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 प्रयमस्येति च त्रितयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम । इतः उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः प्राक्संप्रसारणविधानात् तत्रैकाचः प्रथमस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्द्रितव्यम । बक्ष्याति लिङि धातोरनभ्यासस्येति । तत्र धातोरवयवस्यानभ्यासस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वे भवतः ॥

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

Upto Sûtra VI. 1. 12 inclusive it is to be understood that for the first syllable two are to be made, i. e, the first syllable is to be reduplicated. This is an adhikâra sûtra : all the three words viz एकाचः, and द्वे and प्रथमस्य are to be read in the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 1. 12, before the rule of 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 unredupli‑cated verbal root". Thus from जागृः:—जजागार (जागृ + णल् IV. 3. 82 = आ + जागृ + अ = ज + जागर् + अ VII. 4. 59 = जजागार "he awoke". So also पपाच, इयाय, आर from the roots पच्, इ and ऋ ॥ The reduplication takes place through the force of the affix that follows. Thus the affixes of the Perfect Tense (लिट्), the Desidera‑tive (सन्), the Intensive (यङ्), the ≈ङ vikaraṇa, the Aorist in चङ् ; all cause reduplication.

The word एकाच means that which consists of one vowel (अच्) ॥ When a stem or root consists of more than one vowel (is a dissyllabic or polysyllabic root), then the 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 "व्यपदेशिवद्वेकस्मिन्"—"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 (अल् of लिट्) = पाच् पाच्+अ = प पाच्+अ (VII. 4. 59 and 60)=पपाच ॥

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

अजादेर्द्वितीयस्य ॥ २ ॥   पदानि ॥ अच्, आदे:, द्वितीयस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमर्द्विर्वचनापवादो ऽयम् । अजादेर्द्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्विर्वचनमधिक्रियते । अच् भावियस्य धातो-रवयवस्य 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 अटिष, (अट्+सन्=अट्+इट्+सन् VII. 2. 35 = अटिष), reduplicates the second syllable टिष् and the 3rd per. sing is अटि टिषति, the ष being elided by VII. 4. 60: and स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. So also अटिशिषति, अटिरिषति ॥ The last form is thus evolved, ऋ+सन्=ऋ+इट्+सन् (VII. 2. 74) = अर्+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 अर् should take place i. e. the ऋ the sthânî should be reduplicated. But we have explained the sûtra द्विर्वचनेऽचि I. 1. 59, by the phrase द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि, i. e. the vowel-affix causing reduplication. Here the vowel-affix इट् does not cause reduplication, but the consonant-affix सन् that does so. Therefore rule I. 1. 59 does not apply, for इट् itself is a कार्यी, and the maxim applies कार्यमनुभवन्ति कार्यी निमित्ततया नाश्रीयते "surely that which undergoes an operation can, so for as it undergoes that operation, not be made the cause of the application of a grammatical rule". Thus from the root श्रीङ् is formed शयिता ; here the root श्री is guṇated before the augment इट्. Rule I. 1. 5 declaring the prohibition of guṇation with regard to कित् or ङित् words does not apply here. For though श्रीङ् has an indicatory ङ, yet as it undergoes an operation itself, it cannot be the cause of the application of another rule.

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयस्येति वर्गते । द्वितीयस्यैकाचो ऽवयवभूतानां न्द्राणां तदन्तभावात् प्राप्तं द्विर्वचनं प्रतिषिध्यते । नकारदकाररेफा द्वितीयैकाचो ऽवयवभूताः संयोगादयो न द्विरुच्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बकारस्याप्ययं प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ एकारोपधोपरेग्धे तु न वक्तव्यः ॥   वा० ॥ यकारपरस्य रेफस्य प्रांतषेधो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ इर्य्यतेस्तृतीय द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥   वा० ॥ कण्डुादीनां तृतीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

The word dvitîyasya " of the second syllable", is understood here. This sûtra debars the doubling of the consonants n, d, and r when forming parts of the second syllable, provided these letters occur in the beginning of a conjunct (saṅyoga) letter. Thus the Desiderative root of उन्द् is उन्दिष्, formed by adding सन् and इट् ॥ The second syllable here is न्दिष् which is to be reduplicated by the last rule. But in doing so, न् will not be doubled. Thus we get the form उनिन्दिषति; so also from अड्ड्ु and अर्च् we have आडिड्ुडिषति, and अर्चिचिषति ॥

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

Vârt :—This prohibition should be stated with regard to the letter ब also. As उब्ज्—उब्जिजिषति ॥ This prohibition applies when the word is taught primarily as having a penultimate ज ॥ But when it is taught as primarily

having a penultmate ऋ, then the rule does not apply: the ऋ should then be ordained as a substitute of ऋ ॥ See Tudadi root 20.

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

Vârt :—In the case of the verb ईर्ष्यति the third should be reduplicated. "Third of what"? Some -say the third of the consonants, and according to them the form is ईर्ष्यायिषति ॥ Some say the third syllable, therefore of the root ईर्ष्यष (ईर्ष्य + इट् + सन्), the third syllable ष is reduplicated: Thus ईर्ष्ययष, ईर्ष्यायिष (VII. 4. 79) the अ of ष is changed into short इ by VII. 4. 79. = ईर्ष्यियिषति ॥

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

Vârt :—The third syllable of verbs derived from nouns is optionally reduplicated. Thus अश्वीयियिषति or आशिश्वीयिषति ॥

Vârt :—Others say, any syllable of a नामधातु (verbs derived from nouns) may be reduplicated. Thus from the noun पुत्र is derived the root पुत्रीय, the desiderative root of which is पुत्रीयिष, which requires reduplication. Here any syllable may be reduplicated; as. 1, पुपुत्रीयियिषति, 2, पुत्रिश्रीयियिषति, 3. पुत्रीयायियिषति, 4. पुत्रीयियियिषति ॥ Or there may be double and treble reduplication simultaneously as. पुपुत्रिश्रीयियिषति ॥

पूर्वोऽभ्यासः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वः, अभ्यासः ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ द्वे इति प्रयमान्तं यस्तुत्रन्ते तत्रर्यादिष षष्ख्यन्तं ज्ञायते । तत्र प्रत्यासत्तेरस्मिन्प्रकरणे ये द्वे विहिते तयोर्यः पूर्वो ऽवयवः सो ऽभ्याससंज्ञो भवति ॥

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

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

उभे अभ्यस्तम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, अभ्यस्तम् ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ द्वे इति वर्तमाने उभेमत्रणं सञ्जरायसंज्ञामतिपत्त्यर्थम् । ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे अपि समुदिते अभ्यस्त-संज्ञे भवतः ॥

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

Though the word द्वे was understood in the sûtra, 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 sûtras III. 4. 109, VI. 1. 32 &c. Thus sûtra VI. 1. 189 declares "the first vowel of

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तामिति वर्तते । जक्ष इत्ययं धातुरित्यादयश्चान्ये षट् धातवो ऽभ्यस्तसंज्ञा भवन्ति । सेयं समानां 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 Dhâtupâṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जागृ, दरिद्रा, चकास्, शास्, दीधी, and वेवी ॥ Pânini 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 sârvadhâtuka Tense-affix not having the intermediate इट् and beginning with a vowel. Thus जाग्रति já-grati, जक्षति jákshati, दरिद्रति dáridrati, चकासति chákâsati, शासति śâśati, दीध्यते dídhyate, and वेव्यते vevyate. The present participle दीध्यत् is irregularly formed by adding the affix शतृ (अत्) and when so formed it does not take the augment नुम् by VII. 1, 78.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ तुजादीनामितिप्रकारेआदिशब्दः । कथं प्रकारः । तुजदीर्घोभ्यासस्य न विहितः, दृश्यते च, ये तथाभूतास्ते तुजादयस्तेषामभ्यासस्य दीर्घः साधुर्भवति ॥

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

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

लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्य ॥ ८ ॥　पदानि ॥ लिटि, धातोः, अनभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विर्वचनप्रकरणे छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ लिटिद्विर्वचने जागर्तेर्वेति 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 + जल् = पच् पच् + जल् = पपाच ॥ So also पपाठ, म्रोर्ख्जुनाव ॥ 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 sûtra III. 1. 36 Vârt. वाच्य ऊर्णोर्णुवद् भावो यड् प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनं, आमश्च प्रांतषेधार्यमे-काच्चेङुपमहात् ॥

Why do we say when लट् follows? Observe कक्ता, हन्ता ॥ Why do we say "of a Dhâtu"? Observe ससुवांसो विभ्रृण्विरे, सोममिन्द्रायसुन्विरे ॥ The question arises from the fact that the root (dhâtu) 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 dhâtu in the sûtra. To this it is replied that by III. 4. 117, sometimes लिट् is treated as sârvadhâtuka, and then it takes vikaraṇa. As शु taking the vikarana श्नु becomes शृणु; (III. 1. 74) this whole *base* is not a dhâtu, therefore when the affixes of Perfect are added there is no reduplication, and we have शृन्विरे ॥ See III. 4. 117.

Why do we say 'of a non-reduplicate'? Observe कृष्णो नोनाव वृषभो यरी-एम्। नोनृयतेर्नोनाव, i. e. it is the Perfect Tense of the Intensive verb नोनुय, and is not reduplicated again, यङ् having already caused reduplication. So also संमान्या मरुतः समिमिक्षुः ending in the इस् of the Perfect.

Vârt :—In the Chhandas there is optionally reduplication of the root in the Perfect and other tenses. As आविव्यान् याचिषामहे or यियाचिषामहे; देवतानो दाति प्रियाणि or दसाति प्रियाणि ॥ मघवा सातु or ससातु, नस्तुतो वीरवद् धातु or दधातु ॥

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

सन्यङोः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन् यङोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरनभ्यासस्येति वर्त्तते । सन्यङोरिति च षष्ठ्यन्तमेतत् । सन्नन्तस्य यङन्तस्य चानभ्यासस्य धातोरेवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

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

The word सन् यङो: 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 इट् would not, as in अदिदिषति, अधिधिषति ॥

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) पष, reduplicate पिपक्षति (VII. 4. 79). So प

पिपतिषति, कृ—अरिरिषति, उन्न—उन्निरिषति ॥　So also of यङन्त:—as, पापच्यते (VII. 4. 83), अटाट्यते, यायज्यते, अरार्यते, प्रोर्णोनूयते ॥　If a root is already a reduplicated one, there is no reduplication : as जुगुप्सिषते, लोलूयिषते being the Desiderative forms of जुगुप्स (already formed by svârthika सन् III. 1. 5), and of लोलूय (the Intensive form of लु) ॥　See III. 1. 22.

श्लौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लौ परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रयमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

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

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

चङि ॥ ११ ॥　पदानि ॥ चङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङि परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रयमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं 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 अपीपचत्, अपीपठत्, (VII. 4. 93 and 94). So also आटिटत्, आशिशत्, आर्तिसत् ॥　These are aorists of the causative roots पाचि &c.

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

a form consisting of such substituted (आदिष्ट) vowel. Therefore, the light vowel is not considered non-existent for the purposes of सन्वद्भाव ॥ 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 सन्वद्भाव ॥ The difficulty will be in the form of आशीषमत् , 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 हि in the word अदिदत् ? This is, howwer, done by I. 1. 59. which see.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वानित्येते दाश्वाहन्सि भाषायां चाविशेषेण निपात्यन्ते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृप्रासीनां के द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा॰ ॥ चरिचलिपतिवर्त्तीनां द्वित्वमच्यक्त्राभ्यासस्य॥
वा॰ ॥ वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा॰ ॥ इन्तेधर्त्वं च ॥ वा॰ ॥ पाटेर्णिलुक् चोक् च दीर्घाभ्यासस्य ॥

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

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

Vârt:—Reduplication takes place when कृ &c, are followed by the affix क ॥ Thus क्रियते अनेन = कृ + क = चकम्, ज्रिट् + क = चिक्रिरम् ॥ The affix क comes after कृप् and ज्रिट् with the force of the affix घञ् ॥

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

Várt:—The above vártika is optional, so we have the forms वरः पुरुषः, धनों एयः, वशो मनुष्यः &c.

Várt:—The root हन् is reduplicated before the affix अच्, and the aug-ment आक् comes after the Abhyása, and घ is the substitute of ह of the Abhyása. Thus हन् + अच् = घन् + आक् + हन् + अच् = घनाघनः (The second ह is chang-ed into घ by VII. 3. 55), as in the phrase घनाघनः शोभनमर्षणीनाम् ॥

Várt:—The causative root पाति is reduplicated before the affix अच्, there is elision of णि (sign of the causative), and ईक् is the augment of the Abhyása, and it is lengthened. Thus पाति + अच् = पापटः ॥

ब्यङः सम्प्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्यङः, सम्प्रसारणम्, पुत्र, पत्योः, तत्पुरुषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्र पाति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समासे ब्यङः सम्प्रसारणं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ब्यङः सम्प्रसारण गौकाक्षायाः पतिषेधः ॥

13. There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix ब्यङ् (IV. 1. 78) when followed in a Tatpurusha com-pound, by the words पुत्र and पति ॥

When the words पुत्र and पति are the second members, forming a Tat-purusha compound, there is samprasárana (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix ब्यङ् of the preceding. That is य is changed into इ ॥ Thus करीषगन्ध्र गन्धो-ऽस्य = करीषगन्धिः (a Bahuvríhi compound taking the samásanta affix or rather substitute इ by V. 4. 137) करीषगन्धेरपत्यम् = करीषगन्धि + अञ् (IV. 1. 92) = कारीषगन्धः ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding ब्यङ् (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 य will be changed into इ and we have कारीषगन्धी-पुत्रः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ The आ of या becomes merged into इ (VI. 1. 108), and the short इ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139). So also कौमुद्रगन्धीपुत्रः O कौमुद्रगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say "of the affix ब्यङ्"? Observe इभ्यापुत्रः, क्षत्रियापुत्रः ॥

Why do we say "when followed by पुत्र or पति"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्या-कुलम्, कौमुद्रगन्ध्याकुलम् ॥

Why do we say "when forming a Tatpurusha compound"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्यापतिरस्य ग्रामस्य = कारीषगन्ध्यापतिरयं ग्रामः ॥ It is a Bahuvríhi compound.

The affix ब्यङ् is here the feminine affix य 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: प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम्." ॥ 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 : श्रीभत्यंय चानुपसर्जने न" ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्थायाः पुत्रः = परमक्कारीषगन्धीपुत्रः and so also परमकारीषगन्थीपतिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिकान्ता कारीषगन्थ्याम् = अतिकारीषगन्था, तस्यपुत्रः = अतिकारीषगन्थ्यापुत्रः, अतिकारीषगन्थ्यापतिः ॥

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 कारीषगन्थ्यापुत्रकुलं, कारीषगन्थ्यापरमपुत्रः &c.

Though a word ending in व्यङ् may have may semi-vowels, yet the vocalisation takes place of the affix य (व्यङ्) only, according to the maxim निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा 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 sûtras.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated when पति and पुत्र follow the word गौकाक्ष्य ॥ As गौकाक्ष्यापुत्रः, गौकाक्ष्यायात: instead of गौकाक्षपिुत्रः &c.

बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धुनि, बहुव्रीहौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यङः संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्तते । बन्धुघस्त्तरपदे बहुव्रीहौ समासे व्यङः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥ वा० ॥ मातच्मातृकमातृषु ॥

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

Thus कारीषगन्थाबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः ॥ So also कौछुवगन्धीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrîhi"? Observe कारी- षगन्थायाः बन्धुः = कारीषगन्थाबन्धुः, which is a Tatpurusha compound. Like the last sûtra, we have here also परमकारीषगन्धिबन्धुः, but अतिकारीषगन्थाबन्धुः, कारीषगन्थाबन्धु- धनः, कारीषगन्थ्यापरमबन्धुः ॥

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

Vârt:—There is vocalisation of व्यङ् in a Bahuvrîhi compound with मातच्, मातृक and मातृ optionally: as कारीषगन्धीमातंः or कारीषगन्थ्यामातंः, कारीषगन्धीमातृकः or कारीषगन्थ्यामातृकः, कारीषगन्धिमाता, कारीषगन्थ्यामाता ॥ The indicatory च of मातच् makes the word take the udâtta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163), thus debarr- ing the especial accent of the Bahuvrîhi (VI. 2. 1). All Bahuvrîhi compounds ending in ॠ take the samâsânta 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 वर्तते । ष्यङ् इति निवृत्तम् । वचि । वच परिभाषणे । व्वो वचिरिति च । स्वपि ॥ मिण्वप् श्वेते । यजारयो, यज्ञ देवपूजासंगतिकरणदानेष्विव्यतःप्रभूति आ गणान्तात् । तेषां वाचिस्वपियजा- दीनां 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 indicatory क ॥

The anuvritti of ष्यङ् does not run into this sûtra. The root वच् includes the वच परिभाषणे of the Adâdi class (II. 54) and the वच् substitute of ब्रू (II. 4. 53) स्वप् is the root मिण्वप् श्वेते of the Adâdi class (II 59). The यजादि verbs are the last nine roots of the Bhvâdi class viz. यज्, वप्, वह्, वस्, वेम्, व्येम्, ह्वेम्, वद् and श्वि ॥ The semivowels of these eleven verbs are changed into the corresponding vowel, when an affix having an indicatory 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—अषितः अषितवान्, (VII. 2. 56 VIII. 3. 60) 7 वेम्—उतः, उतवान्, 8 व्येम्—संवीतः, संवीतवान्, 9 ह्वेम्—हूतः, हूतवान्, 10 वद्—उदितः, उदितवान्, 11 ड्वोश्वि—शूनः, शूनवान् ॥

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

ग्रहिज्यावयिव्यधिवष्टिविचतिवृश्चतिपृच्छतिभृज्जतीनां ङिति च ॥१६॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रहि, ज्या, वयि, व्यधि, वष्टि, विचति, वृश्चति, पृच्छति, भृज्जतीनाम्, ङिति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उपादाने, ज्या वयोहानौ, वेमो वयिः, व्यध ताडने, वश कान्तौ, व्यच व्याजीकरणे, ओव्रश्चूछेदने, प्रच्छ ज्ञीप्सायाम्, भ्रस्ज पाके, इत्येतेषां धातूनां ङिति प्रत्यये परत भकारात्किति च संप्रसारणं भवति ।
परिभाषा ॥ निाछादेशः षल्स्वरस्मेल्थयावधीड्रिधिषु सिद्धावक्तव्यः ॥

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

By force of the word 'च' 'and', the anuvritti of क्रति is read into this sûtra. Thus 1. ग्रह—गृहीत:, गृहीतवान् (by क्त and क्तवतु), गृह्णाति (I. 2. 4), जरीगृह्यते (by यङ् of the Intensive). 2. ज्या—जीन:, जीनवान् (VIII. 2. 44 त 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. वयि—The root वेञ् is replaced by वय when लिट् follows (II, 4. 41). This वयि can have no किन् affix after it, it takes only लिट् terminations, which as we know are किन् (I. 2. 5). The examples, therefore given will be of किन् affixes only. Thus ऊयतु:, ऊयु: ॥ Now arises this question ' why do you enumerate वयि, for is not वेञ् (for which वयि is substituted) already included in वज्रादि class of verbs given in the last sûtra, and by force of that sûtra, वयि will get samprasâraṇa before किन् affixes", The reply is "वयि is numerated here in order to show that the prohibition of samprasâraṇa with regard to वेञ् as taught in VI. 1. 40, does not apply to its substitute वयि in the Perfect Tense". Thus while the Perfect of वेञ् is ववौ, ववतु:, ववु:, the Perfect of its substitute वयि is ऊवाय, ऊयतु: and ऊयु: ॥ More over VI. 1. 38 teaches that the य of वय is not vocalised in लिट् affixes, which therefore, implies (jñâpaka) that the other semivowel i. e. व of वय will be vocalised. 4. व्यध—विद्ध:, विद्धवान्, and with क्ङित् affixes विध्यति, वेविध्यते ॥ 5. वश—उशित:, उशितवान्, and with क्ङित् affixes उशत:, उशन्ति ॥ 6. व्यच—विचित:, विचतवान् विचात:, वेविच्यते ॥ By a Vârtika under I. 2. 1, the word व्यच is considered to belong to कुटादि class, and therefore all affixes after it, other than those having an indicatory ञ, ण or the affix णम्, are considered as ङित्, and therefore, there will be samprasâraṇa before these affixes : as, उर्व्याचिता, उर्व्याचितुम्, उर्व्याचितव्यम् ॥ 7. वश्र—वृक्ण:, वृक्णवान् ॥ How is the final छ of वश्र changed into क, for by VIII. 2. 36 छ ought to have been changed into ष before the झलादि affix क्त ? To this we reply the affix क्त is replaced by न (VII. 2. 42) and as this न is not a झलादि affix, Rule VIII. 2. 36 does not apply. This is done on the following maxim : "The substitute of the Nishṭhâ should be considered to be siddha or effective when applying the rules relating to the change of a letter into ष, to accent, to affix, and to the addition of the augment इट्". But when च is to be changed into क, the substitute is considered asiddha (not to have taken place). Thus we have the forms वृक्ण: &c. Before ङित् affixes we have वृश्चति, वरीवृश्च्यते ॥ 8. प्रच्छ—पृष्ठ: (VIII. 2. 36), पृष्ठवान्, ङित्—पृच्छति, परीपृच्छ्यते ॥ The forms प्रष्टु and बभ्रज्ज would have been evolved by the simple rules of Reduplication even, without the

application of this rule. But प्रच्छ + नङ् (III. 3. 90) = प्रश्नः ॥ Here there is no vocalisation, because Pânini himself uses the word प्रश्नः in sûtra III. 2. 117 showing that this is the proper form though irregular. 9, भस्ज—भृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), षष्टवान्, ङित्—भृज्जति, बरी भृज्ज्यते ॥ The स of भस्ज is changed first into र by मलां अष हासि (VIII. 4. 53), and then र is changed into ज by स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः (VIII. 4. 40).

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

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

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

Thus वच—उवाच, ऊवचिय, स्वप्—सुष्वाप, सुष्वपिय, यज्—इयाज, इयजिय, वप्—उवाप, उवपिय ॥ As regards महादि verbs; मह्—जमाह, जमहिय (there is no speciality in case of this verb, as these forms would have been evolved without even this rule). ह्वा—जिह्वौ, जिह्वियथ, वयि—उवाय, and उवयिथ ; व्यध्—विव्याध, विव्यधिय, वच—उवाच, उवचिथ, व्यच्—विव्याच, विव्यचिय, व्रश्च—वव्रश्च and वव्रश्चिथ ॥ Some say that with regard to व्रश्च, it is equal whether there existed this present rule or not. For they argue thus, व्रश्च + जल् = व्रश्च् + व्रश्च् + अ = व + व्रश्च् + अ (हलादि शेषः VII. 4. 60) = वव्रश्च ॥ To this we reply, this form would be evolved no doubt had this rule not existed. But when this rule is applied, and you make reduplication without first vocalising the र, then you will have to vocalise व by force of this rule. Hence the necessity of this rule with regard to व्रश्च also, for having changed र into ऋ, we have वृव्रश्च् and then change ऋ into अ by VII. 4. 66. Then this अ substitute becomes sthânivat to ऋ (I. 1. 59), and therefore there is no vocalisasion of this व, for rule VI. 1. 37, prevents the vocalisation of a letter standing before one which has already been vocalised. There is no speciality with regards to प्रच्छ and भस्ज 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 परत्व I. 4. 2, vocalisation will take place first and then reduplication, according to the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानात्सिद्धम् "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded by a subsequent rule". Thus वच् + अतुः (which is कित् I. 2. 5) = उच् + अतुः = उच् + उच् + अतुः = ऊचतुः, ऊचुः ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वापेरिति स्वपेर्ण्यन्तस्य ग्रहणं तस्य चङि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

Thus the Aorist of स्वापि is 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 क्ङिति has ceased, that of ङिति however is here.

स्वपिस्यमिव्येञामां यङि ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि, स्यामि, व्येञाम्, यङि, (सम्प्रसारणम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञिष्वप् ष्ये स्वप्तु स्वन ध्वन ग्राह्यं, व्येञ् संवरण, इत्यंतेषां 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, सेसिम्यते, वेवीयते (VII. 4. 25 the short इ is lengthened). Why do we say 'when यङ् follows'? Observe स्वमक् formed by नजिङ् III. 2. 172.

न वशाः ॥ २० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वर्तते । वशोर्धातोर्यङि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

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

The word यङ् is understood here.   As वावद्यते, वावद्यते, वावद्यन्ते ॥   Why do we say "when यङ् follows"?   Observe यङ्:, उद्यन्ति ॥   See VI. 1. 16 to which this rule is an exception.

चायः की ॥ २१ ॥   पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वर्त्तते । चयि पूजानिष्यामनयोरित्येतस्य धातोर्यङि परतः कीस्यवमादेशो 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 चेकीयते, चेकीयेते, चेकीयन्ते ॥ The exhibition of की in the sûtra with a long ई indicates that there is long vowel even in tenses where यङ् is elided, as चेकीतः ॥   For if the sûtra had enunciated कि with a short इ as the substitute of चायृ, the forms चंकीयंत &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 Nishṭhâ would have been चेकितः which is wrong.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फायी शोप्यायी वृद्धाविस्वस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः स्फीस्यवमादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus स्फीतः, स्फीतवान् ॥   Why do we say "when the Nishṭha 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 Nishṭha follows" governs all the subsequent sûtras up to VI. 1. 29.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायामिति वर्त्तते सम्प्रसारणमिति च । स्त्या इत्येतत्र स्वर्यते । स्त्यै ख्यै घाडसंघातयोर्दूयोर्व्येत-यो र्द्वास्त्योः स्त्यारूपमापन्नयोः सामान्येन ग्रहणम् । स्त्या इत्येतस्य प्रपूर्वस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः सम्प्रसारणं-भवति ॥

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

The phrases "when the nishṭhâ follows", and "there is vocalisation" are understood here.   The anuvritti of स्फी does not run here.   The roots स्त्यै and ष्ट्यै both assume the form स्त्या and are included here.   Thus प्र + स्त्या + क्त = प्र + स्ति + त (VI. 1. 108) = प्रस्तीतः (VI. 4. 2), and प्रस्तीतवान् ॥   The त of nishṭhâ affix would have been changed into न 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 त is not changed to न ॥   But त is optionally changed to म by VIII. 2. 54 as प्रस्तीमः and प्रस्तीमवान् ॥

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

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

द्रवमूर्तिस्पर्शयोः श्यः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रवमूर्ति, स्पर्शयोः, श्यः ॥

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

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

The word द्रवमूर्त्ति means hardening of a fluid, by coagulation &c.
Thus शीनं घृतं, शीना वसा, शीनं मेदः "a coagulated butter, grease &c". The त of
nishṭhâ is changed to न by VIII. 2. 47. But when the sense is that of 'cold',
the त is not changed ; as शीतं वर्त्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतघुवकम् ॥ 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 ॥ श्य इति वर्त्तते । प्रतेरुत्तरस्य श्यायतेर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

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

विभाषा ऽभ्यवपूर्वस्य ॥२६॥ पदानि॥ विभाषा, अभि, अव, पूर्वस्य, (संप्रसारणम्॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्य इति वर्त्तते । अभि अव इत्येवंपूर्वस्य श्यायतेर्निष्ठायां विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

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

The पूर्व in this sûtra serves the same purpose as in VI. 1. 23. Thus
अभिसंशीनं or अभिसंश्यानं, अवसंशीनं, अवसंश्यानं ॥ According to the author of Sid-
dhânta Kaumudî, the word पूर्व shows that it is a vyavasthita vibhâshâ, 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.

श्टतं पाक्के ॥ २७ ॥   पदानि ॥ श्टतम्, पाक्के, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेत्यनुवर्त्तते । श्रा पाक्के इत्येतस्य धातोर्ऽर्यन्तस्याण्यन्तस्य च पाक्के ऽभिधेये क्तप्रत्यये परतः श्रुभावो निपात्यते विभाषा ॥

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

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

प्याय: पी ॥ २८ ॥   पदानि ॥ प्याय:, पी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेत्येव । श्रोप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निछायां विभाषा पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

The root श्रोप्यायी वृद्धौ belongs to Bhvâdi class. The indicatory श्री shows that the affixes त and तवत् are changed into न and नवत् (VIII. 2. 45). Thus पीनं पुथम्, पीनो बाहु, पीनमुरः ॥ The option here is also a regulated option (vya-vasthita-vibhâshâ). The substitution takes place *invariably* when the root is without upasarga, and *never* when it is preceded by an upasarga. Thus प्रप्यानः श्राप्यानमन्द्रगाः ॥ The substitution, however, must take place when the preposition श्राङ् precedes the root, and the words श्रन्धु: and ऊर्ध्वं are in composition : as श्रापीनोन्धुः, श्रापीनमूर्धः ॥

लिङ्यङोश्च ॥ २९ ॥   पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यङो:, च, (पी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेति निवृत्तम् । प्यायः पीत्येतद्यङ्लिङेनानुकृष्यते । लिटि यङि च परतः प्यायः पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

The anuvritti of the word विभाषा ceases. The phrase प्यायः पी of the last sûtra is drawn into this by force of the word च 'and'; thus श्रापिप्ये, श्रा-पिप्याते, श्रापिप्ध्यिरे ॥ The substitution of पी a subsequent rule, would have debar-red 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 + लिट् = पि + पी + त = पि + व्य + ए (VI. 4. 82 the व being substituted) = आपिव्ये with the affix आ. So also in the Intensive, as आपिपीयते, आपेपीयते, आपेपीयन्ते ॥

विभाषा द्वेः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, द्वेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिड्यङोरिति वर्त्तते संप्रसारणमिति च । लिटि यङि च द्वयतेर्धातोर्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ।

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

The phrases लिड् यङोः and संप्रसारणं are to be read into this sûtra. Thus शुशुवे or शिश्व्याय, शुशुवतुः or शिश्व्यियतुः ॥ So also in the Intensive as दीशूयते or द्यम्भीयते ॥ The root द्वि would not have taken vocalisation before यङ् by any previous rule, this sûtra teaches optional vocalisation. The root would have taken vocalisation before लिट्, which is a कित् affix, invariably by VI. 1. 15, this sûtra 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 शिश्व्याय, which by VI. 1. 17 would have been शुश्व्याय ॥ द्वि + णल् = (शु उव् + णल् VI. 1. 30) = शु + णल् (VI. 1. 108) = शु + शु + अ (VI. 1. 8) = शुशुव ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा द्वेरिति वर्त्तते । सन्परे चङ् परे च नौ परतः ध्वयतेर्द्धातोर्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

The phrase विभाषा ध्वेः is understood here. In forming the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist forms of the Causative of द्वि, there is optional vocalisation. Thus शुशावयिषति or शिश्व्याययिषति ॥ So also in the Reduplicated Aorist चङ्, as अशुशवत् or अशिश्व्ययत् ॥ By the maxim संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाश्रयं च बलीयो भवति (see sûtra VI. 1. 17), the antaranga substitution of Vriddhi &c is superseded by the samprasâraṇa and the subsidiary operations relating to it here. The vriddhi and the substitntion of आव take place *after* the samprasâraṇa has taken place. The sûtra VII. 4. 80 teaching the substitution of इ for the उ of the reduplicate, when सन् follows, shows by implication that the substitution caused by णि is sthânivat though it itself does not cause reduplication (I. 1. 59). Thus द्वि + णि = ध्वे + इ = ध्वाय् + इ = ध्वायि ॥ In reduplicating ध्वायि we cannot form ध्वाभ्वाय, but must consider the substitute equal to the original इ of द्वि and must reduplicate it. We thus get शिश्व्याययिषति ॥ In the case of vocalisation, the rules of Vriddhi &c are postponed. Thus द्वि + णि + सन् (VI. I. 108) = शु + णि + सन् = शौ + इ + सन् = शाव् + इ + इट् + सन् = शावे + इट् + सन् = शावयि + सन् ॥ Here we requ-

ire reduplication. Here the substitute ह्याड़ in ह्याड़ though not *caused* by सन्, is treated sthânivat under I. 1. 59 to उ, which is carried in reduplication. Similarly the Aorist: ह्मि + ह्नि + चङ् = जु + इ + अ = जु + जु + इ + अ = जु + ह्यी + इ + अ = जु + ह्याड़ + इ + अ = जु + ह्याड़ + इ ÷ अ (VII. 4. 1) = जु + ह्याड़ ÷ ० ÷ अ (VI. 4. 51) = अजूह्यवत् (VII. 4. 94)

ह्नः सम्प्रसारणम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्नः, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ च संह्रडोरिति वर्तते । सन्परे चङ्‌ परे च णौ परतो ह्नः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्न इति वर्तते, तदभ्यस्तस्य चेत्यनेन व्यधिकरणम्, अभ्यस्तस्य यो ह्ययति:, कथाभ्यस्तस्य ह्ययति:, कारणं, सेनाभ्यस्तकारणस्य ह्ययते: प्रागेव द्विर्वचनात्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

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

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्न इति वर्तते । छन्दसि विषये ह्ययतेर्दान्तो बहुडं संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

Thus हुवे or ह्रयामि, as इन्द्राग्नी हुवे 'Invoke Indra and Agni'. देवीं सरस्वती हुवे ॥ The form हुवे is Atmanepada, Present tense, 1st Pers. sing. the vikarana यप् is elided, then there is vocalisation and substitution of उवड़ ॥ So also ह्रयामि मरुत: शिवान्, ह्रयामि विद्वान् देवान् ॥ So also हुव: as शुभ्रीहुवम् (Rig I. 2. 1.) 'hear the invocation'.

चायः की ॥ ३५ ॥　पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वर्त्तते । चायतेर्द्धातोऽछन्दसि विषये बहुलं कीलयमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

अपस्पृधेथामानृचुरानृहुश्चिच्युषेतित्याजश्रातः श्रितमाशीराशीर्त्तीः ॥ ३६ ॥
पदानि ॥ अपस्पृधेथाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, श्रातः, श्रितम्,
आशीः, आशीर्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्पृधेथाम् आनृचुः आनृहुः चिच्युषे तित्याज, श्रातः, श्रितम्, आशीः, आशीर्तं, एतेनिपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

The word छन्दसि is understood here. From the root स्पर्द्ध 'to challenge', is formed अपस्पृधेथाम् being the Imperfect (लङ्), 2nd Pers. Dual, Atmanepada : there is reduplication of the root, vocalisation of र, and the elision of अ irregularly. As, इन्द्रश्च विष्णो यदपस्पृधेथाम् ॥ In secular language the form is अस्पर्धेयाम् ॥ Some say, it is derived from स्पर्द्ध with the preposition अप, the vocalisation of र, the elision of अ, and the non-prefixing of the augment अट् in the Imperfect (VI. 4. 75). The counter-example of this will be अपास्पर्द्धे-याम् ॥ From अर्च and अह् 'to respect, to worship', are derived आनृचुः and आ-नृहुः in the Perfect before the 3rd per. pl. उस्, there being vocalisation of र and the elision of अ irregularly. Then there is reduplication, then क changed to अ, then the lengthening of this अ, then the addition of the augment न, as : अर्च् + उस् = क्च् + उस् = क् + क्च् + उस् = अ + क्च् + उस् (VII. 4. 66) = आ + क्च् + उस् (VII. 4. 70) = आ + र् + क्च् + उस् (VII. 4. 71) = आनृचुः ॥ The irregularity consists in the samprasârṇa with the elision of अ ॥ Thus यवमा अर्कमानृचुः, न वस्तन्यानृहुः ॥ The secular forms will be आनर्चुः, आनर्हुः ॥ The form चिच्युषे is the Perfect 2nd per. sing. of the root च्युङ् to go' : there is vocalisation of the reduplicate, and the non-addition of the augment इट् before the affix से ॥ This is the irregularity. The regular form is चुच्युविषे ॥ The form तित्याज is the Perfect of त्यज्, the vocalisation of the reduplicate is the irregularity. The regular form is तत्याज ॥ From the root श्रीञ् 'to cook', is derived श्राता before the Nishṭhâ affix, श्री changed to श्रा irregularly. As श्रातास्त इन्द्रसोमाः ॥ The form श्रितं is also derived from the same root by shortening the vowel with the same affix. As सोमी गौरी अधिश्रितः, श्रिता नो गृहाः ॥ Some say the श्रा 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 भ्रातः is seen in the singular, referring to objects other than सोम । Thus यदि भ्रातो जुहोतन ॥ In fact, the exhibition of the word भ्रातार: in the plural in the sûtra is not absolutely necessary. The words आशीर् and आशीर्त्तः are from the same root श्री, with the prefix आइ and taking the affixes क्विप् and क्त respectively. Before these श्री is replaced by शीर्, and the non-addition of न in the Nishthâ is irregular. As, तामाशीरा दुहन्ति आशीर्त्त कर्त्रम्, शीरैर्मध्यत आशीर्त्तं ॥

न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३७ ॥　पदानि ॥ न, संप्रसारणे, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋचि त्रेरुत्तरपदशितिलोपदच्छन्दसि ॥　वा० ॥ र्यमितौ बहुलम् ॥

37. When a semivowel hase 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 य् and व्; when य् is once vocalised into इ, the preceding व् will not be vocalised into उ ॥ Thus we have विद्धः ॥ From व्यच्—विचितः, व्यञ्—संवीतः ॥ Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sûtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found *preceding* a vocalised letter. This sûtra 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. I. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व being changed to उ, the य is not changed as ऊना ॥ It might be objected that when the उ of यु, and उ the sam-prasârana of व coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two उ's and this is sthânivat to the original, the य and व 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 sthânivat (See I. 1. 58). Even though it be considered as sthânivat, it is still a separating letter.

