललम्, घृतसूपः, मूलकसूपः, घृतशौकम्, दुग्धशौकम् = शुडेन मिश्रं पललं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 35. Why do we say 'when meaning mixed or seasoned?' Observe परमपललम् ॥

कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, सूद, स्थल, कर्षाः, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल सूद स्थल कर्ष इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि तस्यरूपे 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 शक्तिकूलम्, भाहिकिकूलम्, देवसूदम्, भाजीसूदम्, राष्ट्रायनस्थली, माहकिस्थली, शक्ति-
कर्षः ॥ All these are names of villages. The feminine of स्थल is taken here, formed by स्त्री (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 Karmadhāraya.

Thus ब्राह्मणराज्यम्, क्षत्रियराज्यम् ॥ In a Karmadhāraya 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 कुचेलम्, कुपुत्रम् ॥

वर्ग्यादयश्च ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ग्यादयः, च, (आद्युदात्तानि)
वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ग्य इत्येवमादीन्युत्तरपदानि अकर्मधारये तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

131. At the end of a non-Karmadhāraya Tatpurusha compound, the words वर्ग्य &c have acute on the first syllable,

Thus वासुदेववर्ग्यः, वासुदेवपक्ष्यः, अर्जुनवर्ग्यः, अर्जुनपक्ष्यः ॥ In a Karmadhāraya we have परमवर्ग्यः ॥ The words वर्ग्य &c are nowhere exhibited as such; the primitive words वर्ग, पूग, गण &c sub-division of विगारि (IV. 3. 54) are here referred to, as ending with यत् affix.

पुत्रः पुत्र्यः ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रः, पुत्र्यः (आद्युदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दः पुत्रशब्देऽन्तरस्तत्पुरुषे 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 ॥

नाचार्यराजत्विक् संयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आचार्य, राज, ऋ-
त्विक, संयुक्त, ज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः, (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्य उपाध्यायः । राजा ईश्वरः । ऋत्विजो याजकाः । संयुक्ताः स्त्रीसंबन्धिनः इत्यालाहयः । ज्ञातव्यो
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 द्याला '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, शाकटावनकपुत्रैः, राजपुत्रैः, ईश्वरपुत्रैः, नन्दपुत्रैः, ऋत्विजपुत्रैः, याज्ञकपुत्रैः, 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.

चूर्णादीन्यप्राणेषुष्ट्याः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णादीनि, अ, प्राणि, षष्ठ्याः, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपशादिरिति वर्त्तते तस्युरुषइति च । चूर्णादीन्नुत्तरपशानि अग्नाग्निवाचिनः षष्ठ्यन्ताम्यपि तस्युरुषे 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 सुद्वर्चूर्णम्, तस्र्चूर्णम्, but मस्त्र्चूर्णम् where the first term is a living being, and परमचूर्णम् where it is not Genitive. Another reading of the sūtra is चूर्णादीन्यप्राण्युपमहात्, the word उपमह being the ancient name of षष्ठी given by old Grammarians.

1 चूर्ण, 2 करिव, 3 करिष, 4 शाकिन, 5 शाकट, 6 द्राक्षा, 7 तूस्त, 8 कुन्दुम (कुन्दम), 9 हलप, 10 अमसी, 11 अकन (अकन अकवन), 12 चोल ॥

The word चूर्ण is derived from the root चूरी शहे (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 क्त (करिणत्राति = करिव) (III. 2. 3); शाक with the affix इण् added diversely (Uṇ II. 56); शक् with अटच् (Uṇ IV. 81) gives शाकट; this with अण् (तद्गृहति) gives शाकट; द्राक् क्षरति = द्राक्षा (Prishodarādi); तूस् (शब्दे) with क्त gives तूस्त the penultimate being lengthened; the word कुन्दु is formed by the affix द्विष added to the root हु with the upapada क्त (कुन्दुनोति कुस्तितं वा हुनोति) the augment सुङ् being added to क्त ॥ कुन्दु मीमते = कुन्दुमः ॥ हल with the affix कपन् gives हलपः, अम with असच् forms अमस, then is added ङीष्; अकन is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to कन् and reduplication. चोलस्यापत्यं = चोलः ॥

षट् च काण्डादीनि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, च, काण्डादीनि, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षट् पूर्वोक्तानि काण्डादीन्युत्तरपदानं अप्राणव्यष्टया आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

135. The six words काण्ड, चीर, पलल, सूप, शाक and कुल of Sûtras VI. 2. 126-129, preceded by a non-living genitive word, have acute on the first syllable.

As दर्भकौण्डम्, शारकौण्डम्; दर्भचीरम्, कुशचीरम् ॥ In the last two examples शार is not used as a comparison, that case being governed by VI. 2. 127, तिलपललम्, मूलकशार्कम्, पुत्रसूपः ॥ Here पलल, सूप and शाक do not denote mixing, which is governed by VI. 2. 128. नन्दीकूलम्, सद्यद्रकूलम्, here the compound does not denote a Name, which would be the case under VI. 2, 129. Why these 'six' only? Observe राजसूतः ॥

कुण्डं वनम् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुण्डम्, वनम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डशब्देन कुण्डसादृश्येन वने वर्तते । कुण्डमित्येतदुत्तरपरं वनवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तं 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 दर्भकुण्डम्, शारकुण्डम् ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a wood'? Observe वृत्तकुण्डम् ॥ The word कुण्ड means (1) a basin (2) a caste called kunḍa. Some say it means 'forest' also primarily and metaphorically. The force here is that of सद्यदाव, i. e. शारवणसद्यदावः = शारकुण्डम् ॥

प्रकृत्या भगालम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, भगालम्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भगालवाच्युत्तरपरं 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, कुम्भीकर्मालम्, कुम्भीनिर्मालम् ॥ The words भगाल &c, have acute on the middle. Phit II. 9. The word प्रकृत्य governs the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 2. 143.

शितेर्नित्याबह्वज् बहुव्रीह्यावभसत् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शितेः, नित्य, अबह्वच्, बहुव्रीहौ, अभसत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शितेश्चरपरं नित्ये यदबह्वच् भसत्तद्वर्जितं बहुव्रीहौ समासे तत्प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

138. After शिति, a word retains in a Bahuvrīhi its original accent, when it is always of not more than two syllables, with the exception of भसत् ॥

Thus चित्तिपादः, चित्तितः, चित्तौष्ठः ॥ The word पाद belongs to वृष्मदि class (VI. 1. 203) and has acute on the first, and अंसः 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 अनीयर् has acute on the penultimate syllable नी by VI. 1. 217 ॥ Why do we say 'always'? Observe चित्तिककुत्, for though ककुत् is here of two syllables, it is an abbreviated form of ककुत्, the final अ being elided in denoting condition of life (V. 4. 146), in compounds other than those denoting 'age', we have चित्तिककुत्, 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 'abahvach or not many-syllable'? Observe चित्तिल्लाटः ॥ Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi? Observe चित्तेः पादः = चित्तिपादः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of मसन्? Observe चित्तिमसन् ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 1.

गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, कारक, उपपदात्, कृत, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य रूप इति वर्त्तते न बहुव्रीहिविति । गतेः कारकादुपपदाच्च कृतत्तद्यत्परं तस्य रूपे 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 प्रकर्त्तकः, प्रकर्त्तणम्, प्रहर्त्तकः, प्रहर्त्तणम् ॥ The compounding is here by II. 2. 18. With kāraka-word we have :—इष्मत्रैभनः, पलाशाशातनः, इमशुर्कल्पनः (III. 3. 117). With upapada words, we have :—इषत्कर्त्तः, दुष्कर्त्तः, सुकर्त्तः ॥ All these are formed by लिन् affixes and the accent is governed by VI. 1. 193. i. e. the word ब्रम्भन is formed by ल्युट् (इष्मं प्रवृञ्च्यते येन); so also with ज्ञातन (पलाशानि ज्ञात्यन्ते येन स इण्डः); so also with कल्पन (इमशु कल्पते येन स क्षुरादिः) 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 शेष लक्षणा 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 samasa 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 पचतितर and पचतितम ending in तरप् and तमप् and then भाम्, is added and the accent of the whole word is regulated by भाम् by the rule of सतिघट (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 देव्यः, or प्रपचति देवीषु (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 घनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, घनस्पत्यादिषु, युगपत्,
(प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्येति वर्त्तते । घनस्पत्यादिषु समासेषु उभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे युगपत् प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

140. In घनस्पति &c, both members of the compound preserve their original accent simultaneously.

Thus वैनस्पतिः, both घन and पति have acute on the first syllable, and सुद् augment comes by VI. 1. 157. (2) वृहस्पतिः or वृहस्पतिः = वृहतां पतिः (VI. 1. 157) The word वृहन् is acutely accented on the final, some say it has acute on the first. (3) सचीर्षतिः (Sachī being formed by ङीष्), some make Sachī acute on the first सचीर्षतिः, by including it in Sarangrava class (IV. 1. 73). (4) तनुर्नैपात् (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 palayati with क्तिप् and has acute on the first). (5) नैराहंसः नरा अस्मिन्नासीनाः शंसन्ति or नरा एव शंसन्ति (nara is formed by अप् and has acute on the first, Saṁsa is formed by चस्, the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137). (6) ह्युनः शेषः = ह्युन इव शेषोऽस्य is a Bahuvrihi : the Genitive is not elided by (VI. 3. 21. Vārt.), and both have acute on the first. (7) सण्डार्मकी both 'Sanda' and 'Marka' being formed by चस् have acute on the first: the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. (8) तृष्णावर्त्तनी ॥ Tṛishṇa has acute on the first, वर्त्तनी has acute on the final. The lengthening here also is by VI. 3. 137. (9) बम्बोर्विध्वयसौ ॥ 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) मैर्मृत्युः ॥ मर् is formed by विच् affix and मृत्यु 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 ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्र युगपदुभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

141. In a Dvandva compound of names of Divinities, the both members retain their original accent.

Thus, इंद्रासौमी, 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 वनन् (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 कक्षन्वधोधौ ॥ Why do we say 'a Dvandva'? Observe अग्निदोमः ॥

नोत्तरपदे ऽनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उत्तरपदे, अनुदात्तादौ, अ पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूष, मन्थिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदे ऽनुदात्तादौ पृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु अंते देवताद्वन्द्वे नोभे शुभपत्यकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

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 anudatta, with the exception of पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूषन्, and मन्थिन् ॥

Thus इंद्रासौमी, इंद्रावरु, 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 'anudattādau', which latter would otherwise have qualified Dvandva. The word "anudattādau" shows the scope of the prohibition and the injunction. Why do we say with the exception of 'prithivi' &c? Observe द्यौवापृथिव्यौ or द्यौं द्यव्यौ has acute on the first, 'prithivi' being formed by 'ñish', has acute on the final. सौमारेदौ, Rudra is formed by 'rak' affix (Uṇ II. 22.), and has acute on the final. इंद्रापूषणौ, Pūshan has acute on the end. (Uṇ I. 159) सुकामन्थिनौ, the words Śukra and manthin have acute on the final.

अन्तः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकारो यद्विदुर्धननुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्र समासस्योत्तरपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्विदुस्तथ्यम् ॥

143. In the following sūtrās 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, क, अच्, अप्, इत्, काणाम्, (अन्त उदात्तः,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ थ अथ घञ् क अच् अप् इत् क इत्येवमन्तानाद्युत्तरपदानां गतिकारकोपपदास्योपामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

144. The last syllable of the second member has the acute, in the verbal nouns ending in थ, अथ, घञ्, क, अच्, अप्, इत् and क, when preceded by a Gati, a Kâraka or an Upapada (VI. 2. 139).

Thus सुनीर्यः, भवधूर्यः 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. भयः—भावसूर्यः, उपवसूर्यः formed by भयन् affix (Uṇ III. 116). घम्—प्रभेर्यः, काष्ठभेर्यः, रज्जुभेर्यः ॥ क्तः—वृषादागतैः, Here क्त has the force of कर्म, and the gati भा would retain its accent (VI. 2. 49) therefore, भागत is first acute: this accent would have been retained when compounded with the kāraka word dūra, but for this sūtra. विद्भुक्तैः आतपशुक्तैः ॥ भच् (III. 3. 56) :—प्रक्षयः, प्रजयः, the words क्षय 'dwelling', and जय 'victory' are acute otherwise on the first (VI. 1. 201, 202). भप्—प्रलभ्यैः, प्रसव्यैः ॥ इच्—प्रलवित्र्यैः, प्रसदित्यैः ॥ क—खरीवृष्यैः गोवृष्यैः = गां वर्षति, खतीं वर्षति (III. 2. 5 Vārt) : प्रवृष्यैः, प्रहृष्यैः, (क 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, Kāraka or Upapada, this rule does not apply : as सुस्तुतं भवता, भतिस्तुतं भवता, where सु and भति being Kar-mapravachaniya, the words get the accent of the Indeclinable.

सूपमानात् कः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, उपमानात्, कः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सु इत्येतन्मादुपमानाच्च परं क्तान्तशुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं 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 सुकृतम्, सुमुक्तम्, सुपीतम् ॥ With Upamāna words we have—वृकाव-
सुप्तम्, घाशसुप्तम्, सिंहविन्दितम् ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49 and 48. When सु is not a Gati, the rule does not apply, as सुस्तुतम् भवता ॥

संज्ञायामनाचितादीनाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, अनाचितादीनाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गतिकारकोपपदान् क्तान्तशुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं 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 संभूतौ रामायणः, उपहृतैः शाकल्यः, परिजग्धैः कौण्डिन्यः ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49, धनुषख्यातौ नदी, कुदालख्यातम् नगरम्, हस्तिशुदितौ भूमिः ॥ Here VI. 2. 48 is debarred. Why do we say "when it is not आचित &c" Observe भौषितम् &c.

1 आचित, 2 पर्याचित, 3 भास्थापित, 4 परिगृहीत, 5 निरुक्त, 6 प्रतिपन्न, 7 अपभ्रष्ट*, 8 प्रभ्रष्ट, 9 उपहित (उपहत) 10 उपस्थित, 11 संहितागति (संहिताशब्दो यदा गौरव्यस्य संज्ञा तदन्तोदात्तो न भवति । अत्र तु गोः संज्ञा तदन्तोदात्त 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 क्तान्तशुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

147. The words प्रवृद्ध &c. ending in 'kta' have acute on the final.

Thus प्रवृद्धं यानम्, प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, प्रयुक्तोः सक्तवः, भाकषेऽवहितः, अवहितो भोगेषु, खट्वाकूटः, कविशस्तः ॥ It is an Akritigāṇa. The words have acute on the final, even when not followed by यान &c, though in the Ganapāṭha 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 Akritigāṇa we have पुनरुत्सृतं वासोवेद्यं, पुनर्निष्कृता रथः &c.

1 प्रवृद्धं यानम्, 2 प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, 3 प्रयुक्तासूच्यवः or प्रयुक्ताः सक्तवः 4 भाकषेऽवहितः, 5 अवहितो भोगेषु, 6 खट्वाकूटः 7 कविशस्तः, आकृतिगण.

कारकाद्दत्तश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारकात्, दत्त, श्रुतयोः, एव, आशिषि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामिनि वर्तते, क्त इति च । संज्ञायां विषये आशिषि गम्यमानायां कारकादुत्तरयोर्वत्तश्रुतयोरेव क्तान्तयोरन्त 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 (kāraka).

Thus देवा एनदेयास्तुः = देववर्त्तः, विष्णुरेव श्रुयाद् = विष्णुश्रुतः ॥

Why do we say "of दत्त and श्रुत"? 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 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, 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 '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, विश्रुतैः ॥ 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 देवैर्दत्त 'the name of Arjuna's conch', as आहतो न इति देवैर्दत्तः, 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 वर्तते तत्र क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

149. The Participle in क्त 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, विपन्नश्रुतम् 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 प्रत्ययान्तपुत्रपदं 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 भोदनभोजनं सुखम्, पथपानं सुखम्, चन्दनप्रियङ्गुकालेपनं सुखम् ॥ All these are examples of भाव or Abstract Verbal Nouns. राजभोजनः शालवः, राजाच्छादनानि 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 अन्" ? Observe, इत्त इत्यर्थमुदात्तम् ॥ Why do we say "when expressing an action in the abstract (bhâva), or an Object (karma)"? Observe इत्त धावन्म्, here ल्युट् is added after an Instrumental kâraka (III. 3. 117). Why do we say "after a kâraka"? Observe निवर्तनम्, अत्रलेखनम् ॥ In all the counter-examples, the second members retain their original accent.

मन्किन्व्याख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्, किन्
न्, व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान, याजकादि, क्रीताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्न्तं किन्न्तं व्याख्यान शयन आसन स्थान इत्येतानि याजकाद्यः व्रीतशब्दभोगपरमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

151. The words ending in मन् or किन् 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, शकटवर्मन् ॥ किन्—पाणिनिकृतिः, भाषिणिकृतिः ॥ व्याख्यान—
ऋग्वेदव्याख्यानम्, छन्दोव्याख्यानम् ॥ शयन—राजशयनम्, ब्राह्मणशयनम् ॥ आसन—राजासनम्, ब्राह्मण-
आसनम् ॥ 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 ब्राह्मणयाजकः, क्षत्रिययाजकः, ब्राह्मणपूजकः, क्षत्रियपूजकः ॥ 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 प्रकृतः and प्रहतिः ॥

1 याजक, 2 पूजक, 3 परिष्कारक, 4 परिवेषक परिवेषक 5 आपक ज्ञातक 6 अध्यापक, 7 उस्ताहक (उस्ताहक) 8 उद्वर्तक, 9 होतृ, 10 भर्तृ, 11 रथगणक, 12 पत्तिगणक, 13 पान्, 14 होतृ, 15 व्रतक.

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 वन् (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 ॥ ऊनार्थानुत्तरपदानि कलहशब्दश्च तृतीयान्तात्पर्याण्यन्तोशात्तानि 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 माषोर्नेष, कार्षापणोर्नेष, मासविक्रमे, कार्षापणविक्रमे, 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:—धान्वेनार्थाः = धान्वार्थैः ॥ If this be so, then the word-form ऊन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विक्रल &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 चानुपसर्गमसंधौ ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिश्रम्, च, अनुपसर्गम्, असंधौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयेति वर्तते । मिश्र इत्येतदुत्तरपदमनुपसर्गं तृतीयान्तात्परमन्तोशात्तं भवत्यसंधौ गम्भयाने ॥

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 गुडमिश्राः, तिलमिश्राः, सर्पिमिश्राः ॥ Why do we say मिश्र? Observe गुडधनाः ॥ 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 संहित ऐकार्थ्यमापन्नः ॥ 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 &c there is no possibility of separating the two.

नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे संपाद्यर्हहितालमर्थास्ताद्धिताः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, गुण, प्रतिषेधे, संपादि, अर्ह, हित, अलम्, अर्थाः, तद्धिताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपादि अर्ह हित अलम् इत्येवमर्था ये तद्धितास्तदन्तान्नुत्तरपदानि नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे वर्तमानास्य-
द्यन्तोऽक्षानि 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):—अकार्णवेदिकिर्णं मुखम् = न कार्ण वेद-
किकं (कर्ण वेदकाभ्यां सम्पादि) ॥ The affix is ङञ् ॥ अर्ह 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63):—
अच्छोर्दिकः = न छोर्द कः (छोर्मर्हति). The affix is ङञ् (V. 1. 64 and V. 1. 19). हित 'good for
that' (V. 1. 5):—अवत्सीयः = न वत्सी यः ॥ The affix is छ 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 गर्हभरयमर्हति = गर्हभरयिकः, विगार्हभरयिकः, 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 गर्हभरयिकान्यः =
अगार्हभरयिकः ॥ The word गुण here means the attribute denoted by the
Taddhita affix, and not any attribute in general. Thus अकार्णवेदिकिर्णं मुखम् =

कर्णवेष्टकाभ्याम् न संपादि शुक्लम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the sense of sampAdi &c' ? Observe पाणिनीयमधीयते = पाणिनीयः; न पाणिनीयः, = अपाणिनीयः ॥ Why do we say "Taddhita affixes"? Observe कन्यां वातुमर्हति = कन्यावादा, न वादा = अवादा ॥ Here कृच् a kṛit affix is added in the sense of 'deserving' (III. 3. 169).

ययतोभ्रातर्दर्थे ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ य, यतो, च, अतर्दर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ य यत् इत्येतौ बौ तद्धितावतर्दर्थे वर्तेते तदन्तत्त्वोत्तरपरस्व नमो गुणप्रतिषेधविषयादन्त उदासो 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 पादानां समूहः = पादयाः, न पादयाः = अपादयोः, So also अतृण्योः (IV. 2. 49); इन्तेषु भवं = इन्त्यम्, न इन्त्यं = अइन्त्यम्, अकर्ण्यम् (V. 1. 6). Why do we say 'atadārtha:— not useful for that'. Observe पार्श्वयुक्कम् = पाद्यम्, न पाद्यम् = अपाद्यम् (V. 4. 25). This rule does not apply when the affixes are not Taddhita, as अदेवम् formed with the kṛit affix अत् ॥ There must be negation of the attribute, otherwise इन्त्याइन्त्यत् = 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 उष &c. (IV. 2. 9), thus न वामदेव्यं = अवाग्देव्यम् ॥ See IV. 2. 9.

अच्कावशक्तौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, कौ, अ शक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच् क इत्येवमन्तमशक्तौ गम्यमानायास्तत्तरपरं नमः 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 अपर्चः = य पत्तुं न शक्नोति, so also अजर्चः, अपर्चः, अविक्षिर्षः, अविलिर्षः (III. 1. 134 &c). Why do we say when meaning 'not capable'? Observe अपचो वीक्षितः, अपचः परिव्राजकः ॥ A वीक्षित 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 नम उत्तरमच्छ्रान्तमन्तोदात्तं 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 अपचो^१ ऽयं 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 अपर्चो^२ ऽयं जाल्मः, so also अविक्षिर्षः, अविलिर्षः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (अन्तो दात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नमः परमुत्तरपरं संज्ञायां वर्त्तमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

159. When abuse is meant, a word preceded by नञ्, has acute on the final, in denoting a Name.

Thus भद्रवदन्तैः 'No Devadatta, not deserving of this name' भद्रवदन्तैः, भविष्णुमिदं ॥

कृत्योकेष्णुच्चार्यादयश्च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, उक्, इष्णुच्, चार्वादीयः, च ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य उक् इष्णुच् इत्येवमन्ताभ्यार्वादीयश्च नञ् उत्तरेन्तोशाया भवान्त ॥

160. After the Negative particle, the 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:—अकर्त्तव्यम्, अकरणीयम्, उक्:—अनाभासुकर्म, अनपलायुकर्म ॥ इष्णुच्-अनलंकारिष्णुः, अनिराकरिष्णुः ॥ The affix इष्णुच् includes लिष्णुच् also: अनाख्यभविष्णुः, भद्रु-भगभविष्णु ॥ चारु &c:—अचारुः, असारुः, अयौधिकः, अवदान्यः, अननङ्गमेजयैः (double negation). अनकस्मात् (double negation), The words वर्तमान, वर्धमान स्वरमाण, धीयमाण, रोचमान, क्रीयमाण, and शोभमान preceded by अ (नञ्) when denoting names have acute on the final. भविकारैः, असदृशैः and भविकारसदृशैः (विकार and सदृश taken jointly & separately). अगृहपति, अगृहपतिकः ॥ अराजौ and अनर्हः in the Vedas only. In the Vernacular they have the accent of नञ्, i. e. udāta on the first.

1 चारु, 2 साधु, 3 यौधाकि (यौधिक) 4 अनङ्गमेजय, 5 वदान्य 6 अकस्मात्, 7 वर्तमानवर्धमानस्वरमाणधियमाणक्रोयमाणरोचमानशोभमानाः (क्रियमाण क्रोयमाण) संज्ञायाम्, 8 विकारसदृशे व्यस्ते समस्ते (भविकार, असदृश भविकारसङ्घा), 9 गृहपति, 10 गृहपतिक, 11 राजाहोच्छ्रंसि.

विभाषा तृन्नञ्तीक्षणशुचिषु ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृन्, अन्न, तीक्षण, शुचिषु, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृन्नन्त अन्न तीक्षण शुचि इत्येतेषु नञ् 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, तीक्षण, and शुचि ॥

Thus तृन्—अकर्त्ता or अकर्त्ता; अन्न &c—अनर्त्तम् or अर्त्तन्नम्, अतीक्ष्णम्, or अर्त्तीक्ष्णम्, 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, एतद्द्वितीयैः, एतत्तृतीयैः तत्प्रथमैः, तद्द्वितीयैः 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 अत्प्रथमः = अःप्रथम एषाम्, here the first term retains its accent by VI. 2. 1. Why do we say 'of prathama and the Ordinals?' Observe तानि बहुन्यस्य = तद्वहुः ॥ Why do we say 'in counting an action'? Observe अद्ये प्रथम एषां = त इदं प्रथमाः ॥ Here *substances* are counted and not *action*. Why do we say 'in counting'? Observe अद्ये प्रथम एषां = इदं प्रथमाः i. e. इदं प्रधानाः ॥ and the word प्रथम means here 'foremost', and is not a numeral. When the क्प् affix is added, the acute falls on the last syllable preceding क्प् ॥ 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 इदं नायस्तना ॥ Why do we say 'स्तन'? Observe द्विश्रिताः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दो विभाषा ऽन्तोदात्तो 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 (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे मित्र अजिन इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

षान्तिः ॥ 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, वृकाजिनैः, कूलाजिनैः कृष्णाजिनैः ॥ Why do we say 'a Name'? Observe प्रियमित्रैः, महाजिनः ॥

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 ॥

व्यवायिनो ऽन्तरम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवायिनः, अन्तरम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवायी ध्यवधात् । तद्वाचिनः परमन्तरं बहुव्रीहौ समासे ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

166. In a Bahuvrīhi ending in अन्तर, the acute falls on the final, after a word which denotes 'that which lies between'.

Thus कम्बलान्तरम् 'through an intervened cloth or drapery', पदान्तरम्, कम्बलान्तरम् = कम्बलान्तरं व्यवधायकं यस्य &c. Why do we say 'when meaning lying between'? Observe आत्मान्तरम् = आत्मा स्वभावोऽन्तरोऽन्यायस्य ॥

मुखं स्वाङ्गम् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुखम्, स्वाङ्गम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मुखपुनरपरं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासे ऽन्तोदात्तं 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 गोरमुखं, भद्रमुखं ॥ Why do we say 'an actual part of a body'? Observe द्वीपेमुखा घाला ॥ 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.

नान्यदिक्शब्दगोमहत्स्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः ॥ 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 समासे नान्तोदात्तं 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, स्थूलोर्मुखः, मुष्टिर्मुखः, पृथुर्मुखः and वत्सोर्मुखः ॥ 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 स्वाङ्गमुत्तरपदमन्यतरस्यां 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 वक्षालितमुखैः or प्रक्षालितमुखैः or प्रेक्षालितमुखैः ॥ 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 आच्छादनवर्जितान् कालवाचिनः सुखादिभ्यश्च परं क्तान्तं कृतमितप्रतिपन्नान्जयित्वा बहुव्रीहौ समासेन्तोशात्तं 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, सुरापीतैः ॥ कालः—मासजातैः, संवत्सरजातैः, ब्रह्मजातैः, त्र्यहजातैः ॥ 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 वैश्वच्छत्रः, वैसनच्छत्रः from the root वस् with the affixes छत्र् and ल्युद् respectively. Why do we say "when not कृत &c."? Observe कुण्डकृतः, कुण्डमितः, कुण्डप्रातपन्नः; 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 आश्व, 7 अलीक 8 प्रसीप, 9 करुण, 10 कृपण, 11 सांठ, 12 गहन.

वा जाते ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जाते, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातस्य उच्चरपरं वा ऽन्त उच्चो 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 इन्तजातैः or इन्तजातः, स्तनजातैः or स्तनजातः, मासजातैः or मासजातः, संवत्सरजातैः or संवत्सरजातः, सुखजातैः or सुखजातः, दुःखजातैः or दुःखजातः &c. The words इन्त 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. बहिष्ठवस्तरति शान्त्यान्ताम् "words ending in बहिष्ठ, वस्, ति, शान् and थ are finally acute", as बहिष्ठैः, संवत्सरैः, सप्ततिः, निर्धन, शूर्यम् ॥ The words सुख and दुःख are end-acute by Phit I. 6.

नञ्सुभ्याम् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, सुभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां परसुत्तरपरं 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^१ देवाः, अत्रीहि^१, अमाष^१, सुयव^१, सुत्रीहि^१, सुमाष^१ ॥ 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^१ (formed by the samāsānta affix च 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 samasanta 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 क and not on ई, for the affix कप् is considered part of the samasa and not of the uttarapada समासात्तः समासस्त्वैवायवो 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^१ कोदेवाः, अवृषलीकः, अब्रह्मबन्धूकः, सुकुमारीकः, सुवृषलीकः, सुब्रह्मबन्धूकः ॥

ह्रस्वान्ते इत्यात्पूर्वम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वान्ते, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, (उदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वो ऽन्तो यस्य तद्विरं ह्रस्वान्तसुत्तरपरं समासो वा, तत्रान्यात्पूर्वशुदात्तं 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 अयवकोदेवाः, अत्रीहिकः, अमाषकः, सुयवकः, सुत्रीहिकः, 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 अर्त्तकः and सुर्त्तकः, the acute is on the syllable preceding कप् by VI. 2. 173, because it has here no antyāt-purvam.

बहोर्नञ्चदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, नञ्चदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदार्थबहुल्ये यो बहुशब्दो वर्त्तते तस्मान्नञश्च स्वरो भवति । नञ्चदुत्तरपदभूमि । बहोर्नञ्चदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥

175. A Bahuvrīhi with बहु, has the same accent as नञ्, when it denotes muchness of the object expressed by the second member.

In other words a Bahuvrīhi with the word बहु in the first member, is governed by all those rules which apply to a Bahuvrīhi 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 बहुयवैः शेषः, बहुव्रीहैः, बहु-तिर्लः the same as VI. 2. 172. बहुयवकः, बहुव्रीहिकः, बहुनापकः by VI. 2. 174. बहुजैः, बहुमैः, बहुमित्रैः, बहुवृत्तैः by VI. 2. 116: these examples of VI. 2. 116 are not given by Dr. Bohtlingk.

Why do we say 'uttara-pada-bhumni—when multicity of the objects denoted by the second member is meant'? Observe बहुषु मनोऽस्य = बहुमना अयम् (VI. 2. 1).

न गुणादयो ऽवयवाः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गुणादयः, अवयवाः (अन्तोदात्ताः) वृत्तिः ॥ गुणादयो ऽवयववाचिनोबहोरुत्तरे बहुव्रीहौ नान्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

176. In a Bahuvrīhi, 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. I). गुणादि is an Akrtigaṇa. Why do we say "when it denotes an avayava or ingredient" ? As बहुगुणोऽब्राह्मणः = अध्ययनश्रुतसंज्ञासारादयोऽत्रगुणाः ॥

1 गुण, 2 अक्षर, 3 अध्याय, 4 सूक्त, 5 छन्दोमान. आकृतिगण.

उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपर्शु ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, स्वाङ्गम्, ध्रुवम्, अपर्शु, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

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 Bahuvrīhi compound, the acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रपृष्ठैः, प्रोद्धैः, प्रल्लाटैः; सततं बल्य प्रगतं पृष्ठं भवति स प्रपृष्ठः ॥ Why do we say 'after a Preposition'? Observe हर्षनीयल्लाटः ॥ Why do we say 'part of the body'? Observe प्रचाखो 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 पशु? Observe वैत्पशुः, विपशुः (VI. 2. 1).

वनं समासे ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, समासे, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासमात्रे वनामत्येतदुत्तरपशुपसर्गात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

178. After a preposition, वन has acute on the final in compounds of every kind.

Thus प्रवणं बटव्यम्, निर्धने 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 Bahuvrihi would have been meant.

अन्तः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तश्चाश्चदुत्तरं वनमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

179. After अन्तर् the acute falls on the final of वन ॥

Thus अन्तर्वणो वेशः ॥ This sūtra is made in order to make वन oxytoned, when a preposition (upasarga) does not precede.

अन्तश्च ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तश्चाश्चदुत्तरपशुपसर्गात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

180. The word अन्तर् has acute on the final when preceded by a Preposition.

Thus प्रान्तैः, पर्यन्तैः ॥ This is a Bahuvrihi or a प्रादि compound.

न निविभ्याम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, नि, विभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरोन्तश्चाश्चो नान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

181. The word antar has not acute on the final, after the prepositions नि and चि ॥

Thus न्यन्तः, त्र्यन्तः, 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.

परेरमितोभावि मण्डलम् ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, अभितः-भावि, मण्डलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेरुत्तरमभितोभाविचनं 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 परिकूलम्, परित्तिरम्, परिमण्डलम् ॥ This is a Bahuvrihi 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. अभितः = उभयतः 'on both sides, अभितोभावोऽस्यास्ति = अभितोभाविन् '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 विषये ऽन्तोदात्तं 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 निरुप 3 निर्मक्षिक, 4 निर्मद्यक, 5 निष्कालक, 6 निष्कालिक, 7 निष्पेष, 8 दुस्तरीप, 9 निस्तरीप, 10 निस्तरीक, 11 निरजिन, 12 उदजिन, 13 उपाजिन, 14 परेष्टपारकेशकर्षा भाङ्गतिगण.

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 कालकान्, is a Prādi-samāsa with the word काल ending in the affix कन् ॥ The word दुस्तरीपः is thus formed: to the root हृ is added the affix ई and we have तरी (Uṇ III. 158) क्रीम् पाति = तरीपः; कृत्स्नत स्तरीपः = दुस्तरीपः ॥ The word निस्तरीकः is formed by adding the affix कर् to the Bahuvrihi निस्तरी ॥ The words हस्त, पद, कश and कर्द have acute on the final after परि, as, परिहस्तः, परिपदः, परिकेशः, and परिकर्दः ॥

अभेर्मुखम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, मुखम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभेरुत्तरं मुख्यमन्तोदात्तं 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 घाला ॥

अपाच्च ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपाचोत्तरं मुख्यमन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

186. The word मुख has acute on the final, after the preposition अप् ॥

Thus अपमुखम्, अपमुखः ॥ The compound is in one case Avyayibhava 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.

स्फिगपूतवीणाञ्जोध्वकुक्षिसीरनाम नाम च १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फिग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जः, उध्वम् कुक्षि, सीर नाम, नाम, च,

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फिग पूत वीणा अञ्जस् उध्वम् कुक्षि इत्येतान्युत्तरानि सीरनामानि नामशब्दभाषापादुत्तराण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ।

187. The words स्फिग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जस्, उध्वम्, कुक्षि, नामन् and a word denoting 'a plough', have acute on the final when preceded by अप् ॥

Thus अपस्फिगम्, अपपूतम्, अपवीणम्, अपाञ्जः, अपाध्वम् (This ordains acute on the final where the compound apādhwa 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, अपसीरः अपहलः, अपलाङ्गलम्, अपनामम् ॥ These are प्रादि compounds or Bahuvrīhi 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 Bahuvrīhi. Here the compound must not be a Bahuvrīhi, 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 योऽन्योदन्तो जायते 'a tooth that grows over another tooth'. अधिकर्णः, अधिकर्षः ॥ 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 अधिकरणम् 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 कनीयस्यान्तोदात्तं 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 अनुगता उद्येष्टम् = अनुउद्येष्टः, अनुमध्यम् ॥ These are प्रादि samāsa

in which the first member is the principal or Pradhāna. अनुगतः कनीयान् = अनुक-
भीयान्, here the second member is the Principal: the word कनीयान् 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.

पुरुषश्चान्वादिष्टः ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषः, च, अन्वादिष्टः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दो ऽन्वादिष्टवाची 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 परमकृतं पदशब्दश्चान्तोदात्तो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अतेर्जातुलोपश्चि वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. After अति, a word not formed by a kṛit-affix,
and the word पद्, have acute on the last syllable.

Thus अस्यङ्कु शो नागः, अतिक शोऽश्वः, अतिपर्श शकुनी ॥ 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 शोभनी
शाग्धः = अतिशाग्धः ॥ But it would apply to अतिकारकः, which when analysed be-
comes equal to अतिक्रान्तः कारक ॥

नेरनिधाने ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, अनिधाने, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

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 निमूलम्, न्य-
स्यम्, नितुर्जम् ॥ These are either Bahuvrihi or prādisamāsa. In the case of
their being Avyayībhāva, they would have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223.
Why do we say when meaning 'not laying down'? Observe निवाक् = निहितवाक्
as निवाग्बृषलः; निरण्डः = निहितण्डः ॥ The force of नि is that of निधान here.

प्रतेरंश्वाद्यस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, अंश्वाद्यः, तत्पुरुषे, (अन्तोदात्ताः)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतेरंश्वाद्यस्तत्पुरुषे समासेन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ।

193. In a Tatpurusha compound, the words अंशु
&c have acute on the final when preceded by प्रति ॥

Thus प्रलङ्घः, प्रतिजनैः, प्रतिराजौ ॥ In the case of राजन् this rule applies when the Samâsânta 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 भङ्ग, 2 जन, 3 राजन्, 4 उद्ग, 5 खेटक (रोटक), 6 अजिर, 7 भार्गो, 8 भवण, 9 कृत्तिका, 10 अर्ध, 11 पुर (भार्धपुर भार्धपुरः) ॥

The word भङ्ग is formed by the affix कु under the general class मृगशुः (Uṇ I. 37), राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156), उद्ग by adding द्गन् to उद्ग 'to burn'. (Uṇ IV. 162), खिद् + ण्कुल् = खेटक ; अजिर is formed by किरच् (Uṇ I. 53) आ + ज्ञा + भङ् (III. 3. 106), with the augment रक् added to आ = भार्गो ॥ भृ + ल्युट् = भवण, कृत + तिकन् = कृत्तिका (Uṇ III. 147) ऋध् + भच् (III. I. 134) = अर्ध ; पुर + क = पुर ॥

Why do we say 'in the Tatpurusha'? Observe प्रतिगता भंगवोऽस्य = प्रलङ्घुरयश्च ॥

उपाद् द्व्यज्जिनमगौरादयः ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाद्, द्व्यच् अजिनम्, अगौरादयः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरं द्व्यज्जिनं चान्तोदात्तं भवति तस्यरूपे समासे गौरादीन्वञ्चिस्त्वा ॥

194. In a Tatpurusha, the words of two syllables and अजिन have acute on the final when preceded by उपा, but not when they are गौर and the rest.

Thus उपगतो देवः = उपदेवैः, उपेन्द्रैः, उपसोमैः, उपहोर्दैः, उपाजिनैश्च ॥ But not so in उपगौरः, उपनेषः &c.

1 गौर, 2 नैष (नैष) 3 तैल, 4 लेट, 5 लोट, 6 जिह्वा, 7 कृष्ण (कृष्णा) 8 कन्या, 9 युध (युड) 10 कल्प, 11 पाठ

Why "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe उपगतः सोमोऽस्य = उपसोमः ॥

सोरवक्षेपणे ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, अवक्षेपणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुशब्दात्परसुत्तरपरं तस्यरूपे समासेन्तोदात्तं भवाते अवक्षेपणे गम्यमाने ॥

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 खल्विहानी, सुस्यण्डले सुस्फिताभ्यां सुप्रस्यवसिर्तैः ॥ 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 कुम्भाम्बणः ॥ Why 'when reproach is meant'? Observe शोभनेषु तृणेषु = सुतृणेषु ॥

विभाषोत्पुच्छे ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उत्पुच्छे, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पुच्छशब्दे तस्यरूपे विभाषा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

196. In a Tatpurusha, the word उत्पुच्छ may optionally have acute on the final.

Thus उरकान्तः पुच्छन् = उरुच्छः or उरुच्छः (VI. 2. 2) ॥ When this word is derived by the affix अच् from पुच्छयुजस्यति = उरुच्छयति, 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-Tatpuruṣha : as, उरुस्तं पुच्छमस्य = उरुच्छः ॥

द्वित्रिभ्यां पादन्मूर्धं सु बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, त्रिभ्याम्, पात्, दत्, मूर्धं सु, बहुव्रीहौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि त्रि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरेषु पाद् दत् मूर्धन् इत्येतेषु भरपरेषु ओ बहुव्रीहिस्तत्र विभाषा ऽन्त उरात्तो भवति ॥

197. In a Bahuvrīhi, the words पाद्, दत् and मूर्धन् have optionally acute on the final after द्वि and त्रि ॥

Thus द्वौ पादावस्य = द्विपात् or त्रिपात्, त्रिपाद् or त्रिपाद्, द्विर्दन् or द्विर्दन्, त्रिर्दन् or त्रिर्दन्, द्विमूर्धा or द्विमूर्धा ॥ The word पाद् is पाद् with its अ elided, (V. 4. 140) दत् 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 कर्त्वर्योणमूर्धा here the first member is middle acute by Phiṭ II. 19 and this accent is retained VI. 2. 1. Why 'पाद् & c'? Observe द्विहस्तम्, त्रिहस्तम् ॥ Why 'Bahuvrīhi'? Observe द्वयोर्मूर्धा = द्विमूर्धा ॥

सकथं चाक्रान्तात् ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सकथम्, च, अ क्रान्तात्, (अन्तोदात्तः) (विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकथमिति कृतसमासान्तः सकथिषाञ्चोत्र गृह्यते सोक्रान्तात्परो विभाषान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

198. The word सकथ has acute on the final optionally, when preceded by any word other than what ends in क् ॥

The word सकथ is the samāsanta form of सकथि (V. 4. 113,). Thus गौरसकथ्यः or गौरैसकथ्यः, श्लक्ष्णसकथ्यः or श्लक्ष्णैसकथ्यः The word गौर being formed by प्रज्ञादि अण् and श्लक्ष्ण by क्लन् (Uṇ III. 19) are both end-acute. Why 'not after a word ending in क्'? Observe चक्रसकथ्यः 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 पराविरुदात्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

Karika—परादिश्च परान्तश्च पूर्वान्तश्चापि दृश्यते ।

पूर्वादिश्च दृश्यन्ते व्यत्ययो बहुलं ततः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्तप्रकरणे त्रिचक्रादीनां छन्दस्त्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तप्रकरणे मरुद्बुद्धादीनां छन्दस्त्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपदाद्युदात्तप्रकरणे विद्यासासीनां छन्दस्त्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

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 अक्षिसक्यमालभेत्, but लोमसक्यः so also अशुबाहुः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पतिः ॥ 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, अक्षिक &c have acute on the final of the second term. As अक्षिकेण, अक्षिन्धुरेण, अक्षितारयेन, ॥ नियेनं शुद्धित्यया ॥

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 द्विवेदास &c have acute on the first syllable of the first member. As द्विवेदासाय सामगाय ते ॥

आम् ३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER THIRD

अलुगुत्तरपदे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलुक्, उत्तरपदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलुगुत्तरपदे च उत्तरपदे इति च एतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । अस्ति ईर्ष्यमनुक्रमिष्यामि ऽलुगुत्तरपदे-
त्येव 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 स्तोकाद् मुक्तः = स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः ॥ Why do we say “before the second member”? Observe निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकाद् = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, स्तोकादिभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि स्तोकादीनि तेभ्यः परस्याः पञ्चम्या उत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

2. The Ablative-ending after स्तोकाद् &c is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः, अन्तिकाशगतः, अन्ध्याशाशगतः, दूराशगतः, विप्रकृष्टा-
शगतः, कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः ॥ By I. 2. 46, a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called prātipadika, and by II. 4. 71 the endings of a Prātipadika are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकाद् मुक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sūtra prevents that. The words स्तोकाद् &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 ब्राह्मणाशशव संसति = ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् “a kind of Ritvik priest”.

ओजः सहोम्भस्तमसस्त्वृतीयायाः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् तमसः, वृतीयायाः (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् तमस् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्यास्त्वृतीयाया अलुग्भवति उत्तरपदे ॥
वार्तिकम् ५ अञ्जस उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पुंसानुजो अनुषान्ध 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—अञ्जस also should be enumerated. Thus अञ्जसाकृतम् ॥

Vart:—The compounds पुंसानुजः and अनुषान्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसा हेतुनानुजः = पुंसानुजः ॥ अनुषा हेतुनाऽन्धः = अनुषान्धः ॥ The word अनु is another name of जन्मन् ‘birth’.

मनसः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनसः, संज्ञायाम्, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मनस उत्तरस्यास्त्वृतीयायाः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

4. After मनस when the compound is a Name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसादत्ता, मनसायुता, मनसासंगता ॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe मनोदत्ता, मनोयुता ॥

आज्ञायिनि च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आज्ञायिनि, च, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आज्ञायिन्युत्तरपदे मनस उत्तरस्यास्त्वृतीयाया 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 उत्तरस्यास्त्वृतीयायाः 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 आत्मचतुर्थ्य in अनार्त्तनस्त्वात्मचतुर्थ्य 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 । यथा संज्ञया वैयाकरणा एव व्यवहरन्ति तस्या-
मात्मन उत्तरस्याचतुर्थ्या 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 ॥ हलन्तात्सप्तम्याः उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्याः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हद्द्युम्यां 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, स्वयिसारः, गविष्ठिरः ॥ Though गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of VIII. 3. 95 (गविशुभिर्या स्थिरः) which shows by implication that गवि is governed by this rule. So also अ ending words: as अरण्यतिलकाः, अरण्यभाषकाः, वनेर्किशुकाः, वनेहरिद्रकाः, वनेबल्बजकाः, पूर्वाह्णे-
स्कोदकाः, रूपेपिशाचकाः ॥ 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 अक्षशाण्डः ॥

Vārt :—The Locative ending is not elided after हद् and दिद् ; as : ह्रित्स्विक्, सिवित्स्विक् ॥

कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारनाम्नि, च, प्राचाम्, हलादौ, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे अस्कारनाम तत्र हलादादुत्तरपदे हलन्तादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या भलुग्भवति ॥

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 सूयेद्याणः, ह्यदिमाषकः, हलेदिपदिका, हलेचिपदिका ॥ 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 अन्वर्हितपशुः = अन्वर्हितपशुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues', but not of a 'tax'. Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe दूयेपशुः = दूयपशुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe अविकटे वरणः = अविकटे वरणः ॥ So also वचां रोहनी = नरीरोहनी ॥ For accent of these words see VI. 2. 65.

मध्याद्गुरौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्, गुरौ, अलुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या ह्यदादुत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

11. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows.

As, मध्येगुरुः ॥

Vart:—So also after अन्त ; as अन्तेगुरुः ॥

अमूर्धमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ मूर्ध, मस्तकात्, स्वाङ्गात्, अकामे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्धमस्तकवर्जितास्वाङ्गादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या अकामवत्तरपदे 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, उररेमणिः ॥ But मूर्धशिखः, 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 अक्षसौण्डः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अंगुलिप्राणः, 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 बन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्धः or हस्तेबन्धः, चक्रेबन्धः or चक्रबन्धः ॥ 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 सुप्तिबन्धः ॥

तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत् पुरुषे, कृति, बहुलम्, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे कृतन्तउत्तरपदे 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, मङ्गचरः ॥

प्रावृद्दशरत्कालदिवां जे ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृद्, शरत्, काल, दिवाम्, जे, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृद् शरत् काल दिव् इत्येतेषां अ उत्तरपदे सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

15. The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृद्, 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 उत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या अ उत्तरपदे विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

16. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्ष, क्षर, शर, and वर when ज follows.

Thus वर्षेजः or वर्षजः, क्षरेजः or क्षरजः, शरेजः or शरजः, वरेजः or वरजः ॥

घकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, काल, तनेषु, काल नाम्नः, (अलुक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ घसंज्ञके प्रत्यये कालघञे तनप्रत्यये च परतः कालनाम्न उत्तरस्थाः 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 तरप् and तमप् are called घ (I. 1. 22). Thus घः—पूर्वाङ्ग, तरे or पूर्वाङ्ग, तरे, पूर्वाङ्ग, तमे or पूर्वाङ्ग, तमे ॥ कालः—पूर्वाङ्ग, काले or पूर्वाङ्ग, काले ॥ तनः—पूर्वाङ्ग, तने or पूर्वाङ्ग, तने ॥ Why do we say 'after a time—name'? Observe शकृतरे, शकृतने ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in राक्षितरायाम् ॥

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 य, अय &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in य affix &c. But in this chapter, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपद goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the following maxim: उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्त ग्रहणम्; on the contrary the affix denotes its own-form. Thus तद्, तम् and तन् 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 हृद्व् when the word लेख, and the affixes बन्, 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 तन् ॥

शयवासवासिष्वकालात् ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥ शय, वास, वासिषु, अकालात्, (अलुक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ शय वास वासिष् इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेष्वकालवाचिन उत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

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, ग्रामेवासः or ग्रामवासः, ग्रामेवासिन् or ग्रामवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have पूर्वाह्णशयः ॥ 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 यन् or मतुप् follows. Thus अप्पुयोनिः, अप्सव्यः, अप्पुमन्ती ॥ The affix यन् is added by treating अण् as belonging to the दिगारि class (अप्पु भवः, IV. 3. 54).

नेन्सिद्धबध्नातिषु च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्, सिद्ध, बध्नातिषु, च, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इन्नन्ते सिद्धशब्दं बध्नाती च परतः सप्तम्या अलुग्न्न भवति ॥

19. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from बन्ध् ॥

Thus स्यण्डिलशायिन्, सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिल्यसिद्धः, चक्रबन्धकः, चरकबन्धकः ॥ 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 अण् of III. 1. 134. The बन्ध ending in चम् is governed by VI. 3. 13. This sūtra is an exception to VI. 3. 14.

स्ये च भाषायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्ये, च, भाषायाम्, (न) (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्ये चोत्तरपदे भाषायां सप्तम्या अलुग्न्न भवति ॥

20. The Locative ending is not preserved before स्थ in the spoken language.

Thus विषमस्यः, कूटस्यः, पर्वतस्यः ॥ But आखरोष्ठः in the Veda, as in कृष्णोस्या-
खरोष्ठः ॥ स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106.

षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः, आक्रोशे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने उत्तरपदे षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठीमकरणे वाग् विक्पद्यद्भयो युक्तिरुद्देश्येषु यथासंख्यमलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ आशुष्यायपाशुष्यपुत्रिकाशुष्यकुलिकेति आलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ देवानां मिय इत्यत्र च षष्ठ्या अलुग् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ शेषपुच्छलाङ्गुलेषु शूनः भसंज्ञायां षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ दिवश्च शसि 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 ॥

Vart:—The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्ति, after दिग् before इण्ड, and after पद्यत् before हर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्तिः, दिशोइण्डः, पद्यतोहरः ॥

Vart:—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आशु-
ष्यायणः, आशुष्यपुत्रिका and आशुष्यकुलिका ॥ अशुष्य is the Genitive Singular of the
Pronoun अहस्, and is enumerated in the नडादि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes फक्
in forming the Patronymic, अशुष्यायणम् = आशुष्यायणः, अशुष्यपुत्रस्य भावः = आशुष्यपुत्रिका
formed by वृष् (V. 1. 133) ॥ So also आशुष्यकुलिका ॥

Vart:—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानांमियः ॥
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 Kâśikâ. 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.

Vart:—The Genitive affix is not elided after श्वन् when शेष, पुच्छ and
लांगुल follow it :—शूनः शेषः, शूनः पुच्छः, शूनोलांगुलः ॥

Vart:—The Genitive affix is not elided after दिग् when शसि follows : as
दिवोशसिः ॥

पुत्रे अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दवत्तरपदे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने अन्यतरस्यां षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

22. The genitive affix is optionally retained when insult is meant, when पुत्र follows.

Thus शस्याः पुत्रः or शसिपुत्रः, वृषल्याः पुत्रः, or वृषलीपुत्रः ॥ But when insult
is not meant we have ब्राह्मणीपुत्रः ॥

ऋतो विद्यायोनिस्सम्बन्धेभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, विद्या, योनि, सम्बन्धेभ्यः,
(अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यो विद्यासम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो योनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्योत्तरत्वाः वृत्त्या अलुम्भवति ॥

23. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in ऋ and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus होतुरन्तेवासिन्, होतुः पुत्रः, पितुरन्तेवासिन् or पितुः पुत्रः ॥ Why do we say "a word ending in ऋ"? Observe माचार्यपुत्रः, मातुलपुत्रः ॥ The relationship through 'study' or 'blood' should be between the first and the second member of the compound. Therefore, the rule does not apply to होतृधनम्, पितृधनम्, होतृगृहम्, पितृगृहम् ॥

विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, स्वसृ, पत्योः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसृ पति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपद्योर्ऋकारान्तेभ्यो विद्यायोगिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो विभाषाऽलुम्भवति ॥

24. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in ऋ when स्वसृ and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Thus मातुःस्वसा or मातुःष्वसा or मातृष्वसा, पितुःस्वसा or पितुःष्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to ष by VIII. 3. 85; and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII. 3. 85). So also दुहितुः पतिः or दुहितृपतिः, ननान्दुः पतिः or ननान्दृपतिः ॥

आनङ् ऋतो द्वन्द्वे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनङ्, ऋतः, द्वन्द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानां विद्यायोगिसंबन्धवाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तपोत्तरपदे पूर्वपदस्थानकारिणो भवति ॥

25. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short ऋ and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the ऋ of the first member.

Thus होतापोत्तारो, नेटोह्नात्तारो, प्रशास्ताप्रतिहर्त्तारो मातापितरौ, यातानामन्वरो ॥ The substitute is really आ, the न् is useful only to prevent the application of I. 1. 51, by which a र comes after every *simple vowel* substitute of ऋ ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in ऋ'? Observe पितृपितामहो ॥ The anuvritti of पुत्र is understood here, so that the ऋ of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also, though it does not end in ऋ. As पितापुत्रो, मातापुत्रो ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता द्वन्द्वे, च, (आनङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तपोत्तरपदे पूर्वपदस्थानकारिणो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इभयत्र वायोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devtās.

Thus इन्द्रावरुणो, इन्द्रासीनो, इन्द्रावृषस्पती, मित्रावरुणौ ॥ The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sūtra, in spite of its anuvritti from the last, shows that

the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like **अग्निवैश्वानरौ** ॥ In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as **अग्निवायु** or **वाय्वग्नी** ॥

ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, अग्नेः, सोम, वरुणयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सोम वरुण इत्येतयोर्देवताद्वन्द्वे ऽग्ने रीकारादेशो भवति ॥

27. For the final of **अग्नि**, is substituted the long **ई**, when **सोम** or **वरुण** follow in a Dvandva.

Thus **अग्नीषोमौ, अग्नीवरुणौ** ॥ The स is changed to व by VIII. 3. 82.

इदृक्षौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, वृक्षौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृतवृक्षादुत्तरपदे देवताद्वन्द्वे ऽग्नेरिकारादेशो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इदृक्षौ विष्णोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

28. The short **इ** is the substitute of the final of **अग्नि** in such a Dvandva in which both members take the Vriddhi.

Thus **अग्निवारुणी**, which would have required long **ई** by the last rule: **अग्निमारुतम्**, which would have required **आनङ्** by VI. 3. 26. Thus **अग्निवारुणी-मनङ्गादीनालमेत, अग्निमारुतं कर्म क्रियेत ॥ अग्नीमरुतौ देवतास्य (IV. 2. 24)**, takes the Tad-dhita affix, and by VII. 3. 21, both members of the compound take Vriddhi. When both members do not take Vriddhi, the rule does not apply: as **आग्नेन्द्रः (आग्नि इन्द्र)**, because **इन्द्र** does not take Vriddhi, by VII. 3. 22.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the word **विष्णु** follows: as **आग्नावेष्णवं चरं निर्वपेत् ॥**

दिवो द्यावा ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, द्यावा, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विविद्येतस्य द्यावा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

29. For **दिव्** is substituted **द्यावा** in a Dvandva of the names, of the Devatās.

Thus **द्यावाक्षामा, द्यावाभूमि** ॥

दिवस्त्र पृथिव्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवसः, च, पृथिव्याम्, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पृथिव्यादुत्तरपदे देवताद्वन्द्वे दिवो विवसित्ययमादेशो भवति चकाराद् द्यावा च ॥

30. For **दिव्** is also substituted **दिवस्** (as well as **द्यावा**) when **पृथिवी** follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatas.

Thus **दिवस्पृथिव्यौ, द्यावापृथिव्यौ** ॥ The word **दिवस्** is exhibited in the aphorism as **दिवस** ending in स, in order to indicate that the स of **दिवस्** is not changed to र् or a visarga or upadhmaniya when followed by **पृथिवी** ॥ Following is an

anomalous use there being no Dvandva compounding here. चाबा चिरस्मि पृथिवी ममेते ॥

उषासोषसः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उषासा, उषसः, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उषस उषासा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

31. For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatā-dvandva.

Thus :—उषासासूयम्, उषासानक्ता ॥

मातरपितराबुदीचाम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातर, पितरौ, उदीचाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातरपितरावित्युदीचामाचार्याणां मतेनारकादेशो मातृशब्दस्य निपात्यते ॥

32. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by अरु substitution of the क् 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 अरु 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 पितरा-मातरा च ॥

स्त्रियाः पुंश्र्णाषितपुंस्कादनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु ॥ ३४ ॥
पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, पुंश्र्णत्, भाषितपुंस्कात्, अनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियाम्, अपूरणी,
प्रियादिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ्ः स्त्रीशब्दस्य पुंश्र्णत्स्यैव रूपं भवति समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे स्त्रीलिङ्गे पूरणीप्रिया-दिवर्जिते ॥

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 प्रिय &c.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis ; स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word', पुंश्र्णत् "like the masculine", i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्त्वेन, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspond-

ence must be in the *form* (भाकृति) and the *connotation* (भावान) 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 कृ is called अनूक ॥ That feminine word which does not end in कृ and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कारनूक स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The word भाषितपुंस्कारनूक is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously. Of such a भाषितपुंस्कारनूक 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 (स्त्रियान्) 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 कृ, but in the affix ञा; 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 इलक्षणचूडः, शीर्षजह्वः ॥ Why do we say स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word'? Observe वामाणि ब्राह्मणकुलं दृष्टिरस्य = वामाणिदृष्टिः ॥ 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 गर्भभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in कृ? Observe ब्रह्मवन्धुभार्यः ॥ 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 स्त्रियान् 'followed by a feminine word'? Observe कल्याणी प्रधानमेषां = कल्याणीप्रधानाः (इमे) ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? Observe कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां ताः = कल्याणी पञ्चमाराचदः, so also कल्याणीदशमाः ॥ The Ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पक्षः ॥ The samāsanta affix भप् (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 भप् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c. Observe कल्याणीप्रियः ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोज्ञा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा, 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सचिवा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 क्षान्ता, 11 समा, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वामा) 15 तनया, 16 भम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्तिः is anomalous.

तसिलादिग्राहृत्वसुचः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिलादिषु, आकृत्वसुचः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यास्तसिलित्यतः प्रभृति संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुचिति प्रागितस्माद् ये प्रत्यवा-
स्तेषु भाषितपुंस्कारनूकस्त्रियाः पुंनञ्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दासि बहुस्फार्यस्य पुंवज्ञावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ स्वतलोर्युणवचनस्य पुंवज्ञावो वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ भस्वादे तद्धिते पुंवज्ञावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ उक्छसोम पुंवज्ञावो 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 तसिञ् &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: ञ् and तस्, तरप् and तमप्, चरद्, आतीचर, कल्पप्, देह्य, देशीचर रूपप्, पाद्यप्, यम, याल, हा and हिल तिल तासिञ् ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender. Thus तरप् तमप् &c दर्शनीयतरा, दर्शनीयतमा, पटुचरी, पटुजातीया, दर्शनीयकल्पा, दर्शनीयदेशीया, दर्शनीयरूपा, दर्शनीयपाद्या ॥ कया प्रकृत्या = कयम्, यया प्रकृत्या = यया, तस्यां वेलाया = तदा, तर्हि &c.