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

Vârt:—In the Chhandas there is diversely vocalisation of the semi-vowel of रवि followed by the affix मतुप् as रवि + मत् = रव् + मत् = र + इ + मत् = र + इ-।-वत् (VIII. 2. 15) = रेवत्; as, भा रेवानेतु नो विश: ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as रविमान् पुष्टिवर्द्धनः ॥ The म here is not changed to व as required by VIII. 2. 15.

Vârt:—There is vocalisation of कम्था before मत् when a Name is meant: as कम्बिन्लं य भौशिजः ॥ This Vârtika is unnecessary. See VIII. 2. 12 where the form कम्बीवत् is given.

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

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

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

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

वश्वास्यान्यतरस्यां 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 ऊयतुः or ऊवतुः, ऊवुः or ऊयुः ॥ According to Pâtanjali, the phrase वश्वास्य of this sûtra could have been dispensed with; this much would have been enough:—अन्यतरस्या किति वमः ॥ Thus वे + अतुस् = वा + वा + अतुस् = ववतुः and ववुः (the vocalisation being prohibited). In the alternative:—वा + अतुस् = उ + अतुस = उ + उवङ् + अतुस् (VI. 1. 77) = ऊवतुः, ऊवुः ॥ Here there is vocalisation. In the case of वय् substitute, the व is never vocalised, so we have ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Thus all the three forms have been evolved without using वश्वास्य ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटीत्यनुवर्त्तते । वेञ् तन्तुसंतानइत्यस्य धातोर्लिटि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

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

Thus ववौ, ववतुः, ववुः ॥ This root belongs to यजादि class and would have been vocalised before किन् affixes by VI. 1. 15; and before non-किन् 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 ॥ वेञ इत्यनुवर्त्तते । ल्यपि च परतो व्येञः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

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

Thus प्रणाय, उपणाय ॥　The separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras, into which the anuvritti of ल्यप् only runs.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । ज्या व्योहानार्विन्यस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतः संप्रसारण न भवति ॥

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

Thus प्रज्याय, उपज्याय ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । व्येञ् 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 sûtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, in which the anuvritti of व्ये runs.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि च व्यञ्चेत्यनुवर्त्तते । परेरुत्तरस्य व्येञित्येतस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतो विभाषा संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

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

Thus परिवीय यूपम् 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 वर्तते । एजन्तो यो धातुरुपदेशे तस्याकारादेशो भवति शिति तु प्रत्यये न भवति ॥

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

The word धातोः is to be read into this sûtra from VI. 1. 8. Thus ग्लै—ग्लाता, ग्लातुम्, ग्लातव्यम्, घौ—निशाता, निशातुम्, निशातव्यम् ॥　Why do we say ending with an एच् (diphthong)? Observe कर्त्ता from कृ, and हर्त्ता from हृ ॥　Why do we say in upadeśa or Dhâtupâṭha? Observe चेता, स्तोता where चे and स्तो are not the forms taught in the first enunciation of the root in the Dhâtupâṭha, but are secondary forms. Why do we say, before non-शित् affixes? Observe ग्लै-ल-याप् + तिप् = ग्लायति, म्लायति ॥　Exception is, however, made in the case of the affix एश् of the Perfect: as जग्ले, मम्ले ॥　This is explained by interpreting the word शित् as शिशादि, that is the affixes having an indicatory श् in the beginning: एश् has श् at the end. This is done on the maxim यस्मिन् विधिस्तदादावल् ग्रहण "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 whith it".

The word अशिति is an example of प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध:. 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 क after roots ending in आ; so that ग्ले and म्ले are presupposed to end in आ when applying this affix: thus सुग्लः, सुम्लः ॥ Similarly by III. 3. 128 we apply शुच् to ग्ले and म्ले by presupposing it as आदन्त roots: as सुग्लानः, सुम्लानः ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ व्येञ् 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 संविव्याय, संविव्ययिथ ॥ The reduplicate of the Perfect is vocalised here by VI. 1. 17. The Vriddhi in संविव्याय takes place by VII. 2. 115 before the ञित् affix णल् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेच इति वर्त्तते । स्फुर स्फुल चलनइत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोरेचः 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 ष after वि, as विष्फारः, and विष्फालः ॥

क्रीङ्जीनां णौ ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री, इङ्, जीनाम्, णौ, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकीञ् द्रव्यविनिमये, इङ् अध्ययने, जि जये, इत्येतेषां धातूनामेचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

48. The substution 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, अभ्यापयति and जापयति ॥ The augment प् is added by VII. 3. 36, since these roots end in long आ ॥

सिध्यतेरपारलौकिके ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिध्यतेः, अपारलौकिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णावितिवर्त्तते । षिधु हिंसासंराद्धयो रित्यस्य धातोरपारलौकिकेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानस्यैचः 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 form परलोक 'the next world' by adding the affix ठञ् with the force of 'for the sake of' (V. 1. 109). The double Vriddhi takes place by VII. 3. 20. The sense of the word सिध् must refer to अज्ञान or non-intelligent things for the purposes of this substitution. Thus अन्नं साधयति, ग्रामं साधयति ॥ Why do we say when not referring to the next world? See तपस्तापसं सेधयति, स्वान्यैवनं कर्माणि सेधयन्ति ॥ The force of सिध् is here that of knowledge, तापसः सिध्यति = 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 pâraloukika effect, then the substitution does not take place. The verb सिध् here belongs to the Divâdi class and not to the Bhvâdi, as the form सिध्यति in the sûtra shows it.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेच उपदेशाति वर्तते । मीञ् हिंसायाम्, डुमिञ् प्रक्षेपणे, दीङ् क्षय, इत्येतेषां धातूनां ल्यपि विषये चकारादेचभ विषये उपदेशएव प्राक् प्रत्ययोत्पत्तेरलेन्यस्य स्थाने आकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

By force of the word च 'and' in the sûtra, the substitution takes place of the diphthongs also of these verbs before all affixes other than ल्यप्, and this substitution takes place, before the occasion for the applying of the affixes arises (उपदेशावस्थायाम् आदत्वं 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, उपसाता, उपसातव्यम्, उपसातुम्, उपसाय ॥ The substitution of आ being understood to have taken place in the very उपदेश (in the dhâtupâtha) of

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

विभाषा लीयतेः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लीयतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीति वर्त्तते, आङश्च उपरेशशति च । लीङ् श्लेषणइति द्विवारिः ली श्लेषणइति क्र्यादिस्तयोर्भयोरपि यक्रा निर्देशः समर्थते । लीयतर्द्वातोल्याप च एचश्र विषय उपरेशशएवालोन्त्यस्य स्थानं विभाषा आकारारिशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमीमिलियां खलचोः प्रतिषेधो 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 ले, this incipient diphthong ए is changed to आ by this rule. The same is the case with all the roots subsequently taught, thus खिद् will be खेद्, and then ए changed to आ, गुर् = गोर् and ओ changed to आ &c. Therefore we have employed the anuvritti of एच् ' diphthong' in all sûtras. The words ल्याप and आरेंच उपरेश are understood here. The roots ली belonging to Divâdi and Kriyâdi are both included here. Thus विलाता, विलातुम्, विलात्ऱ्यम्, विलाय, यिलेता विलेतुम्, विलेतव्यम् and विलीय ॥

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

The ली invariably takes आ substitution when the sense is that of 'showing respect,' 'deceiving' or 'insulting'. As कस्त्वामुज्ञापयते, इयनो वर्त्तिकामुज्ञापयते ॥ 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 ॥ विभाषेति वर्त्तते । खिद दैन्यइत्यस्य धातोरेचः स्थानेःछन्सि विषय विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ गुरी उद्यमनइत्यस्य धातोरपपूर्वस्य णमुलि परत एचः स्थाने विभाषा आकार आदेशो 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 णमुन् forming the Absolutive Participle is added by III. 4. 22, and the word formed by it is repeated. Thus अवगारमपगारम् or अपगारमपगोरम् ॥ So also this affix is added by III. 4. 53: as, अस्यपगारं युध्यन्ते or अस्यपगारं युध्यन्ते " they are fighting with raised swords '.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ चिम् स्फुर इत्येतयोर्द्धान्वोर्णौ 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 प्) so also स्फारयति or स्फारयतिं ॥

प्रजने वीयतेः ॥ ५५ ॥　पदानि ॥ प्रजने, वीयतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णाविऱ वर्त्तते । वी गतिप्रजनकान्त्यसनखादनेषु इत्यस्य धातोः प्रजने वर्त्तमानस्य णौ परतो विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ।

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

The root श्री 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 श्रानो गाः प्रवापयति or प्रवाययति = गर्भे ग्राहयति ॥　The word प्रजन means the receiving of the embryo which in course of time will lead to the birth of a child.

विमेतेरिंतुभये ॥ ५६ ॥　पदानि ॥ विमेतेः, हेतु भये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णाविति वर्त्तते विभाषेति च । हेतुरिह पारिभाषिकः स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजकस्ततो यद्भयम्, स यस्य भयस्य साक्षाद्धेतुः, तद्भयं हेतुभयम्। तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य भिभी भयइत्यस्य धातोर्णां 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 sûtra 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 कुण्डो भाययते (VII. 3. 36) or भिषयते (VII. 3. 40). So also जटिलो भापयते or भीषयते ॥ This root takes the affixes of the Atmanepada, by I. 3. 68; and the augment प is added by VII. 3. 40, which does not come when there is आ substitution, for the भी in VII. 3. 40 is equal to भी + इ i. e. भी ending in इ; and means भी ending in इ takes the augment प ॥

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

नित्यं स्मयतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, स्मयतेः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ णाविति वर्त्तते, हेतुभयइति च । नित्यग्रहणादिभाषेति निवृत्तम् । स्मिङ् ईषद्धसनइत्यस्य धातोर्हेतु-भयर्थे णौ परतो नित्यमाकारादेशो 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 कुण्डोजटिलो वा विस्मापयते ॥ Otherwise we have कुञ्चिकयैनं विस्माययति ॥ The word भय here is taken to mean स्मयते 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 ॥

सृजिदृशोर्ऽल्यमकिति ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृजि, दृशोः, झलि, अम, अकिति ॥

वृत्ति ॥ सृज विसर्गे, दृशिर् प्रेक्षणे, इत्येतयोर्झलादावल्हलासावाकिति 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 indicatory क् ॥

Thus सृज् + तृन् = सृ + भ + ज् + तृ = स्रष्टृ nom. sing. स्रष्टा, so also स्रष्टुम्, स्रष्टव्यम्, द्रष्टा, द्रष्टुम्, द्रष्टव्यम् ॥ This अम् augment prevents the guṇa substitute ordained by VII. 3. 86. But in अस्राक्षीत् and अद्राक्षीत् 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 सर्जनम्, दर्शनम् with यु ॥ Why do we say not having an indicatory क्? Observe सृष्टः, दृष्टः before the affix क्त ॥ The forms of roots being exhibited in the sûtra, the rule applies when affixes relating to verbs come after these, and not when other affixes relating to noun follow. Thus ऋत्विजृसृड्भ्याम्, देवदृग्भ्याम् ॥ Here the words are used as nouns rather than verbs. For the maxim धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे तदस्यये कार्ये applies here.

अनुदात्तस्य चतुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, ऋदुत्, उ पधस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशाइति वर्त्तते, झल्यमकितीति च । उपदेशे ऽनुदात्तस्य धातोर्ऋकारोपधस्य झलाशावकिति प्रत्यये परतो ऽन्यतरस्याममागमो भवति ॥

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

The word उपदेश is understood here, so also झल्यमकिति ॥ Thus तमा or तर्पिता or तमां, द्रमा, सर्पिता or द्मां ॥ The roots तृप 'to satisfy', and दृप 'to be happy to release', belong to Divâdi class, sub-class Radhâdi, and they take the augment इट् optionally (VII, 2. 45), so we have the three forms given above : for these roots are also anudâtta in their first enunciation.

Why do we say "which are anudâtta in the Upadeśá or the system of grammatical instruction"? Observe वर्ता, वर्तुम्, वढव्यम्, from वह उद्यमन which is exhibited as उदात्त, and because it has an indicatory ऋ it takes इट् 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 indicatory क'? Observe तृप्:, दृप्: ॥ Before affixes not beginning with a झल् consonant this augment will not be inserted, as तर्पणम्, दर्पणम् ॥

शीर्षंश्छन्दसि ॥ 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 शीर्ष्णा हि तत्र सोमं क्रीतं हरन्ति, यत्तं शीर्ष्णो दैर्भाग्यम् ॥ In the secular literature there is only one form शिरः ॥

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

वृत्ति ॥ शीर्षन्निति वत्तते । आदेशोयमिष्यते स कथं तद्धितइति हि परं निमित्तमुपासीयते स तदनुरूपां प्रकृतिं शिरःशब्दमाक्षिपति । यकारादौ तद्धिते परतः शिरःशब्दस्य शीर्षन्नादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वा केशषु ॥

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 sûtra, we must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरस् ॥ Thus शीर्षण्यो हि मुख्यो भवति,

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

Vârt:—The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair'. As शीर्ष-ण्याः केशाः or शिरस्याः केशाः ॥

अचि शीर्षः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, शीर्षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ ताद्धिते शिरसः शीर्षशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus हस्तिशिरसोऽपत्यं = हास्तिशीर्षिः formed by adding the Patronymic affix इञ् (IV. 1. 96). So also स्थूलशिरस इदम् = स्थौलशीर्षम् ॥ 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 ष्यङ् (IV. 1. 78), arises this difficulty :—ष्यङ् (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 + ष्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्षन् + य (VI. 1. 61) = हास्तिशीर्षण्या (VI. 4. 168). But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हास्तिशीर्घ्या ॥ How do we explain this? Thus हास्तिशीर्षि + ष्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्षि + य (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a *zero* or लोपादेश) ॥ Now this âdeśa becomes sthânivat 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 sthânivat to इञ् affix.

This sûtra is not of Pâṇini, but is really a Vârtika raised to the rank of a sûtra by later authors.

पद्दन्मास्दन्निशस्न्यूषन्दोषन्यकञ्छकन्नुदन्नासञ्छस्प्रभृतिषु ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, दत्, नस्, मास्, हत्, निश्, असृज्, यूषन्, दोषन्, यकन्, शकन्, उदन्, आसन्, शस्, प्रभृतिषु ॥

वृत्ति ॥ पाद् दन्त नासिका मास हृदय निशा असृज् यूष दोष यकन् शकन् उद्क आसन इत्येतेषां शब्दानां स्थान शस्प्रभृतिष्वल्यथेषु परतः पद् दत् नस् मास् हत् निश असन् यूषन् दोषन् यकन् घकन् उदन् आसन् इत्येते आदेशा यथासङ्ख्यं भवन्ति ॥

वा० ॥ पशारिषु मांस्पृत्सुनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥   वा० ॥ नस् नासिकाया यत्तत्संध्रेषु ॥

वा० ॥ यति वर्णनगरयोनेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

63. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are substituted :—पद् for पाद्, दत् for दन्त, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मास, हृद् for हृदय, निश for निशा, असन् for असृज्, यूयन् for यून, दोषन् for दास, यकन् for यकृत्, शकन् for शकृत्, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kâśikâ gives आसन् as the substitute for आसन, the Sidhânta 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 sûtra from VI. 1. 59 and hold that these substitutes are optional and not compulsory.

Examples :—1. पद्—निपद्श्चतुरो अहि, पञ्चवतंय गोदुहम् ॥ 2 दत्—या दती धावति तस्यै ऽबावदन् ॥ 3 नस्—सूकरस्त्वखनत्रसा ॥ 4 मास्—मासिल्वा पइयामि चक्षुषा ॥ 5 हृद्—हृदा पूतेन मनसा आत्वंवसम् । 6 निश—अमावास्यायां निशि यजेत ॥ 7 असन्—असिक्तो स्नावरोहति ॥ 8 यूषन्—या पात्राणि यूषन् आसिच्चनानि ॥ 9 दोषन्—यत्त दोष्णो दौर्भाग्यम ॥ 10 यकन्—यक्तो वयति ॥ 11 शकन् शक्तो वयति ॥ 12 उदन्—उन्नो दिव्यस्य नावा ते ॥ 13 आसन्—आसनि किं लभे मधूनि ।

Why do we say when the weak terminations शस् &c follow ? Observe पादौ ते प्रतिपीड्यौ नासकं तं कृत ॥ As examples of this substitutions in the secular literature also, the following may be given :—

व्यायामशुण्ण गात्रस्य पद्ग्नागुद्वर्तितस्य च ।
व्याधयो नोपसर्पन्ति वनन्तेयमिवोरगाः ॥

These substitutions take place before other affixes also : as, दाला दोषणी, कककुदोषणी याचते महादेवः ॥

Vârt :—The following substitutions also take place : मांस for मांस, पत्न् for पत्ना, and स्नु for सानु: as यस्मीक्षणं मांसपचन्याः for मांसपचन्याः (Yaj. XXV. 36), पृष्ठ मर्त्यम for पृतनाद्युमर्त्यम्, न ते दिवो न पृथिव्या अधिस्नुषु for अधिसानुषु ॥

Vârt :—The नस् is substituted for नासिका only when the affixes यत् and सस्. and the word क्षुद्र follow : as, नस्यम्, नस्तः, नस् क्षुद्र ॥ The यत् is taught in IV. 3. 55 and V. 1. 6 ; तस् is taught in V. 4. 45.

Vârt :—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 ॥
वृत्ति ॥ धातोरादेः षकारस्य स्थाने सकारादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शुठधातुछिद्युप्रभृकतीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

64. There is the substitution of स in the room of the ष being the initial of a verbal root as enunciated in the Dhâtupâtha.

The roots exhibited in the DhâtupâTha with an initial ष, change it for स ॥ Thus षह—सहंत, षिच्—सिंचति ॥ Why do we use the word 'root'? Observe

षोडया, षडिकः, षण्डः ॥ Why do we say 'initial'? Observe—कर्षति, कृषति ॥ Why have then roots been exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with an initial ष, when for all practical purposes this ष is to be replaced by स, would it not have been easier to spell at once these words with a स? This appears cumbersome no doubt, but the spelling of the roots with ष is for the sake of brevity. Certain roots change their स into ष when preceded by certain letters: those roots which thus change their letter स for ष have been at once taught with an initial ष, and thus by VIII. 3. 59 their स is changed to ष ॥ Thus from सिव—instead of ससव we have सिषव ॥ Thus root is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with a ष, and thus we know that the स must be changed to ष ॥ Otherwise a list of such roots would have to be separately given. One must refer to the Dhâtu-pâṭha for a list of such roots. As a general rule, however, all roots beginning with a स and followed by a vowel or a dental letter have been taught in the Dhâtupâṭha as beginning with an initial ष, as well as the following roots स्मि, स्वद्, स्विद्, सहज and स्वप्, though followed by म or व ॥ The following roots though followed by a vowel or a dental are not taught with an initial ष viz. सृप्, सृज्, स्रु, स्त्या, सेक्, and सृ ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated of the roots derived from nouns, and of षिव् and ष्वक्क ॥ Thus षोडीयते, षण्डायते are roots derived from nouns, and though these roots begin with ष are not changed: so षिव्—षिवति, ष्वक्क—ष्वक्कते ॥ The word षिव contains in it two roots षिव् and स्विव्, one with ड, another with थ, and thus we have two forms in the reduplication:—तेष्ठीयते, टेष्ठीयते ॥ The substitution of स for ष takes place in the case of the root that has थ ॥

　णो नः ॥ ६५ ॥　पदानि ॥ णः, नः ॥
·वृत्ति ॥ धातोरादेरित्यनुवर्त्तते । धातोरादेर्णकारस्य नकार आदिशो भवति ॥

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

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

　लोपोर्व्योर्व्रे लि ॥ ६६ ॥　पदानि ॥ लोपः, व्योः, वलि ॥
वृत्ति ॥ धातोरिति प्रकृतं यत् तद्धात्वादेरिति पुनर्द्धातुग्रहणानिवृत्तम् । तेन धातोरधातोश्च वकारयकारयो-र्बलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

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

The final ऋ or ॠ 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 य ॥ Thus विऋ + वस् (III. 2. 107) = विऋ + विऋ + वस् = विशिवस् nom. singular शिशिवान्, शिशिवांसौ, शिशिवांसः ॥ Thus ऋ + त = ऋतं, 'spun', क्रऋ + त = क्रूतं 'made a noise'. So also the affix ईक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129). Of the affix ईक्, इ is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2). Thus गोधा + एय + र = गौधेरः (the इ of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पचेरन्, यजेरन् the इ of लिङ् (III. 4. 102) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105).So also इ is elided in the following :—from जीऋ — जीरदानुः (by Uṇādi affix आनि रदानुक्) from शिऋ—अशिमाणम् formed by the Uṇādi affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Uṇādi affixes (III. 3. 1), there is not ऋर् substitution for ऋ as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except य?" Observe ऋय्यते, क्रूय्यते when य is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of ऋ and ॠ should take place prior to the elision of the aprrikta य taught in the next sûtra. Thus कण्डूय + क्विप् = कण्डू य (VI. 4. 48) = कण्डू + य = कण्डूः ॥ So लोलूय + क्विप् = लोलूः ॥ Why य of अय is not elided before र which is a वल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of ऋ been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रय instead of अय ॥ If you say the ऋ is taught for the sake of forms like वृयाति by samprasârana. and वयय by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasâraṇa, and the elision of र by इलाद्विशेषः are Bahiranga.

वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वे:, अपृक्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्तते । वेरिति क्विबादयो विशेषाननुबन्धानुसृत्यसामान्येन गृह्यन्ते । वेरपृक्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

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

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

Why do we say "of an aprikta—an affix consisting of a single letter"? Observe दर्विः formed by the affix विन् (वि being the real affix); so also जागृविः formed क्विन्, see Uṇādi Sûtras 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 Dhâtu to a Prâtipadika 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 च्वि words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

हल्ङ्याब्भ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्, ङ्याप्भ्य:, दीर्घात्, सु, ति, सि, अपृक्तम्, हल् ॥

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

*Kárikâ :—*संयोगान्तस्य लोपे हि नलोपादिर्न सिद्ध्यति । राच्च तेनैव लोपः स्याद्वलस्तस्मादिहेयते ॥

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 त 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 sûtra 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)+o=राजा, तक्षा, उखास्रत्, पर्णध्वत् ॥   After a ङी :—as, कुमारी, गौरी, शार्ङ्गरवी ॥   After आप् :—खट्ट, बहुराजा, कारी षगल्या ॥   The elision of ति and सि takes place only after consonants :—as, अबिभर्भवान् (भृ+लङ्+तिप्=अ+भृ+ श्रु+त्=अ+भृ+भृ+त् (VI. 1. 10) =अ+भर्+भृ+त् (VII. 4: 66 and I. 1. 51)=अ+भ+भृ+त् (VII. 4. 60)=अ+ब +भृ+त् (VIII. 4. 54)=अ+बि+भृ+त् (VII. 4. 76)=अ+बि+भर्+त् (VII. 3. 84)=अबिभर्+त्=अबिभर् ॥   So also अजागर् भवान् ॥   In both these cases त् of the Imperfect has been elided. The स् is elided in the following :—अभिनोऽत्र, अच्छिनोऽत्र ॥ (सिद्+लङ्+सिप् ॥ The द् is changed into र् by VIII. 2. 75 and स् is elided by this rule).

Why do we say "after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ"? Observe ग्रामणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say "after a long vowelled feminine affix"? Observe निष्कौशाम्बिः, अतिखट्वः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say "when followed by सु, ति and सि"? Observe अमे- त्सीत् ॥ 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 बिभेद, षिच्छेद ।: Here the apṛikta 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 sûtra.

Why has the elision of सु (सु), न (तस्) and स (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 राज्र, नक्ष could not be evolved. As राजन् + सु = राजान् + स् (VI. 4. 8)=राजान्स् and by eliding स् by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राजान्, and the final न 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 न, does not find scope, since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of स) is considered as if it had not taken effect. So also in the case of उखास्रत् and पर्णध्रत् ॥ उखा + स्नन्र् + क्विप् III. 2. 76 = उखा + स्रम् (the nasal being elided by VI. 4. 24); now add सु, we have उखास्रत् + स् = उखास्रस्स ; elide the final स् not by this rule, but by VIII. 2. 23, we have उखास्रस्, 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 अभिनोऽत्र ॥ The word अभिनः is 2nd. Pers. sing. of the Imperfect of भिद् of Rudhâdi class. Thus भिद् + लङ् + सिप् = अ + भिद् + इनम् + स् = अ + भिनद् + स् = अभिनर् + स् (द changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75)=अभिनर्स् ॥ If we elide the final स् of the cojunct by VIII. 2. 23, then in अभिनर् + अत्र, the र् would not be changed into उ to form अभिनोऽत्र by VI. 1. 113 since the ellision of स is considered as to have not taken effect when applying this rule. So also in अभिभर् भवान्, by Rule VIII. 2. 24, there would be no lopa even, for संयोगान्तलोप rule is restricted by रस्स्य (VIII. 2. 24), i. e. स् only and no other consonant is elided after र्, therefore there will be no elision of न in अभिभन् by VIII. 2. 23.

एङ्ह्रस्वात्संबुद्धेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्, ह्रस्वात्, सम्बुद्धेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्तते, हलिति च । अपृक्तामति न धिक्रियते । तथा च पूर्वसूत्रे पुनरपृक्तमहणं कृतम् । एङन्ताव्यातिपरिकाद् ह्रस्वान्ताच परो हल्लुप्यतसंचस्संबुद्धेर्भवति ॥

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

The word लोप is understood here also ; as well as हल् ॥ The word अपृक्त however is not to be read here, as its repetition in VI. 1. 68 (though its anuvritti was there from the preceding sûtra) 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 वधू ॥ Now applying the present sûtra, the affix स् is elided after

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

ङीच्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतस्य बहुलं छन्दसि विषये लोपो 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 प् follows.

Thus अग्नि + चि + क्विप्=आग्निचित्, so also सोमसुत् ॥ Similarly प्रकृत्य and प्रहृत्य and उपस्तुत्य formed by the affix ल्यप् ॥ Why do we say "ending in a short vowel"? Observe भालूय, मामणीः ॥ Why do we say " having an indicatory प "? Observe कृतम्, हृतम् ॥ Why do we say "a kṛit affix"? Observe पटुतरः, पटुतमः, with the Taddhita-affixes तरप् and तमप् ॥ In the compound मामणिकुलम्, 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 बांहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ॥ "That which is Bahir-anga 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 ॥ अधिकारो ऽयमनुवर्त्तं परमेकवर्जमिति यावत्। प्रागेतस्मात्सूत्रादित उत्तर यद्वक्ष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

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

This is an adhikâra or governing sûtra, exerting its influence upto VI. 1. 158. What ever we shall say in the sûtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in **संहिता**, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice. Thus **दध्यत्र, मध्वत्र** the **इ** and **उ** are changed to **य** and **व** when the two words are pronounced without any hiatus. Otherwise we shall have **दधि अत्र, मधु अत्र** ॥

छे च ॥ ७३ ॥   पदानि ॥ छे, च ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ तुगित्यनुवर्त्तते, छ्राति च । आङो ङित इ‍षशारिषु चतुर्ष्वर्थेषु वर्त्तमानस्य माङ्श्च प्रतिषेधवचनस्य छकारे परतस्तुगागमो भवति ॥

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

The Particle **आ** has the four senses of 1. littleness (**ईषदर्थः**) 2. with verbs, as a prefix (**क्रियायोगः**) 3. the limit inceptive (**अभिविधि**) and 4. the limit exclusive (**मर्यादा**). This sûtra ordains **तुक्** *necessarily*, where by VI. 1. 76, it would have been optional. Thus **ई रच्छाया = आच्छाया**; 2. With verbs:—as **आच्छादयात्**, 3 and 4. **आच्छायायाः**, **आच्छायाम्** ॥ So also the negative particle **मा**, as, **माच्छैत्सीत्, माच्छत्सत्** ॥ The **ड** in **आङ्**

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

दीर्घात् ॥ ७५ ॥   पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, तुक् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विदभ्रजनासीनां छन्दसिवा तुगागमो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

*Vârt :—*The augment न is optional in the Chhandas, after the words विदभ्रजन &c. As, विदभ्रजनछत्रम् or विदभ्रजनछत्रम्, नच्छायां कुर्वंतापराम् or नछायां कुर्वंतापराम् ॥

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

वृत्ति ॥ अचि परत इको यणादेशो भवति ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णेऽर्धिबाधनार्थे यणादेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

This sûtra 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 अधि + अत्र = अध्यत्र, मधु + अत्र = मध्वत्र, कर्तृ + अर्थम् = कर्त्रर्थम्. हर्तृ + अर्थम् = हर्त्रर्थम्, ल्ऌ आकृति = लाकृतिः ॥

Vârt:—This semivowel substitution of vowels takes place, when preceded by a prolated vowel, even to the supersession of VI. 1. 101 requiring lengthening. Thus अग्ना ३ इ इन्द्रम् = अग्ना ३ यिन्द्रम्, पटा ३ उ उत्कम् = पटा ३ वुत्कम्, अग्ना ३ इ आशा = अग्ना ३ याशा, पटा ३ उ आशा = पटा ३ वाशा ॥ औ ३ इ इन्द्रम् = औ ३ यिन्द्रम् ॥ The phrase 'when a vowel follows' exerts its influence upto VI. 1. 108.

एचोऽयवायावः ॥ ७८ ॥　पदानि ॥ एचः, अय - अव - आय्-आवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचः स्थाने ऽचि परतो ऽइ अय् अव् आय् आव् इत्येते आदेशा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus चि + ल्युट् = चे + अन = चयनम्, लो + अन = लवनं; चै + अक = चायकः, लौ + अक = लावकः ॥ So also चयते, व्ययते, यावचरुणद्धि, रु + युच् (III. 2. 148) = रौ + अन = रवणः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ योघमेचः स्थाने वान्तादेश ओकारस्य अव् औकारस्याव् स यकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ गोर्यूतौ छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ अध्वपरिमाणे च ॥

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

The वान्त are those which end in व् viz. अव् and आव् ॥ Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sûtra, those which end in व् (viz. अव् and आव्) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ ॥ Thus बभु + यम् = बाभ्रो + य = बाभ्रव्यः (VI. 4. 146 and IV. 1. 105). So also माण्डव्यः, शङ्कव्यशरः, पिचव्यः कार्पासः, नाव्यो (IV.4.91) ह्रदः ॥ Why do we say "अव् and आव् "? Observe रायमिच्छति = रैयति, no change of ऐ before य ॥ Why do we say " before य"? Observe गोभ्याम्, नौभ्याम् ॥ Why do we say "an affix"? Observe गायानम्, नीयानम् ॥

Vârt:—The word गो is changed before यूति in the Vedas. As गो + यूति = गव्यूति, as आनो मित्रा वरुणा घृतैर्गव्यूतिमुक्षतम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोयूतिः ॥

Vârt:—This substitution takes place when referring to the measur of a road:—as, गव्यूति मात्रमध्वानं गतः ॥ This is in the secular literature, गव्यूति meani g कोशयुगम् ॥

धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ८० ॥　पदानि ॥ धातोः, तन्निमित्तस्य, ए च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एच इति वर्त्तते । वान्तो यि प्रत्ययइति च । धातोर्य एच् तन्निमित्तो यत्रा ।यःसिमज्ययनिमित्तस्तस्य यकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो वान्तादेशो भवति ॥

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

The words एच:, शान्तोषि प्रस्यवे are understood in this sûtra. The word तन्निमित्त means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with य ॥ Thus रू forms its Future Passive Participle by यत् (III. 1. 97), this affix causes the guṇa of ऋ by VII. 3. 84: Thus रू + य = रो + य, which according to the present sûtra becomes रव्यम् ॥ So also पृ—पो + य = पव्यम् ॥ रु + ण्यत्(III.1.125) = लो + य = अवश्य लाव्यम् and अवश्य पाव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'of a root'? This rule should not apply to a nominal stem. For then, though it may be all right in the case of बभ्रु + य = बाभ्रो + य = बाभ्रव्य:; it will not apply to cases like गो + य = गव्य, नौ + य = 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 आ + वे + यक् + ते = Here by Samprasâraṇa(VI.1.15),वे becomes उ, as आ + उ + य + ते; now by sandhi आ + उ = ओ VI. 1. 87), we have भा + यते = ओयते ॥ Since भा is not caused by य, there is no अव् substitution. So also आयत, लीयमानि:, पीयमानि: (IV. 1. 95). The word एव in the aphorism has the force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, भो and भौ before य are changed then only to अव् and भाव् when य has caused the production of भा and भौ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the य has caused the production of भा and भौ or not.

क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षय्य - जय्यौ , शक्य - अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षि जि इत्येतयोर्द्वास्वीर्यति प्रत्यये परतः शक्यार्थे गम्यमाने एकारस्यायांदिषो निपात्यते ॥

81. In क्षय्य and जय्य there is substitution of अय् 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 शक्य: क्षेतुं = क्षय्य: (क्षि + य = क्षे + य); so also जय्य: ॥ Why do we say when meaning " to be possible to do"? Observe क्षेयं पापं, जेयो वृषल: ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रय्य:, तदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीणातेर्द्वातोस्तदर्थे कयार्थे यत्तस्मिन्नभिधेये यति प्रत्यये परतो ऽयादिषो निपात्यते ॥

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

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

l. e., for the purpose of being bought. As कय्या गों:, कय्य: कम्बल: ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe क्रेयं नो धान्यं न चास्ति कय्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

भव्यप्रवय्ये च छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भव्य - प्रवय्ये , च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिभेतेर्धातोः प्रपूर्वस्य च वी इत्येतस्य यति प्रत्यये परतश्छन्दसि विषये ऽयादिशो निपात्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इरव्या आप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

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

The word भव्य is derived from भी + यत्, and प्रवय्या from प्र + वी + यत् ॥ The guṇa ए is changed to अय् ॥ Thus भव्यं क्रिलासीत् ॥ वस्ततरी प्रवय्या ॥ The यत् is added to भी with the force of Ablative by virtue of the diversity allowed by कृत्यल्युटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113) ॥ Thus बिभेति अस्मात् = भव्वम् "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 भेयम्, प्रवेयम् in secular literature.