Vart:—The feminine of बहु and अल्प is changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix दास्—*as* बहुभ्यो देहि = बहुषो देहि; अल्पाभ्यो देहि = अल्पषो देहि ॥

Vart:—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine before the affixes स्व and तल् ॥ *As* पदव्या भावः = पदुत्वम् or पदुता ॥ Why do we say ‘an adjective’? Observe कव्या भावः = कण्ठीस्वं or कठीता ॥

Vart: The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except ङ्, when the word gets the designation of ञ् ॥ 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 sthānivat, 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 हास्तिनिकम् instead of हास्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say ‘with the exception of ङ्’? Observe द्येनेयः, रौहिनेयः the masculine being द्येत and रोहित ॥ The word आग्नेयः (= अग्नायी देवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य) is an exception to this rule.

Vart:—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes उक् and छस् ॥ *As* भवत्या भ्रष्टाया = भावस्काः, भवशीयाः ॥

क्यङ्मानिनोश्च ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यङ्, मानिनोः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्यङि परतो मानिनि ञ् स्त्रिया भाषितपुंस्कारण्यङ् पुंवज्ञवति ॥

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, द्येनी—द्येतायते ॥ 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 देवस्यो यज्ञस्यं =

दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवस्तां 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, मत्रिकाभार्यः, मत्रिकाकल्पा, मत्रिकायते ॥
वृजिकायते, मत्रिकामानिनी, वृजिकामानिनी, वैलेपिकं (वैलेपिकाया धर्म्यं). This rule is an ex-
ception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36 : and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vert :—The rule applies to the क् of the affix बु and the Taddhita क् and not to every क् ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाक्भार्यः, भेक्भार्यः ॥ The word पाक्ता means “young”; and भेक्ती 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 । गुप्ताभार्यः । दम्नापाशा । गुप्तापाशा । दत्तायते । गुप्तायते । दत्तामानिनी ।
गुप्तामानिनी । पूरण्याः । 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 स्त्रीष्वस्य 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 सौध्नीभार्यः, मायुरीभार्यः, सौध्नीपाशा, मायुरीपाशा, सौध्नीयते, मायुरीयते, सौध्नीमानिनी
and मायुरीमानिनी ॥

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 लुनाति = काण्डलावी with
अण् (कर्मण्यण्) and ङीप्). Why do we say when not meaning ‘colored there
with’ or ‘made thereof’? Observe. कषायेण रक्ता = कषायी, कषायी वृहत्तिका यस्य =
कषायवृहत्तिकाः, लोहस्य विकारोलौही लौही ईषा यस्य रथस्य = लोहेषः (IV. 3. 134). The word
वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpuruṣa, 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 वृत्तुप् 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 ईकारस्तन्तायाः 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 रीर्षिकेशीभार्यः, शुक्लकेशीभार्यः, रीर्षिकेशीपाशा, श्लक्ष्णकेशीपाशा, रीर्षिकेशीयते, श्लक्ष्णकेशीयते, but पद्भार्यः (पद् not denoting any bodily member), भक्तेशभार्यः (भक्तेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई), and रीर्षिकेशमानिनी ॥ 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 हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् ॥

पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंवत्, कर्मधारय, जातीय, देशीयेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे जातीय देशीय इत्येतयोश्च प्रत्यययोर्भाषितपुंस्कादपुंनङ् स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुक्कुट्यादीनामण्डादिषु 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 इत्तवृन्दारिका, इत्तजातीया, इत्तदेशीया, 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 ब्रह्मबन्धुवृन्दारिका ॥

Vārti:—The words कुक्कुटी &c become masculine before अण्ड &c : as, कुक्कुट्या अण्डं = कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ घृग्याःपदं = घृगपदम्, घृग्याःक्षीरं = घृगक्षीरम्, काक्याः शावः = काक-

भावः ॥ 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 indicative 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 कालीमास्मानं मन्यते काल्येवाहम् = कालिमन्या (compare VI. 3. 66) हरिणिमन्या, पद्वितरा, पद्वितमा, पद्विरूपा, पद्विकल्पा, पद्विका, मृद्विका ॥ We have said that the rule does not apply to the feminines in ऊ ॥ The words इडविद्, इरद्, पृथ and उशिञ्ज 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 वृन्वारिका ॥ When the first words become masculine, we have ऐडविड, इरद्, &c. Thus ऐडविडवृन्वारिका, भौशिञ्जवृन्वारिका ॥

घरूपकल्पचेलडद्भुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ड्योऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, रूप, कल्प, चेलड, द्रुव, गोत्र, मत, हतेषु, ड्यः, अनेकाचः, ह्रस्वः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घ रूप कल्प चेलड् द्रुव गोत्र मत हत इत्येतेषु परतो भाषितपुस्कात्परौ यो ङीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्थाने-
काचो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

43. Before the affixes तर, तम, रूप, कल्प, before चेल (with the feminine in ई), द्रुव, 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, ब्राह्मणिद्रुवा ब्राह्मणगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणिमता and ब्राह्मणिहता ॥ घ, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलड् &c are words as second members; द्रुवः is formed by भ्रच् (III. 1. 134) added to ह्र, गुणा and वच् substitution being prevented anomalously. Why do we say ending in ई (ङी)? Observe इत्तातरा, युमातरा ॥ 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 । भङ्गो च या नदी उषन्त
च यदेकाच् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्रद्याः 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 ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा or ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा वीरबन्धुतरा or वीरबन्धुतरा, स्त्रितरा or स्त्रीतरा, स्त्रिता or स्त्रीता ॥

Vart:—Nadi words formed by कृन् affixes are excepted: as लक्ष्मीतरा, तन्त्रातरा formed by the Uṇādi affix ई (Uṇ III. 158, 160)

उगितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (ह्रस्वः) (अन्यतरस्यां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उगितश्च परस्या नद्या पादिषु अन्यतरस्यां ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

45. The feminine ई (डी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before the घ &c (VI. 3. 43).

Thus श्रेयसितरा or श्रेयसीतरा, or श्रेयस्तरा, विदुषितरा or विदुषीतरा or विदुत्तरा ॥ The first is formed by the Taddhita affix ईयसुन्, and the second by कृत् ॥ 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 श्रेयस्, 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 ॥ महत्वात्वे चासकारादीशेषूपसंख्यानं पुंश्रचनं चासमानाधिकरणार्थम् ॥
वा० ॥ अहनः कपाले इविन्दुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ गवि च युक्ते ऽहन उपसंख्यानं 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 महन् 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 महन् is here secondary.

Vart:—आ is substituted for the final of महन् before चास, कर and विशिष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या चासः = महाचासः, महत्या करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Vart:—आ is substituted for the final of अहन before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अहकपालं चर्हं निर्वपेत् ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अहकपालं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vart:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गौ, when the meaning is that of 'yoked'. As, अष्टागवेन शकटेन ॥ But अष्टगवं बाह्यणस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The न् in आन् is for the sake of distinctness.

द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यष्टनः, संख्यायाम्, अबहुव्रीहि, अशीत्योः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अष्टन् इत्येतयोराकारदेशो भवति संख्यायास्तत्परपदे 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 द्वावश, द्वाविंशतिः, द्वाविंशत्, अष्टावश, अष्टाविंशतिः, अष्टाविंशत् ॥ Why do we say द्वि and अष्टम्? 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 द्विः, त्रिंशः, द्व्यशीतिः ॥

Vart:—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, द्विंशतम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम्, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

श्रेष्ठयः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयस्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि इत्येतस्य अयमित्ययमादेशो भवति संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥

48. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीतिः ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशतिः, त्रयोविंशत् ॥ But not in त्रैमातुरः (the second word not being a Numeral), nor in त्रिंशः which is a Bahuvrīhi, (II. 2. 25) द्व्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, त्रिंशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चत्वारिंशत्, प्रभृतौ, सर्वेषाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ संख्यायास्तत्परपदे अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः सर्वेषां द्व्यष्टन् चि 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 अष्टापञ्चाशत् ॥ This also before hundred : as, द्विंशतम् and अष्टशतम्, त्रिंशतम् ॥

हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयदणलासेषु ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य, हृत, 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 = हृद्वेखः, हृदयस्य प्रियं = हृद्यम्, हृदयस्येवम् = हृद्यम्, हृदयस्य लासो = हृद्वेखः ॥ The word लेख is derived by अण् 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 “उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्तमग्रहणम्” ॥ See VI. 3. 17.

वा शोकप्यञ्ज् रोगेषु ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शोक, प्यञ्ज्, रोगेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शोक प्यञ्ज् रोग इत्येतेषु परतो हृदयस्य वा हृदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

51. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix प्यञ्ज् follows.

Thus हृद्वेखः or हृदयशोकः, सौहार्द्यम् or सौहृदप्यम् ॥ Here प्यञ्ज् 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 हृद्वेगः 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 भाति ग उपहत इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेषु ॥

52. पद् is substituted for पाद्, before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजिः = पादाभ्यामजतिः; पदातिः = पादाभ्यामति ॥ आजिः and भातिः are formed by इण् from अज् and अन् (Uṇ IV. 131), and irregularly अञ् is not changed to ञी though required by II. 4. 56; before this affix. So also पदगः = पादाभ्यां गच्छति; पदोपहतः = पदिनोपहतः ॥ 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 उपदेशे (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 ॥ यद्यत्यथे परतः पादस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवत्यतदर्थे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पद्भावे इको चरतावुपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. पद् is substituted for पाद् before the affix यत् used in any sense other than that of “suited there to. ;

Thus पदोविध्यन्ति = पद्याः शर्कराः, पद्याः कण्टकाः ॥ When यत् has the force of “suited there to” we have पाद्यम् = पदार्थबुद्धकम् ॥ (sec 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 पादाभ्यां चरति = पादिकः (IV. 4. 10) by इन् 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'.

हिमकाषिहृतिषु च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिम, काषि, हृतिषु, च, (पद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हिम काषिन् हृति इत्येतेषु पादशब्दस्य परित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

54. पद् is substituted for पाद् before हिम, काषिन् and हृति ॥

Thus पद्भिन्, (= पादस्य शीतं) पद्काषिन् (= पादचारिणः) as in भय पद्काषिणा यान्ति, and पद्गतिः (पदाभ्यां हन्यते) ॥

ऋचः शे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचः, शे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋक्संन्धिनाः पादशब्दस्य शे परतः परित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

55. पद् is the substitute for पाद् before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पच्छो गायत्री संसति — पादं पादं संसति, the affix शस् being added by V. 4. 43. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादशः कार्षापणं वसति ॥

वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, घोष, मिश्र, शब्देषु, (पद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घोष मिश्र शब्द इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु पादस्य वा परित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्के चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

56. This substitution of पद् for पाद् is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोषः or पादघोषः, पन्मिश्रः or पादमिश्रः, पच्छब्दः or पादशब्दः ॥

Vart.—So also before निष्कः as पन्निष्कः or पादनिष्कः ॥

उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदकस्य, उदः, संज्ञायाम् (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदकशब्दस्य संज्ञायां विषये उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति उत्तरपदं परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ संज्ञायामुत्तरपदस्य उदकशब्दस्य उदादेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

57. उद is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उदमेघः 'a person called Udamegha', उदवाहः "a person named Uda-vāhah." The well-known Patronymics from these are भौदमेघिः and भौदवाहिः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe उदकगिरिः ॥

Vart.—उद is the substitute for उदक when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name: as, लोहितोदः, नीलोदः, क्षीरोदः ॥

पेषं वासवाहनाधिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पेषम्, वास, वाहन, धिषु, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पेषं वास वाहन धि इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु उदकस्य उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

58. उद is substituted for उदक before पेषं, वास, वाहन, and धि ॥

Thus उव्वेषं पिनाटि formed by णट् by III. 4. 38; उव्वत्तः—उव्वत्तवत्तः, so also उव्ववाहनः ॥ उव्वकं धीयतेऽस्मिन् = उव्वधिः 'a water jar'.

एकहलादौ पूरयितव्ये ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, हलादौ, पूरयितव्ये, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल् आदिर्यस्योत्तरपरस्य तदेकहलादिस्तस्मिन्नेकहलादौ पूरयितव्यवाचिन्यन्यतरस्यापुव्वकस्य उव्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

59. उव्व is optionally substituted for उव्वक, before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उव्वकुम्भः, or उव्वकुम्भः, उव्वपात्रम् or उव्वपात्रम् ॥ The word एकहलादि means 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'. The rule does not apply to उव्वकस्थालम् as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant: nor to उव्वकपवर्तः, as the पर्यतः is not a vessel which is to be filled.

मन्यौदनसकुबिन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्य, ओदन, सकु, बिन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, गाहेषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्य ओदन सकु बिन्दु वज्र भार हार वीवध गाह इत्येतेषुत्तरपरेषुव्वकस्य उव्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

60. उव्व is optionally substituted for उव्वक, before मन्य, ओदन, सकु, बिन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उव्वकेन मन्यः—उव्वमन्य or उव्वकमन्यः । उव्वकेनौदन, उव्वोदनः or उव्वकोदनः । सकु । उव्वकेन सकुः, उव्वसकु or उव्वकसकुः । बिन्दु । उव्वकस्य बिन्दुः, उव्वबिन्दुः or उव्वकबिन्दुः । वज्र । उव्वकस्य वज्रः, उव्ववज्रः or उव्वकवज्रः । भार । उव्वकं विभर्तीति उव्वभारः or उव्वकभारः । हार । उव्वकं हरतीति, उव्वहारः or उव्वकहारः । वीवध । उव्वकस्य वीवध, उव्ववीवधः or उव्वकवीवधः । गाह । उव्वकं गाहति इति, उव्वगाहः or उव्वकगाहः ॥

इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्गो गालवस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, ह्रस्वः, अङ्गः, गालवस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्याङ्गमन्तस्योत्तरपरि ह्रस्वो भवति गालवस्याङ्गायस्य मतेनान्यतरस्याम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ भ्रुकुंसादीनामकारो 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 मामणिपुत्रः or मामणीपुत्रः, ब्रह्मबन्धुपुत्रः or ब्रह्मबन्धूपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe खट्वापादः, मालापादः ॥ Why do we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix ङी'? Observe गार्गीपुत्रः, वास्तीपुत्रः ॥ The name of Gālava is mentioned pujaṛtha for the anuvritti of 'optionally' was present in this sūtra. It is a limited option

pujārtha, (vyavasthita vibhāsha), and does not apply to कारीषगन्धीपाति &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, धृकुलम्, काण्डीभूतम्, कुडपीभूतं, वृषलीभूतम् ॥

Vart:—It does however apply to धुकुंस &c, as धुकुंसः, धुकुदिः ॥ Others say झ is substituted for झ &c as भ्रुकुंसः and भ्रुकुदिः

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 भागतं = 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.

ऊचापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊचापोः, संज्ञा, छन्दसोः, बहुलम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दान्तस्याबन्तस्य च संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलं ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

63. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (ङी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As रेवतिपुत्रः, रोहिणिपुत्रः, भरणिपुत्रः ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकरः, नान्दीघोषः, नान्दीविद्यालः ॥ So also in the Vedas, as कुमारिदारा, प्रवर्षिदा; 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:—भजक्षीरेण जुहोति, ऊर्णमवा पृथिवी विश्वधायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णासूत्रेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

त्वे च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वे, च, (ह्रस्वः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वप्रत्यये परतो ङघापोर्बहुलं ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

64. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus भजाया भावः = भजत्वं or भजात्वं, रोहिणित्वं or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥ These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित्तूलभारिषु ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्ट का, इषी का, माला-
नाम, चित, तूल, भारिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित्तूल भारिषु इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु ययासंख्य इहसो भवति ॥

65. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in इष्टका before चित्त, in इषीका before तूल, and in माला before भारिषु ॥

Thus इष्टकचित्तम्, 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 पक्वेष्टकचित्तम्, सुञ्जेषीकितूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

खित्यनव्ययस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिति, अनव्ययस्य, (इहस्वः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ खिरन्तउत्तरपदे ऽनव्ययस्य इहसो 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 स्त्र, but not when the first member is an Indeclinable.

Thus कालिमन्या, हरिणिमन्या ॥ The augment हुम् does not prevent the shortening, had it done so, the rule would have been unnecessary. But होषामन्यमहः, दिवामन्याराशिः, where होषा and दिवा are Indeclinables there is no shortening. The above words are formed by स्त्रश् (III. 2. 83). The phrase anavyayasya indicates by implication that the word खित् here means खिरन्तः, contrary to the maxim enunciated in VI. 3. 17 उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययमहणे तदन्तविधिर्नैष्यते ॥ For an Avyaya can never take a खित् affix which are ordained only after dhâtus.

अरुद्विषदजन्तस्य मुम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरुस्, द्विषत्, अजन्तस्य, मुम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अरुस् द्विषत् इत्येतयोर्जन्तानां च खिरन्तउत्तरपदे ऽनुमागमो 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 अरुन्दुवः, द्विषन्तपः, कालिमन्या &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 होषामन्यमहः, दिवामन्याराशिः ॥ Why do we use the word अन्त in अजन्त, when merely saying अन्तः would have sufficed by the rule of tadanta-vidhi? This indicates that the shortening taught in the preceding sūtra does not debar the हुम् augment, nor does हुम् debar the shortening. So that मुम् is added after the shortening has taken place.

इच्छ एकाचोऽप्रत्ययवत् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छः, एकाचः, अम्, प्रत्ययवत्, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इजन्तस्य एकाचः खिरन्तउत्तरपदे ऽनुमागमो भवति अम्प्रत्ययवत् द्वितीयैकवचनवत् 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, अम्प्रत्ययवत् ॥ Thus गामन्यः, स्त्रीमन्यः, or खियंमन्यः, भियंमन्यः, भ्रुवंमन्यः ॥ By force of the atideśa अम्प्रत्ययवत्, 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 गुण, the substitutes इवद् and उवद् As आ—गां मन्यः (VI. 1. 93); पूर्वसवर्ण as स्त्रीमन्यः (VI. 1. 107); गुण, as,—नरंमन्यः (VII. 3. 110) and इवद् and उवद्, as भियंमन्यः, भ्रुवंमन्यः (VI. 4. 81 &c). Why do we say ending in a vowel other than अ (इच्)? Observe त्यन्मन्यः ॥ Why do we say 'a monosyllable'? Observe लेखाभुं 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 भियमाल्लानं मन्यते आह्वानकुलं=भियंमन्यम् or भिमन्यम्? The second is the valid form according to Patanjali.

वाचंयमपुरंदरौ च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचंयम, पुरन्दरौ, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाचंयम पुरंर इत्येतौ निपात्येते ॥

69. वाचंयम and पुरन्दर are irregularly formed.

Thus वाचंयमः भास्ते (III. 2. 40 खच् affix). पुरं शरयति=पुरन्दरः (III. 2. 42). The shortening of याम and शर takes place by VI. 4. 94.

कारे सत्यागदस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारे, सत्य, अगदस्य, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कारश्चङ्ङत्तरपदे सत्य अगद इत्येतयोर्दुर्भागनो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अस्तुसत्यागदस्य कारइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भक्षस्य छ्वासि कारे भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ धेनोर्भव्यायां भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ लोकस्य पूणे भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ इत्ये ऽनभ्याशस्य भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ भ्राष्ट्राग्न्योरिन्धे भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ गिले ऽगिलस्य भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गिलगिले च्चति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उष्णभद्रयोः करणे भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ सुतोमराजभोजनेर्वित्ये तेभ्य उत्तरस्य बुद्धिश्चावस्य पुस्त्रडादेशो वा वक्तव्यः ॥

70. भुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद when the word कार follows.

As सत्यकारः=सत्यं करोति or सत्यस्यकारः ॥ So also अगदकारः ॥

Vart.—So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुकारः ॥

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 पूज, e. g. लोकंपूजा ॥

Vårt :—Of अनभ्यास before इत्य as अनभ्यासामित्यः ॥

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 :—पुञ्ज् is optionally the substitute of दुहित् when the words सूत, उम, राज, भोज, and मेरु precede it e. g. सूतपुञ्ची or सूतदुहिता, उमपुञ्ची or उमदुहिता, राजपुञ्ची or राजदुहिता, भोजपुञ्ची or भोजदुहिता, मेरुपुञ्ची or मेरुदुहिता ॥ Some read पुञ्ज in the Śāran-garavādi class (IV. 1. 73), and then this word has its feminine पुञ्ची ॥ This is seen in other places also, e. g. शैलपुञ्ची ॥

इयेनतिलस्य पाते ऐ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयेन, तिलस्य. पाते, ऐ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयेन तिलइत्येतयोः पातशब्दउत्तरपदे अप्रत्यये ममागमो भवति ॥

71. मुम् is the augment of the words इयेन and तिल, before पात, when the affix झ is added.

Thus इयेनपातोऽस्यां क्रीडायां = इयेनंपाता, शैलंपाता ॥ See IV. 2. 58. Why do we say before झ ? Observe इयेनपातः ॥

रात्रेः कृति विभाषा ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, कृति, विभाषा, (मुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्रेः कृन्तउत्तरपदे विभाषा शुमागमो भवति ॥

72. The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by kṛt-affix.

As रात्रिचरः or रात्रिचरः, रात्रिमटः or रात्र्यटः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. The augment is compulsory before a kṛt-affix having an indicatory ख, As, रात्रिमन्यः ॥

नलोपो नञः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, नञः, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञो मकारस्य लोपो भवत्युत्तरपदे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपो ऽवक्षेपे तिङ्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The न of the Negative particle नञ्, is elided when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अम्राह्मणः, अवृषलः, भद्रुरापः, भक्तोमपः ॥

Vårt :—The न of नञ् is elided before a verb also, when reproach is meant : as, अपचसि त्वं जाल्मः, भक्तोषि त्वं जाल्मः ॥

तस्मान्नुडच्चि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुट्, अचि, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मान्लुप्तनकारान्नञः नुडागमो भवति अजाशुत्तरपदे ॥

74. After the above n-elided नञ् (i. e. after अ) is added the augment नुट्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनञः, अनश्चः, 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 नुदाचि ॥ Adding नुद् to नम् or rather to अ, we have अन् (granting that नुद् is not to be added *before* अ but *after* it, against I. 1. 46). Now अन्+अञः will be अञञः and not अनञः 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 नम् ॥

नभ्राणनपात्रवेदानासत्या नमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या ॥ ७५ ॥
पदानि ॥ नभ्राद्, नपात्, नवेदा, नासत्या, नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र,
नाकेषु, प्रकृत्या, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नभ्राद् नपात् नवेशः नासत्या नमुचि नकुल नख नपुंसक नक्षत्र नख नक्र नाक इत्येतेषु नम्
प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

75. The Negative particle remains unchanged in
नभ्राञ्, 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 नम् composition. न पाति = नपात् formed by घृत् affix. न वेत्ति = नवेदा, formed
by भसुन् ॥ सत्सु साधवः = सत्याः, न सत्याः = असत्याः, न असत्याः = नासत्याः ॥ न घृत्पति = न
मुचि, formed by कि affix (Uṇadi), नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥
न स्त्री न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ न क्षरते क्षियते वा = नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति = नक्र by ड affix: न
भस्मिन् अकम् = नाकम् ॥

एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादिः, च, एकस्य, च, अदुक्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकादिश्च नम्प्रकृत्या 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 विद्यति = एकान्नविद्यतिः, एकान्नविद्यत् ॥ 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 विद्यतिः and एकान् न विद्यति by VIII.
4. 45.

नगो ऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगः, अप्राणिषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नम्प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

77. The Negative particle is optionally retained
unchanged in नग, when it does not mean a living animate
being.

Thus नगः or भगाः '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 ॥ सहस्यस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

78. स is substituted for सह, in a Name.

Thus साम्प्रत्यम्, सपलाशम्, साक्षिणम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहस्युच्चा, सहस्युच्चा ॥ 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 सह acute and हु grave, namely, it would have the svarita accent. But, as a matter of fact, it has the acute accent. As सैषुषः, सैभार्यः ॥ These are Bahuvrihi. In Avyayibhāva, the samāsa-accent will prevail (VI. 1. 223), as सेटिँ, सपशुबन्धम् ॥

ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रन्थान्त, अधिके, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रन्थान्ते ऽधिके च वर्तमानस्य सहस्यस्य 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=कलान्तं ज्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also समुहूर्तम्=(सुहूर्तान्तम्) ॥ स संग्रह (=संग्रहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayibhāva 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 सन्नोणाखारी, समासः कार्पापणः सकाकिपीको मासः ॥

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 सामिः (कपोतः) 'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where'. सविद्याया बाला "a storm-wind which announces the Piśāchas". सराक्षसीका घाला ॥ 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 Avyayibhāva when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रंधेहि, मधुरं प्राजः, but सहपूर्णाङ्गम् the second member being a time denoting word (II. I. 5).

वोपसर्जनस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उपसर्जनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वोपसर्जने बहुव्रीहिर्गुह्यते । तदवयवस्य सहस्यस्य 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, सच्छत्रः or सहच्छत्रः ॥ Why do we say of a Bahuvrīhi? Observe सहयुष्मा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrīhi like सहकृत्स्वमियः or सहयुष्ममियः ॥

प्रकृत्याशिष्यगोवत्सहलेषु ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, आशिषि, अ, गोवत्सहलेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या सहस्यस्य 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 देवराजाय 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 छन्दस्यमूर्धप्रभृत्युदकेषु ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानस्य, छन्दसि, अ, मूर्धे, प्रभृति, उदकेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये मूर्धेन् प्रभृति उदके इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि वर्जयित्वा ॥

84. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas, but not before मूर्धेन्, प्रभृति and उदके ॥

Thus अनुभ्रता सगर्भः, अनुसखा सगृधः, योनः सनृत्यः (See IV. 4. 114). समानो गर्भः = सगर्भः, सन्न भवः = सगर्भः formed by अन् affix IV. 4. 114. But समानमूर्धा, समानप्रभृतयः, समानोदकाः ॥ This substitution takes place in secular literature also, as सपंक्तः, साधर्म्यम्, सजातीयः &c.

ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोभ्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नाम, गोत्ररूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयोवचन, बन्धुषु, (समानस्यसः)

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् जनपद् रात्रि नाभि नामन् गोत्र रूप स्थान वर्ण वयस् वचन बन्धु इत्येतान्युत्तरपदेषु समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

85. This substitution of स for समान् takes place before ज्योतिस्, जनपद्, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान वर्ण, घयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also.

Thus सज्यातिः, सजनपद्, सरात्रिः, सनाभिः, सनामा, सगोत्रः, सरूपः, सस्थानः, सवर्णः, सवचाः, 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 sabrahmchāri.

तीर्थे ये ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर्थे, ये, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीर्थेऽङ्गुत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययपरे परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थ when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थ्यः = समाने तीर्थे वासी (IV. 4. 107). 'a fellow-student ?

विभाषोदरे ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उदरे, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उदरेऽङ्गुत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययान्ते समानस्य विभाषा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

88. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उद्दर when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सोदर्यः or समानोदर्यः (IV. 4. 108).

द्दृग्दृशवतुषु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृक्, दृश, वतुषु, (समानस्यसः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ दृक् दृश वतु इत्येतेषु परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ दृक्षेः क्सप्रत्ययोपि तत्रैव वक्तव्यः ॥

89. स is substituted for समान, before दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus सदृक्, सदृशः ॥ The affixes क्स् and क्तिन् are added to दृष् under III. 2. 60. Vārti:—which give as the forms दृक् and दृश ॥ Vārti:—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.

द्दृक्किमोदरीशु ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ दृक्, किमोः, ईश, की, (द्दृग्दृशवतुषु) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ दृक् किम् इत्येतयोरीशु की इत्येतौ वधासंख्यमादेशौ भवतो दृग्दृशवतुषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. ई is substituted for इद्म and की for किम् before the words हक्, हश् and the affix वत् ॥

Thus इद्म, ईदशः and इवान्, कीदक्, कीदशः and कियान् ॥ ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई+इवत् and को+इवत् by V. 2. 40 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 : and we get इवत् and कियत् ॥

Vart :—So also before हस, as ईदशः and कीदशः ॥

आ सर्वनाम्नः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, सर्वनाम्नः, (इग्दशवत्तुषु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्न आकारादेशो भवति इग्दशवत्तुषु ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ हसो षेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

91. आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (I. 1. 27) before these words हक्, हश् and the affix वत् ॥

Thus तादक्, तादशः तावान्, यादक्, यादशः, यावान् ॥

Vart :—So also before हस, as तादशः and यादशः ॥

विष्वग्देवयोश्च देरद्याञ्चतौ (ता) वप्रत्यये ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्वक्, देवयोः, च, देः, अद्रि, अञ्चतौ, अप्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्वक् देव इत्येतयोः सर्वनाम्नश्च देरद्रीत्ययमादेशो भवति अञ्चतौता वप्रत्ययान्तरत्तरपदे ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उन्मसि 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 विष्वगञ्चति = विष्वद्यद्, This form is thus evolved. अञ्च + किम् = अञ्च + O = अञ्च + नुम् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant ञ्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the किम् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. न् is changed to ङ् and we have अङ् which with विष्वदि gives the above form. देवद्यद्, तद्यद्, यद्यद् ॥ अद्रि and सद्रि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (nipātan) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when इ is changed into इ the following vowel becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 4). Why do we say of विष्वग् and देव ? Observe अश्वाची = अश्मञ्चति, the feminine ङीप् being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vart*. The अ of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अश्म is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when अङ् follows'? Observe विष्वग्युक् ॥ Why do we say 'when the affix च follows'? Observe विष्वगञ्चनं ॥ The च 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 अञ्चना ending in ल्युद् also followed. The maxim धातुमहणे तशादि विधिरिष्यते is illustrated in अयस्कृते and

अयस्कारः; for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that visarga is changed into स् when क् follows. There the क् denotes not only the root क् but a word derived from क्, therefore which begins with क्, such as कारः and कृतः ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृत् which is followed merely by the verb क्; 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 कर्त्रीची there is this substitution. कर्त्रीची is derived from क्त्रि + अञ्च् = कर्त्रि + अञ्च् ॥ Then is added ङीप् and then like अश्वाची ॥

समः समि ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, समि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समिलेतस्य समि इत्ययमादेशो भवति अञ्चतो व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ॥

93. समि is substituted for सम, before this अञ्च् when no affix (or व affix) follows.

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यञ्चो, सम्यञ्चः ॥

तिरस्स्तियेलोपे ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, तिरि, अलोपे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरस् इत्येतस्य तिरि इत्ययमादेशो भवत्यञ्चतो व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ऽलोपे । अत्र ऽस्व लोपो न भवति ॥

94. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अञ्च् when no affix (or व affix) follows, provided that the अ of अञ्च् is not elided.

Thus तिर्यह्, तिर्यञ्चो, तिर्यञ्चः ॥ Why do we say ‘when there is no elision’? Observe तिरश्चा, तिरश्च ॥ 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 सध्निः ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सध्निः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्यस्य सध्निरित्ययमादेशो भवत्यञ्चतो व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ।

95. सध्नि is the substitute of सह, before अञ्च् followed by no affix (or व affix).

Thus सध्यङ्, सध्यञ्चो, सध्यञ्चः; and सधीचः, सधीचा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

सध मादस्ययोश्छन्दसि ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सध, माद्, स्ययोः, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माद् स्य इत्येतयोश्छन्दस्योः सहस्य सध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

96. सध is substituted for सह in the Veda, when माद् and स्य follow.

Thus सधमादोश्चुम्ब्य एकास्ताः, सधस्याः ॥ Another example is आत्वा बृहन्तो हरयो युजाना, अर्वाग्निन् सधमादो बहन्तु (Rig III. 3. 7) सहमाद्यन्ति देवा अस्मिन् ॥

द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गोभ्यो ऽप ईत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, अन्तर्, उपसर्गोभ्यः, अपः, ईत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अन्तरित्येताभ्यामुपसर्गाच्चोत्तरस्यावित्येतस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समापदैत्ये प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ईत्त्वमनवर्णाईति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. After द्वि, अन्तर् and Prepositions, long ई is the substitute of अच् ॥

By I. i. 54, ई replaces the *first-letter* of अच् viz अ only. Thus वीपः, अन्तरीपः, नीपम्, वीपम्, समीपम् ॥ The samāsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74.

Vārt :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समापं नाम रेवयजनम् ॥ 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 अच्; here however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra. It means प्र &c.

ऊदनोईशे ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, अनोः, देशे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरस्याप ऊकारदेशो भवति देशाभिधाने ॥

98. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अच्, 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.

अषष्ठ्यत्तृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितस्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छेषु ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अषष्ठी, अतृतीयास्थस्य, अन्यस्य, दुक्, आशीः, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक, राग, छेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अषष्ठीस्थस्य अतृतीयास्थस्य चान्यशब्दस्य दुगागमो भवति आशि स् आशा आस्था आस्थित उत्सुक ऊति कारक राग छ इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

Kārikā—दुगागमो ऽविशेषेण वक्तव्यः कारकच्छयोः ।

षष्ठीतृतीययोर्नेट आशीराशिषु सप्तसु ॥

99. अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (द्व्), before आशिस्, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय).

Thus अन्या आशीः = अन्यशशीः अन्या आशा = अन्यशाशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यशास्था, अन्य आस्थितः = अन्यशास्थितः, अन्य उत्सुकः = अन्यदुत्सुकः, अन्या ऊतिः = अन्यवृत्तिः, अन्यः कारकः अन्यस्कारकः, अन्यो रागः = अन्यद्वागः ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यदीयः ॥ It takes छ because it belongs to गृहादि class (IV. 2. 138.)

The word अन्य belongs to गृहादि 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 = अन्यत् कारकम्, अन्यस्येदम् = अन्यदीयम् ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sūtra (अषष्ठी and अतृतीया), implies this.

अर्थे विभाषा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, विभाषा, (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थशब्दोत्तरपदे अन्यस्य विभाषा दुगागमा भवति ॥

100. दुक् is optionally the augment of अन्य when अर्थ follows.

As अन्यर्थः or अन्यार्थः ॥

कोः कत्तत्पुरुषे ऽचि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोः, कत्त तत्पुरुषे, अचि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कु इत्येतस्य कदित्ययमादेशो भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे ऽजाश्वोत्तरपदे ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कश्चि चापुपसंख्यानम् ॥

101. कत् is substituted for कु in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As कश्चः, कश्चः, कदुष्टः, कश्चम् ॥ Why do we say in a Tatpurusha? Observe कृष्टो राजा ॥ Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel"? Observe कुब्राह्मणः, कुपुरुषः ॥

Vart :—कत् is substituted before चय, as कचयः = कुस्तिताक्षयः ॥

रथघदयोश्च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथ, घदयोः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रथ घ इत्येतयोश्चोत्तरपदयोः कोः कदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

102. कद् is substituted for कु before रथ and घद also.

Thus कद्रथः, कद्वदः ॥

तृणे च जातौ ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणे, च, जातौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तृणशब्दोत्तरपदे जाताशभिधेयायां कोः कदादेशो भवति ॥

103. कत् is substituted for कु, when तृण follows denoting a species.

As कत्तृणा नाम जातिः ॥ But कुस्तितानि तृणानि = कुतृणानि ॥

का पथ्यक्षयोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ का, पथि, अक्षयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् भक्ष इत्येतयोरोत्तरपदयोः कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

104. का is the substitute of कु, before पथिन् and भक्ष ॥

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, काग्लम् ॥ 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 ॥ पुरुषशब्दोत्तरपदे विभाषा कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. का is optionally substituted for कु, when the word पुरुष follows.

Thus कापुरुषः or कृपुरुषः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. In the sense of 'a little ईषद्', the substitution is compulsory ; as ईषद् पुरुषः = का पुरुषः ॥

कचञ्जोष्णे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कचम्, च, उष्णे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्णशब्दउत्तरपदे कोः कचञ्जित्ययमादेशो भवति का च विभाषा ॥

107. का and कचञ् are optionally the substitutes of कृ when उष्ण follows.

As कयोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कदुष्णम् ॥

पथि चञ्छन्दसि ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशब्दउत्तरपदे छन्दसि विषये कोः कच का इत्येतावदेशौ भवतो विभाषा ॥

108. This substitution of का, and कच for कृ takes place in the Veda, before पथ ॥

Thus कचपथः, कापथः and कुपथः ॥

पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृषोदरादीनि, यथोपदिष्टम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृषोदरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि येषु लोपागमवर्णविकाराः शास्त्रेण न विहिता दृश्यन्ते च तानि यथोपदिष्टानि साधूनि भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दिकृशब्देभ्य उत्तरस्य तीरस्य तार भावो वा भवति ॥

वा० ॥ वाचो वादे उत्वं च लभावश्चात्तरपदस्थेभि प्रत्यये ॥

वा० ॥ षषउत्वं वृत्तशधात्तरपदस्थेभ्युत्वं च ॥

वा० ॥ दुरोवाचानाद्यादमध्येषुत्वं वक्तव्यमुत्तरपदस्थेभ्युत्वं च ॥

वा० ॥ स्वरो रोहतौ छन्दस्युत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ पीवाववसनादीनां च लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

Kārikā—वर्णागमो वर्णविपर्ययश्च द्वौ चापरो वर्णविकारनाद्यौ ।

धातोस्तर्थातिशयेन योगस्तदुच्यते पञ्चविधं निरुक्तम् ॥

109. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पृषादर &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 = शिष्टैरुच्चारितानि ॥ Thus पृषदुरो यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् उद्धानं यस्य = पृषोद्धानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द् ॥ So also वरिवाहकः = बलाहकः, here वारि is replaced by ब, and ल replaces व of वाहकः; जीवनस्य मृतः = जीमृतः, here वन has been elided; शवानां शयनं = इमशानम्; here इम replaces शव; and शान for शयन ॥ उर्जे खमस्य = उर्जखलम्; here खल replaces ऊध, and खल replaces खम ॥ पिशिताद्यः = पिशाचः ॥ कुवन्तोऽस्यांसीदन्ति = बसी ॥ Here सद् takes the affix उद् in the locative, and कुव is replaced by ब ॥ ॥ इयां रोति - मयुरः ॥ Here मही is replaced by मू, and the final of इ is elided before the affix मय ॥ And so on with अश्वस्य, कपिस्य &c.

Vārt:—तीर becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as वक्षिणतीरम् or संक्षणतारम्, उत्तरतीरम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vārt:—Before the Patronymic इम् affix, वाग्वाद् becomes वाङ्गाल as, वाग्वाद्-स्यापस्यं = वाङ्गालः ॥

Vārt:—The final of वच् is changed to उ before वृत्, वषा, and धा (meaning

'location'): and the first letter of the second member is changed to **ड** or **ढ** ॥ Thus **षट् क्ता भस्य = षाडन्**; so **षोडश**; **षड्धा** or **षोड कुरु** ॥ The addition of **ड** is optional here. The putting of **धा** 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:—**षट् क्थाति** or **धयति = षड्धा** ॥

VArt.—The final of **दुर्** is changed to **ड**, before **हा**, **ना**, **वभ** and **ध्वे** and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus **दुःखेन हाभ्यते**, **नाद्वते**, **वभते यः = वूडाद्यः**, **वूणाद्यः**, **वूडभः**, In the last (**वभ**) there is elision of the nasal also. **दुष्ट ध्यायति = वूड्यः** ॥ Here is added the affix **क** to the root **ध्या** (ञ्वे) preceded by the upapada **दुः**, by III. I. 136.

VArt.—**ड** is substituted for the final of **स्वर्** when the verb **रुह** follows in the Vedas: as **एहिस्व जायेस्वो रोहाव** (रोहाव is Imperative Ist. Pers. Dual).

VArt.—The final of **पीवस्**, **पयस्** &c. is elided in the Vedas. as **पीवोप वस-नानां**, **पयोपवसनानाम्** ॥

संख्याविस्त्रायपूर्वस्याहस्याहनन्यतरस्यां डौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वि, साय, पूर्वस्य, अहस्य, अहन्, अन्यतरस्याम्, डौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्या वि साय इत्येवंपूर्वस्याहस्यस्य स्थाने अहनित्ययमादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां डौ परतः ॥

110. **अहन्** may optionally be substituted for **अह**, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or **वि** or **साय** precedes it.

Thus **द्वयोरहोर्भवः = द्यहः**, **त्रयहः** ॥ The Locative singular of these are **द्व्यह्नि** or **द्व्यहनि**, **त्र्यह्नि** or **त्र्यहनि** ॥ So also **द्व्यह्ने**, **त्र्यह्ने** ॥ With **वि**—**व्यह्नि**, **व्यहनि** or **व्यह्ने**; **साय**—**सायाह्नि**, **सायाहनि**, **सायाह्ने** ॥ These are **एकशशसमासः**, 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 पूर्वस्थाणो दीर्घो भवति ॥

111. When **द** or **र** is elided, for the preceding **अ**, **इ** and **उ** a corresponding Long vowel is substituted.

Thus **लीढम्**, **मीढम्**, **उपशूढम्** ॥ **रलोपे-निर्-रक्तम् = नीरक्तम्**, **अग्निर् रथः = अग्नीरथः**, **इन्दू रथः**, **पुना रक्तम् वासः**, **प्राता राजकथः** ॥ For the elision of **ड** see VIII. 3. 13, and for the elision of **र** see VIII. 3. 14. But **आवृढम्**, the **ढ** is not lengthened because it is not included in the **pratyahāra अण्** which is formed with the **ण्** of **अ इ उ ण्** ॥

सहिवहोरोदवर्णस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहि, वहोः, ओत्, अवर्णस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहि वहि इत्येतयोरवर्णस्योकार आदेशो भवति दूलोपे ॥

112. When **द** or **र** are elided, there is the substitution of **ओ** for the **अ** or **आ** of the verbs **सह** and **वह** ॥

Thus सोडा, सोडुम्, सोडव्यम्, बोडा, बोडुम् and बोडव्यम् ॥ Why do we say of अ or आ ? Observe ऊडः, ऊडवाम् ॥ Why do we say अर्धर्णं which includes long आ also ? The rule will apply even when the short अ of सह and वह is changed to आ by Vṛiddhi : as उवबोडाम्, उवबोडम् ॥ Had merely अ been read into the sūtra, instead of अर्धर्णं then coming after the त् of ओत्, it would have denoted only short अ (तादपि परः = तपरः I. 1. 75).

साढ्यै साद्वा साढेति निगमे ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साढ्यै, साद्वा, साढा, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साढ्ये साद्वा साढा इति निगमे निपात्यन्ते ॥

113. साढ्यै, साद्वा and साढा are irregularly formed in the Vedas.

Thus साढ्यै समन्तात्, साद्वा चञ्च् ॥ The latter is formed by त्त्वा affix, the ओ substitution not taking place. In the other alternative त्त्वा is changed to औ ॥ साढा is formed by नृच् affix. In the secular literature सोडा and सोद्वा are the proper forms.

संहितायाम् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायामित्यनधिकारः । यदित ऊर्द्धमनुकमित्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्देवित्यम् ॥

114. In the following sūtras upto the end of the pāda, are to be supplied the following words :—“ In an uninterrupted 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 विद्माहित्वा सत्यति 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 विष्ट, अष्ट, पञ्च, मणि, मिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रव, स्वस्तिकस्य ॥

कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टाष्टपञ्चमणिमिन्नछिन्नछिद्रस्रवस्वस्तिकस्य ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णे, लक्षणस्य, अविष्ट, अष्ट, पञ्च, मणि, मिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रव, स्वस्तिकस्य (दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णशब्दे उत्तरपदे लक्षणवाचिणी दीर्घो भवति विष्ट अष्टम् पञ्चम् मणि मिन्न छिन्न छिद्र स्रव स्वस्तिक इत्येतान्जंशिरवा ॥

115. Before कर्ण, 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, अष्टम्, पञ्चम्, मणि, मिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रव and स्वस्तिक ॥

Thus दावाकर्णः, विद्युणाकर्णः, विद्युणाकर्णः, ब्राह्मणुलाकर्णः, 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 ॥ अटकर्णः, पञ्चकर्णः, भिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, सवकर्णः, स्वस्तिककर्णः and नणिकर्णः ॥

नहि वृत्तिवृत्तिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिष्ठु कौ ॥११६॥ पदानि ॥ नहि, वृत्ति, वृत्ति, व्यधि, रुचि, सहि, तमिष्ठु, कौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहि वृत्ति वृत्ति व्यधि रुचि सहि तमि इत्येतेषु विषयस्यान्तेषुत्तरपरेषु पूर्वपरस्य शीर्षो भवति संज्ञितायां विषये ॥

116. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नह्, वृत्, वृष्, व्यष्ट्, रुच, सह् and तन्, when these roots take the affix क्ति ॥

Thus उपानह् (उपानत् Nom. S.), so also, परीणत्, नीवृत्, उपानृत्, (with वृत्) मावृत्, उपावृत्, (with वृष्) ममावित्, हव्यावित्, आवित्, (with व्यध्) नीवृक्, अभीरुक्, (with रुच) कृतावृत्, (with सह) तरीतत् (with तन्). The nasal is elided after गन् before क्ति (VI. 4 40), by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तन् also. Why do we say when क्ति follows? Observe परिणहनम् ॥

वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलकादीनाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वन, गिर्योः, संज्ञायाम्, कोटर, किंशुलकादीनाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन गिरि इत्येतयोश्चकारपदयोर्दथासंख्यं कोटरशीनां किंशुलकादीनां च शीर्षो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

117. For the final vowel of कोटर &c. a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किंशुलक &c. before गिरि, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटरावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिद्धकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किंशुलकागिरिः, अञ्जनागिरिः, &c.

The न is changed to ञ in वन by VIII. 4 4. But असिपन्नवनम् and कृष्णगिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक, 3 सिद्धक, 4 पुरण (पुरक), 5 सारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किंशुलक (किंशुलक), 2 शान्त्व (सान्त्वक), 3 नड, 4 अञ्जन, 5 अञ्जन, 6 मोहित, 7 कृष्णक ॥

वले ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वले, (पूर्वस्य शीर्षः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वले परतः पूर्वस्य शीर्षो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुस्वाहभ्रातृपितृणमिति ॥

118. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix वल ॥

Thus आमुतीवलः, कृषीवलः, इन्तावलः ॥ These are formed by the affix वलञ् (V. 2. 112).

Vart.—Not so, of उस्ताह, भ्रातृ and पितृ : as उस्ताहवलः, भ्रातृवलः and पितृवलः ॥

मतौ बह्वचो ऽमजिरादीनाम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ, बह्वचः, अमजिरादीनाम्, (संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतौ परतो बह्वचो ऽमजिरादिवर्धितस्य शीर्षो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

119. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मत्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c.

Thus उदुम्बरावती, मद्यकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मत् (IV. 2. 85) The मत् is changed to वत्, by VIII. 2. 11. Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables? Observe व्रीहिमती ॥ Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c'. Observe अजिरवती, खरिवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकारण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening, as वल्लवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खरि, 3 पुलिन, 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक.

शरादीनां च ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ शरादीनाम्, च, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरादीनां च मतो दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

120. The final vowel of शर &c. is lengthened before मत् when it is a Name.

As शरावती, वंशावती ॥ The म of मत् is changed to व because it is a Name (VIII. 2. 11). But not so after व्रीहि &c as these belong to ववादि class (VIII. 2. 9).

1 शर, 2 वंश, 3 धूम, 4 अहि, 5 कपि 6 मणि, 7 वृनि, 8 वृधि, 9 इव.

इको वहे ऽपीलोः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, वहे, अपीलोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य पीलुवार्जितस्य बहुवचनपर्ये दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपील्वारीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

121. The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह् ॥

Thus कपीवहम्, कपीवहम्, इनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Vari:—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As शरुवहम् ॥

उपसर्गस्य घञमनुष्ये बहुलम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, घञि, अमनुष्ये, बहुलम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्य घञन्तउत्तरपर्ये 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 नीह्लेशः, वीमार्गः, अपामार्गः ॥ It does not take place, as प्रसेचः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before सार and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासारः and प्राकारः, otherwise प्रसारः and प्रकारः ॥ Optionally in वेद्य &c. as प्रतिवेद्यः or प्रतीवेद्यः, प्रतिरोधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥ When human beings are meant, there is no lengthening, as निपाशे मनुष्यः ॥

इकः काशे ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, काशे, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य काशस्यञ्चकारपरे दीर्घो भवति ॥

123. A Preposition ending in इ, or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As नीकाशः, बीकाशः, अनूकाशः ॥ 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 ॥ सा इत्येतस्य दस्तकारिपारेषास्तस्मिन्परत इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य 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 नीक्तम्, बीक्तम्, परीक्तम् ॥ See VII. 4. 47 for the change of दा to त ॥ But प्रक्तम्, अदक्तम्, where the prepositions do not end in इ or उ ॥ Why do we say 'दा is changed to त'? Observe वित्तीर्णम् नित्तीर्णम् ॥ Why do we say ति 'a substitute of दा, beginning with a त'? Observe सुदक्तम्, here इद् is the substitute of दा (VII. 4. 46).

अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनित्येतस्योत्तरपरे 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 अष्टापदम् ॥ But अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः where the compounds are not names.

छन्दसि च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, च, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऽष्टन उत्तरपरे दीर्घो भवति ॥
वाञ्छिकम् ॥ 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 आग्नेयमष्टाक्रपालं निर्वपेत्, अष्टाहिरण्या रक्षिणा, अष्टापरी देवता सुमती ॥ The form अष्टापरी is the feminine in ङीप् (IV. 1. 8) of अष्टपात् (V. 4. 138 the अ of पाद् being elided in a Bahuvrihi), षद् 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 एकधित्कः, द्विधित्कः, त्रिधित्कः ॥

विश्वस्य वसुराटो ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विश्वस्य, वसु, राटोः, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विश्वस्यवसुश्च वसु राटिलेतयोश्चरपरयोर्दीर्घं भावितो 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 विश्वराजो, विश्वराजः ॥

नरे संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नरे, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नरावृत्तरपरे संज्ञायां विषये विश्वस्व 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 वत्स्य when it is not a name.

मित्रे चर्यो ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्रे, च, ऋषौ, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित्रे चोत्तरपरे ऋषावभिधेये विश्वस्व 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 मनुष्यत्यये 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, अश्वीवती, 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 ओषधीभिरपीपत्तत्, नमः पृथिव्यै नमः ओषधीश्वः ॥ Why do we say 'before case-endings'? Observe ओषधिपते ॥ Why do we say 'but not in the Nominative'? Observe स्थिरेयमस्त्वौषधिः ॥

ऋचि तुनुघमधुतङ्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचि, तु, नु, घ, मधु, तङ्, कुत्र, उरुष्याणाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचि विषये तु नु घ मधु तङ् कु त उरुष्य इत्येषां दीर्घो भवति ॥

133. In the Rig-Veda the finals of the particles तु, तु, घ, मधु, the tense-affix तङ्, कु, the ending न् and the word उरुष्य are lengthened.

Thus तु :—आ तू न इन्द्र वृषहन् (Rig IV. 32. 1) तु—तू करणे ॥ घ :—इत वाषा स्थालात् ॥ मधु :—मधू गोमन्तमीमहे ॥ तङ् :—अस्ता जातवसत् (Rig X. 176. 2). तङ् is the त substitute of या, when it is treated as ङित्, therefore it does not apply here, मृजोत भाषाणः (I. 2. 4). कु—कूमनस् ; न—अथा गौः ; उरुष्या षोमेः ॥

इकः सुञि ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, सुञि, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इम् 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) उर्ध्व ऊ सुण उतये (Rig I. 36. 13). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 107: and न changed to ञ by VIII. 4. 27.

इयचोतस्तिङ् : ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यचः, अतः, तिङः, (ऋचि दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इयचस्तिङ्गन्तस्यात् ऋचिवचये दीर्घो भवति ॥

135. A tense affix ending in अ is lengthened in the Rig-veda, when the Verb consists of two syllables.

Thus विद्या हि स्वा सत्याति शूर गोनाम् &c. See Rig III. 42. 6, विद्या हि तस्य पितरम् &c. But not here देवा भवन् वाञ्छिनः, as the verb consists of more than two syllables: not also here आ देवान् वसि वसि अ as the verbs do not end in अ ॥

निपातस्य च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातस्य, च, (ऋचि) (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निपातस्य च ऋचिवचये दीर्घ आदेशो भवति ॥

136. In the Rig Veda the final of a particle is lengthened.

Thus एवा ते, अच्छाते, अच्छा अरितारः (R. 1. 2. 2).

अन्येषामपि दृश्यते ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषाम्, अपि, दृश्यते, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येषामपि दीर्घो दृश्यते स शिट्प्रयोगाद्गुणन्तव्यः ॥ यस्य दीर्घत्वं न विहितं दृश्यते अ प्रयोगे तद्-
नेन कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शूनो इन्तवृष्टाकर्षकृन्वराहपुच्छपरेषु ॥

137. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

Here we must follow the usage of the Sishṭhas. 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 केशाकोषी, काष्ठाकचि, जलासाद्, नाक्कः, पूरुषः ॥

Vārt:—The final of अन् is lengthened before the following वन्त, दृष्टा, कर्ण कुन्द, वराह, पुच्छ, and परः—as आदन्तः आदंष्ट्रः, आकर्णः, आकुन्दः, आवराहः, आपुच्छः, आपरः ॥

चौ ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ, (पूर्वस्यदीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चौ परतः पूर्वपरस्व हीर्षो भवति ॥ चावित्यञ्चतिलुप्तनकाराकारो 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 इधीचः पञ्च, इधीचा, इधीचे, मधूचः पञ्च, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The nasal of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 24, and the अ by VI. 4. 138. In इधि + 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 इधी + अच् and मधू + अच् ॥ See also VI. 3. 92.

संप्रसारणस्य ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संप्रसारणस्य, (उत्तरपदे दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणान्तस्व पूर्वपरस्वोत्तरपदे हीर्षो भवति ॥

139. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कारीषगन्धीपुनः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः, कौशुगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13. करीषस्त्वेव गन्धोऽस्य = करीषगन्धिः (इ being added as samāsānta 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 सङ्गता, विप्रतिषेधेनद्वाधितं 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 ॥ अधिकारोद्यमाऽऽसप्तमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित उर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽङ्गस्वेत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikāra sūtra. Thus in VI. 4. 2 is taught the lengthening of the vowel of a samprasāraṇa : as दूतः, जीतः, संगीतः ॥ That means that the vowel preceded by a consonant belonging to the stem is lengthened. Therefore in निर् + वेत् + क्त = निरुत्, the vocalised vowel इ is not lengthened, as निर् is upasarga and not stem. So दुरुत् ॥ Similarly VI. 4. 3, teaches the lengthening of the final before नाम्, as अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् ॥ But क्रिमिणाम् पद्म, पामनां पद्म, as मि and म are not the end-portions of a stem. The stem is क्रिमिणा and पामना 'a female having क्रिमि or पामन्', formed by ण 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, श्लैः ॥ There also, the अ must be the अ final in an aṅga or stem : hence not here ब्राह्मणभिस्ता, ओदनभिस्ता, the भिस् does not follow an aṅga. भिस्त means boiled rice and भिस्ता 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 नानि (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 विधीयति ; but not here इधि सनोति for इ of इधि is not that of aṅga. So also in Samprasāraṇa, but not in निरुत् &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 ग्लेद्यात् or ग्लाय्यात्, but not here निर्वाद्यात् or निर्वाद्यात्, for here र् is not part of the anga, and so र्च cannot be considered a conjunct part of anga.

3rdly—For the change of तु to तात् in VII. 1. 35. There also तु must be portion of the anga, and not the particle तु, therefore, जीवतु or जीवतात्, but not here जीव तु स्वप् ॥

4thly—For the substitution of इवङ् and उवङ् in VI. 4. 77. Therefore not here इवर्धम् and उवर्धम् ॥

5thly—For the sake of लुद् augment in VII. 1. 54. But not here कुमारी भामिति 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 anga-vowel, as कुमारिका ॥ But not here, कुमारी कल्पे स्पृहयति or कुमारीः कं सुखं = कुमारीकं ॥

And lastly for त्त्व or त्त substitution. Thus VII. 4. 48 ordains the change of ए into त् in the case of अण् before भ ॥ It refers to anga, as अङ्गिः ॥ But not here अङ्गभारः, for अण् here is not anga.

To sum up in Sanskrit : सन् सम्प्रसारण दीर्घस्य ताताङ्ग्यङ्गुवङ्गुत् इत्त्वत् तत्त्वे च अङ्गस्थैरधिकारे 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 षोः), but of mere relation-ship. Or अङ्गस्य may be considered as a mere prātipadika, 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 स्थानपट्टी in sūtras like हन्तेर्ज, where the whole of हन् is replaced (VI. 4. 36). It has the force of अवयवपट्टी in sūtras like ऊदुपधाया गोहः (VI. 4. 89). It has the force of निमित्तनिमित्ति सम्बन्धः in युवोरनाकौ (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 ॥ अङ्गावयवाद्गलो यदुत्तरं सम्प्रसारणं तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य 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 सम्प्रसारण from VI. 3. 139 are understood here. Thus हृतः from ह्रा, जीनः from उवा, संवीतः from व्या ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe उतः and उतवान् from वेत् ॥ Why do we say that the preceding consonant should be a portion of the stem?

Observe निरुत्तम्, here र is not an integral part of the stem, but a portion of the upasarga निरु and therefore उ is not lengthened. Why do we say 'at the end of a stem'? Observe विद्, विचितः from व्यध् and व्यध्; here the vowel इ is in the middle of the stem. Why do we say 'अ, इ and उ substitutes of semivowels'? Observe वृत्तीयः ॥ Here वि has been vocalised into वृ, इ being substituted for इ before the affix तीय (V. 2. 55). The इ will not be lengthened. Or the absence of lengthening in वृत्तीय 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 इल, and then to qualify the letters अ, इ and उ ॥

नामि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नामि, (अङ्गस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामित्येतत्पृथीयइवचनम् भागतनुदकं गृह्यते ॥ तस्मिन्परतोङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

Kārikā—नामि दीर्घ आमि अस्त्वास्फुते दीर्घे न तुत् भवेत् ।

वचनाद्यत्र तन्नास्ति, नोपधायाद्य चर्मणात् ॥

3. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment नुद्).

Thus अग्नीनाम्, वाहूनाम्, कनूनाम्, हर्षूनाम् ॥ 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 इ 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, दीर्घभादीर्घम् ॥

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 तिसृण मध्यंदिने or तिसृणाम् मध्यंदिने ॥ So also चतसृणाम् and चतसृणाम् ॥

नृ च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्य नामि पर्युभयथा भवति ॥

6. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally.

As स्वं नृणां नृपते, and स्वं 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 शीर्षो 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 नृ ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने, च, असंबुद्धौ (नोपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने च परतो संबुद्धौ नोपधाया शीर्षो 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, राजानो, 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); सामानि (Loc. Sing). Why do we say 'but not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे राजन् ! हे तक्षन् !