Vårt :—The word इरव्या should also be enumerated when referring to water. As इरे भवा = इरव्या आप: ॥ The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 110 (इरे + य = इरय् + य) ॥

एक: पूर्वपरयो: ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक:, पूर्व - परयो:, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयम् । क्वयात्परत्येति प्रागेतस्मास्सूत्रादित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वस्य परस्य द्वयोरपि 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 adhikâra sûtra. In every sûtra 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 ru'es of *ekâdesa*, 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 sûtra the phrase एक: पूर्वपरयो: i. e. one guṇa is the substitute for the final अ or आ and the initial vowel. Thus खट्टा + इन्द्र: = खट्टेन्द्र: ॥ 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 गुण: (अचि) = "after अ or आ, there is guṇa, in a vowel". Here आद् 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 sthânî, such as we find in the sûtra VIII. 2. 42 (रदाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः, पूर्वस्य च दः, "न is the substitute of the त of nishṭhâ, after र and द, and of the preceding द"). Here न is taught as substitute both of त and द, and as एक is not used in the sûtra, we get *two* न, as भिद्+त=भिन्+न=भिन्नः ॥ But this is not the case here. According to Mahâbhâshya the word एक is redundant.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एक इति वर्तते 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 âdeśa is like the sthânî, but in an ekâdeśa, the sthânî *is* indeterminate, or rather the sthânî is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding. Hence the necessity of this sûtra. The sense of this atideśa sûtra 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 ब्रह्मबन्धू is a Nominal-stem (प्रातिपदिक) and the affix ऊ is a non-prâtipadika, and the single-substitute ऊ is considered as the final of the prâ-tipadika. So that we can apply to the form ब्रह्मबन्धू the term prâtipadika 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 prâ-tipadika (I. 1. 46), because this feminine affix ऊ is not included in IV. 1. 1. Similarly for the final non-case-ending अ of वृक्ष and the case-ending औ, there comes a single substitute औ by VI. 1. 88, this ekâdeśa 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 खट्ट+आ=खट्टा ॥ Here the

ekâdeśa आ is as the final अ of खट्व, 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 खट्वा will not end in ैः, but will be खट्वा-भिः ॥ So also in जुहाव ॥ It is the Perfect 3rd per. sing. of हु or ह्रा (VI. 1. 45). By VI. 1. 53, the उ is changed to उ, and we have जुहुउआ = जुहुउआ which by VI 1. 108 becomes जुहु, the उ being the single substitute of उ and आ ॥ This single-substitute उ should not be considered as आ for the application of the rule VII. 1. 34 by which the Perfect affix णल् (अ) is changed in औ after roots ending in आ ॥ Similarly in अस्यै + अभ्यः = अस्या अभ्यः (the उ being elided by VIII. 3. 19). अस्यै is the Dative singular of इदम् in the Feminine with आ ॥ By VII. 3. 114 स्या is added in the Dative with the shortening of the preceding आ ; as अ + स्या + ए = अस्यै ॥ Here ऐ is the single substitute for आ and ए ॥ Here for the application of VI. 1. 109 the single substitute ऐ should not be considered like ए ॥ The sthânî 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 sthânî: as when भू replaces अस् the whole form अस् is called sthânî, and not अ or स् separately. The parts, may be called sthânî only inferentially, because the whole is made up of parts. The parts not being considered as sthânî, the rule of sthânîvad 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 sûtra.

पत्वतुकोरसिद्धः ॥ ८६ ॥　पदानि ॥ पत्व - तुकोः, असिद्धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्वे तुकि च कर्तव्ये एकादेशो ऽसिद्धो भवति, सिद्धकार्यं न करोतीत्यर्थः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संप्रसारणडीङ्हसु 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 (असिद्धवचनमादेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थमुत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥) Thus कांऽसिचत् here स is not changed to ष ॥ The equation is thus exhibited : कस् + असिचत् = कर् + असिचत् (the स changed to र by VIII. 2.66)=कउ + असिचत् (उ being substituted for र by VI. 1. 113)=को + असिचत् (अ-1-उ = ओ VI. 1. 87)=कोऽ-सिचत् (ओ-1-अ = ओ VI. 1. 109). Now applies our sûtra. By VIII. 3. 59, स coming after ओ required to be changed into ष, but here the single-substitute ओ is con-

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

Vârt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of samprasârana, the Locative singular case-ending ङि (इ), and the 1st per. sing. Atmanepada affix इट् ॥ Of vocalisation we have the following : शाकटूषु=शाकान् ह्वयति, then we add क्विप्, before which there is vocalisation of व्, this उ combining with in the following आ becomes उ ekâdeśa: as शाकह्वा-इ-क्विप्=शाकहुआ-इ-o (VI. 1. 15)+शाकहु (VI. 1. 108). The Locative plural is formed by सु : शाकहु-इ-सु=शाकहूषु (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 परिवीषु (परि + व्ये + क्विप् = परि + वइए + क्विप् = परिवि, add सु) ॥ Of the affix ङि we have:—वृक्ष-इ-इ = वृक्षे, add छत्रम्, then the single substitute ए being considered not asiddha we have वृक्षेच्छत्रम् or वृक्षेछत्रम ॥ Of the affix इट् of 1st Pers. Atmanepada we have अपचे-इ-छत्रम् = अपचेच्छत्रम् or अपचे-छत्रम ॥ In both these cases we optionally add तुक् by VI. 1. 75-76, by considering the ekâdeśa (VI. 1. 87) as to have taken effect, and making the finals दीर्घ or long. Here the ekâdeśa is *not* asiddha and therefore तुक् is *optinal* and not compulsory.

आद्गुणः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचीयत्यनुवर्तते । अवर्णात्परोऽयो उच् अचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोर्वर्णांचोः स्थाने एको गुण आदेशो भवति ॥

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

The word भाचि is understood here. For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding vowels, there is the single substitute guṇa. Thus तव + इदम्=तवेदम्, खट्वा + इन्द्रः = खट्वेन्द्रः, माला + इन्द्रः = मालेन्द्रः, तव + ईहते = तवेहते, खट्वा + ईहते = खट्वेहते, तव + उदकम्=तवोदकम्, खट्वा + उदकम् = खट्वोदकम्, तव + ऋश्यः = तवर्श्यः, खट्वा + ऋश्यः = खट्वर्श्यः, तव + लृकारः=तवल्कारः, खट्वा + लृकारः = खट्वल्कारः ॥ By analogy of I. 1. 51, the guṇa substitute of ऋ being अ is always followed by र्, as that of ऌ is followed by ल् ॥ This universal rule is limited by the following aphorism.

वृद्धिरेचि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, एचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिति वर्तते । अवर्णात्परो य एच् एचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोर्वर्णैचः स्थाने वृद्धिरादेशो भवति ॥

88.   The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initil diphthong of the succeedind (अ or आ-1-diphthong = vṛiddhi).

The word भात् is understood here.   For the diphthong which follows an अ or भा, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz. the Vṛiddhi.   This debars guṇa taught in the last sûtra.   Thus ब्रह्म + एडका = ब्रह्मैडका, खट्वा + एडका = खट्वैडका, ब्रह्म + एतिकायनः = ब्रह्मैतिकायनः, खट्वा + एतिकायनः = खट्वैतिकायनः ॥ ब्रह्म + ओदनः = ब्रह्मौदनः, खट्वा + ओदनः = खट्वौदनः, ब्रह्म + औपगवः = ब्रह्मापगवः, खट्वा + औपगवः = खट्वौपगवः ॥

एत्येधत्यूठसु ॥ ८९ ॥   पदानि ॥ एति, एधति, ऊठसु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिरेचीति वर्तते, आदिति च । तत्रेतरेडमहणमेतरेव विशेषणं न पुनरेधतेरप्यभिचारावूठष्वासम्वात् । इण् गतावित्येतस्मिन्धातवेधि एध वृद्धाविलेतस्मिन् ऊठि च पूर्वं यत्स्वरणं तत्मथ परो योच्च तयोः पूर्वद्योरवर्णयोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भयाति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अक्षादृहिन्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥   वा० ॥ स्वारीरेटिग्योर्वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥
वा० ॥ मातुहोढवेष्वेष्वेषु वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥   वा० ॥ क्तते च तृतीयासमासे स्वर्णाद् वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥
वा० ॥ प्रवत्सतरकम्बलवसनानामृणे वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥   वा० ॥ ऋणदशाभ्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

89.   The Vṛiddhi 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 sûtra and भात् are understood here.   The एच् of the last sûtra qualifies the root इ in एति, i. e. when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then apples this Vṛiddhi rule. Thə एच् does not qualify the root एध as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एच् qualify ऊठ् for ऊ is not a diphthong.   Thus उप + एति = उपैति, उप + एषि = उपैषि, उपैमि; उप-1-एधते = उपैधते, प्रैधते; प्रष्ठ-1-ऊहा = प्रष्ठौहा ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87, the present sûtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead.   In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. 1. 94, this sûtra makes an exception to that rule.   The present sûtra is an exception to VI. 1. 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, because the maxim is पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् "Apavâdas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda 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 अवैति 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 एचि qualifies the root इ ॥

Vârt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by ऊहिनी, as धक्षौहिणी सेना ॥

Várt :—The Vriddhi is the single substitute when स्व is followed by
ईर or ईरिण, or ईरिणी thus स्वैरम्, स्वैरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix घञ्
added to ईर्गतौ (Ad. 8. स्वनाभिप्रायेण ईरण = स्वैरम the compounding takes place by II.
I. 32. Another form is स्वैरी = स्वनाभिप्रायेण तं गच्छति with the affix णिनि (III. 2. 78).

Várt :—The Vriddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊह,
ऊढ, ऊढि, एष, एष्य; as प्रौहः, प्रौढः, प्रौढिः, प्रेषः, प्रेष्यः ॥ The word एष is derived from the
root इषु 'to wish' (Tud. 59), इष 'to go' (Div. 18), and इष 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by
adding the affix घञ् ; and the word एष्य is derived form the same roots by add-
ing ण्यत् ॥ This Vârtika ordains Vriddhi, while VI. I. 94 would have caused
पररूपः ॥ While the roots ईर 'to glean', and ईष 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh.
II5 and 642), form ईषः and ईष्यः with the above affixes ; and with प्र, their forms
will be प्रेषः and प्रेष्यः ॥

Várt :—The Vriddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in
अ is followed by ऋत and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound: as
सुखेन ऋतः = सुखार्तः, दुःखेन ऋतः = दुःखार्तः, but सुखेन इतः = सुखेतः ॥ Why in Instrumen-
tal? Observe परमर्तः ॥ Why 'Compound'? See सुखेनर्तः ॥

Várt:—The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the word ऋण follows
the following:—प्र, वत्सतर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वत्सतरार्णम् 'the
debt of a steer', कम्बलार्णम् 'debt of a blanket', वसनार्णम् 'debt of a cloth'.

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

आटश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आटः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एचीति निवृत्तम् । अचीत्यनुवर्त्तते । आटः परो यो ऽच् अचि च पूर्वो व आट् तयोः पूर्वपरयोरा-
त्चोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ।

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

The anuvritti of एचि ceases : that of अचि however, is present. The
vowel that is subsequent to the augment आट्, and the आट् which is precedent
to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the आट् and the vowel—subsequent
and precedent, the Vriddhi is the single substitute. The augment आट् is added
to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional
Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत, औभीत्, औदीर्धीत्, औबजीत् from
roots ईक्षदर्शने (Bhu. 641), उभ उम्भ पूरणे (Tud. 32) and उ बज आर्जवे (Tud. 20). Ac-
cording to Siddhânta Kaumudi the आट् is the augment which ङित् case-affixes
take after *nadî*-words (VII. 3. 112). According to him the following are the
examples :—बहुश्रेयसी-1-आट्-1-ङे = बहुश्रेयस्यै (Dative Singular). The आट् is the
augment also in the Vedic Tense लेट् ॥

The च 'and' in the sûtra shows that the पररूप rule, taught in VI. 1. 95, 96 when उम्, ओं and आङ् follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is भाट् ॥ Thus औक्षीयत्, औकारीयन् ॥ आ-। ऊढा = औढा, तामिच्छत् = औंवांयन् ॥

उपसर्गादृति धातौ ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, ऋति, धातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरेयन । अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादृकारादौ धातौ परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने 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 भाट् 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 = उपार्च्छति, प्रार्च्छति, उपार्धोति ॥ Why do we say 'after a preposition'? Observe खट्ट्टर्च्छति, मालर्च्छति, प्रर्च्छकोदेशः = प्रगता ऋच्छका अस्मात् देशात् ॥ Here the word प्र is not treated as an upasarga, hence this sûtra does not apply. It is a Gati here. Why do we say 'when ऋ follows'? Observe उप-। इत = उपेतः ॥ Why have we used त after ऋ indicating that short ऋ is to be taken? Observe उप + ऋकारी यति = उपर्कारीयात ॥ No option is allowed here by the subsequent sûtra. The त is used, in fact, for the sake of the subsequent sûtra in case of Denominative verbs, no ordinary verb can begin wirh a long ॠ ॥ 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 'Dhâtu' shows that the alternative prakriti bhava taught in VI. 1. 129, would not apply in the case of the ऋ of a Dhâtu.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरेयन । उपसर्गादृति धातावृति च । सुबन्तावयवे धातावृकारादौ परतो ऽवर्णान्तादुपसर्गस्तू- र्षपरयोरापिशलेराचार्यस्य मतेन वा वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

92. According to the opinion of Âpiśali, 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 उपार्षभीयति or उपर्षभीयति, उपर्ल्कारीयति or उपार्ल्कारीयति ॥ The ऋ and ऌ are considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word ऋ in the last sûtra includes ऌ also. The name of the Grammarian Âpiśali is mentioned for the sake of respect; the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

औतो ऽमृशासोः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, ओतः, अम् - शासोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भोतो ऽमि शासि च परतः पूर्वपरयोराकार भावेशो भवति ॥

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

The word ओतः is a compound of आ + ओतः ॥ Thus गो - अम्, = गाम, गो-l-अस् = गाः ॥ Thus गां पश्य, गाः पश्यः ॥ This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also धां or धाः पश्य; as the word धो is also a nominal stem ending in ओ ॥ The Sârvanâmsthâna 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 अस्, and as the word सुप् of the last sûtra governs this also. Therefore अम् the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have अचिनवम्, अशृनवम् ॥

एङि पररूपम् ॥ ९४ ॥　पदानि ॥ पङि, पररूपम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्रिवेव, उपसर्गाद्धातातिति च । अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गांदेङादौ धातौ पूर्वपरयोः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शकन्ध्वादिषु पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एवे चानियोगे पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ ओत्वोष्ठयोः समासे वा पररूप वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एमन्नादिषु छन्दांस पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

Vârt:—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place in the case of शाकन्धुः &c. As शाक्-l-अन्धुः = शाकन्धुः, कुल + अटा = कुलटा, सीम + अन्तः = सीमन्तः 'hair'; when not referring to 'hair', the form is सीमान्तः ॥

Vârt:—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place when एव follows a word, and the sense is not that of 'appointment'. Thus इह-l-एव = इहेव; अथ-l-एव = अथैव ॥ When the sense is that of नियोग, the Vṛiddhi takes place: as इहैव भव, माऽन्यच गाः ॥

Vârt:—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place optionally when ओतु and ओष्ठ are compounded with another word: as स्थूल ओतुः = स्थूलोतुः or स्थूलौतुः, so also बिम्बोष्ठी or बिम्बौष्ठी ॥ When not a compound, the Vṛiddhi is compulsory: as तिष्ठ देवदत्तौष्ठ पश्य 'Stay Devadatta, see the lip'.

Vârt:—In the Vedas, the para-rûpa substitution takes place when एमन् &c. follow. Thus अपां त्वा एमन् = अपां त्वेमन् ॥ So also अपां त्वा ओषन् = अपां त्वोषन् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्रिवेव । अवर्णान्तादोमि आङि च परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्याने 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 आत् is understood here. Thus का-।-ओम् = कोम् ; या-।-ओम् = योम् ; as कोमित्यवोचत्, योमित्यवोचत् ; आ-।-ऊढा = ओढा, then अच्च-।-ओढा = अधोढा, करा-।-ओढा = करोढा, तत्र + ओढा = तत्रोढा ॥ आ + ऋछयात् = अछर्यात्, then अच्च-।-अछर्यात् = अच्छर्यात् ॥ Thus this rule supersedes both the Vṛiddhi and the lengthening (VI. 1. 88, and 101).

उस्यपदान्तात् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उसि, अपदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्स्विव । अवर्णाद्पदान्तादसि पूर्वपरयोराद्गुणापवादः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

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

The आत् is understood here. This debars the guṇa substitution taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus भिन्द्या-।-उस् = भिन्द्युः, छिन्द्या-।-उस् = छिन्द्युः ॥ अद्रा-।-उस् = अद्रुः, (लुङ् of दा) अद्रा-।-उस् = अद्युः ॥ All these are examples of लिङ् (Potential) and लङ् (Imperfect). Thus भिन्द् + यासुट् + झि (the यासुट् is added by III. 4. 103) = भिन्द् + य + उस् (जुस् replaced झि III. 4. 108) = भिन्द्युस् ॥ अद्रा + सिच् + झि = अद्रा + ० (II. 4. 77) + जुस् (III. 4. 110) = अद्रा + उस् = अद्रुः ॥ अ + या + झि = अ + या + उस् (VI. 4. 111) = अद्युः ॥ The उस् is also the substitute of झि 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 :—चक्र्-।-उस् = चक्रुः ॥ So also from भी we have अबिभे-।-उस् = अबिभयुः ॥ The word अपदान्तात् 'not being final in a pada' does strictly speaking, serve no good purpose in this sùtra. 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 अपद-न्तात् becomes valid. Thus का + उसा = कोसा, का + उषिता = कोषिता ॥ Most likely this word has been read here for the sake of the subsequent sútra or because उस् syllable is taken here and not merely the affix उस् ॥

अतो गुणे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, गुणे ॥

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

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

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

अपच- l-इ = अपचे, अयज्ञ ॥ When final in a Pada, this rule does not apply : as षण्ड-l-अम = कण्डामम्, यूपामम्, शुद्रामम् ॥

अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ ॥ ९८ ॥   पदानि ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्य, अतः, इतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तमपरिस्फुटवर्णे तदनुकरणं परिस्फुटवर्णमेव केन चित्साहश्येन तद्व्यक्तमनुकरोति तस्य यो-च्छब्दस्तस्साविती पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने परकूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनेकाच इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

     98.   The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound)-l-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 पटत्-l-इति = पटिति, घटत् + इति = घटिति, ह्रादत् + इति = ह्रादिति, छमत् + इति = छमिति ॥

     Why do we say 'imitation of an inarticulate sound'? Observe जगत्-l-इति = जगदिति ॥ Why do we say "of अत्"? Observe मरट् + इति = मराडीति ॥ Why do we say when followed by इति ? Observe पटत् + अच = पटतञ्च ॥

     Várt:—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—स्त् + इति = स्तिति ॥ How do you. explain the form घटदिति in the following:—घटदिति गम्भीरमम्बुर्वैर्नदितम् ॥ Here the word is not घटत्-l-इति but घटद्-l-इति ॥

नाम्रेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा ॥ ९९ ॥   पदानि ॥ न, आम्रेडितस्य, अन्त्यस्य, तु, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्याम्रेडितस्य यो उच्छब्द इतौ तस्य परकूपं 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-l-इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

     Thus पटत्पटदिति or पटत्पटेति करोति (पटत्पटत् + इति = पटत्पट + इ + ति = पटत्पटेति) ॥ The word is doubled by VIII. I. 4. The para-rûpa substitution will take place when the whole word so reduplicated denotes a sound imitation, thus पटपटिति करोति ॥ Here we apply the precedeing sûtra. The âmredita is the name of the second member of the doubled word (VIII. I. 2).

नित्यमाम्रेडिते डाचि ॥ १०० ॥   पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, आम्रेडिते, डाचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यातो ञ्न्त्यस्येति धातुवर्त्तते । डाच्परं यदाम्रेडितं तस्मिन्पूर्वस्याव्यक्तानुकरणस्या-च्छब्दस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य पूर्वस्य परस्य चायस्य वर्णस्य नित्यं परकूपमेकादेशो 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 करोति (V. 4. 57), रमरमा करोति ॥ पटत्पटत्-I-ङाच् (V. 4. 57) = पटत्पटा = पटपटा (त्+प्=प्) ॥ This sûtra is really a Vârtika. When the affix ङाच् (V. 4. 57) is added to पटत्, there is doubling of the word by the Vârtika 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 ऽचि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने दीर्घ एकादेशो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सवर्णदीर्घत्वे ऋति ऋवा वचनम ॥ वा० ॥ लति ल्व वा वचनम ॥

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 दण्ड + अग्रम् = दण्डाग्रम्, अधि + इन्द्रः = अधीन्द्रः, मधु + उदके = मधूदके and होतृ + ऋष्य होतृष्यः ॥ Why do we say 'an अक् or simple vowel ?' Observe अग्ने-I-ए = अग्नये ॥ Why do we say 'by a homogenous vowel?' Observe अधि-I-अत्र = अध्यत्र ॥ The word अचि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अचि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी शेते ॥ The ई and या are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10 : for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and या, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (I. 1. 69) is not brought into operation at the time when नाज् 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 नाज् झलौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. 1. 9) and then comes the ग्रहणकवाक्यं (I. 1. 68). Therefore in नाज् 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 या are not सवर्ण by I. 1. 10 : the *long* ई and या would be savarṇa.

Vârt :—When ऋ short is followed by ऋ short, the long substitution is optional : so also with ल ॥ This vârtika is necessitated because (1) the two ऋ or ल—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 होतृ-ऋकारः = होतृकारः or होतृृकारः, so also होतृ-I-ल्कारः = होतृल्कारः or होतृल्कारः ॥ The दीर्घ of ल is ऋ ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इति दीर्घ इति वर्तते । प्रथमाशब्दो विभक्तिविशेषे रूढस्तत्साहचर्यात् द्वितीयापि प्रथमेत्युक्ता । तस्यां प्रथमायां द्वितीयायां च विभक्तावचि 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 अक्‌: and शस्‌: 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 sûtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्वरूप or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. Thus अग्नि-इ-औ = अग्नी ; वायु-इ-औ = वायू ; वृक्ष-इ-अस = वृक्षा:, so also इक्षा:, वृक्षान्, इक्षान् ॥ In the case of these last four examples (वृक्ष-इ-अस &c) the rule VI. 1. 97 would have caused para-rûpa substitution i. e. would have given the form वृक्ष-इ-अस = वृक्ष:, and that rule would have debarred the lengthening rule VI. 1. 101 on the maxim "apavâdas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede those rules that stand nearest to them ;" but not this पूर्वसवर्ण lengthening rule as it does not stand nearest. The word अचि 'when a vowel follows' is understood here also, Thus वृक्ष-इ-सु = वृक्ष:, इक्ष: ॥ The word अक्‌ 'the simple vowel' is understood here also. Thus नौ-इ-औ = नावौ ॥ 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 ॥ तस्मात्‌पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घादुत्तरस्य शसो इ‌अयवस्य सकारस्य पुंसि नकारादेशो 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-इ-शस्‌ = वृक्ष-इ-अस्‌ = वृक्षान्‌ ॥ So also अग्नीन्‌, वायून्‌, कर्तृन्‌, होतृन्‌, पण्डकान्‌, स्यूरान्‌, अरकान्‌, पश्य &c. All these are masculine nouns. Now the word चञ्चा formed by the elision of कन्‌ meaning a figure like a नञ्चा (V. 3. 98), may refer to both the males and females. It will however retain its feminine fôrm though referring to a male being (See लुपि युक्तवद्‌ व्यक्ति वचने I. 2. 51). In forming the accusative plural of चंचा, the स्‌ will not be changed into न्‌ ॥ Thus चंचाः पश्य, वघ्रिकाः पश्य ॥ Why do we say 'after *such* a long vowel homogenous with the first'? The rule will not apply if the long vowel has resulted by being a single substitute for the antecedent and the subsequent. Thus आ is substituted for क्षो-इ-अ by VI. 1. 93. Here स्‌ will not be replaced by न्‌ as गाः पश्य ॥ Why do we say 'of the Accusative plural'? Observe वृक्षाः, पक्षाः endings in अस्‌ Nom Pl, Why do we say "in the masculine?" Observe, धेनु:, बह्वी:, कुमारीः ॥

नाद्दिचि ॥ १०४ ॥　पदानि ॥ न, आत्, इचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अत्वर्णांद्दिचि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

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

Thus वृक्षौ, प्लक्षौ, खट्वे, कुण्डे ॥ Here Rules VI. 1. 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. 1. 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, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वौ, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वः ॥

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 मारुत्यः, पिण्डीः or पिण्ड्यः, वाराही or वाराह्यौ; उपानही or उपानह्यौ ॥

आमि पूर्वः ॥ १०७ ॥　पदानि ॥ आमि, पूर्वः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अक इत्येव । आमि परतो ऽकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकादेशो भवति ॥

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

The word अकः is understood here. Thus वृक्ष-१-अम्=वृक्षम् (VII. 1. 24) प्लक्षम्, अग्नि-१-अम्=अग्निम्, वायुम् ॥ The word पूर्व 'antecedent, first' in the sûtra 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 mâtrâs or measures, as it comes in the room of ई + अ, the aggregate mâtrâs of which are three.

In the Vedas, there is option, as वार्मी or वार्म्यं, गार्री or गार्य्यं ॥ अम् is the

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

संप्रसारणाद्य ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्प्रसारणात्, च ॥

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

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

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

The rule of option in the Chhandas (VI. 1. 106) applies here also. Thus we have वज्यमानौ मित्रावरुणौ or इज्यमानौ ॥ "When you have just said that the two vowels will remain separate and there will be no यणादेश when there is no purvavad-bhâva we do you form वज्यमान ; 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-bhâva, 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 samprasâraṇa. Thus शाकान् ह्वयात = शाकह्वा + क्विप् = शाकह्व उ आ = शाकह्वू ॥ Here आ which is in the same अष्र with इ merges in to उ ॥ But in forming the dual, we have शाकह्वू + औ ॥ Here औ coming after the sam-prasârana उ does not merge therein, and we have शाकह्वौ ॥ Similarly शाकह्वू + अर्थे = शाकह्वर्थम् ॥ In fact when *once* the para-purvatva has taken effect, then subsequent vowels will produce their effect because in the antaranga operation इ अ ए into इए, the purva-rupa is ordained to save the samprasârana from modification, but there is no such necessity when a Bahiraṅga operation is to be applied.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यः पदान्तस्तस्मादति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वरूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus अग्ने-१-अच्च = अग्नेऽच्च, वायो-१-अत्र = वायोऽत्र ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अय् and अव् ॥ Why do we say 'of ए or ओ'? Observe इन्द्रत्र, मध्वत्र ॥ Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe चे-१-अन = चयनम्, लो-१-अन = लवनम् ॥ 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-१-इति = वाय्विति, भानो-१-इति = भान्विति ॥ Why do we say 'short'? Observe वायो आयाहि = वायवायाहि ॥

ङसिङसोश्च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ङसिङसो:, च ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ एङ इति वर्तते, अतातिच । एङ् उत्तरयोर्ङसिङसोरति परत: पूर्वपरयो: स्थाने पूर्व एकादेशो भवति ॥

110.   In the room of **ए** or **ओ** (in the body of a word),-१-अ of the case-affix **अस्** of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Thus अग्ने-१-अस् = अग्ने:, वायो: ॥ The इ and उ of अग्नि and वायु are guṇated by VII. 3. 111. This sûtra applies when the ए or ओ are in the middle of a word and not padânta, as in the last. Thus अग्नेरागच्छति, वायोरागच्छति, अग्ने: स्वम्, वायो: स्वम् ॥

ऋत उत् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत:, उत् ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ ङसिङसोरित्येव ऋकारान्तादुत्तरयोर्ङसिङसोरति पूर्वपरयोरुकार एकादेशो भवति ॥

111.   In the room of **ऋ**-१-अ of the case-affix **अस्** of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short **उ** ॥

Thus होत्-१-अस् = होतुर् (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 ऋत: and अकारस्य in this sûtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतुर् = होतु: ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छति, होतु: स्वम् ॥

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

वृत्ति: ॥ ङसिङसोरिति वर्तते उतिति च । ख्यत्यादिति ख्यिङश्रख्यीङश्रयोस्तिरश्रतिशब्दरयोभक्तेयणादे-वायोरिंत्रग्रहणं, ताभ्यां परस्य ङरि ङसोरत उकारादेशो 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 इ-सिङ्-सो: and उत् are understood here also. The द्वय means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to य, and त्य denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य ॥ Thus सखि-इ-अस् = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छात्, सख्युः स्वम् ॥ So also पत्युरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वम् ॥ The illustration of खां is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus : सखंखन वर्तंते = सखं, सखंमिच्छति = सख-इ-क्यच् (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-इ-अस् = सख्युः also. Of ती we have the following example. लूनमिच्छति = लूनीय, add क्विप् = लूनीः, the Ablative and Genitive singular of which is also लून्युः, the न of लूनी being the substitute of त of Nishṭhâ, is considered like त (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of क्य and त्य in the sûtra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c : where we have अतिसखेः, सेनापतेः ॥ The word अतिसखि is घि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prâtipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". According to Dr. Ballantyne this rule applies to all खी and ती, such as सुखीः one who loves pleasure' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखीय-इ-क्विप्). and सुतीः 'one who wishes a son' (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय-इ-क्विप्) : Thus सुख्युः, सुत्युः &c.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अति, उरिति वर्तते । अकारात्प्लुतादुत्तरस्य रोरिफस्य उकारानुबन्धविशिष्टस्य अकारे ऽप्लुते परत उकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

The phrase उत् is understood here, as well as the word आत of VI. 1. 109, 111. Thus वृक्ष-इ-सु (1st singular) = वृक्षस् = वृक्षर् (VIII. 2. 66). वृक्षर्-इ-अत्र = वृक्षउ-इ- अत्र = वृक्षो-इ-अत्र (VI. 1. 87) = वृक्षोऽत्र (VI. 1. 109) ; so also प्लक्षोऽत्र ॥ This ordains उ for र्, whereby VIII. 3. 17, there would have been otherwise य ; and this उ does not become asiddha (as it depends upon रु VIII. 2. 66) for the purposes of VIII. 3. 17, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 1.

Why do we say 'after an अ'? Observe अग्निर्-इ-अत्र = अग्निरत्र ॥ Why do say 'a *short* अ'? Observe वृक्षाः-इ-अत्र = वृक्षा अत्र ॥ Why do we use रु with its indicatory उ, and not use the र् generally? Observe स्वर्-इ-अत्र = स्वरत्र, मातर्-इ-अत्र मातरत्र ॥ Here the final र् is part of the words, and is not produced from स् ॥

The word भति is understood here also from VI. 1. 109. The र must be *followed* by a short अ, therefore, not here : वृषर्-1-इह = वृष इह ॥ The subsequent अ must be short, the rule does not apply here वृषर्-1-आश्रितः = वृष आश्रितः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ'? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As, सुत्रोता ३ अच स्वमसि (VIII. 2. 84). Why do we say "when followed by an apluta अ"? Observe तिष्ठतु पय आश्निवृत्त (VIII. 2. 86). Here प्लुत being held asiddha, there would have been उ substitution, had not the phrase अप्लुतं been used in the aphorism.

हशि च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हशि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हशि च परतो उत उत्तरस्य रोरुकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

The हश् pratyâhâra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus गुरुषो बाति or इसति or इवाति &c.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एङो उतीत्येव । एक इति यत्पउच्चम्यन्तमनुवर्त्तते तदर्यादिह प्रयमान्तं भवति । प्रकृतिरिति स्वभावः कारणे वा उभिधीयते । अन्तरित्यव्ययमधिकरणभूतं मध्यमाचष्टे । पादग्रहनेन च ऋक्पादस्यैव मगुणमिष्यते न तु श्लोकपादस्य । अवक्रारयक्रारपरे उति 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 इ or य ॥

The word एङः is understood here, but it should be construed here in the nominative case and not in the Ablative. The word प्रकृति means 'original nature, cause'. The word अन्तर् is an Indeclinable, used in the Locative case here and means 'in the middle'. The word पादः 'the foot of a verse' refers to the verses of the Vedas, and not to the verses of secular poetry. The word भति is also understood here. Thus ते अमे अभ्रमायुञ्जन् ; ते अस्मिन् अवमारधुः, उपमयन्तो अभ्वरम् ; गिरो अपश्यम् ; सुजाते अभ्वसुवृते (R. Veda. V. 79. 1) ; अभ्वर्यो अत्रिभिः श्रुतम् (Rig IX. 51. 1) ; शुकं ते अन्यत् (Rig. VI. 58. 1).

Why do we say 'in the inner half of a foot of a verse?' Observe कया मती कुत एतास एतेर्चन्ति ॥ Why do we say "when इ or य does not follow अ?" Observe नेइयवन् (Rig X. 109. 1), नेडयस्मयश् ॥ Why do we say ए or ओ? Observe अन्वग्निरुषसामममधयत् ॥ Some read this sûtra as नान्तः पादमध्यपरे ॥ According to them, this sûtra supersedes the whole rule of juxtaposition or संहिता (VI. 1. 72).

अव्यादवचादवक्रमुरव्रतायमवन्त्ववस्युषु च ॥ ११६ ॥　पदानि ॥ अव्यात्, अव
चात् , अवक्रमुः, अव्रत, अयम, अवन्तु, अवस्युषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यात् अवचात् अवक्रमुः अव्रत अयम अवन्तु अदस्यु इत्येतेषु यकारवकारपरेष्यति परतोऽन्तः
पास्मङ् 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 **व** and **य** following it) :—
अव्यात्, अवचात्, अवक्रमुः, अव्रत, अयम, अवन्तु, अवस्यु ॥

Thus अग्निः प्रथमोवसुभिर्नो अव्यात् ॥　मित्रमहो अवचात् (Rig IV. 4. 15), मा शि-
वासो अवक्रमुः (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), सरंहन्ता अव्रतान् (IX. 73. 5), कर्ते अव्रतान् (IX. 73. 8). शतधारो अयं मणिः, ते
नो अवन्तु पितरः (Not in the Rig Veda: according to Prof. Bohtlingk the अ of अवन्तु
is generally elided in the Veda after ए or आ) कुशिकासो अवस्यवः (Rig III. 42. 9).

यजुष्युरः ॥ ११७ ॥　पदानि ॥ यजुषि, उरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्द एवन्तो यजुषि विषये इति 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 sûtra
as यजुष्युरः ॥ They take the word as उर ending in उ, which in the Vocative
case assumes the form उरो ॥ They give the following example उरो अन्तरिक्षं सज्रः ॥
But in the Yajur Veda VI. 11, the text reads उरोरन्तरिक्षम् सज्रः ॥ In the Yajur
Veda, there being no stanzas, the condition of अन्तः पारं does not apply here.

आपोज्जुषाणोवृष्णोवार्षिष्ठेम्बेम्बालेम्बिकेपूर्वे ॥ ११८ ॥　पदानि ॥ आपः, जुषाणः,
वृष्णोः, वार्षिष्ठे, अम्बे, अम्बाले, अम्बिके, पूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्ठ इत्येते शब्दा अम्बे अम्बाले इत्येतौ च यावम्बिकेशब्दास्पूर्वौ
यजुषि पठितौ त आति 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 शुन्धयन्तु (Yaj. IV. 2). जुषाणो अप्तुराज्यस्य (Yaj.
V. 35), वृष्णो अंशुभ्यां गभस्ति पूतः (Yaj. VII. 1). वर्षिष्ठे अधिनाके ॥ The Vajasaneyi
Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठऽधि (V. S I. 22): The Taittariya 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 अम्बिके ऽम्बालिके) but Tait S. VII. 4. 19. 1, and Tait Br. III. 9. 6. 3 has अम्ब
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 तदादौ चाकारे यः पूर्वः स यजुषि विषये इति 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 असाध्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निर्धिध्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निरीतः, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे यशाचिषम् (Yaj. 6. 20).

अनुदात्ते च कुध्परे ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्ते, च, कु-ध्परे ॥

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

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

Thus अयं सो अग्निः (Yaj. 12. 47), अयं सो अध्वरैः ॥ Why do we say when अ is gravely accented ? Observe अधोऽमे, here अमे 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 ॥ यजुर्षांयेव । अनुसान्तइति चशब्देनानुकृष्यते । अवपथाःशब्दे ऽनुदात्ते ऽकारादौ परतो यजुषि विषयएङ् 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 वप in the Atmanepada. Thus अ-ि-वप्-ि-वप्-ि-थास् ॥ The अ is grave by VIII. 1. 28. When it is not gravely accented, the अ drops. As यद्रुद्रेभ्यो स्वपथाः ॥ 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 गोऽग्रं or गो अग्रं ॥ In the Vedas also अपवायो वा अन्ये गो अग्रेभ्यः, पशवो गोभ्राः ॥

अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवङ्, स्फोटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीति निवृत्तम् । अचीत्येतत्स्वनुवर्ततएव । अचि परतो गोः स्फोटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेनावङ-देशो भवति ॥

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

The anuvritti of अति ceases, that of आर्च manifests itself. Thus गो + अम = गवामम्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवौदनम्, गवाष्ट्रम्, or in the alternative we have गो-ऽअमम्, गोऽजिनम्, गवौदनम्, गवुष्ट्रम् ॥ The substitute अवङ् is accutely accented on the first syllable. This accent will be the original accent in the Bahuvrîhi compound (VI. 2. 1). Thus गावा अममस्य = गैवामः ॥ In other places, however, this accent will be superseded by the samâsânta Udâtta accent (VI. 1. 223) The mention of Sphoṭâyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. This is a vyavasthita vibhâshâ, hence in गवाक्षः the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्ये ऽचि परतो गोर्नित्यमवङादेशो 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 गवम्ऱ यत्नः ॥ The word नित्य is not found in some texts or in Mahâbhâshya.

प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्लुताम् प्रगृह्याभाचि 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 देववत्ता ३ अच्य न्वसि, यज्ञवत्ता ३ इरम् आनय ॥ These are examples of prolated vowels. The prolation of vowels is taught in the tripâdi or the last three chapters of Ashtadhyâyi ; and the tripâdi are considered asiddha for the purposes of previous sûtras (VIII. 2. 1.). This is not the case here, otherwise the mention of pluta would be redundant. Of the Excepted or Pragrihya vowels the following are the examples : अग्नी इति, वायू इति, खट्वे इति, माले इति ॥ Though the anuvritti of अचि was current in this sûtra 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 ज्ञातु उ अस्य, उज्ञाति here in combining ज्ञातु + उ into ज्ञातू, the उ is no cause of lengthening, therefore, the lengthening will take place. Now since उ is a pragrihya, it follows that ज्ञातू which ends in उ is also a pra-

grihya, and therefore it should not be changed before अ of अस्य ॥ Hence we have the form जानू + अस्य = जानू अस्य ॥ There may also be the form जान्वस्य, not by इकोयणचि, but by मय उञ्तो वा वा (VIII. 3. 33). In fact, the repetition of आचि in this sûtra is necessary, in order to enable us to give this *peculiar* meaning to the sûtra. Otherwise, had the sûtra been simply प्लुतप्रगृह्या:, it would have been translated ordinaeily thus: "The Pluta and Pragrihya retain their form, when ever a vowel follows". Therefore in जानु उ अस्य, since उ is followed by a vowel, it will retain its form, and will not coalesce with the उ of जानु ॥ But this is not intended. Hence the repetition of the word आचि, and the peculiar explan- ation given above, namely, Pluta and Pragrihya vowels retain their form before a vowel which would otherwise have caused a substitution, but it would not prevent the operation of any other rule. Therefore in जानु उ अस्य रुजति. the उ + उ will become lengthened, because अ is not the *cause* of lengthening; it causes the change of उ to व, which of course is prevented. The word नित्य of the last sûtra 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.

आङ ऽनुनासिकश्छन्दसि ॥ १२६ ॥　पदानि ॥ आङ्:, अनुनासिक:, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ आङं ऽचि परत:संहितायां छन्दसि विषये ऽनुनासिकादेशो भवति स च प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

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

Thus अभ्र आँ अप: (Rig V. 48. 1); गभीर आँ उग्रपुत्रे जिघांसत: (Rig VIII. 67. 11). Some read the word बहुलं into this sûtra. Hence there is coalescence here : इन्द्रो बाहुभ्यामातरत् = आ अतरत् ॥

इको ऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च ॥ १२७ ॥　पदानि ॥ इक:, असवर्णे, शाकल्यस्य, ह्रस्व:, च ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ इको ऽसवर्णे ऽचि परत: शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वश्च तस्यक: स्थाने भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सित्रियसमासयो: शाकलप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य: ॥
वा० ॥ ईषामक्षादिषु छन्दसि प्रकृतिभावमात्र वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. According to the opinion of Sâkalya, 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 दधि अत्र, मधु अत्र, कुमारि अत्र, किशोरि अत्र ॥ In the alternative we have दध्यत्र, मध्वत्र, कुमार्यत्र, किशोर्यत्र ॥ Why do we say 'the इक् vowels i. e. simple vowels with the exception of अ'? Observe खट्वेन्द्र: ॥ Why do we say , followed by a non-homogenous vowel'? Observe कुमारीन्द्र: ॥ The name of

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

Vart :—This rule of Sâkalya is prohibited in the case of words form-ed by an affix having an indicatory ष् and of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samâsa):—Thus अयं ते योनिर्ऋत्वियः, प्रजां विदाम ऋत्वियाम् The word ऋत्विय is formed by a सित् affix, namely by घस् (V. I. 106), added to ऋतु ; and therefore the उ is changed to व ॥ Before a सित् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16) Of nitya-compounds are वैयाकरणः, सौवश्वः, व्याकरणं, कुमार्य्यर्यम् which are so by. II. 2. 18 &c.

Vârt :—In the Vedas इषा अक्षः &c are found uncombined.   As, इषा अक्षा, का ईमिरे पिशांगिला, यथा अङ्गदः, पथा अगमन् &c.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्यदस्य ह्रस्वभवेतदनुवर्तते । ऋकारे परतः शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाकः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वभ तस्याकः स्थाने भवति ॥

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

· Thus खट्टा ऋश्यः, कुमारि ऋश्यः, होतृ ऋद्ययः ॥ Why do we say when follow-ed by ऋ? Observe, स्यंद्रं ॥ Why do we say "the simple vowels (अकः)"? Observe वृक्षावृद्ययः (वृक्षौ + ऋश्य) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ उपस्थितं नामानार्ष इतिकरणः सम्बुसायादवच्छिद्य पदं येन स्वरूप उवस्थाप्यते तस्मिन्परतो उप्लुत-वद्भवति ॥ प्लुतकार्ये प्रकृति भावं न करोति ॥

129. Before the word इति in the Padapâtha, 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 Padapâtha, the Pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. I. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुश्लोका३ इति = सुश्लोकेति, सुमङ्गला३ इति = सुमंगलेति ॥ 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 prakriti bhâva in the case of pluta and pragrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrihya, nor a pra-grihya, 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 वायू, the इ and ऊ are pragrihya. They may be made pluta also a· अग्ना ३ or वायू ३ ॥ Now if before इति, the pluta *became* apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्नी इति वायू इति formed by अग्नी ३+इति &c. For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihya by VI. I. 125, and in additon to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्नी ३ इति, वायू ३ इति ॥

ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥ १३० ॥   पदानि ॥ ई, चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई३ कारः प्लुतो ऽचि परतश्चाक्रवर्मणस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाप्लुतवद्भवति ॥

130.   According to the the opinion of Châkravar-maṇa, the pluta ई ३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus अस्तु होर्यब्रवीत् or अस्तु हीऽ इत्यब्रवीत् ॥   चिनु होरम or चिनु हीऽ इरम् ॥ The name of Châkravarmaṇa is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to इति rule (VI. I. 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 *prakriti bhâva* optionally, when there would have been always prakriti bhâva by VI. I. 125.   This is a case of उभयत्रविभाषा, prâpta and aprâpta both.

Ishti :—This apluta-vad-bhâva applies to pluta vowels other than इ ; as वशा ३ इयम् or वशेयम् ॥

दिव उत् ॥ १३१ ॥   पदानि ॥ दिवः, उत् ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एतत्तरौ थावककारौ नभ्रसमासे न वर्त्तंते तयोर्थः स्वशब्दः कथ तयाः स्वशब्रो यत्तरर्थेन संबद्धत्स्व 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 + दशाति = एष दशाति, स दशाति, एषभुङ्क्ते, स भुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say of एतद् and तद्? Observe वौ दशाति, वौ भुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do say "the case affix of the Nom. singular?" Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः ॥ Why do we say 'without क'? Observe एषको दशति, सको दशाति ॥ The words एतद् and तद् with the affix अदाच्, which falls in the middle, would be considered just like एतन् 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 ग्रहणेन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it".

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

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

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

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

सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्पाद्पूरणम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अचि, लोपे, चेत्, पाद्-पूरणम्-, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स इत्येतस्याचि परतः स्वलोपो भवति लोपे सति चेत्पादः पूर्यते ॥

Kârikâ   एष साधरयी रामः, एष राजा युधिष्ठिरः ॥
एष कर्णो महात्यागी एष 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 एतु राजा भवति चर्षणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सोषधीरनुरुध्यते (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 ब्याघ्रो भवेत् ॥   The word अन्वि in the sûtra 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 पाद as 'a foot of a Śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only.   Thus we have :—सेष साधारयी रामः, सेर्ष राजा युधिष्ठिरः, सेष कर्णो महात्यागी, सेष भीमो महाबलः ॥

सुट् कात्पूर्वः ॥ १३५ ॥   पदानि ॥ सुट्, कात्, पूर्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिकारोऽयं, पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायामिति यावत् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र सुडिति कात्पूर्वं इति चिन्तर्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यम ॥

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

This is an adhikâra sûtra and extends upto VI. 1. 157.   Whatever we shall teach hereafter, in all those, the phrase 'the augment सुट् 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 sûtra 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+तृ=संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुं, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥   In the succeeding aphorisms it will be seen that the augment सुट् comes only before those roots which begin with क् ॥ What is then the necessity of using the phrase कात्पूर्वः in this sûtra?   It is used to indicate that the स् remains unattached to क्, though it stands before it.   Thus though क् becomes स्क्, 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 ऋ and preceded by a conjunct letter, takes guṇa before लिङ्) does not apply, nor do the rules like VII. 4. 29, nor the rules ordaining the addition of intermediate इट् (VII. 2. 43) by which the इट् would come in लिङ् and सिच् (Imperfect and Aorist): as, संस्कृषीष्ट and रामस्कृत ; and so also VII. 4. 29, does not apply as संस्क्रियते the Passive Imperfect (यकि लिङि) of संस्कृ ॥   If so, then the anudâtta accent taught in VIII. 1. 28 would not take place, since the augment सुट् would intervene between the non-तिङ्-word सं and the तिङन्त word करोति, thus संस्करोति would have accent on the verb.   It is a maxim स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् 'in applying a rule relating to accent the intervening consonants are considered as if non-existent'; and therefore सुट् does not offer any intervention to the application of the rule VIII. 1. 28.   If स् is not to be taken as attached to क्, how do you explain

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

अडभ्यासव्यवायेऽपि ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अट्, अभ्यास - व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अड्व्यवाये ऽभ्यासव्यवाये छुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

136. The augment छुद् 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), परि-चस्कार ॥ This sûtra is not that of Pânini, but is made out of two Vârtikas: अड् व्यवायउप संख्यानाम्; and अभ्यासव्यवाये च ॥ The augmented root स्कृ would have given the form चस्कार by VII. 4. 61, if स be considered an integral part of क, and no rule of Antaranga and Bahiranga be taken into consideration. It might be said where is the necessity then of this sûtra ? The operation relating to a Dhâtu and Upasarga is Antaranga, i. e. a root is first joined with the Upasarga, and it undergoes other operations afterwards. Therefore, first the augment छुद् 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 छुद् is considered as unattached to क ; and therefore, the augment अद् may be added after this छुद्, and so also the reduplication may take place without it. Thus we may have the forms like संस्करोत् and संस्चकार ॥ But this is not desired, hence the necessity of the present sûtra teaching that even after अद् and reduplicate, the छुद् must be placed before क and no where else.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् परि उप इत्येतेभ्यो भूषणार्थे करोती परतः छुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

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

Thus संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुम्, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The म of सम् is changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3. 5. So also परिष्कर्ता परिष्कर्तुं परिष्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 70. So also with उप, as उपस्कर्ता, उपस्कर्तुम् उपस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say

'when meaning to ornament'? Observe उपक्ररोति ॥ Sometimes शुद् comes after सम even when the sense is not that of ornamenting: thus संस्कृतमन्नम् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायः सम्बुरायस्तस्मिन्नर्थे करोतो संपर्युपेभ्यः कार्त्पूर्वः सुडागमो भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ सतो गुणान्तराधानमाधिक्याय वृद्धस्य वा तावदवस्थाय समीहा प्रतियत्नः । विकृतमेव वैकृतम् । प्रज्ञादिविश्वारण । गम्यमानार्थस्य वाक्यस्य स्वरूपेणोपादानं वाक्यस्याध्याहारः । एतेष्वर्थेषु गम्यमानेषु करोतो धातो परत उपात् शुद् कार्त्पूर्वो भवति ॥

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

To take pains in imparting a new quality to a thing in order to increase its value, or to keep it safe from deterioration is called प्रतियत्नः ॥ That which is prepared or altered is called वैकृतं ॥ The word वैकृतं is the same as विकृतं, the affix अण being added without changing the sense, by considering it to belong to प्रज्ञादि class (V. 4. 38). To supply by distinct statement the sense of a sentence which is alluded to, is called the अभ्याहार of a sentence. Thus in the sense of 'taking pains' we have एधोऽर्कस्योपस्कुरुते (See I. 3. 32); काण्डगुणस्योप-स्कुरुते ॥ 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. 1. 137-139) we have उपकरोति ॥

किरतो लवने ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ किरतौ, लवने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादित्येव । उपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरतो धातो लवनविषये शुद् कार्त्पूर्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ णबुलघत्तक्तव्यः ॥

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

Thus उपस्कारं मद्रका ल्लुनन्ति, उपस्कारं कादिनीका लुनन्ति = विक्षिप्य लुनन्ति ॥

Vârt:—The above augment takes place when नमुल् 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 उपाकिरति ॥

हिंसायां प्रतेश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसायाम्, प्रतेः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरताविवेव । उपात्प्रतेर्भोत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ हिंसायां विषये षुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

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

Thus उपस्कीर्णम् or प्रतिस्कीर्णं हन्त ते वृषल भूयात्=तया ते वृषल विक्षेपो भूयाद् यथा हिंसामनुबध्नाति ॥

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

अपाच्चतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, चतुष्पात् , शाकुनिषुः, आलेखने (षुट्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरताविवेव । अपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ चतुष्पाच्छकुनिषु, यदालेखनं तस्मिन् विषये षुट् कात्पूर्वौ भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

धा॰ ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्वेव किरतेरात्मनेपदस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

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

Thus अपस्किरते वृषभो हृष्टः , अपास्किरते कुक्कुटो भक्ष्यार्थी ; अपास्किरते श्वा आभयार्थी— आलिख्य विक्षिपति ॥ Why do we say 'four-footed animals or birds'? Observe अपकिरति देवदत्तः ॥

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

कुस्तुम्बुरूणि जातिः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरूणि, जातिः, (षुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरूणीति षुट् निपात्यते जातिभेदे वर्तते ॥

143. The word कुस्तुम्बुरु is irregularly formed with the augment षुट् 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 sûtra in the Neuter gender does not however show that the word is always Neuter. When not meaning coriander, the form is कुतुम्बुरु (कुत्सितानि तुम्बुरूणि) ॥ The word तुम्बुरु here means the fruit of the ebony tree.

अपरस्पराः क्रियासातत्ये ॥ १४४ ॥　पदानि ॥ अपरस्पराः, क्रिया - सातत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरस्परा इति षुद् निपात्यते क्रियासातत्ये गम्यमाने ॥

Kârikâ　　लुम्पेश्वश्यमः कृत्ये तुक्कामममनसोरपि ।
समो वा हिततत्योर्मांसस्य पचियुद्घञोः ॥

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

Thus अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सन्ततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ When the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परच सकृदेव गच्छन्ति ॥ The सातत्य comes from सततं, by adding ष्यञ् 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 तत्, on the strength of the Kârika:—"The म् of अवश्यम् is elided before a word ending in a kritya affix, the म् of तुम् is elided before काम and मनस्, the म् of सम् is elided optionally before हित and तत, the final अ of मांस is elided before पाक or पचन ॥ As (1) अवश्य कर्तव्यं = अवश्यकर्तव्यं, (2) भोक्तुम् कामः = भोक्तु कामः, श्रोतुमनं: ॥ (3) सम्हितं = सहितं, सम् ततं = सततं ॥ (4) मांस् पाकः, मांस् पचनम् ॥

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

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

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

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

आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम् ॥ १४६ ॥　पदानि ॥ आस्पदम्, प्रतिष्ठायाम्, (षुद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मव्यापनाय स्थानं प्रतिष्ठा तस्यामास्पदमिति षुद् निपात्यते ॥

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

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

आश्चर्यमनित्ये ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्चर्यम्, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्यतया विषयभूतया ऽद्भुतत्वादिहल्वयते तस्मिन्नाश्चर्ये निपात्यते । चरेरादि चागुराविति यत्स्वे कृते निपातनात्सुट् ॥

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

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

वर्चस्के ऽवस्करः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्चस्के, अवस्करः ॥

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

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

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

अपस्करो रथाङ्गम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपस्करः, रथाङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्कर इति निपात्यते रथाङ्गं चेद्भवति । अपपूर्वांक्किरतेर्कृशरीरादिब्यप्, निपातनात् सुट् ॥

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

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

विष्किरः शाकुनिर्विकिरो वा ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्किरः, शाकुनिः, विकिरः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकिर इति किरतेविपूर्वस्यद्यपधप्रत्ययामीकिरः कः इति कप्रत्यये विहिते सुट् निपात्यते शाकुनिश्चेद्भवति । विकिरश्चाप्यभिधेयो वा शाकुनिर्भवति ॥

Verse सर्वे शाकुनयो 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 त्रि and the augment सुट् ॥ The word त्रिकिर also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase शकुनिर्विकिरा वा is added from the Vârtika and is no part of the original sûtra. Thus सर्वे शकुनया भश्या त्रिबांकराः कुरुकुटादत ॥ Though the sûtra त्रिक्रितेवाशकुनौ would have given the optional form त्रिकार, the specific mention of this form in the sûtra indicates that त्रिकिर always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise त्रिकार would have refferred to some thing other than a bird.

ह्रस्वाच्चन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्वे ॥ १५१ ॥　पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, चन्द्रोत्तरपदे, मन्त्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन्द्रशाब्दउत्तरपदे ह्रस्वात्परः सुडागमो भवति मन्त्वविषय ॥

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

Thus सुचन्द्रो युष्मान् ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel? Observe सूर्याचन्द्रमसाविव ॥ Why do we say 'in a Mantra'? Observe, सुचन्द्रा पौर्णमासी ॥ The उत्तरपद can only be in a compound (samâsa) 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 सुकमसि चन्द्रमसि ॥

प्रतेष्कशश्च कशोः ॥ १५२ ॥　पदानि ॥ प्रतिष्कशाः, च, कशोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश गतिशासनयोरित्येतस्य धातोः प्रतिपूर्वस्य पचाद्यचि कृते सुट् निपात्यते, तस्यैव पत्वम् ॥

Verse माममध्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः ।

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

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding अच affix (III. 1. 134) to the root, with adding the prefix प्रति ॥ Thus माममध्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः 'I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary'. The word प्रतिष्कशः means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary". Why do we say "to the *root* कश"? Observe प्रतिगतः कशां = प्रतिकशोऽश्वः '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 सुट् निपात्यते ऋषी चेदभिधेयौ भवतः ॥

153. The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुट्, 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 प्रकण्वो दशः, (कण्वं पापं तत्प्रगतं यस्मात्) हरिश्चन्द्रो मानवकः (हरिः चन्द्रा 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 मस्कारिन् 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 छुट् 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 mean-: ing 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 अच, the long आ being shortened. Thus मा क्रियत यन प्रातापष्यंत=मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of ताच्छील्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिन् ॥ Thus मा करणशाला=मस्करी "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "मा कुरुतः कर्माणि शान्तिर्वः श्रेयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

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

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

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

कारस्करो वृक्षः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारस्करः, वृक्षः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कारस्कर इति छुट् निपात्यते वृक्षभेदे ऽवति ॥

156. The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार+कृ+ट (III. 2. 21)=कारस्करः ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकरः ॥ Some do not make this a separate sûtra, 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 छुट् ॥ Thus पारस्करः 'a country called Pâraskara'. कारस्करः 'N. of a tree', रथस्या 'N. of a river', किष्कुः 'N. of a measure', किष्किन्धा 'N. of a cave', तस्कर 'a thief', formed by inserting छुट् in the compound of तत्+कार, and eliding त् ॥ वृहस्पति 'N. of a Diety', formed similarly by inserting छुट् between वृहत्+पति and eliding the त् ॥ Why do we

say when meaning a thief and a diety ?   Observe तस्करः, बृहस्पतिः ॥   The words
चोर and देवता are used in the Ganapâtha merely for the sake of diversity, the
word संज्ञा would have connoted that प्रस्तुम्पति गौः ॥   When the root तुप तुम्प 'to
injure' is preceded by the preposition प्र, there is added सुट् to प्र, when the agent
of the verb is a cow.   Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'?   Observe प्रतु-
म्पति वनस्पतिः ॥   In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुट् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conju-
gated :—प्रस्तुम्पति गांः, प्रस्तुम्पती गावौ, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गावः ॥   This is an âkritigaṇa.   Thus
प्रायांभगम्, प्रायभिश्चितिः ॥

1 पारस्करो देशः, 2 कारस्करो वृक्षः, 3 रथस्या नदी, 4 किष्कुः प्रमाणम्, 5 किष्किन्धा गुहा,
6 तद्बृहतोः करपल्योर्बारदेवतयोः सुट् तलापम (तस्करः चोरः, बृहस्पतिः =देवता), 7 मान् तुम्पतो गावि
कर्तरि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः) ॥ आकृतिगणः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयं स्वरविधिविषया । यत्रान्यः स्वर उदात्तः स्वरितो वा विधीयते तत्रानुदात्तं पदमेकं वर्जयि-
त्वा भवतीत्येतदुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

Kârikâ   आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च ।
                  पृथक्स्वरनिवृत्त्यर्थमेकवर्जं परस्वरः   ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विभक्तिस्वरान्नुस्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा॰ ॥ विभक्तिनिमित्तस्वराद्धनुस्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

That is, only one syllable in a word is accented, all the rest are
anudâtta or unaccented.   This is a Paribhâshâ or maxim of interpretation
with regard to the laws of accent.   Wherever an accent—be it acute (udâtta)
or a circumflex (svarita)—is ordained with regard to a word, there this maxim
must be applied, to make all the other syllables of that word unaccented.
The word अनुदात्त means 'having an anudâtta vowel'.   What is the *one* to be
excepted ? That one about which any particular accent has been taught in
the rules here-in-after given.   Thus VI. 1. 162 teaches that a root has acute
accent on the final.   Therefore, with the exception of the last syllable, all the
other syllables are unaccented.   Thus in गोपायति the acute accent is on य, all
the rest are unaccented.   The root accent is superseded by आ accent, thus
लुनाति has acute accent on ना ॥ The आ accent is superseded by तस् accent,
as लुनीतः, has accent on तः ॥ The तस् accent is superseded by आम् accent, as
लुनीतस्तराम् ॥

आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च, पृथक् स्वरनिवृत्त्यर्थ मेकवर्जं परस्वरः ॥   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.
1. 98 teaches "आम् acutely accented is the augment of चतुर् and अनडुह् when a
sarvanâmsthâna affix follows".   Thus चत्वारः, अनड्वाहः, here the augment-accent

supersedes the accent of the stem, for चेतुर was acutely accented on the first syllable, so also अनड्वह् , these being formed by the affixes उरन् and असुन् respectively. Thus चत्+उरन्=चेतुर (चतेस्तन् Un V. 58, accent VI. 1. 197) ; अनड्वह् is thus derived : अनो वहति=अनस्+वह्+क्विप् , the स् is replaced by ड् , and there is vocalisation of व् of वह् VI. 1. 15=अनड्वह् ॥ This word is formed by a Kṛit affix with a kârâka upapada, therefore, the second term will retain its original accent, namely the final acute of a root. (VI. 1. 162 and VI. 2. 139) 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 आस्थि, रधि, सक्थि, and अक्षि, there shall be अनङ् acutely accented when टा 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 अस्थ्याँनि ॥ The word अस्थि is derived from अस् by adding the affix क्थिन् (Un III. 154) which makes the word accutely 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 हर्तव्यम्, which are formed by the affix तव्यत् (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, c. g. a latter rule (पर) superseding a prior rule, a nitya rule superseding an anitya rule, an antaranga superseding a bahiranga, an apavâda rule superseding an utsarga rule. But another test is, what is the remaining rule that applies after giving scope to all. A rule, that in spite of another rule, finds scope or activity, bars that former rule. Thus गोपायति ॥ It is derived from गुप् root, which as a root has accent on the syllable गु (VI. 1. 162). When the affix आय is added to it by III. 1. 28, the word becomes गोपाय and it takes the accent of the affix (III. 1. 3), i. e. the accent now falls on पा ; but now comes rule III. 1. 32 which says that a word taking the affix आय is a root. Thus गोपायँ gets the designation of root (धातु), and thus takes the accent of a dhâtu (VI. 1. 162), and the accent falls on य ॥

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

does remain and must last in spite of the presence of another, debars such other". Thus in गोपायति; here the प्रत्ययस्वरः "the accent of the affix" (III. 1. 3) by which the acute is on the first syllable of the *affix* is an apavâda to the धातुस्वरः (VI. 1, 192) by which the final of a dhâtu is acute, and it debars the dhâtu-accent; but this affix-accent is in its turn debarred in the case of deriva-tive verbs formed with affixes, by the rule of सतिशिष्ट, because even ofter the addition of the affix, these words *retain* the designation of dhâtu. Similarly in काष्णोत्तरासङ्गपुत्रः, "The son of him whose upper garment (uttarâsanga) is of black color—the Son of Baladeva" the Bahuvrihi-accent (VI.2.1) being an apavâda to Samâsa-accent (VI. 1.223), debars the samâsa-accent; but this Bahuvrîhi-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 Bahuvrîhi. Though the accent of the Vikarana is a सतिशिष्ट, yet it does not debar the Sârvadhâtuka accent (VI. 1. 186). Thus in लुनीतः, the accent of the vikarana नी does not debar the accent of तस् ॥

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

Vârt:—The accent of नञ् is stronger than the accent of that which is caused or occasioned by a vibhakti. Thus अचत्वारः ॥ Here the augment आम् in चत्वार is occasioned because of the case-affix, for it is added only then when a Sarvanâma case-affix follows (VII. 1. 98). This आँ is udâtta (VI. 1. 98). But this udâtta 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 हे देवदत्त ! गामभ्याज शुक्लाम् "O Devadatta, drive away the white cow". The word पद is in fact used in this sûtra in its secondary sense, namely that which will get the designation of पद when completed ; had it meant the full ready made pada, this word would not have been repeated in पदाधिकार sûtra (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 मामादि class (Phit II. 15), adding the feminine affix ङीष् 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 पद ॥ But it is not so, the word कुवली has anudâ-tta accent on the first syllable (Phit II. 15), and hence we can apply the अञ् affix to it by IV. 2. 44, thus कुवल्या विकारः =कौवलम् ॥ Similarly the word गार्भिणी formed from गर्भ (belonging to Grâmâdi class Phit II. 15), with, the affix इनि (V. 2. 115) and the feminine ङीप् ॥ If here the affix इनि being udâtta causes all the rest syllables anudâtta, just at the very moment of its application, without seeing whether the word was a pada or not, then the word गार्भिणी being anudâttâdi would have taken अञ्, and therefore its exception is proper in the भिषादि class

(IV. 2. 38). But if the anudatta-hood of the remaining syllables were to follow *after* a word had got the designation of पद, 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, अत्वतः, घञः, अन्तः, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्षतेर्धातोराकारवतश्च घञमन्तस्यान्त 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, पाकः, त्यागः, रागः, रायः, धायः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 197 by which affixes having an indicatory ञ have acute accent on the first syllable. The word कर्ष is used in the aphorism instead of कृष्, to indicate that कृष् of Bhvâdi gaṇa is affected by this rule, and not कृष्—कृषति of Tudâdigaṇa. The word कर्षः derived from Tudâdi कृष् has acute accent on the first syllable.

उञ्छादीनां च ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्छादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उञ्छ इत्येवमादीनामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus 1. उञ्छः, 2. म्लेच्छः, 3. जञ्जः, 4. जल्पः ॥ These are formed by घञ्, and would have taken acute-accent on the first. 5. जयः, 6. वयः are formed by अप् affix (III. 3. 61) which being grave (III. 1. 4), these words would have taken the accent of the dhâtu (VI. 1. 162), i. e. acute on the first syllable. Some read व्ययः also here. 7. युगः is derived from युज् 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 योगः ॥ 8. गरः =(वृश्चे) ; is formed by अप्, and has this accent when it means ' poison ', in other senses, the acute is on the first syllable. 9. वेगः, वेदः, वेष्टः (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. स्तुयुब्रुवश्छन्दसि, e. g. परिष्टुत्, परिहुत्, संयुत् ॥ 11. वर्त्तनिः स्तोत्रे, the stotra means Sâma Veda, the word वर्त्तानः occurring in the Sâma Veda has acute on the last : in other places, it has the accent on the middle. 12. ध्वन्न वरः, the दरः has end-acute when meaning 'a cave', otherwise when formed by अप् affix it has acute on the first. 13. साम्नवतापौ भावगर्ह्यायाम्, thus साम्बः, तापः, in other senses, the acute is on the first. 14. उत्तमश्चत्तमौ सर्वत्र, e. g. उत्तमः, शाश्वत्तमः ॥ Some read the limitation of भावगर्हा into this also. 15. भक्षमन्यभोगमन्थाः (भोगदेश) ॥ These are formed by घञ्, भक्ष though a ण्यन्त root is here घञन्त ॥

1 उच्छ, 2 म्लेच्छ, 3 जञ्ज, 4 जल्प, 5 अप, 6 वध (व्यध), 7 युग, 8 गरो मृथे, 9 वेद-
वेगवेष्टबन्धाः, (चेष्ट वेष्ट) करणे, 10 स्तुयुद्रुवश्छन्दसि (परिप्लुत्, संयुत्, परिवृत्), 11 वर्तनिः स्तोमे
12 भन्ने वरः, 13 साम्बतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, 14 उत्तमघाश्वत्तमौ (उत्तमघाश्वत्तमघश्वरी) सर्वम्, 15 भक्षमन्य-,
भोगमन्याः (भक्षमन्यभोगहेहाः) ॥

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

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

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

The word udâtta is understood here. Thus कुमारं + ई = कुमारी ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the last, when the unaccented (anudâtta) ङीप् is added to it, the अं is elided (VI. 1. 148), the anudâtta ई becomes udâtta. So also प्रथिन् + ङस् = प्र्थः (VII. 1. 88), प्रथिन् + ए = प्रथे, प्रथिन् + आ = प्रथा ॥ The पथिन् has acute on the last. So also कुमुद् + इमतुप् = कुमुद्वान् (IV. 2. 87), नड्वान्, वेतस्वान् ॥ The words कुमुद् &c, are end-acute, and the affix मत् (वन्) is anudâtta (III. 1. 4).

Why 'an *anudâtta* vowel gets &c'. Observe प्रासङ्गः + यत् = प्रासङ्ग्यः ॥ (प्रासङ्गं वहात IV. 4. 76). Here though प्रसङ्ग is end-acute (VI. 2. 144 formed by यप् with gati) it is followed by य which is svarita (VI. 1. 185), this svarita causes the lopa of अं udâtta: but it does not itself become udâtta. No, this is not a proper counter-example. For by the general rule of accent VI. 1. 158, when one syllable is ordained to be udâtta or svarita, all the other syllables of that word become anudatta. Therefore when य is taught to be svarita, all the other syllables (like ङ्गं) will become anudâtta. So there is no *lopa* of udâtta when य comes. The word अनुदात्त is used to indicate that the *initial* anudâtta becomes udâtta. Had anudâtta not been used, the sûtra would have been यत्रोदात्तलोपश्च, which would mean यस्मिन् प्रत्यये परतः; उदात्तालुप्यते तस्यान्त उदात्ता भवात, for the anuvritti of अन्त would then be read from the last. There would then be anomaly in the case of मा हि घुक्षातम्, and माहि घुक्षाथाम् ॥ From the root दुह we have formed घुक्षातम् and घुक्षाथाम् in the Aorist Atmanepada, dual. दुह् + वसँ + आताम् = दुह् + स् (VII. 3. 72) + आताम् ॥ Here आताम् causes the elision of the udâtta अ of स ॥ Therefore the *final* of आताम् would be udâtta, which is not desired. The augment अ is not added because of मा, had it been added, the अं would have been udâtta (VI. 4. 71). Had हि not been given, then also the whole of घुक्षातम् would have become anudatta in माघुक्षातम् because of तिङ्ङतिङः (VIII. 1. 28). See VIII. 1. 34 (हि च). Why have we used the word यत्र in the sûtra? If it was not employed, then the subsequent anudâtta may be such which would not have *caused* the elision of the previous udâtta; such udâtta being elided by some other operator, and still such anudâtta would have become udâtta. Thus in भार्गवः, 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 अस् 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 udâtta, which would have been the case, had यञ not been used. प्राक् सुबुत्पन्ते गोत्रप्रत्यस्य लुक् ॥ The gotra affix was elided prior to the adding of the case-ending. Why do we say "when an *udâtta* is elided"? Observe तिबत्+अम् (IV. 1. 104) = ˚बत् ॥ The feminine of this will be बै त्+ ङीन् (IV. 1. 73 = बै त्ढी ॥ Here ई causes the elision of anûdâtta अ of त्, and hence remains unchanged. So also आ ढी ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्येव । धातोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

The word अन्त is understood here. Thus पँचति, पँठति, ऊर्णोति, गोपायँति, याँति ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ चितो ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

कितः ॥ १६५ ॥　पदानि ॥ कितः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितस्यैवेयम् । तद्धितस्य किसोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus नाड़ायनैः formed by फक् (IV. 1. 99), so also श्चारायणैः ॥　Similarly
भाक्षिर्कैः, शालाक्रिकैः formed by ठक् (IV. 4. 1).

तिसृभ्यो जसः ॥ १६६ ॥　पदानि ॥ तिसृभ्यः, जसः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृभ्य उत्तरस्य जसोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus तिस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥　This debars 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
udâtta. Thus the only case not covered by any special rule is जस् (nom. pl) ;
which would have been Svarita, 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 sûtra?
This is done, in order that in compounds, where तिसृ may come as a subordina-
te member, and where singular and dual endings will also be added, this rule
will not apply. Had जस् been not used in tois sûtra, then in the case of simple
तिसृ there would be no harm, but when it is seconed member in a compound
there would be anomaly. Thus अतितिस्रौ would have become end-acnte. 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 चतुर्, followed by the accusative
plural, has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus चतुरः पश्य the accent is on तु ॥　The feminine of चतुर् is चतसृ
(VII. 2. 99), which has acute accent on the first (VII. 2. 99 Vârt), and its
accusative plural will not have accent on the last syllable, This is so, because
चतुर् has acute on the first, as formed by उरन् affix. Its substitute चतसृ will also
be so, by the rule of स्थानिवत् ॥　The special enunciation of आद्युदात्त with regard
to चतसृ in the Vârtika चतसरयाद्युदात्तनिपातनं 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 Sûtra ; here, however, the र substitute of ऋ being sthânivat, will prevent the udâtta formation of the अ of त ; nor will ऋ be considered as final and take the acute, as there exists no vowel ऋ but a consonant र which cannot take an accent. As चतस्रः पश्य ॥ Professor Bohtlingk places the accent thus चतुर्ः, Pro. Mäx Muller चतुरः ॥ I have followed Prof. Mäx Muller in interpreting this sûtra; for Bohtlingk's interpretation would make the ending शस् accented, and not the final of चतुर् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ साविति सप्तमीबहुवचनस्य सुघाब्वस्य ग्रहणम् । तत्र सौ य एकाच् तस्मात्परा तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरुदात्ता 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, वाग्भ्याम्, वाग्भिः, वाग्भ्यः, वातौ, वाद्भ्याम्, वाद्भिः ॥ Why do we say ' in the Locative plural'? Observe वक्षा, वक्षे ॥ Why do we say 'monosyllabic'? Observe हारणा, गिरिणा, वांजसु ॥ Why do we say ' the Instrumentals and the rest'? Observe वाचौ, वाचः ॥ Why do we say " the case-endings (विभक्तिः) ?" Observe वाक्तरा, वाक्तमा ॥ The plural of the Locative being taken in the sûtra, the rule does not apply to त्वया and त्वयि, as in the *plural* of the Locative they have more than one syllable, though in *singular* locative their stem has one syllable.