घा षपूर्वस्य निगमे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ घा, ष, पूर्वस्व, निगमे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षपूर्वस्थाचो नोपधाया निगमविषये सर्वनामस्थाने परतो संबुद्धौ वा शीर्षो 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 तक्षानं or तक्षणं, तिष्ठन्तमब्रवीत् । ऋभुक्षानं or ऋभुक्षणमिन्द्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'in the Veda'? In the secular literature we have तक्षा, तक्षानौ तक्षानः always.

सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ सान्त, महतः, संयोगस्य, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सक्रासान्तस्य संयोगस्य यो नकारः महत्त च तस्योपधाया शीर्षो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो संबुद्धौ ॥

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 न्स्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases. Thus भ्रयान्, भ्रयांसि, भ्रयांसः, भ्रयांसि, पर्यांसि, यशांसि ॥ महन्—महान्, महान्तौ, महान्तः ॥ But हे भ्रयान्, हे महन् in Vocative Singular. The Nasal is inserted by VII. 1. 70.

अप्तृन्त्स्वसृन्प्तृनेष्टृक्षच् होत्पोत्प्रशास्त्रणाम् ॥११॥ पदानि ॥ अप्. तृन्, तृच्, स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षच्, होत्, पोत्, प्रशास्त्रणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्येतस्य तृजन्तस्य स्वसृ नप्तृ नेष्टृ स्वष्टृ क्षच् होत् पोत् प्रशास्त् इत्येतेषां चाङ्गानामुपधाया 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 स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षच्, होत्, पोत् and प्रशास्त् ॥

Thus आपः तिष्ठन्ति ॥ Some would have it even in compounds; as बह्वाम्पि तडाणानि ॥ The Samāsānta 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 कियते। नित्यमपि च नुममकृत्वा दीर्घत्वमिष्यते। तृन्।कर्त्तारौ कटयन्। वक्षितारौ जनापवासान्। कर्त्तारः। हृष्। कर्त्तारौ कटयन्। कर्त्तारः। हर्त्तारौ भारस्य, हर्त्तारः। स्वसृ। स्वसा। स्वसारौ। स्वसारः। नप्तृ। नप्ता। नप्तारौ। नप्तारः। नेष्टृ। नेष्टारौ। नेष्टारः। स्वष्टृ। स्वष्टारौ। स्वष्टारः। क्षच्। क्षत्तारौ। क्षत्तारः। होत्। होत्तारौ। होत्तारः। पोत्। पोत्तारौ। पोत्तारः। प्रशास्त्। प्रशास्तारौ। प्रशास्तारः। नप्त्वादीनां ग्रहणमव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे विध्यर्थम्। व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम्। एवंभूतानामन्येषां संज्ञा-शाब्दानां दीर्घो मा भूदिति। पितरौ। मातरौ। मातरः। असंबुद्धाविति किम्। हेकर्त्तः। हेस्वसः ॥

If the words नप्तृ &c. be considered as कृदि, 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.

इन्हन्पूषार्यम्णां शौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, हन्, पूष अर्यम्णां, शौ, (दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ इन् हन् पूषन् अर्यमन् इत्येवमन्तानामङ्गानां 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 हन्, or पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥

According to the maxim (See VI. 4. 14 also) that "अन्, इन्, अस्, मन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता 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 (इन् &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 *स्त्रिभ्* 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 *अर्यमन्* are masculine and cannot take the Neuter Plural affix *स्त्रि* 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 बहुवचनीनि and बहुवचनीणि । बहुवृत्तहाणि । बहुभूषणहाणि । बहुपूषाणि । बहुअर्यमाणि ॥
 सिद्धे सत्यारम्भो नियमार्थः । इन्ह न्पूषार्यम्णाद्युपधायाः शावेव दीर्घो भवति नान्यत्र । इण्डिनौ । छत्रिणौ ।
 वृत्तहणौ । पूषणौ । अर्यमणौ ॥

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 इण्डिनौ, छत्रिणौ, वृत्तहणौ, पूषणौ, अर्यमणौ ॥

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 *स्त्रि* in particular, (i. e., make a yoga-bibhâga). By so doing, the form *भूषणानि* (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 *स्त्रि* 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 *त्र* (in words like *वृत्तहायते* = *वृत्तहा इव आचरत*, This refers to VII, 4. 25).

3. Or if the anuvritti of *सुद्* (Sarvanamasthana) be taken into this Sûtra, because of the context, then the mention of *स्त्रि* 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 *स्त्रि* and not to *सुद्* affixes generally.

Note :—*स्त्रि* 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 *स्त्रि* 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 *ङ्*, is however debarred by the present restrictive rule. Thus the Locative Singular (*ङि*) is *वृत्तहनि*, and *भूषणनि* ॥ How do you make this? By splitting up the present sutra into two parts, the first part being *हन् हन् पूषार्यम्णात्*, and the second being *सौ* ॥ 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 पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥ (2) So also it is lengthened before the strong case सि 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 वृषहायते, भूणहायते denominative verbs in क्यङ् ॥

Or even though the Sarvanāmasthāna may be read into the sūtra by anuvṛitti, yet this may be considered a Restrictive Rule in general, and not only with regard to सि considered a Sarvanāmasthāna or a Neuter affix सि is the Sarvanāmasthāna affix of the Neuter: which has no other Sarvanāmasthāna, therefore, it is a general Niyama and not only a Sarvanāmasthāna 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 सि only and no where else. The result would be that in examples like भूणहनि ब्राह्मणकुले (loc. sin), there would be no lengthening at all (i.e. we shall never have the form भूणहानि 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 Sarvanāmasthāna applies to Neuter also in certain cases, therefore, any rule (niyama) made with regard to Sarvanāmasthāna would apply to Neuter also.

सौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, च, (उपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सावसंबुद्धौ परत इन्द्रनृषार्यम्णाद्युपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

13. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पूषन् or अर्यमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus इण्डी, वृषहा, 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 इण्डिन, हे पूषन्, हे वृषहन् हे अर्यमन् ॥

अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतु, असन्तस्य, च, अधातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतु अस इत्येवमन्तस्य अधातोरुपधायाः 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 उवतुप् Uṇ I. 63 from भा to shine), कृतवान् (with क्वतु); गोमान् and यवमान् (with मतुप्) ॥ 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** :—**अ** सुपयाः, सुबशाः, सुभ्रोताः ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging to a dhātu'? Observe **पिण्डमः** where **स्** belongs to the root **ग्रस्** (**पिण्डं ग्रसते**), so also **चर्मवः** (**चर्मं 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 तदन्ताविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति**) ॥ The word **अन्त** in the sūtra indicates whatever *ends* in **अतु** whether when first enunciated (**उपदेश**), such as **उवतु**, **क्तवतु** &c, or which assumes the form **अतु** in grammatical inflection, such as **मतुष्** which in upadeśa ends in **अतुष्**, but becomes **अतु** in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have **हे गोमन्**, **हे सुपयः** this rule not applying there.

अनुनासिकस्य क्ङिलोः क्ङिति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकस्य, कि, झलोः, क्ङिति, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्य उपधाया णीर्षो भवति विप्रत्यये 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 **प्रचान्** and **प्रतान्** from the roots **चान्** and **तान्** by VIII. 2. 64. So also before an affix beginning with a **झल्** consonant (any consonant but a nasal and a semivowel). As **चान्तः** (with **क्त**), **चान्तवान्** (with **क्तवतु**), **चान्त्वा** (with **वत्वा**), and **चान्तिः** (with **न्तिन्**). These are all formed with **किन्** affixes. As to **ङिन्** affixes we have **चञ्चान्तः** and **तन्तान्तः** formed by **तस्** 3rd Person Dual added to the Intensive roots **चान्** and **तान्** ॥ **तस्** is **ङिन्** by I. 2. 4. Why do we say 'ending in a Nasal'? Observe **भोदनपक्**, **पक्वः**, **पक्वान्** ॥ Why do we say 'before **ङि** and **jhalâdi** affix'? Observe **गम्यते**, **रम्यते** ॥ Why do we say a **ङिन्** or a **किन्** affix? Observe **गन्ता** and **रन्ता** ॥

अङ्गनगमां सनि ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, हन्, गमाम्. सनि, (वा दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तानामङ्गानां हनिगम्योश्च सनि झलादौ परे वा णीर्षो भवति ॥

वासिकम् ॥ गमेरिङादेशस्येति 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 **हृ**) follows.

Thus of roots ending in vowel we have:—**विशीर्षति**, **तुहूषति**, **चिकीर्षति**, **अिहीर्षति** (VII. 1. 100); of **हन्** and **गम्**, **अिषांसति**, and **अधिअिगांसते** ॥

Vart:—The rule applies to that गम् which is the substitute of इह् (II. 4. 48) 'to study'. Therefore, not here, संज्ञिगंसते वस्तो मात्रा (cf. VII. 2. 58) ; In the Veda we read स्वर्गे लोकं समञ्जिगांसन्, where though गम् means 'to go' and is not, therefore, the substitute of इह्, the lengthening takes place by the rule VI. 3, 137. Or the word अच् should not be added in the sūtra at all : which should be read as हुनगमां 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 झलादेशे विभाषा शीघ्रो भवति ॥

17. The lengthening of the stem of तन् is optional, before the Desiderative सन्, when it does not take the augment इह् ॥

Thus तितांसति Or तिसंसति ॥ But in तितनिषति no alternative is allowed, as इह् is added to सन् by VII. 2. 49 Vart: optionally.

क्रमश्च क्ति ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, च, क्ति, (झलि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम उपधाया विभाषा शीघ्रो भवति त्वाप्रत्यये झलादेशे परतः ॥

18. The penultimate of क्रम् is optionally lengthened, before the affix क्ता, when it is without the augment इह् ॥

Thus क्रन्त्वा or क्रान्त्वा ; but क्रमित्वा only, with इह् augment. But when क्त्वा is replaced by स्वप्, the rule does not apply : as प्रक्रम्य, उपक्रम्य ॥ This is on the maxim अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गोत्सव् वाधते 'a bahiranga substitution of स्वप् supercedes even antaranga rule".

च्छ्रोः शूडनुनासिके च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्छ्रोः, शूड्, अनुनासिके, च, (किशलोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छ इत्येतस्य सतुक्स्य वकारस्य च स्थाने यथासंख्ये च ऊर् इत्येतावदेषौ भवतः, अनुनासिकारो प्रत्यये परतः क्वौ झलादेशे च क्छितिः ॥

19. For च्छ (including the augment तुक्) is substituted श्, and for च is substituted ऊर्, before an affix beginning with a Nasal, as well as before क्ति and jhalâdi छिन् and कित् affixes (VI. 4. 15).

Thus प्रश्नः, विद्मः from प्रच्छ and विच्छ, with the affix नह् (III. 3. 90) the च्छ 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 = सेञ् + 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 = स्यू, 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 क्वि we have चम्प्राश् formed with क्विप् (Uṇ II. 57) added to प्रच्छ, there is no vocalisation of the semivowel र, and there is lengthening of अ, and च्छ changed to च. So also गोविष् ॥

Of the change of व into ऊ we have the following:—अक्षयूः, हिरण्ययूः (विष् + क्विप् = वि + ऊ = यूः) ॥ Here the ऊ substitution is Bahiranga, and वि + ऊ = यू, the change of इ into य is antaranga, therefore on the maxim of असिद्धं 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 बहिष्कृतं प्रवृत्तिः "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 = पृष्ट, पृष्टवान् (क्तवत्), पृष्ट्वा (क्त्वा); here च्छ is changed to च, there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, and च changed to च 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 शुभ्याद्, शुभिः ॥ Some do not read the anuvritti of कित् and डित् into this sūtra, and explain शुभ्याद् and शुभिः by VI. 1. 131 : उ short being substituted for व of दिष् ॥

In "छशां च" (VIII. 2. 36) the letter छ should not be taken, because by the force of the present sūtra, च 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 धस्यूद् सु (VI. 1. 89). In the sutra वाह ऊइ (VI. 4. 132) there is also indicatory इ ॥

ज्वरत्वरश्रिव्यविमवामुपधायाश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्वर, त्वर, श्रिवि, अवि, मवाम्, उपधायाः, च, (किंश्लोः वस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्वर त्वर श्रिवि अव मव इत्येतेषामङ्गानां वकारस्य उपधायाश्च स्थाने ऊदित्ययमांशो भवति क्वी परतो ऽनुनासिके श्लाघी च कृडिति ॥

20. In ज्वर, त्वर् श्रिव, अव, and मव्, before the above-mentioned affixes (श्रिव, a Nasal or a jhalâdi 'कित्' or डित्) there is the single substitution of ऊइ for the च and the vowel preceding the final consonant.

Thus ऊः, ऊरो, ऊरः, ऊर्त्तिः ॥ स्वरः—हूः, हूरो, हूरः, हूर्त्तिः ॥ श्रिविः—भूः, भूरो, भूरः, भूर्त्तिः ॥ अश्रुतवान्, श्रुतिः ॥ भवः—ऊः, उवो, उवः, ऊतिः ॥ मवः—भूः, भवो, भवः, भूतः, भूतवान्, भूतिः ॥ अवरस्वरो-
रुपधा वकारात् परा, श्रिव्य वमवां पूर्वा ॥

In अवर् and स्वर the ऊ replaces व् as well as the अ which follows व्; and in श्रिव्, भव् and मव् it replaces the व् and the vowel ह् and अ which precede व् ॥ Another reading is सिव् ॥

राह्योपः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, लोपः, (किञ्चलोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफादुत्तरयोश्छौर्लोपो भवति क्वो परतो झलौ कञ्जिति च परतः ॥

21. After र there is the elision of छ् and च् before 'क्वि' and jhalâdi 'क्वि' and 'ञ्जित्' affixes.

Thus from छर्त्ता—मूर्, हूरो, हूरः, मूर्त्तः, मूर्त्तवान्, मूर्त्तिः, the त् of Nishṭhâ is not changed into न् by VII. 2. 57. So also from हूर्त्ता we have हूर्, हूरो, हूरः, हूर्त्तः, हूर्त्तवान्, हूर्त्तिः ॥ So also the व् is elided, as from वूर्त्ता—वूर्, वूरो, वूरः, वूर्त्तः, वूर्त्तवान्, वूर्त्तिः ॥ वूर्त्ताः—धुः, धूरो, धूरः, धूर्त्तः, धूर्त्तवान्, धूर्त्तिः ॥

असिद्धवदत्राऽऽ भात् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ असिद्धवत्, अत्र, आभात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असिद्धवदित्ययमधिकारो यदित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्याम आ मध्यावपरिसमाप्तेस्तद् असिद्धवद्वेदितव्यम् ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ दुग्नुदावुवह्यणोः सिद्धो 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 adhikāra rule. The above translation is given according to Prof. Bohtlingk. According to Kāsika 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 ābhiya rules) is to be brought into operation, having the same place for coming into operation as another ābhiya, 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 'ādeśa' or substitution taught by another rule should not be considered to have taken effect in applying the special rule. Thus in forming एषि and शापि (Imperative 2nd person)

ए is first substituted for अस् 'to be' by VI, 4. 119 : and षा for षास् 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 ह्रस्व class. Now अस् and षास् end in a *hral* consonant, and can take धि, but their substitute ए and षा 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 षा for षास् should be considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect. Similarly in भागहि (Vedic Imperative, हास् being elided by II. 4. 73) and जहि 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 भाग 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 ābhiya rules would not be considered as asiddha. Thus अभाञि and रागः from भञ्ज् and रञ्ज् ॥ Here the nasals of राञि and भाञि have been elided by VI. 4. 27-28 and 33 before the affixes षम् and चिन् respectively, and we have the stems रञ्, and भञ् to which rule VII. 2. 116 applies and we have Vृद्धि 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 Vृद्धि, as it would not then be उपधा or penultimate.

Why do we use the word अत्र in the aphorism? The rules are asiddha to each other with regard to a common place of operation and not otherwise. Thus पा + वस् (कृष्णु) + अस् (षास् Acc. Pl). = पा + 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 पश्य ॥ Similarly चि + वस् + अस् = चिधि + उस् + अस् ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we apply rule VI. 4. 82, and substitute य for उ as चिधियुषः पश्य ॥ Similarly लू + वस् + अस् लूलू + उस् + अस् = लूलुषुषः ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we change the ऊ of लू into उ by VI. 4. 77. In all the above three cases, the elision of आ, or change of इ to य, or of ऊ to उ, 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 आशय ॥ 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.

Vart.—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 ङ् substitution should not be applied simultaneously with them. Thus भू—बभूव, बभूवतुः बभूवः with बुक्, and उपदिशिये, उपदिशियाते, 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 यणदिश ॥

The आ in आभात् has the force of limit inclusive, so that, the asiddha rule applies to the sūtras governed by अ ॥

आभ्रलोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, न लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसिद्धि मन्वयस्युष्टमकारो गृह्यते तत् उत्तरस्य नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. After न्, which is added to the roots of the seventh class as a characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa अम्), there is the elision of the following न् ॥

Thus अनक्ति and मनक्ति from अञ्ज 'to anoint', and भञ्ज 'to break'. Thus अञ्ज् + अम् + तिप् = अनञ्ज् + ति (I. 1. 47) = अनञ् + ति (VI. 4. 23) = अनक्ति ॥ So also दिनस्ति from हिंसि (हिन्स्) 'to injure'. Why do we say 'after अ' and not merely 'after न्', without the indicatory ञ्? Observe यज्ञानाम्, यज्ञानाम्, where the न् of नाम् is not elided after the न् of यज्ञ and यज्ञ, the lengthening of अ by VII. 3. 102 being sthānivat would not have prevented the elision. In the case of विमानाम् and प्रमानाम् (formed by विअ + नाम् and प्रअ + नाम्) also, the न् of नाम् is not elided after अ of विअ ॥ For the अ of the sūtra is the *technical* अ the vikaraṇa, and not any combination of the letters ञ् and न् ॥ The prati-padokta maxim applies here. लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् ॥

अनिदितां हल उपधायाः क्ङिति ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनदिताम्, हलः, उपधायाः, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनदितामङ्गानां हलन्तानामुपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनदितां नलोप लङ्गिकम्ब्योरुपतापघरीरुदिकारयोरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ एञ्जैर्णो घृगरमणउपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चितुणि च एञ्जैरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ एञ्जकरजनरञ्जः 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 सन्स् and ध्वन्स् are formed सस्तः and ध्वस्तः with क्त, सस्यते, ध्वस्यते with वङ्, सनीसस्यते, ध्वनीध्वस्यते with वङ् the नी being added by VII. 4. 84. But नन्व्यते and नानन्व्यते, the न् is not elided, the root being written in the Dhātupāṭha as हुणदि संघृञी, and न् being added by VII. 1. 58. Why do we say ending in a consonant? Observe नीयते, नेनीयते 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 ह? Observe संसनं, ध्वंसनं with स्युद् ॥

Vart:—The roots लङ्ग (लङ्गि) and कम्प् (कम्पि) are exceptions, where meaning 'to feel pain or difficulty' and 'a disease of the body'. These, though exhibited in the Dhâtupaṭha with an indicatory इ, are treated as exceptions to the rule of अनिदिन्: thus विलगितः and विकपितः, when not having the above meanings, we have विलङ्कितं and विकम्पितं ॥

Vart:—The causative of the root रञ्ज, loses its nasal when meaning 'to hunt deer': as, रञ्जयति दृगान् 'he hunts the deer', but रञ्जयति वस्त्राणि 'he colors the clothes'.

Vart:—रञ्ज loses its nasal before the affix चितुण्, as रागी ॥

Vart:—The words रञ्जकः, रञ्जनम्, and रञ्जः are formed from रञ्ज by the elision of the nasal.

दंशसञ्जस्वञ्जां शपि ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दंश, सञ्ज, स्वञ्जाम्, शपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दंश सञ्ज स्वञ्ज इत्येतेषामङ्गानां शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

25. The nasal of दंश्, संञ्ज् and स्वञ्ज् is elided before the vikaraṇa शप् of the roots of the 1st class.

Thus दशति, सञ्जति and पस्विञ्जते for the change of the स् of स्वञ्ज् to ष see VIII. 3. 65

रञ्जेञ्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रञ्जेः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रञ्जेञ्च शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

26. The nasal of रञ्ज is also elided before शप् ॥

As रञ्जति, रञ्जतः, रञ्जन्ति ॥ 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 रञ्जेरुपधाया 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 भावयौ रागः, विधिश्च रागः denote भाव, while रञ्जतेऽनेनिति रागः denotes instrument. The चञ् is added by III. 3. 121; and च् changed to क् by VII. 3. 52. But रङ्गः = रञ्जन्ति, तस्मिन् 'a theatre';

स्यदो जवे ॥ २८ ॥ स्यदः, जवे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जवे ऽभिधेये स्यद् इति घञि निपात्यते । स्यदेर्नलोपो वृज्जपभावश्च ॥

28. The word स्यद् is formed by घञ् in the sense of 'speed'.

This word is derived from *स्यन्द्*, the nasal is elided, and the *Vridhhi* 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 *Vṛiddhi*, only in case of *इक्* vowels, here the *Vṛiddhi* is prevented with regard to *ञ* ॥ The prevention of this *Vṛiddhi* is irregular and not governed by I. 1. 4. Thus *गोस्यद्*: *अम्भस्यद्*: meaning "cow-speed," "horse-speed." but *तैलस्यद्*:, and *घृतस्यन्द्*: meaning "dripping of oil or ghee".

अचोदैधौञ्चप्रथयहिमथथाः ॥२९॥ पदानि ॥ अचोद्, एध, ओञ्च, प्रथय, हिमथथाः
वृत्तिः ॥ अचोद् एध ओञ्चप्रथय हिमथथा इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ।

29. अचोद्, एध, ओञ्च, प्रथय, and हिमथथा are irregularly formed by the elision of न ॥

Thus उन्द्—अव + उन्द् + घञ् = अचोद्; इन्ध् + घञ् = एधः, the *guṇa* is irregular, for I. 1. 4 applied here, and prevented *guṇa*. उन्द् + मन् = ओञ्च (*Uṇadi* मन्). प्र + अन्थ + घञ् = प्रथयः (The want of *Vṛiddhi* is the irregularity). So also हिमथयः ॥

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 अञ्चिता अस्य घृत्तः, अञ्चितमिव घिरो वसति ॥ The *इद्* augment is added by VII. 2. 53. When the sense is not that of 'honoring', we have उदक्तपुरकं 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 ॥ क्लामप्रत्यये परतः स्कान्द् स्यन्द् इत्येतयोर्नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

31. स्कान्द् and स्यन्द् retain their nasal before the affix क्ल ॥

Thus स्कान्त्वा, and स्यन्दिस्वा or स्यन्त्वा, the *इद्* being added when स्यन्द् is considered as having an indicative ऊ in the dhatupātha. When *इद्* is added, क्ल is no longer क्लि 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 नशोश्च क्लामप्रत्यये परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

32. The nasal may be optionally elided before क्ल in a root ending in ज् and in नश् ॥

Thus रङ्क्त्वा or रत्क्त्वा, भङ्क्त्वा or भत्क्त्वा, नष्ट्वा or नष्ट्वा See ॥ VII. 1. 60 for the augment न् in नश् ॥ When *इद्* comes, we have नशिस्वा ॥

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 (ई)**

Thus **अभाञ्जि** or **अभाञ्जि** ॥ 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, (कङिति) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शास् उपधाया इकारदेशो भवति अङि परतो हलादौ च कङिति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्वौ 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 शिष्यः** (with the tense-affixes **त्**: and **मः** which are **ङिन्** 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**, **शासासत्**, **शासासुः** ॥

Vart:—There is the substitution of **इ** for the vowel of **शास्** before the affix **क्वि** ॥ As **आर्थशीः** = **आर्थान् 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 **शास** (**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 **क्षियाशीः** 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 **क्विन्** and **ङिन्** also is not here. Therefore, when this **हि** is treated as **पिन्** (III. 4. 88), then too the substitution takes place, though a **पिन्** *Sārvadhātuka* is not **ङिन्** (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 **पिन्** and consequently *anudatta* (III. 1. 4)

हन्तेर्जः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, जः, (हौ) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जातोर्ज इत्ययमादेशो भवति हौ परतः ॥

36. ज is substituted for ह्न् before हि ॥

Thus जहि शप्त् ॥

अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि क्ङिति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥
अनुदात्तोपदेश, घनति, तनोत्यादीनाम्, अनुनासिक लोपः, झलि, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तोपदेशानामङ्गानां वनतेस्तनोत्यादीनां अनुनासिकलोपो भवति झलादौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

37. The final nasal of those roots which in the Dhâtupâṭha have an unaccented root-vowel, as well as of घन 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 ङ् ॥

Thus वयु gives us यत्वा (with त्त्वा), यतः (with क्त), यतवान् (with क्तवत्), यतिः (with क्तिन्), Similarly रयु 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 Dhâtupâṭha. 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, रुण्, घृण्, वन्, मन् and कृम् ॥ Of these सन् takes long आ also (VI. 4. 45). क्षण्—क्षतः, क्षतवान्, ऋण्—ऋतः, ऋतवान्; रुण्—रृतः, रृतवान्; घृण्—घृतः, घृतवान्; वन्—वतः, वतवान्; मन्—मतः, मतवान् ॥

Why do we say before a ङित् affix? Observe अतत, अतयाः (I. 2. ११ these affixes are ङित्) So also not in शान्तः, शान्तवान्, तान्तः, तान्तवान्, शान्तः, शान्तवान्, not being anudâṭta in the Dhâtupâṭha. If the root does not end in a nasal, the rule does not apply, as in पच्यः, पच्यवान् ॥ If the affix does not begin with a jhal consonant, the rule does not apply: as गम्यते, रम्यते ॥ If the affix is not कित् or ङित् the rule does not apply: as, यन्ता, यन्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say "anudâṭta by upadesa"? So that the rule may apply to गन् root, as गतिः, but not to शम्, as शान्तः शान्तवान् ॥ For गतिः is formed by क्तिन् affix and is accented with udâṭta on the first, but it is a secondary udâṭta and not of upadesa or dhâtupâṭha, and does not prevent the elision of न् of गम् ॥ Similarly शम् is udâṭta-upadesa though in शान्त it has become अनुदात्तः ॥ The former though taught in the Dhâtupâṭha as udâṭta, has been specifically mentioned above as anudâṭta, and शम् is taught as udatta in the Dhâtupâṭha, and no where else taught as anudâṭta.

वा ल्यपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ल्यपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि परतो ऽनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो वा भवति ॥

38. The nasal of the above roots (i. e. anudâṭta ending in a nasal, and घन and तनादि) is optionally elided before the Absolutive affix ल्यप् ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhāṣā. The option applies to roots ending in ष्. In the case of roots ending in other nasals, the elision is compulsory. Thus प्रयत्य or प्रयम्य, प्ररत्य 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. anudāttopadeśa, ending in a nasal, and वन and तनादि, do not lose their nasal before क्तिच्. Thus वन्ति, तन्ति, वन्ति ॥ The lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 15, when the nasal was not elided : that also is prohibited.

गमः कौ ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, कौ, (अनुनासिकलोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकलोप इति वर्तते । गमः क्वौ परतो ऽनुनासिकलोपो भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ऊङ् च गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. The nasal of गम् is always elided before क्ति ॥

Thus अङ्गन्, कलिङ्गन्, 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 संयन्, परीतन् ॥

Vart:—The nasal of गम् &c. is elided before ऊङ् : as, अमेगूः, अमेभूः ॥

विड्ग्नोरनुनासिकस्यात् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विट्-घ्नोः, अनुनासिकस्य आत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विटि घ्नो च प्रत्यये परतो ऽनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्याकार आदेशो भवति ॥

41. A stem ending in a nasal, and followed by the affix विट् or घ्न, always substitutes long आ for its nasal.

Thus अञ्जाः, गोजाः, ऋतजाः, अद्विजाः, गोषाः (e. g. गोषा इन्द्रो नृषा असि Rig V.), कूपखाः, शतखाः, सहस्रखाः, दधिक्राः, अमेगा उन्नेतणाम् ॥ 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 घ्न we have the following:—विजावा, अमेजावा (III. 2. 75). The repetition of the word अनुनासिक in this sūtra shows that the limitation of anudāttopadeśa &c. which applied to the अनुनासिक of sūtra VI. 4. 37 does not apply here.

जनसनखनां सन्श्लोः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खनाम् सन्-श्लोः, (आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जन सन खन इत्येतेषामङ्गानां सनि श्लोः इति श्लोः प्रत्यये 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 indicative 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, चिखाणिषति ॥ 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 सन्सलोः be taken to mean 'the Desiderative beginning with a consonant', then we should read the anuvṛitti of सलि क्ङिति from the preceding sūtras, to complete the sense of this; and if the phrase means "when the Desiderative of a jhalādi 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 कित् jhalādi 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 Tanādi 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 इद् 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, (जनसनखनाम् आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादी 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 ङ् ॥

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 ष्यन् of the Fourth class, which is कित् according to I. 2. 4; the आ is *always* substituted for जन् by VII. 3. 79. No option is allowed there.

तेनोतेर्याकि ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेनोतेः, याकि, (विभाषा आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तेनोतेर्याकि परतो विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ।

44. The long आ may be optionally substituted for the final of तन् before the Passive characteristic यक् ॥

Thus तायते or तन्यते; but no option is allowed in तन्तन्यते with यङ् ॥

सनः किञ्चि लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनः, किञ्चि, लोपः,
च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरङ्गस्य किञ्चि 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 annvṛitti. Lest any one should doubt, that the annvṛitti of विभाषा had ceased with the last aphorism, this word अन्यतरस्याम् is employed here.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातु के ।

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकरथधिकारं न ल्यपीति प्रागेतस्माद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आर्द्धधातुकरथेयं तदे-
रितव्यम् ।

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 ārdhadhātuka affix". Thus the final अ of the verbal stem चिकीर्षि is elided before the ārdhadhātuka affix क्तिच्, as चिकीर्षित्, जिहीर्षित्, but the final अ is not elided before a sārva-dhātuka affix, as the अ of भव in भवति, भवतः ॥ The *luk*-elision of चप् after roots of अदादि class, implies that there is never *lopa* of चप् ॥

The following purposes are served by this sūtra, i. e. an ārdhadhātuka affix causes the following special changes (1) अतोऽलोपः— 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 बेभिक्षिता, बेभिक्षितुम्, बेभिक्षितुम् from बेभिक्ष the Intensive stem. Before Sārva-dhātuka, we have बेभिक्षते, बेभिक्ष्यते ॥ (3) णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम्, The elision of णि by VI. 4. 51, as कारणा हारणा पाच्यते (पाचि + यक् + ते = पाच् + अ + ते), वाज्यते ॥ In Sārva-dhātuka, पाचयति, वाजयति, कारयति, हारयति ॥ (4) आलोपः, the elision of आ, VI. 4. 64— as पपतुः, पपुः, ववतुः ववुः, In Sārva-dhātuka, वान्ति, वान्ति (5) ईस्वम्— The substitution of long ई for आ in some roots, VI. 4. 65 as धीयते, शीयते; in Sārva-dhātuka अदाताम्, अधाताम् (6) एत्वम्— The substitution of ए for आ, VI. 4. 68; as स्नेयात्, ग्लेयात्; in Sārva-dhātuka, स्नायात्, ग्लयात् ॥ This is confined to the Precative (āsirliṅ). (7) चिण्वद्भावश्च सीयुटि, the treatment of the Precative like Aorist Passive in चिण्, by VI. 4. 62. as कारिषीष्ट, हारिषीष्ट ॥ In Sārva-dhātuka, क्रियेत, द्वियेत ॥

Kāśikā :—अतो लोपो यलोपश्च णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम् ।

आलोप ईस्वमेत्वं च चिण्वद्भावश्च सीयुटि ॥

अस्त्वो रोपश्चयोरमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि । अस्त्वः, र-उपधयोः, रम्,
अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्त्वो रेफस्योपधायाश्च रमन्यतरस्यां भवति ।

47. In the room of the **र्** and the penultimate letter **स्** of the root **भ्रस्ज**, there is optionally the substitute **रस्**, when an **ârdhadhâtuka** affix follows.

The **र्** and **स्** cease to exist and **र** takes their place. The substitute having an indicative **स्** 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 **त** to **ट** by VIII. 4. 41. The other form will be **भ्रट्**; so also **भ्रटुम्** and **भर्तुम्**, **भ्रटव्यम्** and **भर्तव्यम्**, **भ्रज्जनम्** or **भर्ज्जनम्** ॥ But **भृट्**: and **भृटवान्** 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 **Dhatupâtha**, and not to any Derivative root from it. As the Intensive (**यङ्**) is **भरीभृज्यते** ॥

अतो लोपः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, लोपः, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धिर्षीर्षाभ्यामतो 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 **चिनुतः** and **कृणुतः** from the roots **चिन्** and **कृण्व्** thus, **चिन् + उ** (III. 1. 80) = **चिन् + अ + उ** (III, 1. 80) = **चिन् + उ** (**अ** being elided before the **ârdhâtuka** **उ**) = **चिनु**, the 3rd Personal dual of it is **चिनुतः** ॥ 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 **sthânavat**, prevents **guṇa** of **चि** ॥ So also **कृणुतः** ॥ See sūtra III. 1. 80. Why do we say "the **अ** is elided"? Observe **चेता**, **ज्ञोता** here **इ** and **उ** have not been elided. Why do we say "अतः with a **त्**"? The long **आ** will not be elided : as **जाता**, **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** ॥

Vârt:—The elision of such **अ** takes place even to the supersession of the subsequent rules relating to **Vṛiddhi** and lengthening. As **चिकीर्षकः**, **जिहीर्षकः**, **चिकीर्ष्यते** and **जिहीर्ष्यते** ॥

यस्य हलः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, हलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य 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 **बेभ्रिदिता**, **बेभ्रिटुम्**, **बेभ्रितव्यम्** from the Intensive stem **बेभ्रिद्य** ॥ In the sūtra **यस्य** is given, which is the Genitive singular of **य** namely of the letters **य् अ** ॥ By the rule of **अलोऽन्त्यस्य** (I. 1. 52), the **अ** of **य** ought to be elided

and not **ञ** ; but that rule is evidently inapplicable here, since the elision of **ञ** would have taken place by the preceding rule : the present rule therefore teaches the elision of **य** (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 **ञ** ॥ Why have we taken [the two letters (संचाल) conjointly viz.] **ञ** and not **ञ्** ? Observe **इंद्रियता**, **मन्दिता**, **शुच्यता** from the simple roots **इन्द्रि**, **मन्द्**, and **शुच्** ॥ Here **ञ** not being followed by **ञ**, is not elided (see Bhvadi 541—546). Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant ?' Observe **लोलुपिता**, **पोषुयिता** ॥

क्यस्य विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यस्य, विभाषा, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यस्य हल उचरस्व विभाषा लोपो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ।

50. The elision of **य** 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 **क्यह्** ॥ Thus **समिधिता** or **समिधिता**, **रूपयिता** or **रूपयिता** meaning **समिधमात्मन इच्छति** or **समिध इवाचरति** &c.

णेरनिदि ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, अनिदि, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिदिशावार्द्धधातुके 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 **य**, the *guṇa*, *Vṛiddhi* and the long substitutions. Thus **अततकान्**, **अररकान्**, **आधिसान्**, **आडिट्**, **कारणा**, **हारणा**, **कारकः**, **हारकः**, **कार्यते**, **हार्यते** and **झीप्सति** (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 सेदि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्, सेदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायां सेदि परतो णेलोपो भवति ।

52. The affix **णि** is elided before the affixes **क्** and **क्चतु** when these take the augment **इद्** ॥

Thus **कारितक्**, **हारितक्**, **गणितक्**, **लक्षितक्** ॥ Why do we say "before an *ardhadhâtuka* 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 *Nishṭhâ*. 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 *Nishṭhâ*, and so it is useless to use the word **सेदि** in the *sûtra*. The word **सेदि** in the *sûtra* 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 clide इद् *first*. For ज्ञपितः see also VII. 2. 27.

जनिता मन्त्रे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनिता, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनितेति मन्त्रविषये इडादौ णिलोपो निपात्यते ।

53. In a Mantra, the word जनिता is formed irregularly by the elision of णि before the affix वृ 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 ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि शमितेति इडादौ णिलोपो निपात्यते ।

54. शमिता is formed irregularly by the elision of णि before an इद् augmented affix, when meaning a sacrificial act.

Thus वृत्तं इतिः शमितः ॥ It is formed by वृच् and is in the Vocative case. Why do we say 'when referring to a sacrificial act'? See वृत्तं इतिः शमितः ॥ See Śatpatha Br. III. 8. 3, 4 and 5.

अयामन्ताल्वाय्येतन्विष्णुषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अय, आम्-अन्त-आलु-आय्य-इत्नु-इष्णुषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम् अन्त आलु आय्य इत्नु इष्णु इत्येतेषु परतो णेर्यादेशो भवति ।

55. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the affixes आम्, अन्त, आलु, आय्य, इत्नु, and इष्णु ॥

Thus कारयां चकार, हारयां चकार, गण्डयन्तः, मण्डयन्तः (formed by the UṇĀdi affix ह्यच्, ह्य = अन्त, added to the roots गण्ड and मण्ड) आलु । स्पृहयालुः । भाव्य, स्पृहयाव्यः, गृहयाव्यः ॥ इत्नुः—स्तनायत्नुः ॥ इष्णुः—पोषयिष्णुः ॥ Thus sūtra could have been well dispensed with; for the इ of णि would take guṇa ए which will be changed to अच् by the rules of Sandhi, before these affixes. This substitution of अच् for इ is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra however, because there इ could not be changed to अच् by any sandhi-rules.

ल्यपि लघुपूर्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्यपि, लघु पूर्वात् (णेः अय ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि परतो लघुपूर्वादुत्तरस्य णेर्यादेशो भवति ।

56. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the Absolute affix ल्यप्, when the vowel preceding the इ is light.

Thus प्रथमद्य गतः, संवमद्य गतः, प्रवेभिद्य, प्रगजद्य ॥ But प्रपात्य गतः the vowel preceding the इ being long. Here VI. 4. 51 applies. The shortening, the

elision of **व** and the elision of **अ** should not be considered as asiddha, as their place of operation is not the same. Thus **दाव् + 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 **वेमिच** is the Intensive root, its **व** 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 Dhātupāṭha Churadi 309), is not considered as asiddha for similar reasons.

विभाषा, ऽऽपः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आपः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आप उत्तरस्य जेल्थपि परतो विभाषा ऽयादेशो भवति ॥

57. **अय्** is optionally substituted for the **इ** of **णि** before the affix **ल्यप्**, after the verb **आप्** ॥

Thus **प्रापव्य** or **प्राप्य गतः** ॥ This however does not apply to the **आप्** substitute for **इह**, as **अप्याप्य गतः** (VI. 1. 48, VII. 3. 36). The maxim of Prati-padokta applies here.

युप्लुवोर्दीर्घेच्छन्दसि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-प्लुवोः, दीर्घः, छन्दसि, (ल्यपि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यु प्लुवस्येतयोर्ल्यपि परतच्छन्दसि विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

58. In **यु** and **प्लु**, long is substituted for **उ**, before **ल्यप्** in the Veda.

Thus **दान्यनुपूर्वे विद्युय** ; **यथा यो इक्षिणा परिप्लुय** ॥ Why do we say 'in the Chhandas' ? Observe **संयुत्य**, **आप्लुत्य** in the secular literature.

क्षियः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, (दीर्घः ल्यपि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियञ् 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 ताभ्यामन्यञ् वा निष्ठा तस्यां क्षियो दीर्घो भवति ।

60. A long is substituted for the **इ** of **क्षि** before the Participle in **क्**, when it has not the sense of the future Passive Participle in **ण्यत्** ॥

The force of **ण्यत्** is to denote condition (Impersonal action) and object (passive). When the Past Participle has not the force of **ण्यत्**, the vowel of **क्षि** is lengthened. Thus **आक्षीणः**, **प्रक्षीणः**, **परिक्षीणः** all used in the active sense. The **क्** is added to the Intransitive **क्षि** to denote the agent (III. 4. 72). Thus **प्रक्षीणमिदं देवदत्तस्य** 'this is the spot where Devadatta perished'. Here **क्** is used with a Locative force (III. 4. 76). Why do we say 'not having the force of

ण्यत् ?' Observe अक्षितमसिमानेक्षेत्राः ॥ 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 निष्ठाषामण्यस्ये वा हीनो 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 ण्यत्, when the word means 'imprecation' or 'a miserable plight'.

Thus क्शितायुरेधि or क्षीणायुरेधि, क्तितकः or क्षीणकः, क्तितोयं तपस्वी, क्षीणोऽयं तपस्वी ॥ When not having the sense of cursing or miserable condition, we have one form only, as क्षीणघ्नन्ः ॥

स्यसिच्सीयुट्तासिषु भावकर्मणोरुपदेश ऽऽज्ञानग्रहदशां वा चिण्वदिट् च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-सिच्-सीयुट्-तासि, भाव-कर्मणोः, उपदेशे, अच्-हन्-ग्रह-दशाभ्य, वा, चिण्वत्, इट्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्व सिच् सीयुट् तासि इत्येतेषु भावकर्मविषयेषु परत उपदेशे ऽऽज्ञानानामङ्गानां हन् ग्रह इण् इत्येतेषां च चिण्वत्कार्ये भवति वा । अत्र 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) ग्रह् and (4) इण् 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 स्व, 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 हन्तेषु घस्वं
दीर्घञ्चोक्तो यो मित्तां वा चिणीति ।
इट् चासिद्धस्तेन मे लुप्यते जि-
र्मित्यभायं बलनिमित्तोऽविघाती ॥

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 इ

(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 Dhātūpāṭha with the affix स्य as, चिः—चायिष्यत or चेष्यते, भचायिष्यत or भचेष्यत ॥ So also with हा, as, हायिष्यते or हास्यते, भहायिष्यत or भहास्यत ॥

In णि there are three forms, the two णामिष्यते or णामिष्यते, भणामिष्यत and भणामिष्यत 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 णच् being a root of मित् class, the ण is lengthened optionally by VI. 4. 93. The forms णामिष्यते and भणामिष्यत are given when not treated as णिच्, the causative is retained, the penultimate being shortened by VI. 4. 92. With the affix सिच्—भचायिषाताम् or भचेषाताम्, भहायिषाताम्, or भहाेषाताम्, or भहायिषाताम् and भहामिषाताम् or भहामिषाताम् ॥ With the affix लीयुद्—चायिषीट् or चेषीट्, हायिषीट् or हासीट् and णामिषीट् or णामिषीट् ॥ With the affix लीसिः—चायिता or चैता, हायिता or हाता, णामिता or णामिता ॥ The णिच् aorist model of these roots is भचायि, भहायि (VII. 3. 33), and भणामि (VII. 3. 34) or भहामि (VI. 4. 93).

(2) इच् :—Fut. चानिष्यते or हनिष्यते; Con. भचानिष्यत or भहानिष्यत, Aor. भचानिषाताम् or भहायिषाताम् and भहसाताम् (II. 4. 44); Ben चानिषीट् or हनिषीट्; Per. Fut. चामिता or हन्ता ॥ The णिच् model is भचानि ॥

(3) मर्हः—Fut. माहिष्यते or महीष्यते Con. भमाहिष्यत or भमहीष्यत; Aor. भमाहिषाताम् or भमहीषाताम् (भमहिषाताम्)?; Ben. माहिषीट् or (महिषीट्)? महीषीट्, Per. Fut. माहिता or महिता ॥ The lengthening of ही takes place by VII. 2. 37. The णिच् model is भमाहि ॥

(4) इश्ः—Fut. र्शिष्यते or र्श्च्यते, Con. भर्शिष्यत or भर्श्च्यत; Aor. भर्शिषाताम् or भर्श्साताम्; Ben र्शिषीट् or र्श्शीट्; Per. Fut. र्शिषिता or र्श्चिता (र्श्चिता)? ॥ The णिच् model is भर्शिषि ॥

Why do we say before स्य &c? Observe चेतस्यम्, हातस्यम् ॥ Why in the Impersonal and Passive? Observe चेष्यते and हास्यते ॥ 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 इन् and इङ् and इण् ॥ Thus हानिष्यते, चानिष्यते, एष्यते or भायिष्यते, भध्येष्यते or भध्यायिष्यते ॥ The substitutes वध or गा (II. 4. 42, 43, 45, 50) do not come according to the Kāśikā, when these roots are treated as णिच् ॥

दीङो युङ्चि कृङिति ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीङः, युङ्, अचि, कृङिति ॥
वृत्तेः ॥ दीङोयुङागमो भवति भजादौ कृङिति प्रत्यय परतः ॥

63. युद् is the augment after दीङ्, of an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus उपदिशिषे, उपदिशिषाते and उपदिशिषिरे ॥ The Personal ending is कित् 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 ङ्? Observe उपशानम् ॥

आतो लोप इति च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, लोपः, इति, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडाशवार्षधातुके कृत्ति आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य लोपो भवति ॥

64. The final आ of a root is elided before an ārdhadhātuka affix with the augment इद् as well as when it begins with a vowel and has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus पपिय and तस्यिय ॥ Here the affix has the इद् augment. पपत्, पपुः, तस्यत्, तस्युः ॥ Here the affixes are कित् by I. 2. 5 गोर्, कम्बलर् with the affix क (III. 2. 3). So also प्रश (fem), प्रधा (fem) by अङ् III. 3. 106. Before Sārvadhātuka affixes, we have वान्ति, वान्ति, व्यत्ये and व्यत्ये ॥ The two latter are the Imperfect 1st Pers. Sing. Atm. of व and ला with the affix इ (इद्). When it does not begin with a vowel, we have ग्लाबते, हासीब ॥

ईद्यति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकार आदेशो भवति आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य इति परतः ॥

65. The final आ of a stem is changed into ई before the Kṛit-affix यत् ॥

Thus देवम्, धेयम्, हेयम्, and स्तेवम् ॥ The Guṇa takes place according to VII. 3. 84.

घुमास्वागापाजहातिसां हलि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ घु, मा, स्वा, गा, पा, जहाति साम, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानां मा स्या गा पा जहाति सा इत्येतेषां हलादौ कृत्ति 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, स्वा, गा, पा, हा (जहाति) and सा (सो), there is substituted ई before an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus दीयते, धीयते with अक्, देरीयते, देपीयते with अङ् ॥ So also मीयते मेमीयते स्पीयते, तेष्ठीयते, गीयते, जेगीयते, अघ्यगीट, अघ्यगीषाताम्, अघ्यगीषत्, पीयते, पेपीयते, हीयते, जेहीयते, अघसीयते, अघसेरीयते ॥

The पा 'to protect' of Adadi (47) is not meant here. be come the

vikarana षच् is elided in roots of that class. Its form will be पायते. It is Bhvādi वा 'to drink' that is taken here. So also हा-चिहीते is not to be taken here. Its form is हायते ॥

Why do we say 'before a consonant'? Observe हवतुः, हतुः ॥ 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 अतु. ० उत् ; 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-ङित् affixes.

पङ्क्तिः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, लिङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुमास्यागापाजहातिसाम्नां लिङि परत एकारादेशो भवति ॥

67. ए is substituted for the आ of the above roots in the Benedictive mood Active.

Thus वेयात्, मेयात्, धेयात्, स्येयात्, गेयात्, पेयात् and भवसेयात् ॥ Before non-कित् and non-ङित् we have हासीष्ट 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.

घा ऽन्यस्य संयोगादेः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घा, अन्यस्य-संयोग, आदेः, (लिङि) (आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्रादिभ्यो ऽन्यस्य संयोगादेराकारान्तस्य वा एकारादेशो 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 म्लेयात् or म्लयात्, म्लेयात् or म्लयात्, but only स्येयात् (VI. 4. 66), and आयात् (not commencing with a double consonant). The phrase क्किति is understood here and therefore the rule applies to Parasmaepada affixes (III. 4. 104). Thus म्लासीष्ट in Atmanepada. The root considered as an aṅga, should consist of a double consonant, therefore in निर्वायात् (from निर् + वा), र् is not to be considered as a root having a double consonant, for र् is no part of the aṅga, but of the preposition.

न ल्यपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल्यपि, घुमास्यागापाजहातिसाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि प्रत्यये परतो घुनास्यागापाजहातिसां 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 प्रहाय, प्रधाय, प्रमाय, प्रस्थाय, प्रगाय, प्रपाय, प्रहाय and अवसाय ॥ The affix ल्यप् as the substitute of क्त्वा, is a कित् affix by I. 1. 56.

मयतेरिद्विन्यतरस्यां ॥ 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 अपमद्य ॥

लुङ्लङ्लङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, लङ्, लङ् क्षु, अट्, उदात्तः (अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङ् लङ् लङ् इत्येतेषु परतोङ्स्याङागमो 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, अहरिष्यत् ॥

आङ्जादीनाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, अच्-आदीनाम्, (उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आङागमो भवत्यजादीनां लुङ्लङ्लङ्क्षु 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 ॥ ऐहित्, ऐहत and ऐहिष्य औम्भीत्, औम्भत्, and औम्भिष्यत् ॥ The Vriddhi takes place by VI. 1. 90.

The Passive Imperfect (लङ्) of यञ्, वप् and वन्न are ऐज्यत्, औप्यत् 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, उप्यत्, 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 vikarṇa 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 प्राप्तुवन् 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 इदयते ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अपि, इदयते, आद् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये आडागमा इदयते । यत्र हि विहितस्तोन्यथापि इदयते ।

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 भावः, भानक्, and भायुनक् ॥ भावः is the Aorist of वृम्, the affix being elided by II. 4. 80. भानक् from नष् (II. 4. 80), and भायुनक् is the Imperfect of शुम् ॥

न माङ्योगे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, माङ्, योगे (लुङ् लङ् लृङ्क्षु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्योगे 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, या स्व हरत्, मा भवानीहिष्टा, भवानीहिष्ट, मा स्म भवानीहत, मा स्म भवानीहत ॥

बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्योगे ऽपि ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, अ माङ् योगे, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माङ्योगे ऽपि बहुलमाडादौ 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 जनिष्ठा उग्रः (Rig X. 73. 1), काममूनवीत् (Rig I. 53. 3) and काममर्षीत्; the augment is not added though there is no मा ॥ In मा वः क्षेत्रे परर्षीजान्यवाप्सुः, मा अभित्याः, मा भावः, the augment is not elided, though the particle मा is added.

हरयो रे ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरयोः, रे, (बहुलंछन्दसि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हरे इत्येतस्य छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रे इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

76. रे is diversely substituted for हरे in the Veda.

Thus कं स्विर्भं प्रयमं दध्ने भापः (Rig X. 82. 5) या स्व परिदध्ने ॥ In दध्ने, the भा of धा is elided before the affix हरे by VI. 4. 64, the रे substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of the elision of भा ॥ Sometimes the substitution does not take place, as परमाया धियोग्निर्माणि चक्रिरे ॥ Here इद् augment is first added to रे after the सेद् roots and the affix thus becomes हरे, then रे is substituted again for this हरे by this sūtra, thus the affix is brought back to its original condition. To show this repetition—रे—हरे—रे the sūtra has exhibited the word हरयोः in the dual number.

अचि इनुधातु भ्रुवां खोरियङ्कुवङ्गो ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, इनु, धातु, भ्रुवाम्, ख्वोः, इयङ्, उवङ्गो, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋप्रत्ययान्तस्याङ्गस्य धातोर्निवर्णान्तस्य ऋ इत्येतस्य इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशौ भवतो ऽपि परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इयङ् उवङ् प्रकरणे तन्वासीनां छन्दसि बहुलमुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

77. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of उ, 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 झ, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

Thus आप्नुवन्ति, राध्नुवन्ति, शक्रुवन्ति, from roots of the 5th class. चिसियतुः
लुलुवतुः, ह लुः, नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, लुवः and भुवौ and भुवः ॥

Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe आप्नुयान्, राध्नुयान्, शक्रुयान् ॥ Why "of ऋ &c."? Observe लक्ष्ये, लक्ष्याः, वक्ष्ये, वक्ष्याः ॥ Why "of इ and उ"? Observe चक्रतुः, चक्रुः where the vowel is ऋ ॥

Vart.—The Guṇa (VII. 3. 84) and Vṛddhi (VII. 2. 115) however take place to the supersession of इयङ् and उवङ् : as from चि—चयनम् and चायकः, लू—लवनम् and लावकः, with स्युद् and ण्वुल् ॥

Vart.—In the Chhandas there is deversely the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in the case of तन् &c. Thus तन्त्वं पुषेम or तनुवं पुषेम ॥ विषुवं पुषेम, स्वर्गो लोकः, सुवर्गो लोकः, त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे, त्रियम्बकं यजामहे ॥

अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे ॥७८॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासस्य, अ, सवर्णे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्यैवर्णोवर्णान्तस्यासवर्णे ऽपि 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, उवेष, इयत्ति, (VII. 4. 77) but ईषतुः and ईषुः ऊषतुः and ऊषुः before homogenous vowels and इयाय and उवाय before a non-vowel.

स्त्रियाः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, (अचि इयङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीइत्यतस्याजाशौ प्रत्यये परतः इयङ् इत्येतावदेशौ 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 ऽमशसोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अम्, शसोः (इयङ् स्त्रियाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमि शसि परतः स्त्रिया वा उयङ् इत्येतावदेशौ 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, (अङ्गस्य अचि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणोङ्गस्य यणादेशौ भवति अचि परतः ॥

81. For the **इ** of the root **इष्** (**पति**) is substituted a semivowel (**य**), before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus **यन्ति**, **यन्तु**, **भायन्** ॥ 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 पूर्वात् विधीन् बाधन्ते, नोत्तरात्** ॥ “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 **भायकः** ॥

परनेकाचो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अनेकाचः, अ संयोगपूर्वस्य, (घातोः अर्चिं प्रत्यये) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरेवयवः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्माद्विर्णाम् भवति असावसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचोऽपि परतो यणारेणो 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 **घातोः** 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 **नित्युः**, **नित्युः**, **उन्वी**, **उन्व्यः**, **भामण्यौ**, **भामण्यः** ॥ All the above examples are of the soot **नी** preceded by the **gati** prepositions **नि** and **उत्**, or a **Kāraka-upapada भाम** ॥ 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 **लुलुवतुः** and **लुलुवः** from **लुलू** 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 **यवकी** d. **यवक्रियौ** pl. **यवक्रियः** by **इयङ्** ॥ Why do we say “forming part of the root”? So that the rule may apply to **उम्नी** 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 **उन्वी** and **उन्व्यः** ॥ 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, (यष्, घातोः, असंयोगपूर्वस्य, अनेकाचः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्ववयवः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्मादुवर्णाम् भवति तदन्तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचो ऽजासौ सुपि परतो यणारेणो भवति ॥

83. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel **च्** 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. खलू, pl. खलू; so also घतस्वौ and घतस्वः, and सकृलू: dual सकृलू and सकृलू. But ललुवतु: and ललुवः before tense-affixes, (non—सुप्); लू—लुवां, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only), and कटपू—कटपुवौ, कटपुवः (because क 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 Kāraka word: as परमलू:—परमलुवौ and परमलुवः ॥

वर्षाश्वश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षा श्वः, च, अचि सुपि यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाश्व इत्येतस्याजासौ सुपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुनर्भवेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

84. व् is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभू, 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 हन्, कार and पुनर् precede भू; as हन्वौ, हन्वः, पुनर्भौ, पुनर्भवः, कारभौ (काराभौ), 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 प्रतिशु—प्रतिशुवौ, प्रतिशुवः; 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 विश्वन्, विश्ववन्, सुभ्यः and सुधियः; वनेषु विश्वं विश्वं विशो, विशो विश्ववन्, सुभ्यो हव्यमग्नेः सुधियो हव्यमग्ने ॥

हुशुवोः सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हुशुवोः, सार्वधातुके, अङ्गस्य, अने-

काचः, असंयोग, पूर्वस्य, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य अनुप्रत्ययान्तस्यानेकाचो संयोगपूर्वस्याजासौ सार्वधातुके परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

87. The semi-vowel व् is substituted for the उ of हु, and for that of जु (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 ङ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

Thus हु—शुहति, शुहतु; अशुहन्, so also with सु—as सुन्वन्ति, सुन्वन्तु, असुन्वन् ॥ Why do we say “of हु and श्नु 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 (jnâpaka) of this aphorism, for no counter-example can be formed of a root consisting of more than one syllable and ending in ङ, 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 शुहवतुः, शुहवुः (VI. 4. 77). So also not in आप्नुवन्ति and सप्नुवन्ति as the ङ is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

भ्रुवो बुग्लुङ्लिटोः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रुवः, बुक्, लुङ्, लिटोः, अचि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रुवो बुगागमो भवति लुङि लिटि चाञ्जसौ परतः ॥

88. भू gets the augment व् (बुक्) 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 ङङ्गस्य उपधाया ऊकारादेशो भवति अञ्जसौ 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 व्रतते ॥ 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, निशुगुहतुः, निशुगुहः ॥ This change will not take place before the affixes beginning with a consonant; as निगोवा, निगोवुम् ॥ Some say, the word is exhibited as गोह् in order to prohibit the अय् substitution of णि before ल्यप् ॥ As निग्राहि + 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 वृषयति, वृषयतः, वृषयन्ति ॥ Similar reasons as in गौह, may be given for the root वृष 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 दोष 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 वृषयति or दोषयति ॥ Otherwise साधनं वृषयति when mental agitation is not meant.