अन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तोदात्तात्, उत्तरपदात्, अन्यतरस्याम्, अनित्यसमासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच इति वर्तते, तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरिति च । नित्यशब्दः स्वर्यते । तेन नित्याधिकारविहितः समासः पर्युदस्यते । नित्यसमासादन्यच्चानित्यसमासे यदुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तमेकाच् तस्मात्परातृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यामुदात्ता भवति ॥

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

The phrases "एकाचः" and तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः are understood here also. The nitya or *invariable* compounds are excluded by this rule. Thus परमवाचा or परमवाचौ, परमवाग्भि or वाच्भे ; परमवाचः or °वाग्भैः ॥ So also परमत्वैचा or °त्वचे &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 भर्वाचा, हुंवाचा, हुंस्वर्चा ॥ 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 निखसमासें
indicated that the compound was meant? Had we not used the word उत्तर-
पशात्, the aphorism would have stood as, अन्तोरात्तादन्यतरस्यामनिखसमासें 'In a loose-
compound having acute on the final, the above affixes are acute, if the com-
pound consists of a monosyllable'. The word एक्राच: will thus qualify the
compound and not the second member of the compound, which is intended.
And thus the rule will apply to इवांर्क (इुन ऊर्क) Ins. भ्रोजा, भ्रोजे: &c, and not to
compounds having more than one syllable. Why do we say 'in loose com-
pounds'? Observe अग्निचिंता, सोमर्हुता ॥ 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 udātta.

अञ्चेरिछन्द्स्यसर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चे:, छन्द्सि, असर्वनाम-
स्थानम् ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अञ्चे: परा ङसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

In the Vedas, a stem ending in the word अञ्च, has the acute not only
on the affixes previously mentioned, but on the accusative plural affix also.
Thus इन्द्रा इुधींचीं अस्थभि: (Rig I. 84. 13). Here the word इधींच had accent on
धी by VI. I. 222, but by the present sûtra, the accent falls on the case-affix अस् ॥
Though the anuvritti of "Instrumentals and the rest" was understood here,
the word asarvanâmasthâna has been used here to include the ending ङस् also.
As प्रत्नचीं बाहून् प्रतिभङ्ग्थेषाम् ॥

ऊडिदम्पदाद्यपुम्रैद्युभ्य: ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊड, इदम्, पदादि, अप्, पुम्, रै,
द्युभ्य: ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ ऊइ इदम् पदारि अप् पुम् रै दिव् इ्येतेभ्यो ङसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

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

The ऊड is the substitute of the वा of वाह् (VI. 4. 132) and not the ऊड
taught in VI. 4. 19 &c). Thus प्रष्ठौरह:, प्रष्ठौहौं, but not in अक्षयुग्रा (Ins. sing of
अक्षयू: derived by ऊड substitution of व् in अक्षदिव् VI. 4. 19 &c). इदम्—आभ्याम्, एमि:
The anuvritti of "अन्तोरात्तात्" is unsderstood here, therefore, when the word

इदम् is not end-acute, this rule will not apply. When, therefore, there is anvâdeśa under II. 4. 32, the final being anudâtta, this rule does not apply, as अर्थो॑ म्यॅ॑र्म्यॅ॑ निपुणमधीत ॥ The पदादि words are पद, सत् &c upto निश् in VI. 1. 63. Thus निश्च॑सॅभतुरॉ ऋति, या द् तॉधावति, भर्दॅः पदयः, भर्द्रॅं॑ः, भद्र्म्यॅ॑ः, पुं॑सं॑ः, पुम्प्यॉं॑म्, पुम्प्यॅ॑ः, पुं॑सॉं॑, पुं॑सॅ॑र्॑, रॉयॅ॑ः पद्व, रॉभ्यॉं॑म्, रॉभिं॑ः, विद्रॅं॑ः, विद्वॉं॑, दिव्ं॑ः ॥ As regards the other cases of दिव् the accent is governed by VI. 1. 183. The word असन् and those which follow it, in VI. 1. 63, are not governed by this rule because they consist of more than one vowel, and the anuvritti of एकाच् : is understood here from VI. 1. 168. When these become monosyllable by the elision of अ (penultimate), then the vibhakti will be udâtta by VI. 1. 161 even after these. The case endings after these words are of course, anudâtta, except when these words become monosyllabic :—As मीवाबां॑ बद्रो अपि कष भासौनि, मस्त्यं न रीन उर्वॅनि क्षियन्तं ॥

अष्टनो दीर्घात् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो दीर्घान्तास्र्वनामस्यानत्रिभक्तिइरात्ता 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 udâtta after the long form अष्टा and not after अष्ट ॥ Thus अष्टाभिं॑ः opposed to अर्दॅभिः, अष्टाभ्यः con. अर्द्भ्यः, अष्टासु con. अर्दॅसु ॥ The word अष्टन् has acute on the last syllable, as it belongs to the class of घतादि 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 दीर्घात् indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long अ taught in VII. 2. 84, thus becomes *optional*, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अष्टन् would *always* end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अष्टान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of पद ॥ For if अष्टान् was not to be called a पद, like अष्टन्, then there would be scope to the present sûtra 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 पद word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घात् would become useless.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोरात्तासिति वर्तते । अनुम् यः शतृमत्ययस्तत्रन्तान्तोरात्तात्परा नदी अजातिर्विभक्तिरसर्वना- मस्थानघुरात्ता भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बृहन्महतिरूपसंख्यानम् ॥

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 अन्तोदात्तात् 'after an oxytoned word' is understood here. Thus तुदती॑, सुदती॑, लुनती॑, पुनती॑, तुद॒ती॑, लुद॒ती॑, पुद॒ती॑, सुद॒ती॑ from तुद॑न्, नुद॑न् लुन॑न् and पुन॑न् ॥

Why do we say "not having the augment नुम्?" Observe तुद॒न्ती, नुद॒न्ती ॥ Here also by VI. I. 186, after the root तुद् which has an indicatory भ, in the Dhâtupâṭha, being written तुद, the sârvadhâtuka affix शत् (अन्) is anudâtta. This anudâtta अन्, coalescing with the udâtta अ of तुद (VI. I. 162), becomes udâtta (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 तुद॒न्त्याम्, नुद॒न्त्याम् &c. If the participle is not an oxytone, the rule does not apply. As ए॑दती, ए॑भती ॥ Here the accent is on the first syllable by VI. I. 189.

Vârt:—The words बृहती and महती should also be included : as बृहती॑ महती॑, बृहतौ, महतौ ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तस्थाने यो यण् हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा नदी अजादिर्या ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नकारमहणं 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 कर्तृ + ई = कर्त्री॑ ; कर्त्रा॑॑, हर्त्री॑, हर्त्रौ,॑ प्रलविश्री, प्रलविश्रौ ॥ प्रसविश्री॑, प्रसविश्रौ ॥ All these are नृ ending words and have consequently acute accent on the final (VI. I. 163). Why '*acutely* accented final vowel is replaced &c'? Observe कैर्वी, कैर्वा, हैर्वी, हैर्वा, formed by नन् having acute on the first syllable. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe बहुतितर्वं = बहुतितर्वी ब्राह्मण्या (VIII. 2. 4) बहूनि तितऋनि अस्या इति बहुश्रीहिः ॥ This compound with बहु gets udâtta on the final by VI. 2. 175. In making the Instrumental singular of बहुतितऋ, the ऋ is replaced by र्, but as this र् is preceded by a vowel, the affix gets the svarita accent.

Vârt:—The rule applies when the stem ends in ऋ though not in a semi-vowel, as वाक्पऋवी॑, चित्पऋवी॑ ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊङो धातोश्च य उदात्तयण् हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा ऽजादिसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिर्नोदात्ता 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 udâtta ऊ (IV. 1. 66) or of the udâtta 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 ब्रह्मबन्ध्वा, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वे, धीरबन्ध्वा, धीर बन्ध्वे from धीरबन्धू, which has acute accent on ऋ, because ऊ म is udâtta (III. 1. 3), and the ekadeśa of it, when it combines with the preceding vowel is also udâtta (VIII. 2. 5). The व substituted for ऋ before the ending आ, is a semi-vowel substitute of an udâtta (उदात्तयण्) the affix after it would have become udâtta by the last sûtra, but not being so, the general rule VIII. 2. 4 applies and makes it svarita. Let us take an example of a semi-vowel substitute of the vowel of a root (धातु-यण्):—सकृल्ट्वा, सकृल्ट्वे ; खलूर्वं from सकृल्ट्व, खलपू formed by क्विप् 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.

ह्रस्वनुड्भ्यां मतुप् ॥ १७६ ॥   पदानि ॥ ह्रस्व, नुड्भ्याम्, मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोदात्तादिलेव । ह्रस्वान्तादन्तोदात्तान्नुड्भ्यरोमतुप् उदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रेढ्ह्रस्वात् मतुप् उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥   वा० ॥ षेभ 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 अन्तोदात्तात् is understood here also. Thus अग्निमान्, वायुमान्, कर्तृमान्, हर्तृमान् ॥ So also when मतुप् takes नुट्, as अक्षण्वंता, शीर्ष्ण्वंता ॥ Here by VII. 1. 76, the word अक्षि takes अनङ् and becomes अक्षन्, then is added नुट् by VIII. 2. 16, and we have अक्षन् न् मतुप् ॥ The preceding न् is elided. When the stem is not oxytone (antodâtta) this rule does not apply: as वैसुमान् ॥ The word वैसु has acute on the first syllable, as it is formed from वस् with the affix उ (Uṇ I. 10) which is नित् (Uṇ I. 9) so the मतुप् retains its anudâtta here. So also in the case of महत्वान्, the affix does not become acute, though the word महत् has acute on the final as the intervening न् makes the उ of ऽ heavy when the affix is added: the general maxim स्वरविधौ व्यंजनमविद्यमानवत् does not apply here, because the very fact that न् is only taken as an exception, shows this.

Vârt:—The affix मतुप् becomes acute after the heavy vowel of रै : as भारेवान् = रयिरस्यास्ति ॥ There is vocalisation of य of रयि, as र इ इ then substitution of one, as र ई, then guṇa, रे ॥

Vârt:—The prohibition should be stated after षि : as त्रिंवतीर्यांऽयानु-वाक्या भवन्ति ॥

नामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १७७ ॥   पदानि ॥ नाम, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वमहणमनुवर्त्तते मतुब्महणं च । तेन मतुपा ह्रस्वो विशेष्यते । मतुपि यो ह्रस्वस्तदन्तावन्तोदात्तावन्यतरस्यां 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 अग्रीनाम्, वायूनाम् or वायूनाम्, कर्तॄणाम् or कर्तॄणाम् (see VII. I. 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 इस्व 'short or light vowel' be read into this sûtra? The reply is that the anuvritti of मतुप् should also be read into this sûtra, the meaning being "a stem which has a light vowel when followed by मतुप्, will cause the नाम् acute, though the light vowel may become heavy before this ending, in its present form". Otherwise, this rule will apply to forms like तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम् having light vowels before नाम् and not to the forms above given. Why do we read नाम् with the नुट् augment (VII. I. 54) and not आम्? The rule will not apply to धन्वाम् घकव्याम् which get the acute on the final by VI. I. 174. Why do we say 'after a stem ending in a light vowel'? Observe कुमारीणाम् (the word कुमारि is end-acute by Uṇ III, 138 and so is कुमारी by VI. I. 161). Why do we say after an oxytoned word? Observe बेपूणाम्, बेसुनाम् the words बपु and बसु have acute on the first syllable.

ङ्याश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १७८ ॥   पदानि ॥ ङ्याः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्यन्ताच्छन्दसि विषये नामुदात्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

ङल्युपोत्तमम् ॥ १८० ॥   पदानि ॥ ङलि, उपोत्तमम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो या हलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्ते परे यदुपोत्तममधुदात्तं भवति । त्रिभ्रतीनामन्यद्युत्तमं तत्स-मीपे च यत्तदुपोत्तमम् ॥

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

The numerals षष्, त्रि and चतुर् when ending in a case-affix beginning with a हल् consonant, form a full word (पद), in such a word the penultimate syllable gets the acute accent. The very word penultimate shows that the पद must be of three syllables at least. Thus पञ्चभिः, सप्तभिः, तिसृभिः, चतुर्भिः ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with भ and स' ? Observe, पञ्चानाम्, सप्तनाम् ॥ Why do we say 'the penultimate syllable' ? Observe षड्भिः, षड्भ्यः ॥

विभाषा भाषायाम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाषायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षड्त्रिश्चतुर्भ्यो वा हलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्तं पदं उपान्तमुदात्तं भवति विभाषा भाषायां विषये ॥

181. In the Secular language this is optional.

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

न गोश्वन्त्साववर्णराडङ्कुङ्कुदृभ्यः ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गो, श्वन्, सौ अवर्णे, राद्, अङ्, कुङ्, कुदृभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गो श्वन् साववर्ण सौ प्रथमैकवचने यश्वर्णान्तं राङ् अङ् कुङ् कुद् 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 राज्, or after a stem ending in अङच्, nor as well as after कुङच् and कुत् ॥

Thus गैवा, गंवे, गोभ्याम् ॥ Here by VI. 1. 168, the case-endings would have got otherwise the accent, which is however prohibited. So also शुर्युना, शुर्गवे and शुर्युयाम् ॥ Here VI. 1. 169 is prohibited. So also शूना, शुने, श्वभ्याम्, परमश्युना, परमश्युन and परमश्वभ्याम् ॥ The word साववर्णः (सौ अवर्णः) means 'what has अ or आ before सु (1st. sing.)" Thus येभ्यः, तेभ्यः, कंभ्यः ॥ राज्ः–राजा, राजे, परमराजा ॥ (The word राज is formed by क्विप् affix): अङ=अञ्च्+क्विन् ; the prohibition applies to that form of this word wherein the nasal is not elided (VI. 4. 30). Thus प्राङ्चा, प्राङ्ग्याम् ॥ Where the nasal is elided, there the case-ending must take the accent; as प्राचा, प्राचे प्राग्भ्याम् ॥ कुङ is also a क्विन् formed word. Thus कुङ्चा, कुङ्चे, परमकुङ्चा ॥ कुत् is derived from कृ 'to do' or from कृत् 'to cut' by क्विप्; as कृता कृते and परमकृता ॥ Why has the word श्वन् been especially mentioned in this sûtra, when the rule would have applied to it even without such enumeration, because in the Nominative Singular this word assumes the form श्वा and consequently it is साववर्णः ? The inclusion of श्वन् indicates that the elision of न should not be considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, the present rule will not apply to words like नृ and पितृ which in Nom. Sing. end in आ, as ना and पिता after the elision of ऋ 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 मतुप् will get udâtta after पिता by VI. 1. 176 as पितृमान् ॥ But rule VI. 1. 176 will be debarred by the present in the case of वृक्षवान् because वृक्ष is a सावर्ण ॥

दिवो झल् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, झल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः परा झलादिर्विभक्तिर्नोदात्ता भवति ॥

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

Thus द्युंयाम्, द्युभिः ॥ This debars VI. 1. 168, 171. Why do we say 'beginning with a झल् consonant'? Observe दिवौ, दिवे ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्मात्परा झलादिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यां नोदात्ता भवति ॥

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

Thus नृभिः or नृर्भिः, नृभ्यः, नृर्भ्यः, नृणाम्, नृर्णाम्, नृषु, नृर्षु ॥ But not so नौँ, नेँ ॥

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 यत् (III. 1. 97). कार्यम्, हार्यम् with ण्यत् (III. 1. 124). This is an exception to III. 1. 3 which makes all affixes âdyudâtta. For exception to this rule see VI. 1. 213 &c.

तास्यनुदात्तेन्ङिद्दुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमह्न्विङोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तासि, अनुदात्तेत्, ङिद्, अदुपदेशात्, ल, सार्वधातुकम्, अनुदात्तम्, अ-ह्नु, इङो, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासेरनुदात्तेतोङितो ऋकारान्तोपदेशाच्च ह्नऽरात्परं लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तं च भवति ह्नुड् इङ् इत्येताभ्यां 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 Dhâtupâṭha has an unaccented vowel or a ङ् (with the exception of ह्नुङ् and इङ्) as indicatory letter, as well as after what has a final अ in the Grammatical system of Instruction (upadeśa).

Thus तासि :—कर्त्ता, कर्त्तारौ, कर्त्तारः, this debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). Anudâttet :—as, आस्—आस्ते, वस्—वस्ते ॥ ङित् :—ह्नुड्=ह्नुते, धीङ्—धीते ॥ अत् उप-देशः :—as हुरतः, हुँतः, पंचतः, पंतः ॥ A root taking शप् (अ) is considered as

taught (upadeśa) as if ending with an अ, as the indicatory letters श and ए are disregarded on the maxim अनुबन्धस्यानैकान्तिकत्वं (= अनवयवत्वं) ॥ Thus पच्चमानः, यज्ञमानः ॥ The augment मुक् is added by आने मुक् VII. 2. 82 which may be explained in two ways; *first*, the augment मुक् is added to the final अ of the base (anga) when आन (आनच् &c) follows; or *secondly*, the the augment मक् is added to the base (anga) which ends in अ, when आन follows. In the first case मक् 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 यदागमास्तद्गुणीभूतास्तद्ग्रहणेन 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 मक be taken as part of the *base* which ends in अ, then the लसार्वधातुक 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 शानच् has an indicatory च्, yet चित् accent (VI. 1. 163) is debarred by this rule, as it is *subsequent*.

Why do we say after तास् &c. Observe चिनुतः चिन्वन्तिः ॥ The vikarana श्नु is ङित् (I. 2. 4) with regard to operations affecting the prior term, and not those which affect the subsequent. Therefore though श्नु is considered as ङित् for the purposes of preventing the guna of the prior term चि, it will not be considered so for the purposes of subsequent accent. Or the word ङित् in this sûtra may be taken as equal to ङिदुपदेश and not the आतिदेशिक ङित् like हनु ॥ Why do we use the word upadeśa ? So that the rule may apply to पचावः, पचामः, but not to हतः, हयः the dual of हन् which ends in न् in upadesa. though before तस् and थस् it has assumed the form ह ॥ Therefore हतः हयः ॥ Why do we use the word ल (Personal endings)? Observe कतीह पचमाना formed by शानच् added to पू (III.2.128),which not being a substitute of लट्, is not a personal ending like शानच् ॥ Why do we use the word Sârvadhâtuka ? Observe शिद्यः, शिश्यन्ते, शिशियिरे ॥ Why do we say with the exception of हनुङ् and इङ् ? Observe हतं, यद् अधीते ॥

आदिः सिचो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, सिचः, अन्यतरस्याम्,

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्तते । सिचन्तस्यान्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सिच आव्युदात्तत्वे उनितः पितः पक्षे उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

The word उदात्त is understood here. Thus मा हि कार्षाम्, मा हि कार्षीम्; मा हि लाविषाम् or मा हि लाविषीम् ॥ In the last example the accent is on हि; and the

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ लसार्वधातुकग्रहणं यदनुवर्तते तदच्यनिटीति सम्बन्धादिह समभ्यन्तं भवति स्वपादीनां हिंसेभाजा-शवनिटि लसार्वधातुके परतो ऽन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

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

The phrase लसार्वधातुके in the locative case is understood here. Thus स्वँपन्ति or स्वपँन्ति, भॅसन्ति or भसँन्ति, हिँसन्ति or हिसँन्ति ॥ The accent on the middle falls by the accent of the affix III. 1. 3. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a *vowel*'? Observe स्वप्यात्, हिंस्यात् ॥ Why do we say 'not taking the augment इट् ?' Observe स्वपितः and ष्वपितः ॥ This rule applies to those vowel-beginning affixes which are ङित् ; it does not apply to स्वपानि, हिनसानि ॥

अभ्यस्तानामादिः ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तानाम्, आदिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तानामजादावनिटि लसार्वधातुके परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus दैदति, दैदतु, दैधति, दैधतु, जक्षति, जँक्षतुः, जाँग्रति, जाँग्रतुः ॥ Before consonant affixes: दद्यात् ॥ Before सेट् affixes :—जक्षितः ॥ Though the word भादि was

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानोदात्ते च लसार्वधातुके परतो ऽभ्यस्तानामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

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

The endings तिप् सिप् and मिप् are anudâtta (III. 1. 4). This sûtra applies to those personal endings which do not begin with a vowel. Thus वेवाति, बेहाति, वेधाति, जिहीते, मिमीते ॥ The word अनुदात्त is to be construed here as a Bahuvrîhi i. e. an affix in which there is no udâtta vowel, so that the rule may apply when a portion of the affix is elided or a semivowel is substituted : as मा हि स्म वेधात्, and वेधात्यग्रे ॥

सर्वस्य सुपि ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दस्य सुपि परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वस्तरे ऽनकच्कस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

Thus सर्वः, सर्वाः सर्वे ॥ Why do we say when the *case-endings* follow ? Observe सर्वतरः, सर्वतमः the acute is on वे ॥ The word सर्व has acute on the final, as it is so taught in the Uṇâdi list by निपातन ॥ It thus being anudâttâdi takes the affix अम् and forms सार्वं (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 ॥

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

भीह्रीभृहुमदजनधनदरिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं पिति ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी, ह्री, भृ, हु, मद्, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, जागराम्, प्रत्ययात्, पूर्वम्, पिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी ह्री भृ हु मद जन धन दरिद्रा जागृ इत्येतेषामभ्यस्तानां लसार्वधातुके पिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वंस्यसात्तं भवति ॥

192. In भी, ह्री, भृ, हु, मद्, जन्, धन्, दरिद्रा, and जागृ, in their reduplicates, the acute accent is, before the sârvadhâtuka unaccented endings of the three persons in singular, (पित्), on the syllable which precedes the affix.

This debars the accent on the beginning. Thus बिभेति, जिह्रेति, बिभर्ति, जुहोति, मर्मंचु नः परिज्मा ॥ Here the root मद has diversely taken in the Chhandas the vikaraṇa श्लु, though it belongs to Divâdi class. जर्जनत्, इन्द्रम् ॥ The verb is here लेट् or the Vedic Subjunctive, so also is the next example. दधनत् from धन धान्ये,

the ि of ति being elided by III. 4. 97, and the augment अद् being added by III. 4. 94. वर्धेनत्, वरिव्राति, जार्गाेति ॥ In the case of other verbs we have ईसाति ॥ Before affixes which have not the indicatory प् (i. e. all endings other than the three singular endings), the accent will be on the first syllable: as वरिव्राति ॥

लिति ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिति प्रत्ययास्पूर्वमुदात्तं 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), भोरिर्किविधम् and ऐषुकारिभक्तम् with the affixes विधल् and भक्तल् (IV. 2. 54) accent on the कि and रि ॥

आदिर्णेमुल्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, णमुलि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः । णमुलि परतो ऽन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

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

Thus लोलूयम् or लोलूयम् ॥ In the reduplicate form लोलू, the second part लू is unaccented by VIII. 1. 3. The present sûtra makes लो accented. When लो is not accented, लू will get the accent by लित् accent. This rule is confined to polysyllabic Absolutives, namely to reduplicated Absolutives (VIII. 1. 4).

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

वृत्तिः । उपदेशइति वर्त्तते । अजन्ता ये उपदेशे धातवस्तेषां कर्तृयकि अन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

195.   The roots which are exhibited in Dhâtupâtha 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 केसारः स्वयमेव ॥ स्तीर्यते or स्तीर्यते केसारः स्वयमेव ॥ When the accent does not fall on the first syllable, it falls on य (VI. 1. 186).. This rule applies to जन्, खन्, and सन् when they get the form जायते, सायते and खायते; the long आ (VI. 4. 43) substitute is considered as if these verbs were taught in the Dhâtupâtha with long आ ॥ Thus जायते or जायते स्वयमेव सायते or सायते स्वयमेव ; खायते or खायते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in a *vowel*'? Observe भिद्यते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say "when the sense is Reflexive (कर्तृ)"? Observe लूयते केसारो देवदत्तेन ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ सेदि थलि इट वा उदात्तो भवति अन्तो वा भाद्विर्वा ऽन्यतरस्याम् ।

196. Before the ending थ of the Perfect, second person singular, when this ending takes the augment इ ; the acute accent falls either on the first syllable, or on this इ, or on the personal ending.

Thus लुलविथ, लुलविथ, लुलविथ, and लुलविथ. As थल् has an ' indicatory ल्, the syllable preceding the affix may have also the accent (VI. 1. 193). Thus we get the four forms given above. In short, with इथ termination, the accent may fall on any syllable. When the थ is not सेट्, the accent falls on the root and we have one form only by लिट् accent (VI. 1. 193) :—यर्योथ ॥

अनित्यादिर्नित्यम् ॥ १९७ ॥   पदानि ॥ अ्निति, आदिः, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञिति निते च निव्यमादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

197. Whatever is derived with an affix having an indicatory ञ् or ण्, has the acute accent invariably on the first syllable.

Thus गाैर्गय with यञ् (IV. 1. 105), वाछुदेवकः, अैर्जुनकः with बुन् (IV. 3. 98). This is an exception to III. 1. 3. When the affixes are, however, elided, the word loses this accent, i. e. the affix does not leave its mark behind, as it generally does by I. 1. 63. Therefore गर्गाः, बिदाः, चडवाः having lost यञ्, अञ् and कन्, have lost their accent also.

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १९८ ॥   पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

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

Thus ᵃदेवदत्त !, ᵃदेवदत्तौ !, ᵃदेवदत्ताः ॥ This debars the final accent ordained by VI. 2. 148. Though the affix may be elided by a लुमान् word (लुक्, लुप् or ड्लु), yet the effect of the affix remains behind in spite of I. 1. 63. As दार्विदा-गच्छ ! सैना गच्छत ! ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमथिशब्दावौणादिकाविनिप्रत्ययान्तौ प्रत्ययस्वरेणान्तोदात्तौ तयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत आदिरुदात्तो 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 Unâdi affix इनि, (IV. 12. and 13) and are oxytone by III. 1. 3. They become âdyudâtta before strong cases. Thus पैन्थाः, पैन्थानौ, पैन्थानः, मैन्थाः, मैन्थानौ, मैन्थानः ॥ Before other cases we have:—पथः पश्य, मथः पश्य ॥ The accent is on the final by VI. 1. 162, there being elision of the udâtta इन् ॥ The rule I. 1. 62, about the remaining effect of the affix, does not apply here. As पथिम्रिया, has acute on the final of the first

word, by retaining its original accent.

अन्तश्च तवै युगपत् ॥ २०० ॥   पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च, तवै, युगपत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवैप्रत्ययान्तस्यान्तश्च शब्दादिश्च युगपदुवात्तौ 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 कंतवैʾ, हंतवैʾ ॥ This is an exception to III. 1. 3 by which त of तवै ought to have got the accent, and it also countermands rule VI. 1. 158 by which there can be only a single acute in a single word.

क्षयो निवासे ॥ २०१ ॥   पदानि ॥ क्षयः, निवासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षयशब्दो निवासे ऽभिधेये आद्युदात्तो भवति ।

2ᴏ1. The word क्षय has the acute on the first syllable in the sense of 'house, dwelling'.

Thus क्षेय जागृहि प्रपद्यन् ॥ The word is formed by च affix (III. 1. 118) and would have had accent on the affix (III. 1. 3). When not meaning a house we have : क्षयोʾ वर्तते दस्यूनाम् ॥ The word is formed by अच् (III. 2. 31),

जयः करणम् ॥ २०२ ॥   पदानि ॥ जयः, करणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जयशब्दः करणवाची आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

202. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of जय, in the sense of ' whereby one attains victory '.

Thus जयोऽश्वः, but otherwise जयो वर्तते ब्राह्मणानाम् ॥ The former जय is by च affix, (III. 1. 118) the second by अच् (III. 2. 31) ॥

वृषादीनां च ॥ २०३ ॥   पदानि ॥ वृषादीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृष इत्येवमादीनामाद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus 1. वृषः, 2. जंनः, 3. ज्वरः, 4. मंहः, 5. हंयः, 6. गंयः ॥ These are formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). The word गय is from गै-गायते, irregularly it is treated as गे ॥ 7. नयः, 8. तायः, 9. तयः, 10. चयः, 11. अमः, 12. वेदः, 13. सुदः, 14. वदः (formed by अच् numbers 8 to 11 are not in Kâśika). सुद is formed by क (III. 1. 135) 15. अंशः, 16. गुह्ा (formed by अङ् III. 3. 104). 17. शामरणा संज्ञायां संमतो भावकर्मणोः :— शामः and रणः, 18. मन्त्रः (formed by अच् III. 1. 134), 19. शान्तिः formed by क्तिन्, 20. क्रामः, 21. यामः, both formed by घञ्, 22. भारा, 23. धारा, 24. कारा, (all three formed by अङ् III. 3. 104), 25. यहः = गोचरादिषु formed by घञ् 26. कल्पः, 27. पारः formed by घञ्, which may either take the accent indicated by the affix or by VI. 1. 159, 28. पयः, 29. इवः ॥ It is आकृतिगणः ॥ All words which are acutely accented on the first, should be considerd as belonging to this class, if their accent cannot be accounted for by any other rule.

1 वृषः, 2 जनः, 3 ज्वर 4 मह 5 हयः, 6 गयः, 7 नयः, 8 ताय*, 9 तयः, 10 चयः,* 11 भम*:, 12 वद:, 13 मूर:°, 14 अंशः, 15 गुहा, 16 चामरणौ संज्ञायां संमतौ भावक्रमणोः, 17 मन्वः, 18 शान्तिः, 19 कामः, 20 यामः, 21 भारा, 22 धारा, 23 कारा, 24 वह:, 25 कल्पः, 26 पारः 27 पयः, 28 वयः, 29 आकृतिगण ॥

संज्ञायामुपमानम् ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानशब्दः संज्ञायामाद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

204. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of that word with which something is likened, provided that it is a name.

Thus चञ्चा, वेघ्रिका, खिरकुटी, शांसी ॥ 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 sûtra. The formation of this sûtra 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 अग्निर्मांणवकः ॥ When it is not an upamâna we have देवदत्तैः (VI. 2. 148).

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

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

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

Thus ईप्सः, मुग्धः, दत्तः ॥ This debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). In non-participles we have देवैः, भीमैं: ॥ In polysyllabic Participles we have चिन्तितैः, रक्षितः ॥ In Particip'es having long आ in the first syllable, we have, चातैं:, आर्तैं: ॥ When the Participle is not a Name we have, कृतम्, हतम् ॥

शुष्कधृष्टौ ॥ २०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क, धृष्टौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिरशक्त इति वर्तते । शुष्क धृष्ट इत्येतावाद्युदात्तौ भवतः ॥

206. Also शुष्क and धृष्ट have acute on the first syllable.

These are non-Names. Thus शुष्कः and धृष्टः ॥

आशितः कर्ता ॥ २०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशितः, कर्ता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दः कर्तृवाची आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

207. The word आशित meaning 'having eaten' has acute on the first syllable.

Thus आषिितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta, having eaten'. Here it is used as an active participle. The क्त is added to अद् 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 आषिितंम् देवदत्तेन 'eaten by Devadatta'. आषिितंमन्नम् 'the eaten food'. The former is भावे क्त, the second is कर्मणि क्त ॥

रिक्ते विभाषा ॥ २०८ ॥   पदानि ॥ रिक्ते, विभाषा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रिक्तशब्दे विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

208. The word रिक्त may have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus रि॑क्तः or रिन्क्तं॑ः ॥   This debars VI. 1. 204 and 205.

जुष्टार्पिते च छन्दसि ॥ २०९ ॥   पदानि ॥ जुष्टा, अर्पिते, च, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे छन्दसि विषये विभाषा आद्युदात्ते भवतः ॥

209. In the Chhandas, the words जुष्ट and अर्पित have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुं॑ष्टः or जुष्टं॑ः ; अ॑र्पितः or अर्पितं॑ः ॥   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 निष्यमाद्युदात्ते भवतः ॥

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

Thus जुं॑ष्ट देवानामर्पितं पितॄणाम् ॥   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. तस्मिन्त्साकं त्रिवाता न शंकवोर्पितौ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोर्ङसि ॥ २११ ॥   पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः-, ङसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदी मदिक्प्रत्ययान्ते उन्तोदात्ते तयोर्ङसि परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

211. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Genitive Singular.

This applies when the forms are मम and तव, and not मे and ते ॥   Thus मम स्वम्, तैव स्वम् ॥ The word युष्मद् and अस्मद् are derived from युष and अस by adding the affix मदिक् (Un I. 139) युष्मद् + ङस् = युष्मद् + अश (VII. 1. 27) = तव अद् + अश (VI. 2. 96)=तवं + अश (VII. 2. 90)=तव (VI. 1. 97). Here by VIII. 2. 5, व would have been udâtta, the present sûtra makes त udâtta. So also with मम ॥

ङयि च ॥ २१२ ॥   पदानि ॥ ङयि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोरिति वर्तते, आदिरुदात्त इति च । इत्येतस्मिन्न परतौ युष्मदस्मदोरादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus तुभ्यम् and मह्यम्, the forms त and मे are not governed by this rule. The making of two separate sûtras is for the sake of preventing the application of यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). Had the sûtra been युष्मदस्मदो ङिङ्रांः, then yushmad in the Dative, and asmad in the Genitive alone would have taken this accent.

यतोऽनावः ॥ २१३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, अनावः ॥

वृत्तिः । निष्ठा च ह्यजनादित्यतो ह्यज्ग्रहणमनुवर्त्तते । यत्प्रत्ययान्तस्य ह्यच आदिरुदात्तो भवति न चेन्नौ-शब्दास्परो 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 ह्यच् is understood here from VI. 1. 205. Thus चेयम्, जेयम् (III. 1. 97); कृत्यम्, सौच्यम् (V. 1. 6). This rule debars the Svarita accent required by तित् (VI. 1. 185) ॥ But नौ—नाव्यम् ॥ The rule does not apply to words of more than two syllables, thus :—चिकीर्ष्यम्, ललार्च्यम् ॥

ईडवन्दवृशांसदुहां ण्यतः ॥ २१४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड,वन्द,वृ,शांस्, दुहाम्, ण्यतः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ ईड वन्द वृ शांस दुह इत्येतेषां यो ण्यत् तदन्तस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

214. The acute accent is on the first syllable of ईड्, वन्द्, वृ, शांस् and दुह्, when they are followed by the affix ण्यत् ॥

Thus ईड्यम्, वन्द्यम्, वार्यम्, शास्यम्, सोढ्या धेनुः ॥ The two letters ण् and त् being indicatory, the 'ṇyat' is not included in 'yat' of the last sûtra. The accent would be regulated by त् ॥ The accent of त् however is debarred by this rule. The वृ in the sûtra is वृङ् संभक्तौ of Kriyadi class : the वृञ् of स्वादि class takes kyap affix. See III. 1. 109.

विभाषा वेण्विन्धानयोः ॥ २१५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेणु, इन्धानयोः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ वेणु इन्धान इत्येतयोर्विभाषा 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 Uṇâdi 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 शानश् it will have the accent on the final. If it is considered to be formed by शानच्, the affix being a sârvadhâtuka is anudâtta, and as it replaces udâtta final of the root, it becomes udâtta (VI. 1. 161), and thus इन्धान gets acute on the middle. It would never have acute on the first syllable, the present rule ordains that also. When वेणु is used as an upamâna वेणुरिव वेणुः, then it is *invariably* acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 204).

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

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

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

Thus त्यागः or त्यार्गः, हांगः, रागंः, हासः, हासँः ॥ These are formed by घञ् affix and by VI. 1. 159 would take acute on the final, this ordains acute on the first syllable also. कुहः or कुहँः, भँठः or श्वठः, क्रथुः or क्रथँः formed by अच् (III. 1. 13).

उपोत्तमं रिति ॥ २१७ ॥　पदानि ॥ उपोत्तमम्, रिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिन्तस्योपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति । त्रिप्रभृतीनामन्त्यमुत्तमं तस्य समीपे यत्तदुपोत्तमं ।

217. What is formed by an affix having an indicatory 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 करणीयम् and हरणीयम् formed by अनीयर् (III. 1. 96) ; पटुजातीयः, मृदुजातीयः by जातीयर् (V. 3. 19). This debars III. 1. 3.

चङ्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१८ ॥　पदानि ॥ चङि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङन्ते ऽन्यतरस्यामुपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति ।

218. The acute accent may be optionally on the penultimate syllable of the reduplicated Aorist in चङ्, the word consisting of more than two syllables.

Thus मा हि चीकरताम् or चीकरँताम् ॥ The augment अट् is elided by the addition of मा, VI. 4. 74 ; हि prevents the verb from becoming anudatta VIII. 1. 34 then comes the चित् accent of चङ् ॥ The augmented form with अट् has acute always on the first syllable VI. 4. 71. When the word is of less than three syllables, the rule does not apply, as, माहि रधँत् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ मतोः पूर्वं आकार उदात्तो भवति तदेन्तमेयन्तं स्त्रीलिङ्गे संज्ञा भवति ।

219. The आ before the affix मत् has the acute accent, when the word is a name in the Feminine Gender.

Thus अदुम्बरावती, पुष्करावती, धारावती (IV. 2. 85). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 120. धीरणावती ॥ Why do we say 'the आ'? Observe इक्षुमँती, ब्रुमवँती ॥ The words इक्षु Un. III. 157 and ब्रुम (V. 2. 108) are end-acute, so accent is on मतुप् by VI. 1. 176. Why do we say when a name? Observe खैद्रावती ॥ खैद्रा is formed by क्रन् and has acute on the first (Un. I. 151). Why do we say in

the Feminine Gender ? Observe चरावान् ॥ Why do we say when followed by मत् ? Observe गचाविनी ॥

अन्तो ऽवत्याः ॥ २२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, अवत्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामिखेव । भवतीघङ्खान्तस्य संज्ञायामन्त उदात्तो भवति।

220. The Names ending in अवती have the acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus भजिरवती, खोरिरवती, इसवती, कारण्डवती ॥ These words being formed by ङीप् would have been unaccented on the final (III. 1. 4). Why do we use भवती 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 (मत् = वत्) is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

ईवत्याः ॥ २२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईवत्याः, (उदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईवतीघङ्खान्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति खियां संज्ञायां विषये ।

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

Thus अहीवती, कृष्णीवती, धुनीवती ॥

चौ ॥ २२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चारिस्त्यञ्चतिर्नुमनकारो गृह्यते । तस्मिन्परतः पूर्वस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चावतद्धितइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

Thus र्ध्याचः पन्थ; र्ध्याचा, र्धीचैः मधूचः पश्य, मर्धूचा, मधूचे ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 161, 170 and VI. 2. 52.

Várt:—This rule does not apply before a Taddhita affix. As शाधीचैः. धाधूचैः ॥ Here the accent is regulated by the affix (III. 1. 3).

समासस्य ॥ २२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासस्य, (उदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ।

223. A compound word has the acute on the last syllable.

Thus राजपुरुषैः ब्राह्मणकम्बलैः, कन्याखनैः, पटहघाबैः, नरीघोषैः, राजदर्षन्, ब्राह्मणसमित् ॥ The consonants being held to be non-existent for the purposes of accent, the udátta 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.

षष्ठाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

—◁|◅—

BOOK SIXTH.

Chapter Second.

बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् ॥ १ ॥   पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, प्रकृत्या, पूर्वपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदमहणमत्र पूर्वपदस्थे स्वरे उदात्ते स्वरिते वा वर्त्तते । बहुव्रीहौ समासे पूर्वपदस्य यः स्वरः स प्रकृत्या भवति, स्वभावेनावतिष्ठते, न विकारमनुवात्तस्वमापद्यते ॥

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

The word पूर्वपद means here the accent—whether udâtta or swarita—which is in the first member: प्रकृत्या means, retains its own nature, does not become modified into an anudâtta 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 anudâtta, as in one word all syllables are unaccented except one. VI. 1. 158. Thus the first member of a Bahuvrîhi would have lost its accent and become anudâtta; with the present sûtra commences the exceptions to the rule that the final of a compound is always udâtta. Thus कार्ष्णोत्तरासङ्गः ॥ The word कार्ष्ण is derived by the Taddhita affix अञ् (IV. 3. 154) from कृष्ण 'a kind of antelope;' and has the ञित् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. on the first syllable: which the word preserves in the compound also. So also यूपवलजः ; the word यूप is derived from यु by the Uṇâdi affix प (Uṇ III. 27), before which the vowel becomes lengthened (Uṇ III. 25) and the affix is treated as नित् (Un III. 26), and hence the word is acutely accented on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). So also ब्रह्मचारिपरिस्कन्दः ; the word ब्रह्मचारिन् has a Kṛit-formed word as its second part, and gets the acute on the final (VI. 2. 139). So also स्नातकपुत्रः, the word स्नातक is derived by कन् (V. 4. 29) affix and has नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. udâtta on the first syllable. So also अध्यापकपुत्रः, the word अध्यापक is accented on the middle as it is formed by a ञित् affix (III. 1, 133, VI. 1. 193). श्रोत्रियपुत्रः, the श्रोत्रिय being enounced with an indicatory ण in Sûtra V. 2. 84 is acutely accented on the first. मनुष्यनाथः, the word मनुष्य being formed by यत् (IV. 1. 161) a तित् affix is svarita (VI. 1. 185),

The words udâtta and svarita are understood in this aphorism,
Therefore if *all* the syllables of the pûrvapada are anudâtta, the present rule
has no scope there, and such a compound will get udâtta on the final by the
universal rule enunciated in VI. I. 223.　Thus समभार्गं, here सम being *all* anu-
dâtta, the accent falls on ग ॥

तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः ॥ २ ॥　पदानि ॥ तत्-
पुरुषे, तुल्यार्थ, तृतीया, सप्तमी, उपमान, अव्यय, द्वितीया, कृत्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे तुल्यार्थे तृतीयान्तं सप्तम्यन्तमुपमानवाचि अव्ययं द्वितीयान्तं कृत्यान्तं च यत्पूर्वपदं
तत्प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्यये नञ्कुनिपातानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

2.　In a Tatpurusha, the first member preserves
its original accent, when it is a word (1) meaning " a resem-
blance ", 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, तुल्यलोहित, तुल्यमहान्, सर्देक्ष्वेतः, सर्देगलोहितः, सर्द्रमहान् ॥
These are Karmadhâraya compounds formed under II. 1. 68 : and तुल्य being
formed by वत् is acutely accented on the first (VI. I. 216).　The word सट्श्
is formed by क्रिन् (III. 2. 60 Vârt), and has acute on the final (VI. I. 197 and
VI. 2. 139).　So also सर्देश्वश्वेतः सर्देशालोहितः, सर्देशमहान् ॥　The word सट्श is formed
by कश्र added to दृश्, and by VI. I. 197 the accent falls on द (VI. 2. 139).　(2)
When the first member is in the Instrumental case, as :—शांकुलया खण्डः = शांकुला-
खण्डः, so also किरिकाणः (II. 1. 30) शांकुला is derived from शांकु + ला ॥　To the root ला
is added the affix क with the force of घञ्, and thus the noun ला is udâtta ।
or the whole word शांकुला is a word formed by भ् affix and hence VI. 1.
165 applies and is final-acute.　किरिः is formed by the Unâdi affix इ ता कृ (Uṇ
IV. 143), and it being treated as a क्रित् (Uṇ. IV. 142) has udâtta on the final.

(3)　When the first member is a word in the Locative case, as :—अक्षेषु
श्रौण्डः = अक्षश्रौण्डः, so also पानश्रौण्डः ॥　The word अक्ष is formed by the affix स
added to अश् (Uṇ III. 65), and is final acute (III. 1. 3).　The word पान is
formed by ल्यूट् affix added to पा, and is acute on the first (VI. 1. 193) owing
to the लित् accent.　(4) When the first member is a word with which the second
member is compared, as :—घृतीद्यामा, कुठ्वरश्येनी, हंसगद्गदा, न्यग्रोधपरिमण्डला, घृवां-
कोण्डश्यामा, हरकान्तडगौरी ॥　These compounds are formed by II. 1. 55.　घृती is
formed by ङीष् and is final-acute ; कुठ्व is formed by क affix (को मोशते = कुठ्व)
see III. 2. 5. Vârt : and is acutely accented on the first, or by Phit sûtra
II. 3 it has acute on the first.　हंस is formed by the Unâdi affix स added to हन्

(Uṇ III. 62), and is finally accented (III. 1. 3). न्यमोहति=न्यमोधः formed by अच् (III. 1. 134), and इ is irregularly changed into य as Pâṇini himself uses this form (VII. 3. 5): and it is accented in the middle. The words पूर्वाकाण्ड, धारकाण्ड 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, अंब्राह्मणः, अंवृषलः, कुंब्राह्मणः, कुंवृषलः ॥ निर्कौशाम्विः, निर्वाराणसिं, अतिखट्वः, अंतिमालः ॥ All these Indeclinable compounds have udâtta on the first. they are formed by II. 2. 5 &c.

Vârt:—In cases of Indeclinable compounds. the rule applies only to those which are formed by the negative Particle अ, by कु, and by Particles (nipâta). Though नञ् is one of the Nipâtas, its separate mention indicates that नञ्-accent debars even the subsequent कृत्-accent as अकरणिः ॥ Therefore, it does not apply here स्नात्वाकालकः which has acute on the final and belongs to Mayuravyńsakâdi class.

(6) When the first member as in the accusative case, as :—मुहूर्तंसुखम्, मुहूर्तंरमणीयम्, सर्वरात्रंकल्याणी, सर्वरात्रंशोभना ॥ They are formed by II. 1. 29. मुहूर्त belongs to पृषोदरादि class and is acutely accented on the last. सर्वरात्र is formed by the samâsanta affix अच् and is finally accented.

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

वर्णोवर्णेष्वनेते ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः, वर्णेषु, अनेते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं, तत्पुरुषेति च वर्तते । वर्णे वर्णवाचि पूर्वपदं वर्णवाचिष्वेवोत्तरपदेषु एतद्ब्दवर्जि-तेषु परतस्तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

3. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when a word denoting color is compounded with another color denoting word, but not when it is the word एत ॥

Thus कृष्णसारङ्गी, लोहितसारङ्गी, कृष्णकल्माषः, लोहितकल्माषः ॥ कृष्ण is formed by बक affix (Uṇ. III. 4) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). लोहित is formed by the affix तन् added to रुह (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 कृष्णतः, लोहितैतः ॥ The compounding takes place by II.1. 69.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमा णवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे गाध लवण इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

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

Thus शम्बगाधमुदकम्, अरि त्रिगाधमुदकम् 'water as low or fordable as a Samba or an Aritra i. e. of the depth of an oar or a pestle'. गोलवणम्, अश्वलवणम् 'so much salt as may be given to a cow or a horse'. These are Genitive Tatpurusha compounds. शम्ब is formed by adding बन् to शम् (Uṇ. IV. 94), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). अरित्र is formed by the affix इत्र added to ऋ (III. 2. 184), and has acute on the middle (III. 1. 3): गो is formed by डो (Uṇ II. 68) and has acute on the final ओ; अश्व is formed by क्वन् affix added to अशू (Uṇ. I. 151), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The word प्रमाण here denotes 'quantity', 'measure', 'mass', 'limit', and not merely the length. The power of denoting measure by these words is here indicated by and is dependent upon accent.

When not denoting प्रमाण we have परमगाधम् and परमलवणम् ॥

दायाद्यं दायादे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दायाद्यम्, दायादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे दायाद्यशब्दउत्तरपदे दायाद्यवाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

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

Thus विद्यादायादः, धनदायादः ॥ The word विद्या is formed by the affix क्यप् (III. 3. 99) which is udâtta (III. 3. 96). The word धन is derived by adding क्यु to धाम् (Uṇ. II. 81). Though the Uṇâdi Sûtra II. 81 ordains क्यु after the root धा preceded by नि, yet by बहुल (III. 3. 1) rule it comes after धा also when it is not preceded by नि and धन has acute on the first (III. 1. 3).

In the forms विद्यादायादः &c, what Genitive case has been taken ? If it is the Genitive case which the word दायाद requires by Rule II. 3. 39, then by the Vârtika 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 Geintive case is taught in II. 3. 39 with regard to दायाद &c. That sûtra only indicates the existence of the Locative case in the *alternative*, and does not pervent the Genitive. In fact, had merely Locative been ordianed in that sûtra, this particular case would have prevented the Genitive on the maxim that a particular rule debars the general. But the employment of both terms Genitive and Locative in that sûtra 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 apûrva-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 परमतायार्ः (VI. I. 223) taking the final acute of a compound.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे चिरकृच्छ्रयोरुत्तरपरयोः प्रतिबन्धिवाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

6.   In a Tatpurusha compound, having the words चिर or कृच्छ्र as its second member, the first member, when it denotes that which experiences an obstacle, preserves its original accent.

Thus गमनचिरम्, गमनकृच्छ्रम्, व्याहरणचिरम् or व्याहरणकृच्छ्रम् ॥   The words गमन and व्याहरण are formed by ल्युट् affix, and have लित् accent (VI. I. 193).   This compound belongs either to the class of Mayûra-vyaṅsakâdi (II. I. 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 मुत्रकृच्छ्रम् ॥

पदे ऽपदेशे ॥ ७ ॥   पदानि ॥ पदे, अपदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदेशो व्याजस्तद्वाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पदशब्देऽउत्तरपदे 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, उच्चारपदेन प्रस्थितः ॥ Gone on pretext of voiding urine or excreta.

The word मूत्र is derived by adding the affix ष्ट्रन् to the root मुच्, the ऋ being substituted for उच् of मुच्, (Uṇ. IV. 163), and has acute on the first (VI. I. 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. I. 72 or it is an attributive compound.

Why do we say "when meaning a pretext?" Observe विष्णोः पदम्=वि-ष्णुपदम् ॥

निवाते वातत्राणे ॥ ८ ॥   पदानि ॥ निवाते, वात-त्राणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवातशब्देऽउत्तरपदे वातत्राणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वं पदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

8.   In a Tatpurusha compound, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word निवात in the sense of 'a protection from wind'.

Thus कुच्चेवं निवातम् = कुट्यैनिवातम् 'a hut as the only shelter from the wind'. So also चर्मीनिवातम्, कुड्यनिवातम् or कुड्यैनिवातम् ॥ The word निवात is an Avyayî-

bháva compound = वातस्य अभावः (II. 1. 6): or a Bahuvrihi = निरुद्धो वातोस्मिन् ॥ The words कुटीनिवातम् &c, are examples of compounds of two words in apposi-tion. कुटी and शर्मी are formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). Some say that कुड्य is derived from कु by adding यत् with the augment उक् and treating it as कित्, is has the acute on the first; others hold that it is derived by the affix क्यक् to कु and the affix has the accent.

Why do we say when meaning 'a shelter from wind'? Observe राज-निवति वसति, सुखं मातुनिवातं = 'he lives under the shelter of the king'; 'pleasant is the shelter or the protection of the mother'. Here निवात = पार्श्वः or vicinity.

शारदे ऽनार्तवे ॥ ९ ॥   पदानि ॥ शारदे, अनार्तवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुतौ भवमार्तवम् । अनार्तववाचिनि शारदशब्दउत्तरपदे तत्पुरुष समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

9. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word शारद, having any other sense than that of 'au-tumnal'.

The word आर्तव means appertaining to season (ऋतु) i. e. when the word शारद does not refer to the season of शरत् or autumn. Thus उद्धृतशारदघुडकम् 'fresh drawn water'. So also ध्वंत शारदाः सक्तवः 'the saktu flour fresh from the mill'. The word शारद means here 'fresh' 'new': and it forms an invari-able compound. The word उद्धृ is formed by उ affix added to सृज् (Uṇ. I. 15), the स being elided. The affix उ is treated as नित् (Uṇ. I. 9) and the accent falls on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word ध्वंत is formed by the augment ध and shortening of the vowel of the root इ 'to tear' (दृणाति), and the affix अविक् (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).

अध्वर्युकषाययोर्जातौ ॥ १० ॥   पदानि ॥ अध्वर्यु, कषाययोः, जातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युकषाय इत्येतयोर्जातिवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

10. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting a genus, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word अध्वर्यु or कषाय ॥

Thus प्राच्याध्वर्युः, कठाध्वर्युः, कालापाध्वर्युः ॥ These are Appositional com-pounds denoting 'genus or kind', with a fixed meaning. प्राच्य is formed by यत्, and has accent on the first (VI, 1. 213). कठ is derived by अच् affix (III. 1. 34), and to it is added the Taddhita affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104), in the sense of कठेन प्रोक्तं (IV. 3. 101), and the affix is then elided by IV. 3. 107. The word कालाप comes from कलापिन् + अण् (IV. 3. 108) in the sense of कलापिना प्रोक्तं (IV. 3.

101), and it would have preserved its form without change before this affix (VI. 4. 164) but for a vârtika which declares that the इन् of कलापिन् will be elided (See VI. 1. 144 vart). Thus कलाप gets accent on the final (III. 1. 3). So also सर्पिमण्डैककषायम्, उमापुष्पकषायम्, शीवारिंककषायम् ॥ These are Genitive compounds. The words सर्पिमण्ड and उमापुष्प are Genitive compounds and have accent on the final (VI. 1. 223). The word शीवारिक is formed by ठक् affix added to द्वार and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 165). Why do we say when meaning a 'genus'? Observe, परमाण्डर्वुः, परमकषायः (VI. 1. 223).

सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः साद्दश्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदृश, प्रतिरूपयोः, साद्दश्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदृश प्रतिरूप इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः साद्दश्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

11. In a Tatpurusha compound expressing res-emblance with some one or something, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is सदृश or प्रतिरूप ॥

Thus पितृॅसदृशः, मातृॅसदृशः ॥ The words पितृ and मातृ are formed by Uṇâdi affix तृच् (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 शास्याः सदृशो, वृषल्याः सदृशः ॥ Here शासी and वृषली are finally acute, and the case-affix gets the accent when semivowel is substituted (VI. 1. 174), So also पितृॅप्रतिरूपः, मातृॅप्रतिरूपः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning resem-blance'? Observe परमसदृशैः, उत्तमसदृशैः (VI, 1. 223): here the sense of the compound is that of 'honor' and not 'resemblance'.

द्विगौ प्रमाणे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, प्रमाणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगावुत्तरपदे प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

12. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'mea-sure or quantity', the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is a Dvigu.

Thus प्राच्यसप्तसमः and गान्धारिसप्तसमः ॥ The word सप्तसमः = सप्तसमाः प्रमाण-मस्य, the affix मात्रच् denoting 'measure' (V. 2. 37) is elided (See V. 2. 37 Vart) प्राच्यभासौ सप्तसमम =प्राच्यसप्तसमः "an Eastern seven-years old". So also गान्धारि-सप्तसमः or °पट्समः ॥ प्राच्य has acute on the first ; while गान्धारि is either accented on the first or on the middle ; as it belongs to the Kardamâdi class (Phit III. 10). Why do we say 'before a Dvigu'? Observe श्रीहिमत्यः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting measure ?' Observe परमसप्तसमः ॥

गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गन्तव्य, पण्यम्, वाणिजे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाणिजेपण्वत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे गन्तव्यवाचि पण्यवाचि च पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

13. Before the word वाणिज 'a trader', the first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when it is a word specifying the place whither one has to go, or the ware in which one deals.

Thus मद्रेवाणिजः, काइमीरवाणिजः, गान्धारिवाणिजः = मद्रादेषु गत्वा व्यवहरन्ति 'the Madra-merchants i. e. who trade by going to Madra &c' All these are Locative compounds. मद्र is derived by रक् affix (Uṇ II, 13) and is acutely accented on the last (VI. 1. 165). काइमार 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', अभ्रवाणिजः &c. गो is finally accented (Un II. 67): and अभ्र has acute on the first (Un I. 151) the affix being कृन् ॥

Why do we say 'the place whither one goes, or the goods in which one deals?' Observe परमवाणिजः, उत्तमवणिजः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रा उपज्ञा उपक्रम छाया एतेषूत्तरपदेषु नपुंसकवाधिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

14. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent before the words मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम and छाया when these words appear as neuter.

Thus भिक्षामात्रं न ददाति याचितः, समुद्रमात्रं न सरोऽस्ति किंचन ॥ The word मात्रा is here synonymous with तुल्य, the phrase being = भिक्षायास्तुल्यप्रमाणं, and is a Genitive compound. The word भिक्षा is derived from भिक्ष, by the feminine affix अ (III. 3. 103), and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word समुद्र has also acute on the final as it is a word denoting 'a sea', (Phiṭ sûtra I. 2). So also with उपज्ञा, as पाणिनोपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम्; व्योडुपज्ञं दुष्करणम् आपिशल्युपज्ञं गुरुलाघव (see II. 4. 21). All these are Genitive compounds. The word पाणिन is derived by अण् affix from पणिन् (पणिनोऽपत्यम्=पाणिनं), and has acute on the final, (III. 1. 3). The word व्याडि being formed by इञ् affix has acute on the first (VI 1. 197), so also आपिशलि ॥ So also with उपक्रम, as भाल्चोपक्रमं प्रासादः, दर्शनीयोपक्रमम्, सुकुमारोपक्रमम्, नन्दां पक्रमाणि मानानि ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. The word भाल्य (तदेवैनं व्यायन्ति) is derived from भा+ध्यै+क affix added with the force of घञ्, the ध being changed to र the word belonging to पृषोदरादि class (VI. 3. 109), and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. The word दर्शनीय is formed by अनीयर् and has acute on the penultimate नी owing to the indicatory र (VI. 1. 217). The word सुकुमार has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172. The word नन्द is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). The Tatpurusha compounds ending in उपज्ञा and उपक्रम are neuter by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, as इक्षुच्छायम्,

धनुच्छायम् ॥ The word इषु is derived from इष् by उ affix (Un I. 13), and it being treated as नित् (Un I. 9) the acute falls on इ the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word धनुस् has also acute on the first by Phiṭ sûtra II. 3. The compound is a Genitive Tatpurusha—इषूणां छाया ; and it is Neuter by II. 4. 22. When the compound is not a Neuter we have कुड्यछाया (II. 4. 25).

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

वृत्तिः ॥ सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्हितवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

15. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when the second term is सुख or प्रिय, and the sense is 'to feel delight, or is good'.

Thus गमनसुखम् 'the pleasure of going'. So also वचनसुखम्, व्याहरणसुखम्, गमनप्रियम्, वचनप्रियम्, व्याहरणप्रियम् ॥ These are appositional compounds. All the above words are formed by ल्युट् affix and have acute on the syllable preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). The words sukha and priya have the sense of हित or 'well *good* 'beneficial', i. e. when the thing denoted by the first term is the cause of pleasure or delight. When this is not the sense we have परमसुखम्, परमप्रियम् ॥

प्रीतौ च ॥ १६ ॥   पदानि ॥ प्रीतौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रीतौ गम्यमानायां सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

16. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, the second term being सुख or प्रिय, in the sense of "agreeable to one, or desired".

Thus ब्राह्मणसुखं पायसं "the sweetmilk desired by or agreeable to the Brâhmanas", छात्रप्रियोऽनध्यायः ॥ कन्याप्रियो मृदङ्गः ॥ &c. The words ब्राह्मण and छात्र have acute on the final being formed by the affixes अण् and ण (V. 4. 62) respectively (III. 1. 3) and कन्या has svarita on the final. When not meaning agreeable to or desired, we have राजसुखम्, राजप्रियम् ॥

स्वं स्वामिनि ॥ १७ ॥   पदानि ॥ स्वम्, स्वामिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिशब्दउत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे स्ववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

17. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word स्वामिन् as its second member, the first term, when it denotes the thing possessed, retains its original accent.

Thus गोस्वामी, अभ्रस्वामी, धनस्वामी ॥ The accents of गो, अभ्र 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, ऐश्वर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

18. In a Tatpurusha ending in पति when it means 'master' or lord', the first member preserves its original accent.

Thus गृहपतिः, सेनापतिः, नरपतिः, धान्यपतिः ॥ The word गृह is formed by क (III. 1. 144) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सेना is a Bahuvrihi (सह इनेन वर्तते = सेना), and by VI. 2. 1 the first member retains its accent. The word नर is derived from नृ 'to lead' by the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) and has acute on the first (III. 1. 4), the word धान्य has svarita on the final (See Phit II. 23 ?) Why do we say when meaning 'lord'? Observe ब्राह्मणो वृषलीपतिः "a Brahmana, husband of a Sûdrâ".

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिघ्वव्दुत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भू वाक् चित् दिधिषु इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि प्रकृति-स्वराणि 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, वाक्-पतिः, चित्पतिः, दिधिषूपतिः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds and are finally accented by VI. 1. 223.

धा भुवनम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भुवनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिघ्वव्दुत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भुवनघव्दः पूर्वपदं वा प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

20. The word भुवन may optionally keep its accent in a Tatpurusha, before पति denoting 'lord'.

Thus भुवनपतिः or भुवनपतिः ॥ The word भुवन is formed by क्युन् (Uṇ. II. 80), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Though Sûtra II. 80 (Unadi) ordains क्युन् after भू in the Vedas only, yet on the theory of बहुल (III. 1. 3), it comes in the secular literature also, as भुवनपातरादिव्यः ॥

आशङ्काबाधनेदीयस्सु संभावने ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशङ्क, आ बाध, नेदीयस्सु, संभावने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं तत्पुरुषप्रति वर्तते । आशङ्क आबाध नेदीयस् इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु संभावनवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

21. Before आशङ्क, आबाध and नेदीयस्, the first member in a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when it treats about a supposition.

The word संभावनम्=अस्तित्वाध्यवसायः "the hesitation about the existence of a thing'. Thus गमनाशङ्कं वर्तते 'one fears the journey'; so also वचनाशङ्कं, व्याहरणा-शङ्कं, &c. Similarly गमनाबाधम् वर्तते=गमनं बाध्यते इति संभाव्यते "it has stepped in as

an obstacle to journey". So also वैचनाबाधम्, व्याहरणाबाधम् ॥ Similarly गमननेतीयो वर्तते, वैचननेतीयः व्याहरणनेतीयः=गमनमिति निकटतरमिति संभाव्यते "the journey stands directly before".

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

पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, भूतपूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेष्वव्यउत्तरपदे भूतपूर्ववाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं 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 भाढ्यो भूतपूर्वः = भाढ्यपूर्वः "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-vyansakâdi class. So also दर्शनीयपूर्वः, शुक्रमारपूर्वः ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'had been lately'. Observe परमपूर्वः, उत्तमपूर्वः, which should be analysed as परमभासौ 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.

सविधसनीडसमर्यादसवेशासदेशेषु सामीप्ये ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, सदेशेषु, सामीप्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सविध सनीड समर्याद सवेश इत्येतेष्वुत्तरपदेषु सामीप्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

23. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when the second 'member is सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, and सदेश in the sense of "what can be found in the vicinity thereof".

Thus मद्रसविधम्, गान्धारिसविधम्, काश्मीरसविधम् ॥ So also मद्रसनीडम्, मद्रसमर्या-दम्, मद्रसवेशम् and मद्रसदेशम् So also with गान्धारि and काश्मीर ॥ The accents of these words have been taught before in Sûtra VI. 2. 12, 13. The words सविध &c, are derived from सह विधया &c, but they all mean 'in the vicinity': मद्रसविधं=मद्राणां सामिप्यम् ॥ Why do we say when meaning in the vicinity thereof? Observe सह मर्यादया वर्तते=समर्यादं क्षेत्रम् 'a field having boundary'. देवदत्तस्य समर्यादं=देवदत्तसमर्यादम् "the bounded field of D'. Why do we say सविध &c? Observe दवदत्तसमर्या ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ विस्पष्टादीनि पूर्वपदानि गुणवचनेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वराणि भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus वि॑स्पष्ट कटुकम्, विॿचित्रकटुकम् व्य॑क्तकटुकम्, वि॑स्पष्टलवणम्, विचित्रलवणम्, व्य॑क्त-लवणम् ॥ 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 Karmadhâraya.

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 Bahuvrîhi has also first acute. The word व्यक्त has svarita on the first by VIII. 2. 4. The remaining words of this class are संपन्नं, पैटु or कटु, पण्डितं, कुशलं, चपलं and निपुणं. Of these, the word संपन्नं has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144; पैटु is formed by उ (Uṇ I. 18), which being considered as निट् (Uṇ I. 9), it has acute on the first. पण्डित is formed by क्त to the root पडि, and is finally acute (VI. 2. 144). कुशल has accent on the final being formed by a kṛit affix (कुशान् लाति = कुशलः, ला आदाने, or Uṇ I. 106), चपल being formed by a चित् affix (Uṇ I. 111), has acute on the final (VI. 1. 163), for चित् is understood in the Uṇadi sûtra Uṇ. I. 111 from sûtra Uṇ. I. 106. The word निपुण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, being formed by क affix added to पुण &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 ॥

अज्ज्यावमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, ज्य, अवम, कन्, पापवत्सु, भावे, कर्मधारये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अ ज्य अवम कन् इत्येतेषु पापाब्लवति चोत्तरपदे कर्मधारये समासे भाववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

25. In a Karmadhâraya 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) अवम and कन् (V. 3. 64), and before a form built from the word पाप ॥

Thus गमनम्रेष्ठम्, or गमनम्रेयः, वचनम्रेष्ठम् or वचनश्रयाः; गमनावमम्, वचनावमम्, गम-नकनिष्ठम् or गमनकनीयः ॥ So also गमनपापिष्ठम्, गमनपापीयः ॥ All the first members are ल्युट् formed words and have लित् accent i. e. on the first syllable. (VI. 1. 193). The words अ, ज्य and कन् are substitutes which certain adjectives take in the comparative and superlative degree, and the employment of these forms in the sûtra 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 "भ &c" ?   Observe गमनघोभनम्॥   Why do we say 'a verbal Noun'?   Observe गमनभ्रवः, where the word गमन is = गम्यते डनेन 'a carraige'. Why do we say 'a Karmadhâraya compound'? Observe गमनं भ्रवः = गमनभ्रवः ॥

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 कुमारँकुलटा, कुमारँभ्रमणा, कुमारँतापसी ॥ The word कुमारँ has acute on the final as it is derived from the root कुमार कीडायाम् with the affix अच् of पचादि ॥ By II. 1. 70, it is ordained that कुमार is compounded with भ्रमण &c. Some commentators hold that the word कुमार must be followed by भ्रमण &c. (II. 1. 70) to make this rule applicable. They refer to the maxim ऌक्षणप्रति-पदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् "whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar, or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule, such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same in-dividual term has been employed." Other Grammarians, however do not make any such limitation, but apply the rule to all Kaimadhâraya compounds of कुमार ॥

आदिः प्रत्येनसि ॥ २७ ॥   पदानि ॥ आदिः, प्रत्येनसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयइति वर्त्तते । प्रतिगत एनसा प्रतिगतमेनो वा यस्य सः प्रत्येनाः । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपदे कर्म-धारस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

27. In a Karmadhârya compound of Kumâra followed by प्रत्येनस्, the acute falls on the first syllable of Kumâra.

The word प्रत्येनस् = प्रतिगत एनसा or प्रतिगतमेनो यस्य ॥ Thus कुँमारप्रत्येनाः ॥ 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 anuvritti of the ' first member preserves its accent ' would be inappropriate because the word भादिं is employed here.

पूगेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥   पदानि ॥ पूगेषु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूगा गणास्तद्वाचिन्युत्तरपदे कर्मधारये समासे कुमारस्यान्यतरस्यामदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

28. The first syllable of Kumâra is acute optionally, when the second member is a word denoting 'the name of a horde '.

The word पूग means 'a multitude, a collection &c'. See V. 3. 112 also. Thus कुमारचातकाः or कुमारँचातका (VI. 2. 26), or कुमारचातकौः ॥ So also कुमारलोहध्वजाः or कुमारँलोहध्वजाः or कुमारलोहध्वजाः ॥ So also with कुमारँबलाहकौः, कुमारँ-श्रीहतकौः ॥ Here चातक &c, are horde-names; and the affix अञ is added to them by V. 3. 112: which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 62. In the above examples when the word ' Kumâra ' is not accented on the first syllable, it gets accent on the last by VI. 2. 26, when the प्रतिपदोक्त maxim is not applied : when that maxim is applied, the final of the compound takes the accent by the general rule VI. 1. 223.

इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इगन्त, काल, कपाल, भगाल, शरावेषु, द्विगौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तउत्तरपदे कालवाचिनि कपाल भगाल शराव इत्येतेषु च द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

29. In a Dvigu compound, the first member preserves its original accent, before a stem ending in a simple vowel, with the exception of अ (इक्), before a word denoting time, as well as before कपाल, भगाल and शराव ॥

Thus पैञ्चारत्निः, ईषारत्निः ॥ The above are examples of Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), equal to पंचारत्नयः प्रमाणमस्य, the प्रमाण denoting–affix मात्रच् is always elided in Dvigu (V. 2. 3 Vârt). So also पैञ्चमास्य·, ईषमास्यः = पञ्च मासात् भूतो भूतो भावी वा. This is also a Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), formed by the affix वुञ् (V. 1. 80—82). So also पैञ्चवर्षः ईषावर्षः the affix ठञ् being elided (V. 1. 88). So also पैञ्चकपालः, ईषकपालः, पैञ्चभगालः, ईषभगालः, पैञ्चशरावः, ईषशरावः ॥ These are also Taddhitartha Dvigu formed by IV. 2. 16, the affix अण् being elided by IV. 1. 88.

Why do we say "before an इगन्त stem &c "? Observe पञ्चभिरर्धैःक्रीतः = पञ्चार्धैः, ईषार्धैः ॥ Why do we say "in a Dvigu Compound?" Observe परमा-रत्निः, परमशरावैषम् ॥

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 पैञ्चारत्व्यः or पैञ्चारत्नयः ॥ This is done on the strength of the maxim असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे. " That which is bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect or as not existing, when that which is antaranga is to take effect :" because the substitution of semivowel or guṇa is a bahiranga opera-

tion in relation to accent. Or the substitutes may be considered as sthânivat to the short-vowel which they replace.

बहुव्रन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३० ॥　पदानि ॥ बहु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुशब्दः पूर्वपदमिगन्तारिष्वुत्तरपदेषु द्विगौ समासे ञ्यतरस्यां 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 kapâla, bhagâla and śarâva.

This allows option where the last rule required the accent necessarily. Thus बहुर्रविः or बहुरात्निः, बहुमास्यः or बहुमास्यँः, बहुँकपालः or बहुकपालँः, बहुँभगालः or बहु-भगालँः, बहुँशरावः or बहुशरावँः ॥ The word बहुँ has acute on the final being formed by the affix कु (Uṇ 1. 29). When the उ is changed to व्, as in the first example, the anudatta अ is changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 4 : when the first member preserves its acccent. In the other alternative, the accent falls on the last syllable.

दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च ॥ ३१ ॥　पदानि ॥ दिष्टि, वितस्त्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिष्टि वितस्ति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

31. In a Dvigu compound, the first member may optionally preserve its accent, when followed by the words दिष्टि and वितस्ति as second members.

Thus पैञ्चदिष्टिः or पैञ्चदिष्टिँः, पैञ्चवितस्तिः or पैञ्चवितस्तिँः ॥ The affix मानच् is elided after the प्रमाण denoting words dishṭi and vitasti (V. 2. 37).

सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धेष्वकालात् ॥ ३२ ॥　पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व, बन्धेषु, अकालात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं पूर्वपदं सिद्ध शुष्क पक्व बन्ध इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषुप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति सा चेत्सप्तमी कालान्न 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 सांकाश्यैसिद्धः or सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिल्यैसिद्धः or काम्पिल्यसिद्धः ॥ The words sâṃkâśya and kâmpilya have acute on the final, and by Phiṭ Sûtra (III. 16) in the alternative the accent falls on the middle also. So also निर्धनशुष्कः, ऊर्कशुष्कः ॥ The word निधन is derived by क्यु affix added to नि-धाञ् and has acute on the middle ; the word ऊक is formed from अर् root by the affix कक्, and has acute on the final. So also भाँष्ट्रपक्वः, कुम्भीपक्वः, कलशीपक्वः ॥ The words Kumbhî and Kalaśî are formed by ङीष् affix and have acute on the final ; the word भाष्ट्र is formed by ष्ट्रन् affix, and has acute on the beginning. So also चक्रबन्धः चारकबन्धः ॥ The word chakra has acute on the final, and châraka being formed by ण्वुल् has acute on the first.

Why do we say 'when not denoting time'? Observe पूर्वाह्णसिद्धः, अपराह्णसिद्धः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 41. The accent of the Locative Tatpurusha taught in VI. 2. 1 was debarrd by Kṛit-accent taught VI. 2. 144. The present sûtra debars this last rule regarding Kṛit accent, and re-ordains the Locative Tatpurusha accent when the Kṛit-words are सिद्ध &c.

परिप्रत्युपापा वर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि, प्रति, उप, अपाः, वर्ज्यमान, अहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि प्रति उप अप इत्येते पूर्वपरभूता वर्ज्यमानवाचिनि अहोरात्रावयव वाचिनि राज्यवयववाचिनि चांतरपदे 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 Avyayîbhâva compound also).

Thus परित्रिगर्त्तं वृष्टो देवः "It rained all round (but not in) Trigarta". (See II. 1. 11 and 12). So also परिसौवीरम्, परिसार्वसेनि, परिपूर्वरात्रम् ॥ So also प्रति-पूर्वाह्णम्, प्रत्यपराह्णम्, प्रत्यपररात्रम्, उपपूर्वाह्णम्, उपापराह्णम्, उपपूर्वरात्रम्, उपापररात्रम् ॥ अप-त्रिगतं वृष्टो देवः, अपसौवीरम्, अपसार्वसेनी (II. 1. 11 and 12).

By Phiṭ Sûtras IV. 12, and 13 all Particles (Nipâta) have acute on the first syllable. So also upasargas with the exception of अभि ॥ Therefore परि &c, have acute on the first. In a Tatpurusha and Bahuvrîhi compounds, these words 'pari', 'prati' &c, as first members would have retained their accent by the rules already gone before ; the present sûtra, therefore, extends the principle of the preservation of the accent to Avyayîbhâva compounds also. The pre-positions अप and परि alone denote the limit exclusive or वर्जन, and it is there-fore with these two prepositions only that the second member can denote the thing excluded, and not with प्रति and उप ॥ With these prepositions अप and परि, the second term if denoting a member of day or night, are also taken even as *excluded*, therefore no separate illustrations of those are given.

Why do we say ' before a word which is excluded, or is a part of a day and night '? Observe प्रत्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति ॥ In प्रतिवनम् "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.

राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेन्धकवृष्णिषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्य, बहु वचन, द्वन्द्वे, अन्धक, वृष्णिषु, (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यवाचिनां बहुवचनान्तानां यो द्वन्द्वो न्धकवृष्णिषु 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 भाफल्कैश्चैत्रकाः, चैत्रकैरोधका, शिनिवासुदेवाः ॥ The words Śvȧphalka and Chaitraka are formed by अण् affix (IV. 1. 114) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). The word शिनि has acute on the first syllable, and does not change in denoting Patronymic. Why do we say 'in denoting a Warrior clan'? Observe द्वैप्यहैमायनाः ॥ Here द्वैप्य is derived from द्वीप by the affix यञ् (IV. 3. 10) = द्वीपे भवाः; हैमायनः = हैमेरपत्यं युवा ॥ These names belong to Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans, but are not the warrior-names. The word राजन्य here means those Kshatriyas who belong to the family of annointed kings and warriors (अभिषिक्तवंद्शाः); these (Dvaipya and Haimȧyana) do not belong to any such family. Why do we say 'in the Plural number'? Observe संकर्षणवासुदेवौ ॥ Why do we say 'in a Dvandva compound'? Observe वृष्णीनां कुमाराः = वृष्णिकुमाराः ॥ Why do we say 'of Andhaka and Vṛishni clans'? Observe कुरुपञ्चालाः ॥

संख्या ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वसमासे संख्यावाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

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

Thus एॅकादश, द्वाॅदश, त्रॅयोॅदश or त्रॅयोॅदश ॥ The word एक is derived from इण् by कन् affix (Uṇ III. 43) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The त्रयस् is the substitute of त्रि (VI. 3. 48) and has acute on the final.

आचार्योपसजनश्चान्तेवासी ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि । आचार्य्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्तेवासी, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्र पूर्वपदं 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 आपिशलै-पाणिनीयाः, पाणि नीय-रौढीयाः, रौढीयकाशकृत्स्नाः ॥ The son of Apiśala is आपिशलि the name of a Teacher or founder of a school—an ȧchȧrya : formed by इञ् affix (IV. 1. 95). The science taught by him is called आपिशलम्, formed by adding अण् affix to आपिशालः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 11). The scholars who study the Apiśalam are also called आपिशलाः the affix denoting 'to study' is elided by (IV. 2. 59 and 64). Or the pupils of Apiśali will be also called Apiśalȧḥ. Thus in both ways Apiśalȧḥ 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-श्वेवदत्तौ where though the first is a teacher-derived name, the second is not. Why do we say "names derived from the teacher's"? Observe अन्दसवैयाकरणाः ॥ Why do we say "a Scholar"? Observe आपिशलपाणिनीये शास्त्रे ॥

कार्तकौजपादयश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्तकौजप, आदयः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कार्तकौजपादय ये इन्द्वास्तेषु पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

37. Also in the Dvandvas कार्तकौजप &c, the first members retain their accent.

Those words of this list which end in a dual or plural affix have been so exhibited for the sake of distinctness. The following is a list of these words. 1. कार्त-कौजपा (formed by अण् IV. 1. 114 in the sense of Patronymic, from कृत and कुजप these being Rishi names) ॥ 2. सावर्णिमाण्डूकेयौ (sâvarni is formed by इञ् Patron. affix and माण्डूकेय by ढक् IV. 1. 119). 3. आवन्त्यश्मकाः The word Avanti is end-acute, to which is added thePatron affix ñyañ by IV. 1. 171, which being a Tadrâj is eiided in the plural; अवन्तीनां निवासो जनपद = अवन्ति the quadruple significant अण being elided.

4. पैलश्यापर्णेयाः(Paila is derived from Pilâ the son of Pilâ 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 Śyâparna belongs to Bidâdi class IV. 1. 104, the female descendant will be Śyâparnî, the yuvan descendant of her will be Śyâparneya. 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. शैतिकाक्षपाञ्चालेयाः (Śitikâksha is the name of a Rishi, his son will be Saitikâksha by अण्, IV. 1. 114, the yuvan descendant of the latter will be formed by इञ् which is elided by II. 4. 58. Pâñchâla's female descendant is Pâñchâlî, her yuvan descendant is Pâñchâleya. The plural number here is not compulsory. We have शैतिकाक्षपाञ्चालेयौ also.)

7. कटुकवार्चलेयाः or कटुकवार्चलेयाः (The son of Katuka will be formed by इञ् IV. 1. 59, which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 66. The son of Varchalâ is Vârchaleya).

8. शाकलश्युनकाः (The son of Śakala is Śâkalya, his pupils are Śâkalâh by अण् IV. 2. 111. The son of Śunak will be Saunaka by अञ् IV. 1. 104, which will be elided in the Plural by II. 4. 64). Some read it as शाकलसनकाः, where the इञ् affix after Sanaka is elided by II. 4. 66. So also श्युनकाश्नेयः ॥

9. शाणकबाभ्रवाः (the son of Babhru is Bâbhrava). 10. आर्चाभिमौद्गलाः (Archâvinah are those who study the work produced by Richâva, the affix

णिनि being added by IV. 3. 104. Mudgala belongs to Kaṅvâdi class IV. 2. 111 ; Maudgalâḥ are pupils of the son of Mudgala).　11. कुन्तिसुराष्ट्रा:. 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. चिन्तिसुराष्ट्रा: as the last.　13. तण्डवतण्डा: (Both belong to Pachâdi class formed by अच् III. 1. 134, from तडि ताडने Bhvâdi 300, वतण्ड is formed from the same root with the prefix अव, the अ being elided, and both have acute on the final: and are enumerated in the Gargâdi list IV. 1. 105.　In the plural the patronymic affix यञ is elided by II. 4. 64. 14. गर्गवत्सा: Here also यञ affix is elided II. 4. 64.　15. अवि-मत्तकामबधा: or °विद्धा: ॥ Avimatta has acute on the first being formed by the नञ् particle.　Both the words lose इञ patronymic by II. 4. 66.

16. बाभ्रवशालङ्कायना: The son of Babhru is Bâbhrava, and the son of Śalaṅku or Śalaṅka of नडादि IV. 1. 99 is Śâlaṅkâyana.

17. बाभ्रवदानच्युता: Dânchyuta takes इञ in the patronymic which is elided by II. 4. 66.

18. कठकालापा:, Kaṭhâḥ are those who read the work of Kaṭha, the affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104) being elided by IV. 3. 107.　Those who study the work of Kalâpin are Kâlâpâḥ, the अण् being added by IV. 3. 108, which required the इन् of kalâpin to be retained by VI. 4. 164 but by a Vârtika under VI. 4. 144 the इन् portion is elided before अण् ॥

19. कठकौथुमा: Those who study the work of Kuthumin are कौथुमा: formed by अण् IV. 1. 83 the इन् being elided before अण् by VI. 4. 144 Vârt already referred to above.

20. कौथुमलौकाक्षा: Those who study the work of Lokâksha are Laukâ-kshâḥ.　Or the son of Lokâksha is Laukâkshi, the pupils of latter are Lau-kâkshâḥ.

21. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥ Strî has accent on the final.

22. मौदपैप्पलाशा:, the son of Muda is Maudi, the pupils of latter are Maudâḥ.　So also Paippalâdâḥ.

23. मौदपैप्पलादौ: The double reading of this word indicates that Rule VI. 1. 223 also applies.

24. वत्सजरत् or वत्सजरन्त: = वत्स + जरत् ॥ Vatsa has acute on the final.

25. So also सौश्रुतपार्थवा:, The pupils of Suśruta and Pṛithu are so called they take अण् IV. 1. 83. 26. जराबृत्यू. 27. याज्यानुवाक्ये Yâjya is formed by ण्यत्, added to यज्, the ज 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 + ण्यत् ॥

महान् व्रीह्यपराह्णगृष्टीश्वासजाबालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु ॥ ३८ ॥ प-दानि ॥ महान्,व्रीहि, अपराह्ण, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जाबाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, प्रवृद्धेषु, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपरमिति वर्त्तते, इन्द्वति निवृत्तम् । महानिव्येतत्पूर्वपदं व्रीहि अपराह्न, गृष्टि इष्वास जाबाल भार भारत हेलिहिल रौरव प्रवृद्ध इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

38. The word महत् (महा) retains its accent before the following : व्रीहि, अपराह्न, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जाबाल, भार, भारत, हेलि-हिल, रौरव, and प्रवृद्ध ॥

Thus महाव्रीहिः, महापराह्नः, महागृष्टिः, महेष्वासः, महाजाबालः, महाभारः, महाभारतः, महा-हेलिहिलः, महारौरवः, महाप्रवृद्धः ॥ The महत् has acute on the final. (Uṇ II. 84) On the पतिपरोक्त maxim already mentioned under VI. 2. 26, this accent will apply to that compound of महत् which it forms under rule II. 1. 61, for that is the particular rule of Karmadhâraya compounding relating to mahat (pratipadokta). This rule therefore, will not apply to Genitive Tatpurusha. Thus महतो व्रीहिः = महद्व्रीहिः which has accent on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Q. The word प्रवृद्ध is a Participle formed by क्त affix, and by rule VI. 2. 46, in a Karmadhâraya compound, the first member will retain its original accent. What is then the necessity of reading this word in this sûtra ? Ans. That sûtra VI. 2. 46 applies, on the maxim of pradipadokta, to the special participles and nouns mentioned in II. 1. 59 and not to every parti-ciple and noun.

क्षुल्लकश्च वैश्वदेवे ॥ ३९ ॥   पदानि ॥ क्षुल्लकः, च, वैश्वदेवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुल्लक इत्येतत्पूर्वपदं महांश्च वैश्वदेवउत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

39. The words mahat and kshullaka retain their accent before the word Vaiśvadeva.

Thus महावैश्वदेवम्, and क्षुल्लकवैश्वदेवम् ॥ The word kshullaka is derived thus क्षुधं लाति = क्षुल्लः to which the Diminutive क (V. 3. 73 &c) is added : and the word has udâtta on the final.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रश्चब्दः पूर्वपदं सादिवाम्योरुत्तरपदयोःप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

40. The word 'ushṭra' retains its accent before 'sâdi' and 'vâmi'.

Thus उष्ट्रसादि and उष्ट्रवामि ॥ The word उष्ट्र is derived from उष् by ष्ट्रन् affix (Uṇ IV. 162) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is either a Karmadhâraya or a Genitive compound. In some texts the above examples are given with a visarga in the masculine, and not Neuter.

गौः सादसादिसारथिषु ॥ ४१ ॥   पदानि ॥ गौः, साद, सादि, सारथिषु, प्रकृति स्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोघब्दः पूर्वपदं साद सादि सारथि इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

41. The word '**गो**' retains its accent before '**sâda**', '**sâdi**', and '**sârathi**'.

Thus गो:सादः or गां सादयति = गो॑सादः, गोः सादिः = गो॑सादिः, and गो॑सारथिः ॥ साद is formed from सद् with the affix घञ् and forms a Genitive compound (गोः सादः). Or from the causative verb सादयति, we get गोसाद: by adding अण् (III. 9. 1) गोसादी is formed by णिनि from the same causative root. The Kṛit-accent is debarred in the case of साद and सादिन, the Samâsa-accent VI. 1. 223 in the case of सारथि ॥

कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगुर्वसूतजरत्यश्लीलदृढरूपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रूः पण्यकम्बलो दासीभाराणां च ॥ ४२ ॥　पदानि ॥ कुरुगार्हपत, रिक्तगुरु, असूतजरती, अश्लीलद-ढरूपा, पारेवडबा, तैतिलकद्रू:, पण्यकम्बल:, दासीभाराणाम्, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरुगार्हपत रिक्तगुरु असूतजरती अश्लीलदृढरूपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रू पण्यकम्बल इत्येते समा-सास्तेषां शासी॰।रासीनां च पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कुरुवृज्योर्गार्हपतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥　वा॰ ॥ संज्ञायामिति उक्तव्यम् ॥

42. The first member retains its accent in the following :—' Kuru-gârhapata ', ' Rikta-guru ', ' Asûta-jaratî ', ' Aślîla-dṛiḍha-rûpâ ', ' Pâre-vaḍabâ ', ' Taitila-kadrûḥ ', ' Paṇ-ya-kambalaḥ ' and ' Dâsî-bhâra &c '.

The first seven words are compounds, the first two of these are exhibited without any case-ending, the renaining five are in nom. Singular. Thus कुरुगार्हपतम् (कुरूणां गार्हपत, Kuru is formed by कु affix added to कृ Uṇ I. 24,) and has acute on the final.

Vârt :—So also वृजिगार्हपतम्, the word Vṛiji has acute accent on the first.

So also रिक्तो गुरुः = रि॑क्तगुरुः or रिक्तगुरुः: for rikta has acute either on the first or on the second (VI. 1. 208). So also असूता जरती = अ॑सूतजरती, अश्लीलदृढरूपा = अ॑श्लील दृढरूपा ॥ Asûtâ and aslîlâ being formed by नञ् particle have acute on the first : (VI. 2. 2). That which has श्री is called इ्लील, the affix लच् being added by its belonging to Sidhmâdi class, and र changed to ल by its belonging to kapilakâdi class. So also पारे॑वडबा, 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 कद्रू: = तैतिल॑कद्रू:, the son or pupil of Titilin is Taitila formed by अण् affix. पण्यकम्बल:, panya ends in यत् and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 213).

Vârt :—पण्यकम्बल: has acute on the first only when it is a name. Otherwise in पणितव्ये कम्बले compound, the accent will be on the final by the general rule VI. 1. 223. The word पण्य being frrmed by यत् affix (III. 1. 101) is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 213). The word पण्यकम्बल: 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. I. 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 अजात्या II. I. 68, while here the compound is by विशेषणं विशेष्येण II. I. 51 and is a general compound. So also दास्याभारः = दासीभारः ॥ The words belonging to Dâsi bhârâdi class are all those Tatpurusha compound words, not governed by any of the rules of accent, in which it is desired that the first member should retain its accent. Some of them are देर्वेज्ञतिः, देर्वेसृतिः, देववीतिः, वेद्युनीतिः ॥ Vasu has acute on the first being formed by a नित् affix Un I. 9 10). ओषधिः = ओषोधीयतेऽस्याम्, formed by कि affix (III. 3. 93), ओष being formed by यम् has acute on the first (VI. I. 197). चन्द्रेमाः is formed by असि affix added to the root माड् माने preceded by the upapada चन्द्र as, चन्द्र + मा + अस् = चन्द्रमस्, the affix being treated as डित् (Un IV. 228), and चन्द्र is formed by रक affix (Un II. 13) and has acute on the final.

चतुर्थी तदर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थीं, तदर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं तदर्थउत्तरपदे तदभिधेयार्थे यत्तद्वाचिन्युत्तरपदे 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 यूपदारु, कुण्डलहिरण्यम ॥ The word यूप has accent on the first syllable, as it is formed by प (Un III. 27) treated as a नित् (Un III. 26). The word कुण्डल is formed by कल affix which is treated as चित् (Un. I. 108) and has acute on the final. So also रेथदारु, वल्लीहिरण्यम् ॥ Ratha is first-acute formed by kthan affix (Un II. 2). Vallî has acute on the final formed by ङीष affix. (IV. I. 41) Why do we say 'it being suited to the first'? Observe कुबेरबलिः ॥ This accent applies when the second member denoting the material is modified into the first by workmanship. The composition takes place by II. I. 36.

अर्थे ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थीति वर्तते । अर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

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

Thus मात्रे इदं = मात्रर्थम्, देवैतार्थम्, अतिथ्यर्थम् ॥ The words मातृ and पितृ are finally acute as taught so in Uṇâdi sûtra (Un II. 95) : देवता being formed by a तित् affix (V. 4. 27) has acute on the middle ; अतिथि is formed by इयिन् affix and has acute on the first.

The difference between सत्वर्य and अर्य is that the former, like सार 'wood', हिरण्व 'gold', has not inherent in it the sense of adaptibility, while अर्य means 'adapted'. Some say that the making of two sûtras, one with सत्वर्य 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 अभ्यचासैं:, अश्वशुरम् &c, though 'grass be suited for the horse' &c.

कोच ॥ 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 क ॥

Thus गोहितम्, मनुष्यहितम्, अभ्वाहितम्, गोरक्षितम्, भैश्वरक्षितम्, तापसैरक्षितम् धनम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 36. The compound गोरक्षितं means गो-भ्यारीबते and is a sampradana Dative.

कर्मधारये ऽनिष्ठा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारये, अनिष्ठा, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे क्तान्तउत्तरपदे ऽनिष्ठान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

46. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', the first member, when it itself is not a Past Participle, retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya compound.

This rule is confined to the Past Participles and the Nouns specifically mentioned in II. 1. 59; on the maxim of pratipadokta &c. Thus श्रेणि-कृताः, पूर्वकृताः, ऊर्ककृताः, निधनकृताः ॥ The word श्रेणि has acute on the first as it is formed by the affix नि which is considered नित् (Uṇ IV. 51). The word पूग is end-acute as it is formed by the affix गक् (Uṇ I. 124). The word ऊक is also end-acute (VI. 2. 32). The word निधन has acute on the middle. Why do we say in a Karmadhâraya compound? Observe श्रेण्या कृतं = श्रेनिकृतैम् ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a non-nishṭhâ word ?' Observe कृताकृतम् ॥ Here the compounding is by II. 1. 60.

अहीने द्वितीया ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहीने, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहीनवाचिनि समासे क्तान्तउत्तरपदे द्वितीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वितीयाउपसर्गघति 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 कष्टंश्रितः, त्रिशकलपतितः, मौमगतः ॥ Kashṭa has acute on the ‚ end, triśakala is a Bahuvrîhi compound (triṇi śakalâni asya), and consequently acute on the first : grâma has acute on the first as it is formed by the नित् affix

मन् added to मन्, the final being replaced by आ (Uṇ I. 143) ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning separation'? Observe कान्तारातितिं:, योजनातति:, because one has taken himself beyond kântâra and yojana.

Vârt :—This rule does not apply when the Past Participle has an upasarga attached ; as सुखपान्नैं:, दुःखप्राप्नैं: सुखापन्नैं:, दुःखापन्नैं: (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 अँहिहतः or अहिँहतः रुद्रँहतः, वैँज्रहतः, महाराजँहतः, नखाँनिर्भिन्ना, दाँत्रलूना ॥ The word 'ahi' is derived from हन् with the proposition आ which is shortened, and the affix इण् (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 ; Mahârâja is formed by the Samâsanta affix टच् ; nakha is formed by ख affix added to नह् (Uṇ V. 23) or it may be a Bahuvrîhi नास्य खमस्ति = नखः, formed by अच् (V. 4. 121), and has acute on the final : Dâtra is formed by ष्ट्रन् (III. 2. 182). Why do we say when having a Passive signification ? Observe रथेन यातः = रथयातँ:, the 'kta' is added to a verb of motion with an Active significance.

गतिरनन्तरः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, अनन्तरः (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्ते कर्मणीति वर्तते । 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 significance, retains its accent.

Thus प्रँकृतः, प्रँहतः ॥ Here one of the following rules would have applied otherwise, namely, either (1) the Samâsa end-acute IV. 1. 223 (2) or the Indeclinable first member to retain its accent VI. 2. 2, (3) or the end acute by VI. 2. 139 and 144. The present sûtra debars all these. Why do we say 'immediately?' Observe अभ्युद्धृतः, समुद्धृतः, समुत्सँहतः ॥ Where the distant Gati words अभि and सम् do not preserve their accent, but the immediately preceding Gati, as उत् does retain its accent, though it is not the first member of the compound word. Compare also VIII. 2. 70. But in कूतात् + आँगतः (âgata being governed by this rule) we have कूतागतँ:, (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 shoʋld 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 sûtra debars VI. 2. 144.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ च तुग्ध्वर्जिते निति कृति परतो गतिरनन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवति ॥

50.　An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before (a word formed by) a Kṛit-affix beginning with त, which has an indicatory ञ, but not before तु ॥

Thus प्रकर्ता (with तृन्) प्रकर्तुम् (with तुमुन्), प्रकृतिः (with क्तिन्) ॥　This sûtra debars the Kṛit-affix accent (VI. 2. 139).　Why do we say " before an affix beginning with त "? Observe प्रजल्पाकः formed with the affix षाकन् (III. 2. 155), and the Gati प्र, the accent being governed by VI. 2. 139. Why do we say 'which is नित्'? Observe प्रकर्ता formed by तृच् affix.　When a Kṛit-affix takes the augment इट्, it does not lose its character of beginning with त on the Vartika कृदुपदेशा वा तादर्थ्यमिदर्थम् ॥　Thus प्रैलपिता, प्रैलपितुम् ॥　Why do we say " but not before तु "? Observe आगन्तुः with the Uṇâdi affix तुन् ॥

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 प्रन्नेतवै, परिस्तरितवै, परिपातवै, अभिचरितवै ॥　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.

अनिगन्तोऽञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये ॥ ५२ ॥　पदानि ॥ अनिगन्तः, अञ्चतौ, वप्रत्यये, (प्रकृतिस्वरः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिगन्तो गतिः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवत्यञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये परतः ॥

52. An immediately preceding Gati not ending in इ or उ, retains its original accent before अञ्च् when an affix having a क् follows.

Thus प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः or प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥ The accent is acute and optionally svarita by VIII. 2. 6. So also पेराङ्, पेराञ्चौ, पेराञ्चः, पेराचः, पेराचा ॥ But with प्रति which ends in इ, we have प्रत्यङ्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चः here by VI. 2. 139 the second member retains its original accent. Why do we say 'before an affix क्'? 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 पेराचः and पेराचाः ॥ In some texts, the reading is अञ्चतानमत्यये ॥ The affix क् is like क्विप् &c, (VI. 1. 67).

न्यधी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, अधी, च, (प्रकृतिस्वरौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अधि इत्येतौ चाञ्चतौ वमस्यये परतः प्रकृतिस्वरौ भवतः ॥

53. The Gatis नि and अधि, however, retain their original accent before 'añch' followed by a क् affix.

Thus न्यङ्, न्यञ्चौ, न्यञ्चः ॥ The अ becomes svarita by VIII. 2. 4. So also अध्यङ्, अध्यञ्चौ, अध्यञ्चः, न्यधीचः, अधीचः, नीचः, नीचा ॥

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 द्विसुवर्णं धनम् or द्विसुवर्णधनम् ॥ This is a Karmadhâraya compound द्विसुवर्णो परिमाणमस्य = द्विसुवर्णं, तदेव धनम् ॥ It may also be treated as a Bahuvrihi compound, then the accent will be of that compound, as द्विसुवर्णधन : or द्विसुवर्ण-धनैः ॥ Why do we say 'gold'? Observe प्रस्थधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'quantity'? Observe काञ्चनधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'धन'? Observe निष्कमाला ॥

प्रथमो ऽचिरोपसंपत्तौ ॥५६॥　पदानि ॥ प्रथमः,अचिरः,उपसम्पत्तौ (प्रकृतिस्वरम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमशब्दः पूर्वपदमचिरोपसंपत्तौ गम्यमानायामन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । अचिरोपसंपत्तिर-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 प्रथममवैयाकरणैः = संप्रतिव्याकरणमध्येतुं प्रवृत्तः 'one who has recently commenced to study Grammar'. The word प्रथम is derived from प्रथ by अमच् (Uṇ V. 68) and by चित् accent the acute falls on the last. Why do we say when meaning 'a Novice?' Observe प्रथममवैयाकरणैः (वैयाकरणानामाद्यो मुख्यो वा यः सः) 'the first Grammarian or a Grammarian of the first rank'. It will *always* have acute on the final.

कतरकतमौ कर्मधारये ॥ ५७ ॥　पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, कर्मधारये, प्रकृतिस्वरम्॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कतरशब्दः कतमशब्दश्च पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

57. The words कतर and कतम standing as the first member of a compound retain optionally their original accent in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus कतरकँठः or कतरकंठः, कतमकँठः or कतमकंठः ॥ The word Karmadhâraya is used for the sake of the next sûtra, this sûtra could have done without it, as 'katara' and 'katama' by the maxim of pratipadokta, form only Karmadhâraya compound by II. 1. 63.

आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः ॥५८॥　पदानि ॥ आर्यः, ब्राह्मण-कुमारयोः, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्यशब्दः पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारशब्दयोरुत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

58. The word आर्य optionally retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya, before the words ब्राह्मण and कुमार ॥

Thus आर्यब्राह्मणः or आर्यब्राह्मणैः, आर्यकुमारः or आर्यकुमारैः ॥ The word आर्य is formed by ण्यत् affix and has svarita on the final. Why do we say 'Arya'? Observe परमब्राह्मणैः, परमकुमारैः ॥ Why do we say before 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra'? Observe आर्यश्रियः ॥ Why 'Karmadhâraya?' Observe आर्यस्य ब्राह्मणः =आर्यब्राह्मणैः ॥ According to the Accentuated Text the accent is ऋार्ये (Pro. Bohtlingk).

राजा च ॥ ५९ ॥　पदानि ॥ राजा, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजा च पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारयोरुत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

59. The word राजन् retains optionally its accent before the words 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra', in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus राजब्राह्मणः or राजब्राह्मणः, राजकुमारः or राजकुमारैः ॥ The word राजन्
is formed by the affix कनिन् added to राज (Uṇ I. 156). But राज्ञो ब्राह्मण = राजब्राह्मणः
where the compound is not Karmadhâraya. The making of this a separate
aphorism is for the purpose of preventing the yathâsankhya rule and also for
the sake of the subsequent sûtra into which the anuvritti of राजन् runs and
not of आर्य ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ राजेति वर्त्तते, उ्यतरस्यामिति च । षष्ठ्यन्तो राजशब्दः पूर्वपर प्रत्येनस्युपरे उन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं
भवति ॥

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

The words राजन् and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. Thus राज्ञः
प्रत्येनाः or राज्ञः प्रत्येनाैः ॥ The sign of the Genitive is not elided by VI.3. 21. When
आक्रोश is not meant we have, राजप्रत्येनाः or राजप्रत्येनाैः ॥ Why do we say 'ending in
the Genitive'? Observe राजा चासौ प्रत्येनाश = राजप्रत्येनाः no option.

के निल्यार्थे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, निल्यार्थे (पूर्वपदम् अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति
स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तान्त उत्तरपदे निल्यार्थे समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

61. A word having the sense of 'always', retains
optionally its accent before a Past Participle in क्त ॥

Thus निल्यप्रहसितः or निल्यप्रहसितैः, सततप्रहसितः or सततप्रहसितैः ॥ These are
Accusative compounds formed under Rule II. 1. 28. निल्य is formed by स्वप्
affix added to the upasarga नि (IV. 2. 104 Vârt); and has acute on the first,
the upasarga retaining its accent, the affix being anudâtta (III. 1. 4). The
word सतत being formed by क्त affix with the force of आव, has acute on final by
VI. 2. 144. If it be considered to have been formed by कर्मणि क्त, then the ac-
cent will be on the beginning by VI. 2. 49. Why do we say when the first term
means 'always'? Observe मुहूर्तप्रहसितैः ॥ In the case of निल्यप्रहसित: &c the sa-
mâsa accent VI. 1. 223 was first set aside by the Accusative Tatpurusha accent
VI. 2, 2. this in its turn was set aside by क्त accent VI. 2. 144, which is again
debarred by the present.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दः पूर्वपदं शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे उन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

62. The word ग्राम when first member of a com-
pound, optionally retains its accent before a word denoting " a
professional man or artisan ".

Thus मामनापितः or मामनापितैः, मामकुलालः or मामकुलालैः ॥   The word माम has acute on the first. Why do we say " माम "? Observe परमनापितैः ॥   Why do we say 'a śilpī a professional workman'? Observe मामरथा; where there is no option.

राजा च प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६३ ॥   पदानि ॥ राजा, च, प्रशंसायाम्, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजशब्दः पूर्वपदं शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायां 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, र्राजकुलालः or राजकुलालैः   " A royal barber i. e. a skillful barber or one fit to serve the king even " &c. It may be either a Karmadhâraya or a Genitive compound. Why do we say 'राजन्'? Observe परमनापितैः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting praise'? Observe राजनापितैः 'king's barber'. Why do we say 'a professional man '? Observe राजहस्ती 'a royal elephant'.

आदिरुदात्तः ॥ ६४ ॥   पदानि ॥ आदिः, उदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरुदात्त इत्येतदधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्वुह्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

64. In the following up to VI. 2. 91 inclusive the phrase "the first syllable in—(the word standing in the Nominative) has the acute ", is to be always supplied.

This is an adhikâra aphorism. The first syllable of the पूर्वपद will get the acute in the following aphorisms. In short, the phrase 'âdir udâtta' should be supplied to complete the sense of the subsequent sûtras. The very next sûtra illustrates it. That sûtra 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 ईन्तेषुषाणः, मुक्ते कार्षापणम्, यौत्तिकाध्यः, वैयाकरणहस्ती ॥ The word आदि 'the first syllable' is understood upto VI. 2. 91, the word उदात्त has longer stretch : it governs upto VI. 2. 137.

सप्तमीहारिणौ 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 शारिण् 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 धर्म्य is formed by यत् under IV. 4. 91 and 92 and has the sense of both. Of Locative words we have the following examples: —स्तूपे-शाणः भुक्तटे-कार्षापणम्, ईले-द्विपदिका, ईले-त्रिपदिका, ईर्षवि-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 शारी we have the following:—यात्रिकाभ्यः 'the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer'. So also वैयाकरणहस्ती, मातुलाभ्यः, पितृव्यगवः ॥ In some places the established usage is to give a शाण coin in every sacred Tope &c, or to give a horse to a sacrificer &c. Why do we say 'what is lawful'? Observe स्तम्बेरमैः, कर्मकर वर्द्धितकौ: वर्द्धितको नाम मूले स्थूलोग्रे सूक्ष्म आसन पिण्डः, स कर्मकराय शीयते, अन्यथा कर्म न कुर्यादिति, न स्वयं धर्मः ॥ Why do we say "but not before हरण"? Observe वाडवहरणम् 'that which is given to a mare'. हरण is that customary food which is given to a mare after she has been covored, 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 शारी denoting word; and thus this sûtra supersedes the Kṛit accent enjoined by VI. 2. 139, so far. Thus वाडवहायः 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 गोयुक्तः 'a cowherd looking after cow': अश्वयुक्तः, गोमणियुक्त', अश्वमणियुक्त', गोसंख्यः, अश्वसंख्यः ॥ All these word वल्लवः, मणियुक्तः, संख्यः &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 गोवाध्यक्षः or गवाध्यक्षः: 'a superintendent of cows': अश्वाध्यक्षः or अश्वाध्यक्षः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पापशब्दः शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे विभाषा ऽद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

68. The word पाप has optionally acute on the first syllable when followed by a word denoting a professional man.

Thus पौंपनापितः or पापनापितः, पापकुलालः or पापकुलालः ॥ This rule applies to the pratipadokta samâsa of पाप in the sense of censure as taught in II. 1. 54, when it is an appositional compound ; and not when it forms a Genitive compound. Thus पापस्यनापितः = पापनापितः ॥

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 जंघावास्त्यः = यो जंघावातां वरान्यहमिति वास्त्यः, संपद्यते सः; यत्र भाद्वारौ वास्त्यानामिव पादप्रक्षालनं क्रियते, तत्रावास्त्यः सन् वास्त्याऽहमिति ब्रुते तल्लाभाय सः ॥ भार्यासेनुभुतः 'a descendant of Suśruta under the petticoat government of his wife'. The compounding takes place by the analogy of शाक्रपार्थिवः ॥ वैशाब्राह्मकृतेयः (Brahmakrita belongs to Subhrâdi class). The above are examples of Gotra words. Now with scholar names. दाक्षारीराक्षाः '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, घृतरौढीयाः, and औदनपाणिनीयाः &c. भिक्षामाणवः = भिक्षालप्स्येऽहमिति माणवो भवति ॥ दासीब्राह्मणः, वृषली ब्राह्मणः, भेयब्राह्मणः = 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 गुडमैरेयः 'the wine maireya prepared from treacle or molasses'. माधुमैरेयः 'the maireya prepared from honey'. Why do we say when denoting 'an ingredient ?' Observe परममैरेयं ॥ Why do we say "before मैरेय ?" Observe पुष्पासवं ॥ Every sort of spirituous liquor except सुरा is called मैरेय ॥

भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ताख्याः, तदर्थेषु, (आदूदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तमन्नं तदाख्यास्तद्वाचिनः शब्दास्तदर्थेषूत्तरपदेषु आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

71. A word denoting food gets the acute on the first syllable, when standing before a word which denotes a repository suited to contain that.

Thus निर्माषावासः, भक्तकंसः, श्रीणाकंसः, श्रीऔदीकंसः ॥ The words like भिक्षा, भक्त &c, are names of food. Why do we say 'when denoting the name of food'? Observe समावशाल्यैः (the word समाव = समशानं is the name of an 'action' and not of a 'substance'). Why do we say 'tadartheshu suited to contain that'? Observe भिक्षाप्रियः. which is a Bahuvrihi, and the first member gets acute on the final.