मितां ह्रस्वः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिताम्, ह्रस्वः, णौ, उपधायाः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मितो धातवो घदास्यो मित इत्यवमादयो ये प्रतिपादितारस्तेषामुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति णौ परतः ॥

92. The roots having an indicatory म्, retain their penultimate short vowel before the causative णि ॥

The मित् roots are घदादि a subdivision of Bhwādi (800 to 873), and all other roots that end in अम् as क्षम् and तम् of Divādi class. Thus घटयति, व्यययति, जनयति, रजयति, क्षमयति, क्षपयति ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra into this. This will then be a limited option only (vyavasthita-vibhāṣā). 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 ॥ चिष्, णमुलोः, दीर्घः, अन्य-
तरस्याम्, णौ, मितः उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिष्परे णमुल्परं च णौ परतो मितामङ्गानामुपधाया दीर्घो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Thus अक्षामि or अक्षामि, भक्षामि or भक्षामि with चिष्; and क्षमक्षामम्, and क्षामक्षामं ; क्षमंक्षामम् or क्षामंक्षामम् 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 अक्षामि and in the other alternative we have अक्षामि, 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 क्षमयन्तं प्रयुङ्क्ते, there would not be lengthening in the alternative. Because the lopa substitute of णि would be sthānivat : therefore, the णि which would be followed by

चिन् or जङुल्, would not have in it the चिन्् anga, because the first चिन्् intervenes between the लङ् anga and the चिन्् and जङुल् affix, and that चिन्् which is preceded by a लङ् anga is not followed by चिन्् and जङुल्, because the second चिन्् (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 चिन्् 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 चिन्् 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 च्च, which will be च्चानि by the last sūtra. Take its Intensive with च्च, च्चानि + च्च which causes doubling by VI. 1. 9 = च्चानि च्चानि + च्च = च्चानि + च्च (VII. 4. 60) = च्च च्चानि + च्च (बुक् or nasal being added to the abhyāsa by VII. 4. 85) = च्चानि + च्च = च्चान् + च्च (VI. 4. 51) = च्चान्च. Add चिन्् to this i.e. make the causative of the Intensive. च्चान्च + च्च + इ ॥ Then the च्च of च्च is elided by VI. 4. 48 = च्चान्च + च्च + इ. Then च्च is elided by VI. 4. 49 = च्चान्च + इ = च्चानि ॥ This च्चानि is the causative root of the Intensive of the causative च्च ॥ Now add चिन्् or जङुल् to this root; and we get two forms short and long अच्चानि or अच्चानि with चिन्् and अच्चान्च or अच्चान्च with जङुल् ॥ The long forms could not have been obtained had this not been a दीर्घविधि, for then the lopa-adesā of चिन्् being sthānivat would have prevented the application of दीर्घ ॥ The roots च्च and लृ (both Divādi) ending in च्च do not ever lengthen the root vowel before चिन्् and जङुल् by VII. 3. 34. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to the simple roots. The derivative causative roots of these, namely, च्चानि - च्चान्चति, च्चानि - लृचति, optionally lengthen the penultimate before these affixes. Thus च्चानि + चिन्् = च्चान्च + चिन्् (the इ of च्चि being elided by VI. 4. 51) = च्चानि or च्चानि (with the augment अ = अच्चानि or अच्चानि) ॥ 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 च्चान्चन्त् प्रयुञ्जते 'he causes another to make quiet,' we add चिन्् (the Causative sign.), to the Causative root च्चानि, as च्चानि + चिन्् = च्चान्च + इ (VI. 4. 51) = च्चानि, the lopa-adesā here is not sthānivat for the purposes of *lengthening* (दीर्घविधि) the च्च of च्चान्च (I. 1. 58) ॥ From this च्चानि with चिन्् we get अच्चानि, and with जङुल् we get अच्चान्च ॥ But we cannot get the short forms, by taking the other alternative, as the lopa-adesā will then be sthānivat. Hence the necessity of the word दीर्घ in the sūtra. Thus the चिन्् and जङुल् forms of the Causative of the Causative (i. e. the double Causative) of च्चान्च are अच्चानि or अच्चानि; च्चान्चान्च or च्चान्चान्च and from the form च्चान्चति, we have अच्चानि or अच्चानि, च्चान्चान्चान्च or च्चान्चान्चान्च-

शाम् ॥ 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.

सञ्चि ह्रस्वः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सञ्चि, ह्रस्वः, (उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सञ्चि परतो ह्रस्वो भवत्यङ्गस्योपधायाः ॥

94. The penultimate of the Causative stem is shortened before the affix सञ्चि ॥

Thus द्विषन्तपः, परंतपः, पुरंतपः ॥ 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 क्वत् ॥

Thus प्रहृषः, प्रहृषवान्, but प्रहृषयति before non-nishṭhā. The rule applies also when क्तिन् follows as प्रहृत्तिः ॥ This is done by splitting up the aphorism into two (1) ह्रादः (2) निष्ठायाम् ॥

छादेर्धे ऽद्वयुपसर्गस्य ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छादेः, धे, अ द्वयुपसर्गस्य, (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छादेरङ्गस्याद्वयुपसर्गस्य धप्रत्यये परत उपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अद्विप्रभ्युपसर्गस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

96. The penultimate of the Churādi छद् is shortened before the affix घ (III. 3. 118), when not preceded by two prepositions (or more).

As उरवच्छदः, प्रच्छदः, वन्तच्छदः ॥ But सद्युपच्छादः with two prepositions. The same when preceded by more than two prepositions, as सद्युपातिच्छादः ॥ 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 किषु इत्येतेषु परतच्छादेरुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ।

97. The penultimate of छादि is shortened before the affixes इस्, मन्, त्रन् and कि ॥

Thus छदिस्, छदमन् (neuter), छदन्, धामच्छन् and उपच्छन् ॥ The first three are Uṇādi affixes.

गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः कृत्तित्यनङि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम, हन, जन, खन, घसाम्, लोपः, कृत्तिति धनङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन जन खन घस इत्येतेषामङ्गानाद्युपधाया लोपो भवत्यङ्गस्य प्रत्यये कृत्तित्यनङि 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 indicatory क् or ऊ्; but not before the Aorist affix अङ् ॥

Thus जग्मतुः, जग्मुः, जग्नतुः, जग्नुः, जज्ञे, जज्ञाते, जज्ञिरे, चखनतुः, चखनुः, जघतुः, जग्मुः, अक्षप्रमीमदन्तापितरः, ॥ किङ्कतीकिम्, गमनम्, हननम्, ॥ अनङ्गीतिकिम्, भगवन्, भवसन्, ॥ भचीत्येव, गम्यते, हन्यते ॥

Why 'having indicatory क् or ऊ्'? See गमनम्, हननम् ॥ Why 'not अङ्, ? See भगवन्, भवसन् ॥ Why 'beginning with a vowel, ? See गम्यते and हन्यते ॥

तनिपत्योश्छन्दसि ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनि, पत्योः, छन्दसि, (क्ङिति उपधायाः लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनि पति इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि उपधाया लोपो भवति अत्राशौ किङ्किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

99. In the Chhandas, the root-vowel of तन् and पञ्च is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicatory क् or ऊ् ॥

As वितानिरे कवयः, शकुना इव पतिमः ॥ In secular language वितेनिरे, पेनिम् ॥

घसिभसोर्हलि च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ घसि, भसोः, हलि, च, (अचि क्ङिति) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घसि भस इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि उपधाया लोपो भवति हलाशवजाशौ 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 indicatory क् or ऊ् ॥

Thus सग्धिष्ये सपीतिष्ये, बध्धांते ही 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 बध्धाम् is the Imperative of भस्, thus भस् + लु + ताम् = भ भस् + ताम् = ब् भस् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = ब्भ् + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = ब्भ् + धाम् = ब्भ्धाम् ॥ 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 बप्सति = भस् + ष् + ति = ब्भ् + ष् + ति (VII. 1. 4) = बप्सति (VIII. 4. 55).

Why having an indicatory क् or ऊ्? Observe अङ्गन् बभस्ति ॥ The अ has been added into the aphorism by the Vārtikakāra.

हुस्रल्भ्यो हेर्धिः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु-स्रल्भ्योः, हेः, धिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्माद् ह्रलन्तेभ्यश्चोत्तरस्य हलादेशः 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 **इ**—**इहृधि**; **इत्** consonants; **भिद्**—**भिन्दि**, **छिद्**—**छिन्दि** ॥ But **भीणीहि**, **भीणीहि** (VI. 4. 113) not ending in consonants. Why 'हि only'? Observe **शुहुताम्** ॥ 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 **हसिहि**, **स्वपिहि** ॥ In the case of **शुहुतान्**, **भिन्नात्**, when **हि** is replaced by **तान्** (VII. 1. 35) this substitution does not take place because **तान्** is a later rule in the order of *Ashtādhyāyī*, and because **सकृत्तौ विप्रतिषेधे बह्वाधितं तथाधितं च** "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 **भकच्** is added by V. 3. 71, **धि** substitution takes place, as **भिन्नाकि**, **छिन्नाकि** ॥ The maxim **पुनः प्रसङ्गं 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.'

भृशृणुपृकृवृभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृ-शृणु-पृ-कृ-वृ-भ्यः, छन्दसि, हेहिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ शृणु पृ कृ वृ इत्येतेभ्य उतरस्य हेङिर्गणेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

102. **धि** is substituted for **हि** in the Vedas, after **भृ, शृणु, पृ, कृ** and **वृ** ॥

As **भृधी इविभिन्द्, शृणुधी, गिरः, पूर्धि, उरुकुदुरुणस्क धि** and **भवावृधि**, ॥

In **शृणुधी**, the **हि** is not elided after the **उ** of **शृ** 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; **वृप्** being added *diversely* by III. 1. 85, and then elided *diversely* by **बहुलं छन्दसि** II. 4. 73

अङितश्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्-इतः, च, हेहिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङितश्च हेङिरविशो भवति ॥

103. **धि** is substituted for **हि**, when the tense-affix is not **ङित्** ॥

Under III. 4. 88 **हि** is also **पित्** in the Vedas: and when it is **पित्**, it is not **ङित्** by I. 2. 4. Thus **रारन्धि**, **यन्धि** and **युयोधि** in the following **सोमरारन्धि** **अस्मभ्यं सङ्गयन्धि** **प्रयन्धि**, **युयोध्यस्मञ्ज शुहुराणमेनः**

Why do we say 'when it is not **ङित्**'? Observe **भीणीहि** ॥ **रारन्धि** is irregularly *Parasmaipada* of **रव**; the **व** being replaced by **इलु**, and the reduplicate lengthened as a Vedic form. The **वृ** is not elided, by VI. 4. 37 as the affix is not **ङित्** ॥ **प्रयान्धि** is from **यन**, the **वृप्** is elided: and **युयोधि** from **यु** (**योति**), the **वृप्** being replaced by **इलु** ॥

चिणो लुक् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिणः, लुक्, प्रत्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण उतरस्य प्रत्ययस्य वृभवति ॥

104. The personal-endings are elided after चिष्, the third person, singular Passive of the Aorist.

As अशारि, अलांदि, अकारि, अपाचि ॥ So also अकारितपम्, अशारितपाम्, here the elision of the personal affix त् (III. 1. 60) of the Aorist being considered as *asiddha*, the affixes तप् 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 क्तिन् is understood here; so that क्तिन् and क्तिन् affixes of चिष् are elided and not every affix.

अतो हेः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हेः, अङ्गस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताङ्गादुत्तरस्य हेर्लुग्भवति ॥

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 इ. 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 मा ॥

उतश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, च, प्रत्ययात्, असंयोग पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारो योऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तन्नाल्पस्वयादुत्तरस्य हेर्लुग्भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ उतश्च प्रत्ययारिस्त्वच्च छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यं ॥

106 The Imperative हि is elided after the उ of an affix, in the vikarāṇa 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 हु ॥ Thus चिनु, सुनु, कुह ॥ Why after 'उ'? Observe लुनीहि, पुनीहि ॥ Why do we say "उ being part of the vikarāṇa or affix"? Observe रुहि, युहि, here उ is part of the *root* itself, and not of the vikarāṇa. Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant,? Observe प्राप्नुहि, राप्नुहि, तश्नुहि ॥

VArt:—The elision of हि after the उ of the vikarāṇa उ and हु is optional in the Vedas; as आत्तनुहि यातुभानान्, धिनुहि यज्ञपतिम्, तेन मा भागिनं कृणुहि ॥

लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां म्वोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, म्वोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयपुकारोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तन्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यान्यतरस्यां लोपो भवति ॥

107. The उ of the vikarāṇa उ and हु, where not preceded by a conjunct consonant, may be elided optionally before a personal ending beginning with म् or च् ॥

Thus सुन्वः or सुनुवः, सुन्मः, सुनुमः, तन्वः, तनुवः, तन्मः, तनुमः ॥ The उ must be-

long to the affix, and should not be part of the root. Therefore not in युवः, पुनः ॥

Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe वाक्नुवः, वाक्पुनः 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, व्लु 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 पुनः &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 व् and म् in the case of कृ (करोति).

Thus कुर्वः and कुर्मः ॥ Thus कृ+उ+वः=कुर+उ+वः (VI. 4. 110)=कृ+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 ॥ वकारादौ 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 कुर्यात्, 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, कृडिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारप्रत्ययान्तस्य करोतेरकारस्य स्थाने उकार आदेशो भवति सार्वधातुके कृडिति परतः ।

110. Before a Sârvadhâtuka affix with an indicative क् or क्, short उ is substituted for the अ of कृ (कृ+उ) when gunated.

Thus कृ+उ+तस्=कृ+उ+तस् (VII. 3. 84)=कृ+उ+तस्=कुरुतः (VI. 4. 110) The तस् is ङिन् by I. 2. 4. So also कुरुन्ति, करु ॥ Why do we say 'before a Sârvadhâtuka'? So that the rule may apply to what was once a Sârvadhâtuka, though no longer existent. Thus कुरु where the personal ending ङि is elided, but it leaves its effect behind. The त् in कुरुन्ति shows that this उ is not to be gunated by VII. 3. 86. When the affix is not क्रिन् or ङिन् we have करोति, करोषि and कराम (I. 2. 4).

इनसोरल्लोपः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन-असोः, अन्-लोपः, सार्वधातुके कृडिति ॥

वृत्तिः । अस्यास्तथाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कृडिति परतः ।

111. Before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or ङिन् affix, the अ of अ and अस् is elided.

इन् is the characteristic of the roots of the Rudhâdi class, while अस् is the root itself. Thus रुन्धः; रुन्धति, भिन्तः, भिन्न्ति; So also of अस्—स्तः, सन्ति ॥ But भिनभि and अस्ति before non—किन् and non—ङिन् affixes. इन् + अस् ought to be इनास्, instead of that we have इन्स् in the sūtra. The पररूप single substitution is an irregularity.

इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इना-अभ्यस्तयोः, आतः, लोपः सार्वधातुके कङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ इत्येतत्स्वाभ्यस्तानां चाङ्गानामाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कङिति परतः ।

112. Before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or ङिन् 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; निमते, निमताम्, अमिमत, संजिहते, संजिहताम् and समजिहत ॥ Why do we say 'of इना and the reduplicates'? Observe वान्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why 'of long आ'? Observe विभ्रति ॥ Why 'before किन् and ङिन्'? Observe अलुनात्, अजहात् ॥

ई हल्यघोः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, हलि, अ-धो (इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः सार्वधातुके कङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भान्तानामङ्गानामभ्यस्तानां च ध्रुवर्जितानामात् ईकारादेशो भवति हलाद्यो सार्वधातुके कङिति परतः ॥

113. Before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or ङिन् 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, लुनीयः, पुनीयः, लुनीते and पुनीते ॥ Of reduplicates we have निमीते, निमीषे, निमीष्ये, संजिहीते, संजिहीषे, संजिहीष्ये ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe लुनन्ति, निमते ॥ Why with the exception of घु? Observe दत्तः, धत्तः ॥ So also लुनाति and जहाति before non-किन् and non-ङिन् affixes.

इहरिद्रस्य ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, हरिद्रस्य, (हलिसार्वधातुकेकङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरिद्रातेर्हलाद्यो सार्वधातुके कङिति परत इकारादेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरिद्रातेरार्धधातुके लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सिद्धञ्च प्रत्ययविधौ भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā ॥ न हरिद्रायके लोपो हरिद्राणे च नेष्यते ।

द्विहरिद्रासतीत्येके द्विहरिद्रिषतीति वा ॥

वा० ॥ अद्यतन्यां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

114. इ is substituted for the आ of हरिद्रा before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or ङिन् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus हरिद्रितः, हरिद्रिषः, हरिद्रिषः, हरिद्रिमः ॥ But हरिद्रति before a vowel affix (VI. 4. 112) and हरिद्राति before a non-ङिन् affix.

Vart:—The final of **रिङ्गा** is elided before an *Ārdhadhātuka* affix.
Vart:—And this elision should be considered as *siddha*, in applying rules relating to affixes. Thus **रिङ्गा** by loosing **आ** becomes **रिङ्ग**, and we should apply those affixes which would come after a form like 'daridr', and not what would have come after a form like 'daridrā'. Thus **ञ** comes after roots ending in long **आ** (III. 1. 141): but this affix would not be applied here, but the general affix **ञच्** (III. 1. 134). Thus **रिङ्गात् = रिङ्गः** ॥

Kārikā:—The elision does not take place in the forms **रिङ्गायक** and **रिङ्गाञ**, and the Desiderative may be either **द्विरिङ्गासति** or **द्विरिङ्गिषात्** ॥ *Siddhānta Kaumudī* gives the following rule: "आ of **रिङ्गा** should be considered as elided when applying an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, but optionally so before **लुङ्** (Aorist), and not at all before **सञ्** (Desiderative), **ण्युल्** and **ल्युट्**" ॥

Vart:—Optionally so in the Aorist (*adyatana*-past) as, **अरिङ्गीत्** or **अरिङ्गासीत्** ॥ The latter form is evolved by VII. 2. 73 and elision of **सिच्** ॥ The form **रिङ्गस्व** in the *sūtra* is Vedic, the root being shortened from **रिङ्गा** to **रिङ्ग** ॥

भियो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (इतहलि कङ्किति सार्वधातु के) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्याङ्गत्वान्यतरस्यामिकारणेशो भवति हलाशौ कङ्किति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

115. इ is optionally substituted for the ई of भी before a *Sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a consonant and having an indicative क् or ङ् ॥

Thus **विभितः** or **विभीतः**, **विभियः** or **विभीयः**, **विभिवः** or **विभीवः**; **विभिमः** or **विभीमः** ॥ But **विभ्वति** before a vowel-beginning affix and **विभति** before a non-ङिन् affix and **भीयते** before an *ārdhadhātuka* affix.

जहातेञ्च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, (इ हलि अन्यतरस्याम् कङ्कितिसार्वधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेञ्च इकारणेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां हलाशौ कङ्किति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

116. इ is optionally substituted for the आ of हा (**जहाति**) before a *Sārvadhātuka* कित् or ङित् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus **जहितः** or **जहीतः** (VI. 4. 113) **जहियः** or **जहीयः** (VI. 4. 113). But **जहति** before a vowel affix, and **जहाति** before a non-ङिन् affix, and **हीयते** and **जिहीयते** before an *ārdhadhātuka*. The separation of this *sūtra* from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms.

आ च ही ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, च, ही, (इ अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेराकारभान्ताणेशो भवति इकारभान्तरस्यां ही 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 अहाहि, अहिहि or अहीहि (VI. 4. 113).

लोपो यि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, यि, (जहातेः सार्वधातुके कृञिति) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लोपो भवति अहातेर्बकाराद्यै कृञिति सार्वधातुके परतः ।

118. The final of the stem of हा is elided before an affix beginning with य being a Sārvadhātuka कित् or ङित् affix.

Thus अहात्, अहातात् and अह्युः ॥

ध्वसोरेद्भावभ्यासलोपश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ धु-असोः, एत्, हौ, अभ्यास-
लोपः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानामस्तेषु एकारादेशो भवति ही परतो ऽभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

119. For the final vowel of the roots दा and धा (धु), 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 धु, 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 ह्य so that the whole of the reduplicated and not only the final letter of the abhyāsa (I. 1. 55) is elided.

अत एकहल्मध्ये ऽनादेशादिति ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, एक-हल्, मध्ये,
अनादेशादेः, लिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृञितीतिवर्तते ॥ लिति परत आदेश आदेशित्याङ्गस्य नास्ति, तस्य एकहल्मध्ये, असहाययोर्हलोर्मध्ये
यो ऽकारस्तस्य एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिति कृञिति परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इम्भेरेत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ नक्षिमन्योरलिव्येत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ छन्दस्यनिषधोरप्यलिति एत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यजिवप्योश्च ॥

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, येदुः, पेचतुः, पेचुः, हेमतुः, हेमुः ॥ Why 'for अ'? Observe सिदिवतुः, सिदिवुः 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 ररक्तुः, ररक्तुः ॥ 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:—तत्स्रतुः and तत्स्रदुः ॥ Why do we say 'which has no substituted consonant in the reduplicate'? Observe चक्रणतुः, चक्रणुः, जगणतुः, जगणुः, बभणतुः, बभणुः ॥

The substitution referred to here must be caused by the affixes of the Perfect, therefore, the rule will apply to नेमतुः, नेमुः, सेहे and सेहन्ते, सेहिर though जम् and बह् are the roots, and ञ् and ष् are changed to न and स ॥ The substitution of जच् consonant or a चर् consonant in the reduplicate, should not be here considered asidha (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 भञ् (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, घ, 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 ञस् and इद् ॥ Therefore, where the substitute is a *different* letter, then the reduplicate becomes ādeśādiः 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 देभतुः, देभुः ॥ The elision of the nasal by VI. 4. 24, would be considered asidha by VI. 4. 22, hence this vārtika.

Vārt:—ए is substituted for the अ of नच् and मन before affixes other than those of लिट् ॥ As अनेशच्, मेनका ॥ अनेशच् is the Aorist in अह् of नच् which belongs to Pushādi roots (III. 1. 55). मेनका is formed by युञ् (III. 1. 150). Padamanjari gives अनेशच् (3 rd Pl.), and quotes अनेशच्स्येपवः ॥

Vārt:—In the Vedas, ए is substituted for the अ of अच् and पच् before affixes other than those of the Perfect, as व्यमानच्, (वि + अच् + चानच्, the augment युक् being dropped); पचिरन् instead of पचेरन्, the Imperfect of पच् ॥ The shortening is also a Vedic irregularity.

Vārt:—So also of यच् and वच्, as आयेजे and आविषे 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 परतोऽनादेशादिरङ्गस्य एकहल्मध्यगतत्वात्: 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 पचिय, चोक्रिय ॥ But पपक्य before अनि य ; द्विविय, the vowel being इ and not अ ; ततसिय, ररसिय, the अ not standing between two *simple* consonants ; and चकणिय, 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 यल् is read in the sūtra only for the sake of clearness, no non-kit Perfect ending can take इद् except यल् ॥

तफलमजत्रपञ्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्, फल, मज, त्रपः, च, (अत एक हलमध्ये अनादेशादेर्लिट्टियलिचसेटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त् फल मज त्रप इत्येतेषामङ्गानामत एकारदेशो भवति, अन्धासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतस्यलि च सेटि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्येषोति वक्तव्यम् ॥

122. ए is substituted for the अ of त्, फल, मज and त्रप, and the reduplicate is elided, when the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ङ्) follow, as well as when यल् with the इद् augment follows.

Thus तेरतुः, तेरः, तेरिय, फेलतुः, फेलुः, फेलिय, भेजतु, भेजुः, भेजिय, भेपे, भेपाते, भेपिरे ॥ In the case of त् the rule applies to the अ obtained by Guṇa, contrary to VI. 4. 126, in फल् and भङ् 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.

Vart: It should be stated that the rule applies to अन्य also:-as, भेयतुः, भेयुः ॥

राधो हिंसायाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधो हिंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधो हिंसायामयेऽधर्णस्य एकार आदेशो भवति, अन्धासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतस्यलि च सेटि ॥

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 ङ्), as well as before यल् 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 स्याने वा एकार आदेशो भवति अन्धासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतस्यलि च सेटि ॥

124. ए is optionally substituted for the अ of the stems जर् (जृ), अम, and अस्, 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 जरतुः, जेरुः, जेरिय, or जजरतुः, अजरुः, अजरिय, भेमतुः, भेषुः, भेमिय, or बभ मतुः, बभषुः, बभमिय, वेसतुः, वेसुः, वेसिय, or तत्रसतुः, तत्रसुः, तत्रसिय ॥

फणां च सप्तानाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ फणाम्, च, सप्तानाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फणासीनां 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; भेजे, भेजाते, भ्रजिरे, or बभ्राजे, बभ्राजाते, बभ्राजिरे; भेषो, भेषाते, भेषिरे, or बभ्राषो, बभ्राषाते, बभ्राषिरे; भ्लेशे, भ्लेशाते, भ्लेशिरे, or बभ्लाशे, बभ्लाशाते, बभ्लाशिरे; स्येमतुः, स्येषुः, स्येमिय, or सस्येमतुः, सस्येषुः, सस्येमिय; स्वेनतुः, स्वेनुः, स्वेनिय, or सस्वनतुः, सस्वनुः, सस्वनिय, Why of 'seven'? Observe, इध्वनतुः, इध्वनुः, इध्वनिय ॥ The Phanādi is a subdivision of Bhuādi (873-879)

न शसददवादिगुणानाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, शस, दद, वादि, गुणानाम्, (अत एक हल्मध्येऽनादेशादलिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शस इष इत्येतयोर्धकारासीनां 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 च, 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 set् थल्, nor is the reduplicate elided.

Thus विशाशतुः, विशाशुः, विशाशसिये, इरदे, इरदाते, इरदिर, Of roots beginning with च्-चवमतुः, चवषुः, चवमिय, ॥ Of roots where अ is the result of Guṇa, विशाशतुः, विशाशरुः, विशाशरिय, लुलविय, पुपविय ॥ गुणशब्दाभिनिर्वृत्तस्यार्शब्दस्योकारस्य चायमकार इति एत्वं प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

The अ of Guṇa may result either from the guṇa of क् as क् changed to कर् or of ङ changed to भो again changed to अर् as लु—लव ॥

अर्वणस्त्रसावनम्रः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्वणः, तृ, असौ, अनम्रः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्वणित्येतस्याङ्गस्यत् इत्ययमादेशो भवति, सुभेत्ततः परो न भवति, स च नम्र 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 **अर्धन्**, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is **त्**, the **न्त्** is for the sake of making this affix an **उगित्**, so that in sarvanāmasthāna cases we have **तुम्** augment VII. 1. 70. Thus **अर्धन्ती, अर्धन्तः, अर्धन्तम्, अर्धन्तो, अर्धतः, अर्धता, अर्धद्व्याम्, अर्धजिः, अर्धती, अर्धतम् ॥ 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 **नस्** ॥

मघवा बहुलम् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मघवा, बहुलम्, (त्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मघवन्नित्येतस्याङ्गस्य बहुलं तु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

128. **त्** is diversely substituted for the final of

मघवन् ॥

**As मघवान्, मघवन्तो, मघवन्तः, मघवन्तम्, मघवन्तो, मघवतः, मघवना, मघवती, माघव-
तम्, ॥ न च भवति, मघवा, मघवानी, मघवानः, मघवानम्, मघवानी, मघोनः, मघोना, मघवद्व्याम्, मघवभिः
मघानी, माघवनम् ॥**

भस्य ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्येत्ययमाधिकार, आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः, अदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामी भस्येत्येवं तद्देशित्यम् ॥

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 **त्र** ॥ Thus **द्विपद्ः पद्भ्य, द्विपदा कृतम्** but **द्विपादौ, द्विपादः** where the affixes are those of Sarvanāmasthāna.

पाद्ः पत् ॥ १३० ॥ पाद्ः, पत् ॥

**वृत्तिः ॥ पादिति पादशब्दो लुप्ताकारो गृह्यते । तदन्तस्थाङ्गस्य भस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवति । स च पाच्छब्द-
स्यैव 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 **निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति** "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule." ॥ Thus **द्विपद्ः पद्भ्य, द्विपदा, द्विपदे, द्विपदिकां वृत्ति** (V. 4. 1), **त्रिपदिकां वृत्ति, वैयाग्रपथः ॥**

वसोः संप्रसारणम् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसवन्तस्य भस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

131. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वंस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विदुषः पद्म, विदुषा, विदुषे, वेदुषः पद्म, वेदुषा, वेदुषे, वयुषः पद्म ॥ For the purposes of the elision of वा (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 वा, but the samprasāraṇa is not considered asiddha, and we have पप् + उस् + वस् = पपुषः पद्म ॥ In the nominative, where the stem is not भ, we have पपा + वस् + स् = पपी + वस् + स (VI. 4. 66) = पपीवान् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 4. 10, VI. 1. 68 and VIII. 2. 23). The affix वस् is included in वस् for the purposes of samprasāraṇa.

वाह ऊट् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, ऊट् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाह इत्येवमन्तस्य अस्य ऊट् इत्येतन्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

132. The व् in वाह is vocalised to ऊ (ऊट्), when the compound stem is Bha.

The word वाह is a णिब 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, दिव्यौहः, दिव्यौहा, दिव्यौहे ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + वा (of वा) = ऊ; and then प्रद्य + ऊह = प्रद्यौह; the Vṛiddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus: प्रद्य + वह + वस् = प्रद्य + उह + वस् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रद्य + ओह + वस् (the affix णिब III. 2. 64, will produce guṇa) = प्रद्यौहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact णिब is never added to वह (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in भ and that भ + ओ of वा will always produce औ ॥ The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऊट्, 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 ॥

इवयुवमघोनामतद्धिते ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इव, युव, मघोनाम्, अतद्धिते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इव् युवन् मघवन् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतद्धिते प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

133. The व् of इवन्, युवन् and मघवन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus इवन्. इवने, इवन्, इवना, इवने, मघोन्, मघोना, मघोने ॥ But इवन् मांसच् औवनं वर्तते, माघवनः स्थालीपाकः with Taddhita affixes. औवन is formed by वस् affix (IV. 3. 154) and औ being added by VII. 3. 4 as इवन् belongs dvārādi class.

This vocalisation takes place of the nouns ending in व्, but not when they become feminine or do not end in व्, as युवतीः पद्म, मघवतः, मघवते, मघवता ॥ The word वनः of the next sūtra, in a way, qualifies this sūtra also.

अल्लोपोऽनः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्, लोपः, अनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्येवमन्तस्य अस्य अकारलोपो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनां नकारान्तस्यायं लोप इष्यते ॥

134. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

As राज्ञः पश्य, राज्ञा, राज्ञे, तक्ष्णः पश्य, तक्ष्णा and तक्ष्णे ॥ *Vart.*—The elision takes place of a stem which actually ends in न्, therefore, it does not take place here, राजकीयम् ॥

षपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष पूर्व, हन्, धृतराज्ञाम्, अणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारपूर्वो वाऽन् हनो धृतराज्ञश्च तस्याकारलोपो भवति ॥

135. Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding ष, as well as of हन् and धृतराज्ञन्, the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus औक्ष्णः, ताक्ष्णः, भौनज्ञः, धार्तराज्ञः ॥ But सामनः, वैमनः ॥ Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्षण्यः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a ष'? 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 छिद्योः ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छि, द्योः (अल्लोपोऽनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङौ परतः शीघ्रब्दे 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 एक्षि or एक्षिन्, साम्नि or सामनि, साम्नी or सामनी (VII. 1. 19).

न संयोगाद्भ्रमन्तात् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संयोगात्, घ्, म्, अन्तात्, (अल्लोपोऽनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारमकारान्तात्संयोगादुत्तरस्यानो 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 घ् or म् ॥

Thus पर्वणा, पर्वण, अयवर्णा, अयवर्णे, चर्मणा and चर्मणे ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe प्रतिशीघ्रा, प्रातशीघ्रे, साम्ना, साम्ने ॥ Why do we say 'stems in वन् and मन्'? Observe तक्षणा, and तक्षणे ॥

अचः ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, (भस्य अल्लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच् इत्ययमचत्तिलुप्तनकारो गृह्यते । तदन्तस्य अस्य अकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

138. The अ of अच् (अञ्च्) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

Thus इधीचः पद्म, इधीचा, इधीचे, मधूचः पद्म, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138: and ञ् of अञ्च् is elided by VI. 4. 24.

उद् ईत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्ः, ईत्, (अचः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उद् उत्तरस्याच्च ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

139. Long ई is substituted for the अ of अच् (अञ्च्), after the word उत् when the stem is Bha.

As उहीचः, उहीचा, उहीचे ॥

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 पद्मः, कीलालपा, कीलालपे, शुभंयः पद्म, शुभंया, and शुभंवे from कीलालपा and शुभंया ॥ Why do we say 'the आ of a root'? Observe खद्वाः पद्म, मालाः पद्म ॥ 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 त्वा and इना by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37, (त्त्वो ल्यप्) and III. 1. 83, (भनः शानच्) ॥

मन्त्रेष्वारूपादेरात्मनः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रेषु, आङि, आदेः, आत्मनः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रेषु आङि परत आत्मन आदेशलोपो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आढोन्थेषापि छन्दसि लोपो वृद्ध्यते ॥

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 देवेभ्यः, स्मना सोमेषु ॥ Why in the Mantras? Observe आत्मनो कृतम् ॥ Why in the Instrumental Singular? अशस्मन स्तत्रो वरिष्ठा ॥

Vārt:—The elision of आ of 'ātman' is found in other cases also, but not so frequently as in the Instrumental, as स्मन्यासमञ्जत मह्यम् ॥

ति विशतेर्ङिति ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, विशतेः, ङिति, (भस्य, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य विशतेस्तिशब्दस्य ङिति प्रत्यये परतो लोपो भवति ॥

142. Of the Bha stem विशति, before an affix having an indicatory ड, the ति is elided.

Thus विशकः = विशत्या क्रीतः (with ड्बुन् V. 1. 24), विशं शतम्, (विशतेः पूरणो विशः, with उट् affix V. 2. 48), एकां विशः ॥ Why do we say 'having an indicatory 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, नदुन् and वतस्वन् with इमत्तुप् (IV. 2. 87). So also निश्चयता क्रीतः = निश्चयकः with इवुन् of V. 1. 24. The rule applies even to non-bha bases, for effect must be given to the indicatory इ ॥ Thus उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः (III. 2. 97 with the कृति affix इ) ॥

नस्तद्धिते ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, तद्धिते, (भस्य, टेः, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य भस्य टेलोपो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सन्नञ्चारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकुयुमितैतिलिजाजलिलाङ्गलिशिलालिशिलिङ्गु-
करसद्युपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अइमनो विकार उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ चर्मणः कोष उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ घृणः संकोच उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अश्वानां च सायंप्रातिकार्येद्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

144. Of the stem bha, the final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is elided, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus आमिषार्थिः, औडुलोभिः, सारलोभिः from आमिषमन्, उडुलोमन्, and सारलोमन् with the Taddhita affix इष् (IV. 1. 96). Why do we say 'ending in न्'? Observe सात्वतः ॥ Why 'before a Taddhita affix'? Observe चर्मणा, चर्मणे ॥

Vart :—The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following : 1. सन्नञ्चारिन्—सन्नञ्चारः (IV. 3. 120), 2. पीठ-
सर्पिन्—पैठसर्पाः (IV. 3. 120), 3. कलापिन्—कालपाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59), 4.
कुयुमिन्—कौयुमाः (IV. 3. 101), 5. तैतिलिन्—तैतिलाः (IV. 3. 116), 6. जाजलिन्—जाजलाः
(IV. 2. 59), 7. लाङ्गलिन्—लाङ्गलाः, 8. शिलालिन्—शैलालाः, 9. शिलिङ्गिन्—शैलिङ्गाः, 10.
सुकरसद्यन्—सौकर सद्याः, 11. द्युपर्वन्—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.

Vart :—अइमन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with' : as, आइमः, otherwise आइमनः ॥

Vart :—Of चर्मन्, the अन् is elided when meaning 'a sheath or purse' : as, चार्मः कोषः (IV. 3. 134), otherwise चार्मणः ॥

Vart :—The अन् of अन् is elided when the sense is 'to contract', as शौचः संकोचः (IV. 3. 120), otherwise शौचनः ॥

Vart :—The Indeclinables like सायंप्रातिकः &c are formed by the टि elision : as सायंप्रातिकः, पौनः पुनिकः, बाह्यः, क्रीतस्कुतः (formed by इष् IV. 3. 11). But not before the affixes ल्यु and ल्युल्, as भारासीयः, शाश्वतिकः ॥ Pāṇini himself has shown the exception, in the case of शाश्वतिकः, by using it in II. 4. 9. So also शाश्वतम् ॥

अहृष्टखोरेव ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहृः, ट, खोः, एव ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहृमित्येतस्य टखोरेव परतटिलोपो भवति ।

वाचकम् ॥ अहृः समूहे खो वक्तव्यः ॥

145. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes ट and ख ॥

Thus हे अहनी समाहूते = ह्यहः, इयहः (V. 4. 91 with टच्). हे अहनी अधीष्टो भूतोः भूतो भावी वा = ह्यहीनः, 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 (I.V. 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 = आश्रितम् (with टच् 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 अस्य 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, चाकूच्यं चारु (from चांकु), पिचव्यः कार्पासः, (from पिचु) कमण्डलव्या वृत्तिका (from कमण्डलू), परवाच्यमयः, औपगवः, कापटवः &c. Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओरीत् '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 अस्याकट्वा लोपो भवति ॥

147. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (ढ), but not of the stem 'Kaṭṭā'.

Thus कामण्डलेयः, वृत्तिवाहेयः, जाम्बेयः, माण्डवाहेयः, I ut काट्ठेयो मन्ममपद्यत् ॥

यस्येति च ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, ईति, च, (अस्य, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्तस्यावर्णान्तस्य च अस्य ईकारे पर तद्धिते च लोपो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यस्यलौकः द्यां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयद् 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, शाक्षी, सखी from दाक्षि, शाक्षि 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 शक्ति + ई = शक्ती ॥ 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 डीप् under IV. 1. 62, we form the compound सखीमतिक्रान्तः = 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 अतिसखेः 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—अत्रेयः ॥ अ is elided before ई as :—कुमार—कुमारी, गौर—गौरी, चार्ङ्गरव—चार्ङ्गरी ॥ अ and आ are elided before the Taddhita :—वक्ष—वक्षिः, हस—हसिः, चूड—चौडिः, बलाका—बालाकिः, सुमित्रा—सौमिचिः ॥

Vārt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (घी), 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 ॥ सौर्व + ई = सौर्वे (the अ 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 ऋयां (VI. 4. 136), and न (VI. 4. 137) into this sūtra.

Vārt :—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 भस् (जस्), as श्रियो, श्रियः, भुवौ, भुवः ॥ Lopa has unimpeded scope in कामण्डलू—कामण्डलेयः (with डच् IV. 1. 135), and भाद्रवाहेयः ॥ But in वस्तप्री + डच् (IV. 1. 135), both the rules VI. 4. 77 and VI. 4. 148, present themselves. The former is superseded, and we have वास्तप्रेयः (वस्त्वं प्रीणाति = वस्तप्रीः, तस्मात्पत्वं); so also लेखाधुः—लेखाध्रेयः with the डच् affix, this word belonging to Śubhrādi class (IV. 1. 123).

सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य, मत्स्यानाम्, यः, उपधायाः, (इति, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूर्य तिष्य अगस्त्य मत्स्य इत्येतेषां अकारस्य उपधाया भस्य लोपो भवति इति परतस्तद्धिते च ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ मन्स्यस्य ङष्ठाभिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सूर्यागस्त्ययोश्छे च ङष्ठां च ॥

वा० ॥ तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नक्षत्राणि ॥

वा० ॥ भक्तिकशब्दस्य तसिप्रत्यये परतः ककारादिशब्दस्य लोपो वक्तव्य, आद्युदात्तं च ॥

वा० ॥ तमे सादृश ॥ वा० ॥ कादिलोपे बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ये च ॥

149. Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्य, भगस्य and मत्स्य, (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate य् is also elided before the long ई and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येणकादिक् = सौरी (सूर्य + भञ् under IV. 3, 112 = सौर्य, then ई of डीप् = सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य—तैषमहः, तैषी रात्रिः ॥ So also भगस्यस्यापत्यं स्त्री = भगस्त्री (IV. 1. 114), भगस्त्रीयः ; So also मत्स्य—मत्सी with डोष् as it belongs to Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 40). If the words सूर्य &c, were to be qualified by the word व्, then the sūtra would mean सूर्याशानां भसंज्ञानां “of सूर्य &c, when they get the designation of व्”; and the result of this interpretation would be, that the rule would apply to cases like सूर्यस्य स्त्री = सौरी, भगस्यस्य स्त्री = भगस्त्री, &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 आभय must be the same. Thus सौर्य + ई = सौर्य् + अ lopa + ई = सौरी ॥ But सौर्य itself was formed by the elision of व् of सूर्य before the affix भञ्, thus, सूर्य + भञ् = सौर्य् + ० + भञ् (last sūtra) = सौर्य ॥ But if this lopa be considered as asiddha by VI. 4. 22, then we have the following equation सौर्य् + ० + अ (of भञ्) + ई = सौर्य् + ० + ० (अ of भञ् being elided by VI. 4. 148) + ई ॥ Here इ 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 (आभय) are different. Hence we have the elision of इ by this sūtra. It should not be objected that the इ here is not penultimate, but ultimate: as सौर्य् + ई = सौर्य् + ० + ई (अ elided by the last sūtra), and thus इ is ultimate. Here, however, rule VI. 4. 22, applies. This elision of इ will be considered asiddha for the purposes of the elision of इ, their scope being the same. So being considered asiddha, इ 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 sthanivat-bhāva, because for purposes of बलोप, that rule is set aside. See I. 1. 58.

Why do we say the penultimate इ? 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 मस्त्वचर ॥ This word takes ङीप् by IV. 1. 15, because it is formed by an affix having an indicative इ ॥ Thus मस्त्वचर+ई, and the word is म, but the च् is not elided, because it is not penultimate. The च् 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 च् of मस्त्व is elided before the feminine ई only : therefore not here मस्त्वस्त्वेवं मांसं=मास्त्वम् ॥

Vart :—Of सूर्य and अगस्त्व before the affixes छ, and ई (of the feminine) : as सौरीयः, सौरी, आगस्तीयः, आगस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्ये च्दं निर्वपेत्, आगस्त्व formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV. 1. 114)

Vart :—Of लिप्य and पुष्य when referring to asterisms, as, लिप्येण मक्षत्रेण शुक्रः कालः=क्षेपः, पौषः (IV. 2. 3).

Vart :—Of अन्तिक before the affix त्ति, the क is elided, and the word has acute on the first syllable : as, अन्तिकः in अन्तिको न हूणत् (V. 4. 45).

Vart :—Before the affix त्तम, it loses the syllable तिक as well as क, as अन्तमः or अन्तित्तमः, in अन्ते स्वं नो अन्तित्तमः अन्तित्तमे अवरोहति ॥

Vart :—The elision of क of अन्तिक takes place diversely, before the second member also, as अन्तिके सीदति=अन्तिषत् (स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106)

Vart :—The elision takes place also before the affix च्, as अन्तियः, this is found in the Atharva-Veda, (अन्तिके भवः, with the affix यत् IV. 4. 110).

हलस्तद्धितस्य ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, तद्धितस्य, (य उपधायाः लोपः ईति) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य तद्धित्यकारस्य उपधाया ईति 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, वास्ती from गार्ग्य and वास्व ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant'? Observe कारिकेयी ॥ Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'. Observe वेद्यस्य भावां=वेद्यी ॥

आपत्यस्य च तद्धिते ऽनाति ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपत्यस्य, च, तद्धिते, अनाति (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आपत्यकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य तद्धिते अनाकारादौ लोपो भवति ॥

151. The य्, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an अ ॥

Thus गर्गाणां समूहः = गर्गकम् from गर्ग्यं, वासकम् from वास्य (IV. 2. 37-40). Why do we say 'a Patronymic क्'? Observe सांकाश्यकः, कार्मिपत्यकः (IV. 2. 80).

The repetition of the word Taddhita indicates that the elision takes place some-times of the non-patronymic य also, as सार्मी इष्टिः ॥

Why do we say 'not beginning with a long भा'? Observe नार्ग्यायणः, वास्त्यायनः ॥ 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, वास्त्ययोः (before the Genitive and Locative dual affixes).

क्यच्च्योश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्य, च्योः, च, (हलः, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्य च्चि इत्येतयोश्च परत आपत्यकारस्य हल उच्यते 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 वास्तीयति or वास्तीयते गार्गीयति, or गार्गीयते ॥ So also गार्गीभूतः, वास्तीभूतः ॥ 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 बिल्वकादयः पठ्यन्ते ॥ नडादीनां कुक् च इति कृतकुगागमा बिल्वकादयो भवन्ति तेभ्य उच्यते छस्य भस्य तद्धिते परतो लुक् भवति ॥

153. The affix छ of the bhā stems बिल्वक &c is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The बिल्व &c are a subdivision of Naḍādi class (IV. 2. 91), and the augment क् is added to them by IV. 2. 91. After these words, with the augment क्, the affix छ is elided. Thus बिल्वया यस्यां सन्ति = बिल्वकीयाः; तस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = बैल्वकाः ॥ Similarly वैणुकीयाः—वैणुकाः, वैणकीयाः, वैणकाः, वैतसकीयाः, वैतसकाः, वृणकीयाः, तार्णकाः इक्षुकीयाः, ऐक्षुकाः, काष्ठकीयाः, काष्ठकाः, कपोतकीयाः, कपोतकाः ॥ There is shortening of the final of कुञ्चा by the Vārtika कुञ्चा ह्रस्वं च ॥ कुञ्चकीयाः, कौञ्चकाः ॥ छग्रहणं किम्, छमात्रस्य लुग्यया स्यात् कुको निवृत्तिर्मा भूतिं, ॥ अन्यथा हि संनियोगशिष्टानामन्वतरापावे उभयोरप्यभाव इति कुगपि निवर्त्तत ॥ लुग्रहणं सर्वलोपो यया 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 क् ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim :—संनियोगशिष्टानामन्वतरापावे (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 ॥

तुरिष्ठेमेयस्सु ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुः, इष्ट, इम, ईयस्सु, (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टन् इमनिच् ईयसुन् इत्योषु परतः तृगुणस्य लोपो भवति ॥

154. The affix **त्** is elided before the affixes **इष्टन्**, **इमनिच्** and **ईयसुन्** ॥

Thus करिष्टः, विजायिष्टः, बहिष्टः, 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 anuvritti 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 विजायिष्ट 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.

टैः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ टैः, (भस्य लोपः इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य टेलोपो भवति इष्टमेयस्सु परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ णाविष्टवत्यातिपदिकस्य कार्यं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ णाविष्टवत्यातिपदिकस्य पुंवङ्गावरभावदिलोपयणादिपरविन्मतोर्लृक्कनर्थमिति ॥

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 लघिष्टः, लघिमा and लघीयान् from लघु ॥

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) पुंवङ्गावरः the feminine noun becomes masculine: as, एनीमाचष्टे = एतयति, इयतयति ॥ **इष्ट** belongs to तसिलादि affixes and causes masculation by VI. 3. 35, (2) रभावः—the change of ऋ to र, as पृथुमाचष्टे = प्रथयति, स्रथयति, 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 मतोर्लृक्—as सान्विणमाचष्टे = 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 ॥

स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रभुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थूल, दूर, युव, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, भुद्राणाम्, यण्, आदिपरम्, पूर्वस्य, च गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थूल दूर युव ह्रस्व क्षिप्र भुद्र इत्येतेषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते इष्टमेयस्सु 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 **भुद्र** ॥

That is ल, र, वन्, व, र, and र are elided. Thus स्थविष्ठः, स्थवीयान्; वविष्ठः ववीयान्; वविष्ठ, ववीयान्; ज्ञातिष्ठः, ज्ञातीयान्, ज्ञातिमा; क्षेपिष्ठः, क्षेपीयान्, क्षेपिमा ॥ The words ज्ञस्व, क्षिप्र, and क्षुद्र are read in Prithvādi class and take 'iman' affix (V. 1. 122). क्षोत्रिष्ठः, क्षोत्रायान्, क्षोत्रिमा ॥ Why do we say परं in यणादिपरं i. e. 'the last semi-vowel'? The first semi-vowel of युवन् and ज्ञस्व i. e. य of यु and र of ज्ञ should not be elided. The word पूर्व is employed for the sake of distinctness.

प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्बाहिगर्बाधिन्नद्वाधि-
वृन्दाः ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय, स्थिर, स्फिर, उरु, बहुल, गुरु, वृद्ध, तृप्, दीर्घ,
वृन्दारकाणाम्, प्र, स्थ, स्फ, वर्, बाहि, गर्, बाधि, तृप्, द्राधि, वृन्दाः, (इष्टमेयस्तु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय स्थिर स्फिर उरु बहुल गुरु वृद्ध तृप् दीर्घ वृन्दारक इत्येतिषां प्र स्थ स्फ वर् बाहि गर् बाधि तृप्
द्राधि वृन्द् इत्येते यथासंख्यमादेशा भवन्ति इष्टमेयस्तुपत्तः ॥

157. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस् the following substitutions take place:—प्र for प्रिय; स्त् for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, वर् for उरु, बह् for बहुल, गर् for गुरु, वर्ष् for वृद्ध, तृप् for तृप्, द्राघ for दीर्घ, and वृन्द् for वृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रष्टः, प्रेमा, प्रेमान्; स्थिर, स्थेष्ठः, स्थेयान्, स्थेमा; स्फिर, स्फेष्ठः, स्फेयान्; उरु, वरिष्ठः, वरिमा, वरीयान्; बहुल, बहिष्ठः, बहीयान्, बहिमा; गुरु, गरिष्ठः, गरीयान्, गरिमा; वृद्ध, वरिष्ठः, वरीयान्; तृप्, त्रिष्ठः, त्रिपीयान्; दीर्घ, द्राधिष्ठः, द्राधीयान्, द्राधिमा; वृन्दारक, वृन्दिष्ठः, वृन्दीयान्; प्रियोरुयुरु-
बहुलदीर्घाः पृथगादिषु पठ्यन्ते, तेनान्येषामिमानि न भवतीति नोदाह्रियते ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in Prithvādi class and take इमन् (V. 1. 122), others do not.

बहोर्लोपो भू च बहोः ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, लोपः, भू, च, बहोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहोरुत्तरादिषु लोपो भवति तस्य च बहोः स्थाने भू इत्यवमादेशो 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. 1. 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 Prithvādi class and takes इमन् affix. (V. 1. 122) The repetition of बहोः is for the sake of pointing out the sthāni, 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 debars 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 इ ॥ Or इष्ठ may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sūtra, and to the इष्ठ, the augment वि may be added.

ज्यादादीयसः ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यात्, आत्, ईयसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्यादुत्तरस्य ईयस आकार भादेशो भवति ॥

160. आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस्, after ज्या ॥

As ज्यायान् ॥ ज्या is substituted for प्रस्यस्य by V. 3. 61. 'Lopa' being shut out by the intervening विद् VI. 4. 159, the आत् is read in this sūtra. If the anuvṛtti of 'lopa' were present here, then the अ of ज्या would be lengthened before यत् 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, क्तिञ्च् is understood, and lengthening could not have taken place by that rule.

र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ र, ऋतः, हल, आदेः, लघोः, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रषाब्ध् भादेशो भवति ऋकारस्य हलादेर्लघोरिष्टेमेयस्सु परतः ॥

Kārikā पृथुं पृदुं वृषं चैव कृषं च हृषमेव च ।

परिपूर्वं वृषं चैव षडेतान् 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 प्रयिष्ठः, प्रयीयान् and प्रथिमा from पृथु (V. 1. 122), अविष्ठः, असीयान् and अथिमा ॥ Why do we say 'the ऋ'? Observe पठिष्ठः &c. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe कञिष्ठः, कञीयान् ॥ 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, पृदु, वृष, कृष, हृष, परिवृष ॥ It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत, माहृ, भ्राहृ, &c, as कृतमाचष्टे = कृतयति, मातरमाचष्टे = मातयति, भ्रातरमाचष्टे = भ्रातयति ॥

विभाषजोऽच्छन्दसि ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऋजोः, छन्दसि, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋशु इत्येतस्य ऋतः स्थाने विभाषा रेफ भादेशो भवति इष्टेमेयस्सु परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥

162. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, the ऋ of ऋञ्च् may optionally be changed to र, in the Chhandas.

As रञिष्ठः and कञिष्ठः, in रञिष्ठमेति पन्थानय, स्वशृञिष्ठः ॥

प्रकृत्यैकाच् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, एक-अच्, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच् यञसप्तकं तद्विष्टेभ्यस्सु परतः प्रकृत्य भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रकृत्या ऽके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवानः ॥

163. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ट, इमन्, and ईयस् ॥

Thus सञ्जिष्टः, सञ्जीवान्, सञ्जयति from सञ्जिवन्, the विन् being elided by V. 3. 65, the stem thus becoming monosyllabic. सञ्जयात् is the causative, formed on the model of इष्ट by the Vārtika under VI. 4. 155. So also सुचिष्टः, सुचीवान् and सुचयति from सुचिवन्, the मनुष् being elided as before. Why do we say 'a monosyllabic stem'? Observe वसिष्टः 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 debars the elision of ङ required by VI. 4. 151. So दूनो भावः=दौवनिकः with वुष् affix (V. 1. 133), in supersession of VI. 4. 144.

इनप्यनपत्ये ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, अणि, अ नपत्ये, (प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्नन्तमनपत्यार्येणि परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

164. The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Thus सांक्रुटिनम्, सांरायिणम्, सांमार्जिनम् (III. 3. 44 and V. 4. 15). These are formed by the Kṛit-affix इनुष् (III. 3. 44), and then अण् is added in स्वार्थ by V. 4. 15. So also साम्बिणम् from सन्बिवन् ॥ Why 'when अण् follows'? Observe इण्डिनां समूहः=इण्डन ॥ It is formed by अम् (IV. 2. 44). Why do we say 'non-Patronymic'? Observe मेधाविनोऽपत्यं=मेधावः ॥

गाथिविद्यिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाथि, विद्यि, केशि, गणि, पणिनः, च, (अणिप्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाथिन् विशथिन् केशिन् गणिन् पणिन् इत्येते षाणि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

165. गाथिन्, विद्यिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus गाथिनोऽपत्यं=गाथिनः, विशथिनः, केशिनः, गणिनः, and पणिनः ॥ This sūtra applies to Patronymics.

संयोगादिश्च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग- आदिः, 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 शाङ्किनेऽपत्यं=शाङ्किनः, याम्निणः, वार्जिणः ॥

अन्, ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, (अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रमन्तमणि 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, वैमनः, सौख्यनः, जैख्यनः, from सामन्, वेमन्, सुखन् and जिखन् ॥

ये चाभावकर्मणोः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, अभाव, कर्मणोः, (तद्धिते अन् प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकाराद्यै 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 साधुः = सामन्यः, ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ But राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा = राज्ञन् ॥ राजन् belongs to Purohitādi class and takes षक् (V. 1. 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 ख ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं = आत्मनीनः (V. 1. 9), अध्वानमलङ्कामी (V. 2. 16) = अध्वनीनः ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samāsanta affix टच् added to the avyayibhāva (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 अवर्मणाणि परतो ऽपत्ये न प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ 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 सुवाम्णोऽपत्यं = सौवामः, चान्द्रसामः from चन्द्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म्'? Observe सोऽवन, preceded by व ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चमर्णा परिवृत्तो रयः = चामर्णः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 4. 167. Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन्'? Observe चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

Vārt :—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं = हितनामः or हितनामनः ॥

ब्राह्मो जातौ ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मः, अजातौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्म इत्येतदपत्याधिकारेपि सामर्थ्या ऽपत्यादन्यत्राणि देर्लोपार्थं निपात्यते ततोऽजातौ अपत्यइत्येव अपत्ये जातावणि ब्राह्मणदिलोपो 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, ब्राह्ममखम् ; 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. कर्म 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 ञ् affix (IV. 4. 62). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144, the form कर्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ञ् and अण् affixes, in the sense of tāchchhīlika 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 ञ् is added in the sense of one accustomed to that." Thus though ङीप् is added, to अण्-formed words, it is also added to ञ्-formed words, in the feminine: as चौरी; तापसी &c. The ञ् taught in V. 2. 101, and III. 1. 140, is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that? Observe कर्मणः इवम् = कार्मणम् ॥

औक्षमनपत्ये ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ औक्षम्, अ नपत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ औक्षमित्यनपत्येण टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

173. From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant.

As औक्षं पदम् but औक्षणः = उक्षो ऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided in the latter example by VI. 4. 135.

दाण्डिनायनहास्तिनायनार्थर्वणिकजैह्वाशिनेयवासिनायनिभ्रौणहत्यधैवत्यसारवै-
श्वक्कमैत्रेयहिरण्मयानि ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाण्डिनायन, हास्तिनायन, आथर्वणिक,
जैह्वाशिनेय, वासिनायनि, भ्रौणहत्य, धैवत्य, सारव, ऐश्वक्क, मैत्रेय, हिरण्मयानि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाण्डिनायन हास्तिनायन आथर्वणिक जैह्वाशिनेय वासिनायनि भ्रौणहत्य धैवत्य सारव ऐश्वक्क
मैत्रेय हिरण्मय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते ॥

174. The following are irregularly formed; 1.

Dāṇḍināyana, 2. Hāstināyana, 3. Ātharvaṇika, 4. Jaihmāśineya, 5. Vāsināyani, 6. Bhraṇḥatya, 7. Dhaivatya. 8. Sārava, 9. Aikshvāka, 10. Maitreya and 11. Hiraṇmaya.

These words are thus derived (1 and 2) षण्डिनायन and हास्तिनायन from षण्डिन् and हस्तिन् belonging to नडादि class. The affix is क् (IV. 2. 91). If they do not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly: षण्डिनोऽपरत्वं = षण्डिनायनः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantādi 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 जिह्माशान् and वासिन् are Jaihmāśineya and Vāsināyani, the former with the affix इक् of the Subhrādi class (IV. 1. 123), and the latter with the affix किम् 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 व्यम्, and ह् being replaced by त् = भ्रूणहन्तो भावः, धीवन्तो भावः ॥ हन् takes त् before affixes having an indicatory ण or ञ् by VII. 3. 32: it might be said त् would be added to भ्रूणहन् before व्यम् 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 भ्रौणशी, वार्त्तनः ॥ The त् in Bhraṇḥatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) सारव is from सरवृ with the affix अण्, the final अण् being elided, सरवृणां भवः = सारवपुत्रकं ॥ (9) The son of इक्ष्वाकु, with अण् affix (IV. 1. 168), the final ङ is elided, or ईक्ष्वाकुरु जनपदेषु भवः = ऐक्ष्वाकः with अण् affix (IV. 2. 132). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final ङ ॥ As one word is ऐक्ष्वाकः and the other ऐक्ष्वाकैः, 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) नैवेद्य is from निवद्यु of Gṛishtyādi class IV. 1. 136, and takes इण् as निवद्यु + इण्, here VI. 4. 146, requires Guṇa, but VI. 4. 146, prevents it, and requires lopa of ङ, but VII. 3. 2, required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as नैवेद्य, the अ of निवद्यु cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, before इय, as the lopa of यु is considered asiddha VI. 4. 22; however the result is the same, for अ + इ = ए by VI. 1. 97; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The plural of नैवेद्य will be निवद्यवः (the plural of निवद्यु); as it belongs of Yaskādi class and loses the affix in the plural (II. 4. 63). Another form of this word is नैवेद्यिक formed under VII. 3. 2. It might be objected that had निवद्यु been read in Bidādi class (IV. 1. 104), it would have taken the affix अण्, and the form नैवेद्य would have been evolved regularly: as निवद्यु + अण् = निवद्य + इण् (VII. 3. 2) + अ = नैवेद्यः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskādi class (II. 4.

63), for then by II. 4. 63, अम् 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 अम् affix, as proposed, then the संघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अण् affix under IV. 3. 127, and not with वुम् under IV. 3. 126; but we require वुम्, as मैत्रेयकः संघः ॥ (11) हिरण्यव from हिरण्य with मवद् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकारः = हिरण्यवः ॥

ऋत्त्व्यवास्त्व्यवास्त्वमाध्वीहिरण्ययानिच्छन्दसि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्त्व्य, वास्त्व्य, वास्त्व, माध्वी, हिरण्ययानि, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्त्व्य वास्त्व्य वास्त्व माध्वी हिरण्यव इत्येतानि निपात्त्वन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

175. In the Veda the following are irregularly formed : Ṛitvya, Vastvya Vâstva, Mâdhvî, and Hiranyaya.

The word ऋत्त्व्य is derived from ऋत्तु, and वास्त्व्य from वास्तु with the affix वत्, उ being changed to व ॥ ऋत्तौ भवत् = ऋत्त्व्यव, वास्तौ भवत् = वास्त्व्यम् ॥ वास्त्व is from वस्तु, as वस्तुनि भवः = वास्त्वः with the affix अण् ॥ माध्वी from मधु with the affix अण् in the feminine, as माध्वीर्नः सन्त्वोषधीः ॥ हिरण्यव is from हिरण्य with the affix मवद्, the न being elided.



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