गोबिडालसिंहसैन्धवेषूपमाने ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, बिडाल, सिंह, सेन्धवेषु, उपमाने, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवादिषूपमानवाचिषूत्तरपदेषु 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 धीन्यगवः = धान्यं गौरिव ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 56, the words गो &c, being considered to belong to Vyâghrâdi class, which is an Akṛitigana. The meaning of the compound must be given according to usage and appropriateness. Thus धान्यगवः means गवाकृत्याऽवस्थितं धान्यं ॥ So also हिरण्यगवः, भिक्षाबिडालः, ब्राह्मणबिडालः, तृणसिंहः, कांशसिंहः, सक्तुसैन्धवः, पानसैन्धवः ॥ Why do we say "when denoting the object of comparision"? Observe परमसिंहः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अकमत्ययान्त 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 दन्तलेखकः, नखलेखकः, अवस्कारशोधकः, रमणीयकारकैः = दन्तलेखनादिभिर्येषां जीविका ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say when meaning 'means of living'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि ॥ All affixes which ultimately become अक by taking substitutes, are called अक affixes. Thus ण्वुल्, ठुन् &c are अक affixes (VII. 1. 1). Why do we say "ending in the affix अक"? Observe रमणीयकर्त्ता ॥ Here the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17, and the affix तृच् is added in the sense of sport and not of livelihood.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्देशवर्तिनां या क्रीडा तद्वाचिनि समासे ऽकमत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

74. A compound the second member of which is a word ending in अक् affix, and which denotes the sport of the Eastern people, gets the the acute accent on the first syllable.

Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका, वीरणपुष्पप्रचायिका, शालभञ्जिका, तालभञ्जिका ॥ These are formed by ण्वुल् affix (III. 3. 109), and the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say 'of the Eastern Folk'? Observe जीवपुत्रप्रचायिका, which is a sport of the Western People. Why do we say 'when denoting a sport'? Observe तवपुत्रप्रचायिका '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 ॥ अणन्तउत्तरपदे नियुक्तवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

75. A compound, the second member of which is a word ending in the Kṛit-affix अण्, and which denotes a functionary, gets the acute on the first syllable.

Thus छत्रधारः, तूणीधारः, कमण्डलुम्वाहः, शृङ्गारधारः ॥ Why do we say when meaning 'a functionary'? Observe काण्डलावः, शारलावः ॥

शिल्पिनि चाकृञः ॥ ७६ ॥ शिल्पिनि, च, अकृञः, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शिल्पिवाचिनि समासे ऽणन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति स चेदण् कृञो न भवति ॥

76. And when such a compound ending in अण् affix denotes the name of a professional man, but not when the second term is कार (derived from कृञ्), the acute is on the first syllable of the first word.

Here also the second term ends in अण् affix. Thus तन्तुवायः, तुन्नवायः, वालवायः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a work-man or professional person'? Observe काण्डलावैः, शारलावैः ॥ Why do we say 'but not when the affix अण् comes after कृ'? Observe कुम्भकारैः, अयस्कारैः ॥

संज्ञायां च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये ऽणन्तउत्तरपदे ऽकृञः पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

77. Also when such an upapada compound ending in अण् affix denotes a Name, the acute falls on the first syllable : but not when the second term is कार ॥

Thus तन्तुवायः 'a kind of insect, spider'. वालवायः 'the hill Vâlavâya'. But not so अण् with कृ ; as रयकारैः 'the name of a Brâhmaṇa caste'.

गोतन्तियवं पाले ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, तन्ति, यवम्, पाले, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गो तन्ति यव इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पालघञ्जउत्तरपदे 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 तान्त is the rope with which calves are tied. (तनु विस्तारे + क्तिच्). This applies to words not denoting a functionary, which would be governed by VI. 2. 75. Why do we say गो &c ? Observe वत्सपालैः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by पाल'? Observe गोरक्षः ॥

णिनि ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिनि, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

79. A compound ending in the Kṛit-affix णिनि (इन्) has the acute on the first syllable of the first member.

Thus पुष्पहारिन्, कैलहारिन्, पर्णहारिन् ॥

उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानम्, शब्दार्थे, प्रकृतौ, एव, (आद्युदात्तात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचि पूर्वपदं शब्दार्थे प्रकृतावेव णिनन्तउत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

80. When the first member of a compound express-es that with which resemblance is denoted, then it has acute on the first syllable, before a word formed by णिनि affix, only then, when such latter word is a radical without any pre-position, and means 'giving out a definite sound like so and so'.

The word उपमान means the object with which something is likened: शब्दार्थ means 'expressing a sound'; प्रकृति means 'root, without any preposi-tion'. Thus ऊष्ट्रक्रोशिन्, ध्वाङ्क्षराविन्, खरनादिन् ॥ The word उपमान shows the scope of this sûtra as distinguished from the last. So that, when the first term is an उपमान word, the preceding sûtra will not apply, though the second member may be a णिनि formed word. When the second term is not a word denoting sound, the rule will not apply. As वृकहिंसन्, वृकमर्षिन् which retain kṛit accent (VI. 2. 139) Why do we say 'a radical word without any preposition'? Observe गर्भोपहारिन्, कोकिलभिव्याहारिन् ॥ Here the second terms radically (i. e. chârin and hârin) do not denote sounds, but it is with the help of the Prepositions उप 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. (शब्दार्थे प्रकृतौ ह्युपमानं चानुपमानं चाद्यु-दात्तमिष्यते) ॥ As पुष्कलजल्पिन्, for had एव not been used, the sûtra would have run

thus: उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतौ and would mean:—"If the second member is a sound denoting radical word, then the upamâna first member and no other will get the acute". But this is not what is intended : because when the second member is a sound-denoting radical, the first member will get the acute, whether it is upamâna word or not. The word एव therefore restricts upamâna; i. e. a first member denoting उपमानं will get the accent then only, when the second term is a sound-denoting radical. If the second term is not a sound denoting radical, the first term denoting upamâna will not get the accent. The compounding takes place by III. 2. 79.

युक्तारोह्याद्यश्च ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्तारोह्याद्यः, 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 आगतनर्दी, 6 आगतनन्दी, 7 आगतप्रहारी ॥ These are formed by णिनि affix, and are illustrations of Rule VI. 2. 79. Some say, these delare 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 युक्ताध्यायिन् ॥ 8 आगतमस्या or °स्य, 9 क्षीरहोता, 10 अग्निभर्त्ता ॥ The last two are Genitive compounds under Rule II. 2. 9. 11 मामगोधुक्, 12 अभ्वत्रिरात्रः, 13 गर्गत्रिरात्रः, 14 ब्युष्टत्रिरात्रः, 15 गणपादः (गणपादः), 16 समपादः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. 17 एकशिति- पात्=एकःशितिःपादोऽस्य ॥ This is a Bahuvrîhi of three terms. The word एकशिति is a Taddhitârtha Samâsa (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 एकशितिः would have acute on the first, as it is a Dvigu ending in a simple vowel. But the very fact that this word is enumerated here, shows that other Dvigu compounds in शिति are not governed by VI. 2. 29, therefore द्विशितिपात् has acute on ति ॥ The enumeration of the एकशितिपात् further proves by implication that the (एकशितिपात् स्वरवचनं ज्ञापक निमित्तस्वरबलीयस्त्वस्य) accent for the application of which a case is present is stronger. (See Mahâbhashya II. 1. 1.) The class of compounds known as पात्रेसमित &c, (II. 1. 48) also belong to this class.

1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवञ्ची, 5 आगतनन्दी (आगतनर्दी), 6 आ- गतप्रहारी, 7 आगतमस्यः (आगतमस्या), 8 क्षीरहोता, 9 अग्निभर्त्ता, 10 मामगोधुक्, 11 अभ्वत्रिरात्रः 12 गर्गत्रिरात्रः, 13 ब्युष्टित्रिरात्रः, 14 गणपादः (गणपादः), 15 एकशितिपात्, 16 पात्रेसमितादयश्च (पात्रे- समितादयश्च), 17 समपादः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घान्तं पूर्वपदं काश तुष भ्राष्ट्र वट इत्येतानि च जउत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus कुटीजः, शमीजः, काशजः, तुषजः, म्राष्ट्रजः घटजः These are for med by the affix ड added to जन (III. 2. 97).

अन्त्यात्पूर्वं बह्वचः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, बह्वचः (उदात्तम् जे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजुत्तरपदे बह्वचः पूर्वपदस्यान्त्यात्पूर्वंमुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः, आमलकीजः, and वर्दबाजः (though the last two words have upapadas ending in long vowel, the accent is governed by this sûtra and not the last). Why do we say "a Polysyllabic first member"? Observe दग्धजानि तृणानि ॥

ग्रामेऽनिवसन्तः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामे, अनिवसन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामाञ्चउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमायुदात्तं भवति न चेन्निवसद्वाच्यभिभवति ॥

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

Thus मञ्ग्रामः, वणिग्ग्रामः ॥ 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 Mâhikas'.

घोषादिषु च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ घोषादिषु, च, (पूर्वंपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोषादिषु चोत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमायुदात्तं भवति ॥

85. The first member has acute on the first syllable when followed by घोष &c.

Thus दाक्षिघोषः, दाक्षिकटः, दाक्षिपल्वलः, दाक्षिबरसी, दाक्षिवल्लभः, दाक्षिइवरः, दाक्षिपिङ्गलः, दाक्षिपिशङ्गः, दाक्षिमाला, दाक्षिरक्षा, दाक्षिशाला, or (°रक्षः or °शालः), दाक्षिशिल्पी, दाक्षिअभ्रयः, दाक्षि-शाल्मली, कुन्तवतृणम्, आभ्रमञ्जुनिः, दाक्षिपुंसा, दाक्षिकूटः ॥

Of the above, those which denote places of habitation, there the first members though denoting inhabitants get the acute accent. Some do not read the anuvritti of अनिवसन्तः in this aphorism, others however read it.

1 घोष, 2 कट (घट), 3 वल्लभ (पल्वल), 4 इवर, 5 बरसी (बसर), 6 पिङ्गल, 7 पिशङ्ग, 8 माला, 9 रक्षा (रक्षः), 10 शाला (शालः), 11 कूट, 12 शाल्मली, 13 अभ्रस्य, 14 तृण, 15 शिल्पी, 16 मुनि, 17 प्रेषा (प्रेषाकू ; पुंसा) ॥

छात्र्याद्यः शालायाम् ॥८६॥ पदानि ॥ छात्र्याद्यः, शालायाम्, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालायाञ्चउत्तरपदे छात्र्यादेरायुदात्ता भवति ॥

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

Thus छात्रिशाला, ऐ॑लिशाला, भाण्डिशाला ॥

Where the Tatpurusha compound ending in शाला becomes Neuter, by the option allowed in II. 4. 25 ; there also in the case of these words, the acute falls on the first syllable of the first term ; thus superseding VI. 2. 123 which specifically applies to Neuter Tatpurushas. Thus छात्रिशालम्, ऐ॑लिशालम् ॥

1 छात्रि, 2 पेलि (ऐलि), 3 भाण्डि, 4 व्याडि, 5 आखण्डि, 6 आटि, 7 गामि (गौमि) ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थयाब्जउत्तरपदे कर्क्यादिविर्जितमवृद्धं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं 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 syallble before प्रस्थ ॥

Thus इन्द्रप्रस्थः, कुण्डप्रस्यः, ईरप्रस्थः, ईुवणप्रस्यः ॥　But not in शाकिप्रस्यः, माहिक-प्रस्यः which have Vṛiddhi in the first syllable ; nor also in कर्कीप्रस्यः मचीप्रस्यः &c.

1 कर्की, 2 मष्री (मषी), 3 मकरी, 4 कर्कन्धु (कर्कन्धू), 5 धमी, 6 करीर, 7 कन्दुक (कदुक), 8 कवल (कुबल ; कूरल), 9 बसरी (बसर) ॥

मालादीनां च ॥ ८८ ॥　पदानि ॥ मालादीनाम्, च, (आदिः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्यइति वर्तते । प्रस्यउत्तरपदे मालादीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

88.　The first syllable of माला &c, gets the acute when प्रस्थ follows.

Thus मालाप्रस्यः, शालाप्रस्यः ॥　This sûtra applies even though the first syllables are Vṛiddhi vowel. In the words एक and शोणा the letters ए and भो are treated as Vṛiddhi (I. 1. 75).

1 माला, 2 शाला, 3 शोणा (शोण), 4 द्राक्षा, 5 अाक्षा, 6 शामा, 7 काञ्ची, 8 एक, 9 काम, 10 शौमा ॥

अमहन्नवं नगरे ऽनुदीचाम् ॥ ८९ ॥　पदानि ॥ अ, महत्, नवम्, नगरे, अनुदी-चाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नगराब्जउत्तरपदे महन्नवाब्जवर्जितं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति तच्चेदुदीचां न भवति ॥

89.　The first member has acute on the first syllable before the word नगर, but not when it is the word महत् or नव, nor when it refers to a city in the lands of the North-ern People.

Thus ईन्द्रनगरम्, ईुण्डुनरम्, विराटनगरम् ॥　But not in महानगरम् and नवनगरम्, Why do we say "but not of Northern People"? Observe नान्दीनगरम् कान्तीनगरम् ॥

अर्मे चावर्णे द्व्यच्त्र्यच् ॥ ९० ॥   पदानि ॥ अर्मे, च, अघर्णम्, द्व्यच्, त्र्यच्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्मशब्दउत्तरपदे द्यच् त्र्यच् पूर्वपदमवर्णान्तमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

90.   A word of two or three syllables ending in अ or आ (with the exception of महा and नव), standing before the word अर्म has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ईत्तार्मम्, ह्रुंमार्मम्, कुंकुटार्मम्, वैयसार्मम् ॥   Why do we say 'ending in अ (long or short)'? Observe वृहर्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'consisting of two or three syllables'? Observe कपिञ्जलार्मम् ॥ The words महा and नव are to be read here also. The rule therefore does not apply to महार्मम् and नवार्मम् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत अधिक संजीव मद्र अश्मन् कञ्जल इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि अर्मशब्दउत्तरपदे नाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आद्युदात्तप्रकरणे विवोरासारीनां 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 भूतार्मेम्, अधिकार्मेम्, संजीवार्मेम्, मद्रार्मेम्, अश्मार्मेम्, मद्राश्मार्मेम् (because the sûtra shows the compounding of those words in madrâsmam) कञ्जलार्मेम् ॥ All these compounds have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Vârt:—In the Vedas the words विवोरास &c, have acute on the first syllable. Thus विवोरासाय गायत, वध्यूध्याय शूष्वे ॥

अन्तः ॥ ९२ ॥   पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकृतमित उत्तरं यदुच्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

92.   In the following sûtras 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 adhikâra aphorism. In the succeeding sûtras, the last syllable of the first member of a compound gets the acute accent. Thus in the next sûtra the word सर्व gets acute on the final. This adhikâra extends upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive.

सर्वे गुणकात्स्र्ये ॥ ९३ ॥   पदानि ॥ सर्वम्, गुण, कात्स्र्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं गुणकात्स्र्ये वर्त्तमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

93.   The acute is on the final of the word सर्व standing as first member before an attributive word, in the sense of 'whole, through and through'.

Thus सर्वश्वेतः, सर्वकृष्णः, सर्वमहान् ॥ Why do we say सर्व ? Observe परमश्वेतः, here the attribute of श्वेत pervades through and through the object referred : 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 गुणकार्त्स्न्यं here at all, but a विकारकार्त्स्न्यं ॥ Why do we use the word 'Kârtsnya or complete pervasion". Observe सर्वषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः here the compounding takes place by the elision of the affix तरप् denoting comparison, and as it shows only comparitive, not absolute, whiteness, the rule does not apply. Moreover, in this example, the "kârtsnya" is not that of "guṇa" but of "guṇ_ī", not of the 'attribute', but of the 'substance'. *Objection*:—How do you form such a compound सर्वषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः, for it is prohibited by II. 2. 11.? *Ans.* We do it on the strength of the following Vârtika गुणान्तरेण समासो वक्तव्यः, तरलोपश्च ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गिरि निकाय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus भञ्जनागिरिः, भञ्जनागिरिः, The finals of añjana and bhañjana are lengthened by VI. 3. 117. श्यापिण्डीनिकायः, मौण्डीनिकायः, चिखिल्लिनिकायः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name' ? Observe परमगिरिः, ब्राह्मणनिकायः ॥

कुमार्यां वयसि ॥ ९५ ॥   पदानि ॥ कुमार्य्योम्, वयसि, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार्य्युत्तरपदे 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. जरत्कुमारी ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 49 with जरती ॥ The words become masculine by VI. 3. 42 in both examples. Q. The word कुमारी was formed by ङीष् by IV. 1. 20 in denoting the prime of youth, how can this word be now applied to denote old age by being coupled with वृद्धा or जरती; it is a contradiction in terms. *Ans* ; The word कुमारी has two senses; one denoting "a young maiden" and second "unmarried virgin". It is in the latter sense, that the attribute वृद्धा or जरती is applied. Why do we say "when the compound denotes age"? Observe परमकुमारी ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अकेवलं मिश्रं तद्वाचिनि समासे उदकशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपरमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

96. Before the word उदक, when the compound denotes a mixture, the last* syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गुंडोदकम् or गुडोदकम्, 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 guḍa and tila and the subsequent grave उ of उदक, by Rule VIII. 2. 6. The word भक्तल means mixture. When mixture is not meant, this rule does not apply. As शीतोदकम्, उष्णोदकम् ॥

द्विगौ क्रतौ ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, क्रतौ, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगावुत्तरपदे 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 गर्ग त्रिरात्रः, चारकत्रिरात्रः, कुसुरुविन्दसप्तरात्रः = गर्गाणां त्रिरात्रः &c. Why do we say 'before a Dvigu compound'? Observe अतिरात्रैः (रात्रिमतिक्रान्त इति प्रादिसमासः) which being formed by the Samasânta affix अच् (V. 4. 87) has acute on the final (VI. 1, 163). Why do we say 'when denoting a sacrifice'? Observe बिल्वसप्तरात्रः = बिल्वघातस्य बिल्वहोमस्य वा सप्तरात्रः ॥

सभायां नपुंसके ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाम्, नपुंसके, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सभायाम्उत्तरपदे नपुंसकलिङ्गेसमासे 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, ईसभम्, दार्शीसभम्, 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 ॥ पुरेऽउत्तरपदे 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, कांचीपुरम्, शिववत्तंपुरम्, कांण पुरम्, 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 पूर्वे समासे पुरेऽउत्तरपदे 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 अरिष्टंपुरम्, गौडंपुरम् ॥ By the force of the word पूर्व in the aphorism, we can apply the rule to अरिष्टभ्रितंपुरम्, गौडभृत्यपुरम् ॥

न हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, हास्तिन, फलक, मार्देयाः, (अन्तोदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हास्तिन फलक मार्देय इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पुराश्च 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 मृदु is मार्देय formed by ढक्, the word belonging to Śubhrádi class. The ड is elided by VI. 4. 147.

कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ, शालम्, बिले॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुसूल कूप कुम्भ शाला इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि बिलश्चाउत्तरपदे ऽन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus कुसूलंबिलम्, कूपंबिलम्, कुम्भंबिलम्, शालांबिलम् ॥ But not so here सर्प-बिलम् ॥ Why do we say 'before बिल'? Observe कुसूलस्वामी ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्शब्दाः पूर्वपदानि अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ग्रामजनपदाख्यानवाचिष्वुत्तरपदेषु चानराटश्ब्दे 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 पूर्वगुकामग्रामी, अपरगुकामग्रामी or पूर्वे and अपरे' (VIII. 2. 6). The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. पूर्वंकृष्णवृत्तिका, अपरंकृष्णवृत्तिका ॥ Country name—पूर्वंपञ्चालाः. अपरंपञ्चालाः ॥ These are Karmadháraya compounds (II. 1. 58). Story name :—पूर्वांधिरामम् or पूर्वां, पूर्वंयायातम्, पूर्वांधिरामकम्, अपरंयायातम् ॥ So also पूर्वंचानराटम्, अपर चानराटम् ॥ The employment of the term श्ब्द in the aphorism shows that time-denoting दिक् words as in पूर्वयायातं should also be included. The word अधिरामम् is derived from अधिराममधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः (IV. 3. 87).

आचार्योपसजनश्चान्तेवासिनि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आचार्योपसजनः, च, अन्तेवासिनि, (अन्तोदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसजनान्तेवासिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे 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 पूर्वंपाणिनीयाः, अपरंपाणिनीयाः, पूर्वैंकाषाकृत्स्नाः, अपरंकाषाकृत्स्नाः ॥ Compare VI. 2. 36   Why do we say ' when derived from the names of their Teachers' ? Observe पूर्वंशिष्याः ॥ Why do we say 'Scholar-names'? Observe पूर्वपाणिनीयं षाऱ्म ॥ (पाणिनीयं षाऱ्म पूर्वं चिरन्तनम्) ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर-पद-वृद्धौ, सर्वम् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्यधिकृत्य या विहिता वृद्धिस्तदर्थ्युत्तरपदे सर्वषाब्दोदिक्सब्दाश्चान्तोदात्ता 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 sûtra उत्तरपदस्य VII. 3. 10. 12, the Vṛiddhi of the Uttarapada is ordained when the Taddhita affixes having अ, ण् or क follow, the Purvapada being सु, सर्व and अर्ध ॥ The word उत्तरपदवृद्धिः therefore, means that word which takes Vṛiddhi, under the rule relating to uttarapada, i. e. under rule VII. 3. 12 and 13.   Thus पूर्वंपाञ्चालकः, अपरंपाञ्चालकः, सर्वंपाञ्चालकः ॥ These are formed by सुञ् affix (IV. 2. 125). Why do we say "which takes Vṛiddhi in the second term ?"   Had the word उत्तरपद not been used, then the sûtra 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 ॥ बहुब्रीहौ समासे विश्वषाब्दः पूर्वपदं संज्ञायां विषये ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus विश्वंदेवः, विश्वंयशाः, विश्वंमहान् ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 1 by-which the first member in a Bahuvrîhi would have retained its original accent.   Why do we say in a Bahuvrîhi compound ? Observe विश्वे च देवाः = विश्व-देवाः ॥ Why do we say ' when a name'? Observe विश्वदेवा अस्य = विश्वदेवः ॥ But विश्वामित्रः and विश्वाजिनैः have acute on the final, as they are governed by the subsequent rule VI. 2. 165 which supersedes this.   The word Bahuvrîhi governs the succeeding sûtras upto VI. 2. 120 inclusive.   The word विश्व is originally acute on the first, as it is formed by the affix क्वन् added to विश् ॥ This rule has unrestricted scope in विश्वदेवः, विश्वयशाः. and rule VI. 2. 165 has unrestricted scope in कुलमित्रः, कुलाजिनः ॥ But in विश्वामित्रः and विश्वाजिनः there is a conflict, as both these rules would apply, therefore by the maxim of vipratishedha, VI. 2. 165 supersedes this.

उद्राश्वेषुषु ॥ १०७ ॥　पदानि ॥ उद्र, अश्व, इषु षु ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्र अश्व इषु इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञायां विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus वृकोद्रः, शर्मोद्रः, हर्यश्वः, यौवनाश्वः, सुवर्णपुहेषुः and मह्रेषुः ॥ This sûtra 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 शर्म is formed by मनिन् affix (Uṇ IV. 145) and is first acute; हरि 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 सुवर्णपुंखा: has acute on ण by VI. 2. 1, the third Bahuvrîhi with इषु gets accent on ष ॥ The word महत is end-acute by V. 2. 38. Its mention here appears redundant.

क्षेपे ॥ १०८ ॥　पदानि ॥　क्षेपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने उद्रादिषूत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञायां विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

108. A word before उद्र, अश्व and इषु in a Bahu-vrîhi gets acute on the final, when reproach is meant.

Thus कुण्डोद्रः, घटोद्रः, कटुकाश्वः, स्यन्तिताश्वः, अनिघातेषुः, चलाचलेषुः ॥ The word कुण्ड has acute on the first as it is a Neuter name (Phiṭ II. 3), and it would have retained this accent in the Bahuvrîhi by VI. 2. 1. but for this sûtra. 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 sûtra. The word कटुक being formed by कन् (V. 3. 75) has acute on the first. स्यन्तित is formed by the Nishṭâ affix क्त ॥ The word अनिघात being an avyayîbhâva, the first member would have retained its original accent. In this and the last sûtra, all the acutes may optionally be changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 6. But अनुशरः and सूशरः have acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, which being a subsequent sûtra, supersedes this present, so far as अन् and षु are concerned.

नदी बन्धुनि ॥ १०९ ॥　पदानि ॥ नदी, बन्धुनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे बन्धुन्युत्तरपदे नयन्ते पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं 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 गार्गीबन्धुः, वात्सीबन्धुः ॥ The words गार्गी and वात्सी are formed by adding ङीप् (IV. 1. 16) to गार्ग्य and वात्स्य ending in यञ् (IV. 1. 105), and therefore, they are first acute. By VI. 2. 1 this accent would have been retained, but for the present sûtra. Why do we say "a Nadî (Feminine in ई) word"? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धुः, the word ब्रह्म has acute on the first syllable as it is formed by मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 146) and it retains that accent (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say "before बन्धु"? Observe गार्गीप्रियः ॥

निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपसर्ग-पूर्वम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे निष्ठान्तमुपसर्गपूर्वं पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यामन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus प्रधौतमुखः or प्रधौतमुखः (VI. 2. 169), or प्रधौतमुखः (VI. 2. 49 and 1) प्रशालितपादः or प्रशालितपादः ॥ When the word मुख means (mouth) then by VI. 2. 167 which is an optional rule, the accent falls on the last syllable खः ॥ When the other alternative is taken or when it does not mean (mouth) then by VI. 2. 49 the'acute falls on प्र, which accent is retained (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say "a Nishthâ"? Observe प्रसक्तमुखः which is acute in the middle by the kṛit accent being retained ofter प्र (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'preceded by a preposition'? Observe सुक्तमुखम् which has acute on the first by VI. 1. 206.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदासिरित्येतदधिकृतम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम उत्तरपदस्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम्॥

111. In the following sûtras, upto VI. 2. 136 inclusive, should always be supplied the phrase "the first syllable of the second member has the acute".

This is an adhikâra aphorism and the word उत्तरपद exerts its influence upto the end of the chapter, while the word आदि has scope upto VI. 2. 187 exclusive.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे वर्णवाचिनो लक्षणवाचिनश्च कर्णशब्दउत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

112. In a Bahuvrîhi 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 शाखाकर्णः शङ्कुकर्णः, the lengthening of शल and शंकु takes place by VI. 3. 115.

The marks of 'scythe', 'arrow' &c, are made on the ears of cattle to mark and distinguish them. It is such a 'm ɪrk' which is meant here, therefore, the rule does not apply to स्थूलकर्णः ॥ Why do we say कर्ण ? Observe श्वतपाद्ः, कूटशूङ्ग: here श्वेत being formed by अच् (II. 1. 134) is end-acute, and कूट being formed by क्र (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 शोभनपाद्ः where शोभन being formed by युच् (III. 2. 149) is end-acute and this accent is retained (VI. 2. 1).

संज्ञोपम्ययोश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, औपम्ययोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामौपम्ये च यो बहुत्रीहिर्वर्त्तंते तत्र कर्णशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति संज्ञायाम् ॥

113. In a Bahuvrîhi the second member कर्ण has acute on the first syllable, when the compound denotes a Name or a Resemblance.

Thus कुड्मिचर्कर्णः, मणिकर्णः, are Names: गोर्कर्णः, खरकर्ण denote resemblance i. e. "persons having ears like a cow or an ass".

कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजङ्घं च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, ग्रीवा, जंघम्, च, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्ठ पृष्ठ ग्रीवा जङ्घा इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि बहुत्रीहौ समासे संज्ञोपम्ययोराद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

114. In a Bahuvrîhi expressing a Name or comparision, the second members कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, ग्रीवा and जङ्घा have acute on the first syllable.

Thus Name: शितिकण्ठः, नीलकण्ठः ॥ Comparision खरकण्ठः, उष्ट्रकण्ठः ॥ Name काण्डपृष्टः, नाकपृष्टः ॥ Resemblance गोपृष्ट, अजपृष्टः ॥ Name सुग्रीवः, नीलग्रीवः, वश्ग्रीवः ॥ Resemblance गोग्रीवः, अश्वग्रीवः ॥ Name नाडीजङ्घ, तालजङ्घः ॥ Resemblance गोजङ्घः, अश्वजङ्घः, एणीजङ्घः ॥

The sûtra कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजंघ is in Neuter gender, and अंघा is shortened as it is a Samâhâra Dvandva. In the case of सुग्रीव, the accent would have fallen on the final व by VI. 2. 172, this ordains acute on ग्री ॥

श्रृङ्गमवस्थायां च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रृङ्गम्, अवस्थयाम्, च (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रृङ्गशब्द उत्तरपदमवस्थायां संज्ञोपम्ययोश्च बहुत्रीहौ आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

115. In a Bahuvrîhi denoting age, (as well as a Name or a Resemblance), the second member श्रृङ्ग gets acute on the first syllable.

Thus उद्गतश्रृङ्गः, द्व्यङुलश्रृङ्गः, अंगुलश्रृङ्गः ॥ Here the word श्रृङ्ग denotes the particular age of the cattle at which the horns come out, or become one or two inches long. Name :—ऋष्यश्रृङ्गः comparison : गोश्रृङ्गः, मेषश्रृङ्गः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'age &c'. Observe स्थूलश्रृङ्गः ॥

नञो जरमरमित्रमृताः ॥ ११६ ॥   पदानि ॥ नञः, जर, मर, मित्र, मृताः, (आ-
द्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नङ उत्तरे जरमरमिच्चमृता बह्वीहि समासे आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

116. After a Negative Particle, in a Bahuvrîhi, the
acute falls on the first syllable of जर, मर, मित्र and मृत ॥

Thus अजैरः, अमरः, अमित्रः and अमृतः ॥ Why do we say after a Negative
Particle ? Observe ब्राह्मणमिश्रः ॥ Why do we say "जर &c". Observe अषाईः
when the final gets the acute by VI. 2. 172.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ सोरुत्तरमनन्तमसन्तं च बह्वीहि समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति लोमोषसीवर्जयित्वा ॥

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

Thus सुकर्मन्, सुर्धर्मयिमन्, सुर्यवस्, सुर्यवास्, सुस्रोतस् so also सुर्स्त् and सुर्धन्
from the root अस् and ध्वंस् with the affix क्विप् ॥ The final स् is changed to र by
VIII. 2. 72. But this substitution is considered asiddha for the purposes of
accent, and these words are taken as if still ending in अस्॥ Why do we say
'after सु ?' Observe कृतकर्मन्, कृतयवस् ॥ 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 ज and त, but with सु, the accent is thrown on the final by VI. 2. 172.
Why do we say with the exception of लोमन and उषस्? Observe सुलोमन and सूर्वस्
(VI. 2. 172). The following maxim applies here : अनिनसमन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन
च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति "whenever अस्, or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed
in Grammar, denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with अस् 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". There-
fore 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 इमनिच् affix (V. 1. 122) in which मन् is only a part. Similarly यवास
is formed by असुन् (Uṇ IV. 191), and so also स्रोतस् (Uṇ IV. 202) ; but in सुध्वैस्
(सुध्वस् from ध्वंस् with the affix क्विप III. 2. 76) the rule applies also, though अस्
is here part of the root. But when the samâsânta affix कप् is added (V. 4. 154),
then the accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding कप्, for there the
subsequent Rule VI. 2. 173 supersedes the present rule: thus सुकर्मैकः, सुस्रोतस्कः ॥

क्रत्वादयश्च ॥ ११८ ॥   पदानि ॥ क्रत्वादयः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रत्वादयः सोरुत्तरे बह्वीहि समासे आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ।

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

Thus सुऋंतुः, सुंदर्शीकः, सुर्मेपूर्तिः, सुर्हव्यः, सुर्मेगः, सुर्मेतक्रिः ॥

आद्युदात्तं द्व्यच्छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥   पदानि ॥ आद्युदात्तम्, द्व्यच्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तं ह्यञ् उणारपरं बहुव्रीहौ समासे सोरुत्तरं तदाद्युदात्तमथ भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

119.   In a Bahuvrîhi compound in the Chhandas, a word of two syllables with acute on the first syllable, when preceded by सु, gets acute on the first syllable.

In other words, such a word retains its accent. Thus :—स्वदरासिन्धुं सुरथा सुवासां (Rig Veda X. 76. 8). Here ईऽभ्रः and सुरथः have acute on अ and र, which they had originally also, for अभ्र and रथ are formed by क्रन् (Un I. 151) and क्थन् (Un II. 2) respectively and have the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'having acute on the first syllable'? Observe या सुद्राहुः स्वंङ्गुरिः (Rig II. 32. 7). Here बाहु has acute on the final (Un I. 27 formed by उ affix and has the accent of the affix III. 1. 3). Why do we say 'having two syllables'? Observe सुयरसत्, सुहरण्यः ॥ This sûtra is an exception to VI. 2. 172.

वीरवीर्यौंच ॥ १२० ॥   पदानि ॥ वीर, वीर्य्यौं, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वीर वीर्य इत्येतौ च घास्मौ सोरुत्तरं बहुव्रीहौ समासे छन्दसि विषये आद्युदात्तौ भवतः ।

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

Thus सुवीरेण ते, सुवीरास्ते अनिता (Rig IV. 17. 4) सुवीर्य्यस्वदर्भ्यस् (Rig VIII. 13 36) where सुर्वीर्य has acute on वी ॥ So also सुवीर्य्यस्य पतयः स्याम ॥ The word वीर्य is formed by यत् affix and by VI. 1. 213, it would have acute on the first. But its enumeration in this sûtra 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 Âdyudâtta.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल तीर तूल मूल शाला अक्ष सम इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि अव्ययीभावसंसमासआद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus परिकूलम्, उपकूलम्, परितीरम्, उपतीरम्, परितूलम्, उपतूलम्, परिमूलम्, उपमूलम्, परिशालम्, उपशालम्, उपाक्षम्, पर्यक्षम्, सुर्षमम्, विर्षमम्, निर्षमम् and दुर्षमम् ॥ These last four are to be found in Tishthadgu class of compounds (II. 1. 17). Why do we say 'कूल &c'? Observe उपकुम्भम् ॥ Why do we say "in an Avyayîbhâva

compound?" Observe परमकूलम्, उत्तमकूलम् ॥ After the prepositions परि, प्रति, उप and अभि, the words कूल &c would have become accentless by VI. 2. 33, the present sûtra supersedes VI. 2. 33, and we have accent on कूल &c and not on the Prepositions.

कंसमन्थशूर्पपाय्यकाण्डं द्विगौ ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाय्य, काण्डम्, द्विगौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कंस मन्थ शूर्प पाय्य काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि द्विगौ समासआद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus द्विकंसः, (द्वाभ्यां कंसाभ्यां क्रीतः the affix ठिञ् V. I. 25 is elided by V. I. 28) त्रिकंसः, द्विमन्थः, (the affix ठक् V. I. 19 is elided by V. I. 28) त्रिमन्थः, द्विशूर्पः, (the affix अण् V. I. 26 is elided) त्रिशूर्पः, द्विपाय्यः, त्रिपाय्यः, द्विकाण्डः, त्रिकाण्डः ॥ Why do we say in a Dvigu? Observe परमकंसः, उत्तमकंसः ॥

तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, शालायाम्, नपुंसके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालाशब्दान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

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

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

कन्था च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे कथाशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus सौशमिकन्थम्, आहरककन्थम्, चप्यककन्थम् ॥ The word सौशमिः denotes the descendant of सुशम् (शोभनः शमो यस्य) आहर is formed by the preposition आ with the verb हृ 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 वार्षिकन्या ॥

आदिश्चिहणादीनाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, चिहणादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे चिहणादीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

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

As चिह्णकन्यम्, मैडुक्कन्यम्, मैडुक्कन्यम् ॥ The repetition of the word भारि in this sûtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the first syllable of the *first member* gets the acute. The word चिह्ण is derived from the root चिनांति with किवप् which gives चित् and ह्न is formed by adding अच् (III. 1. 134) to ड्ण ॥ चित् + ह्न = चिह्ण the elision of त् is irregular.

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

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

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

Thus पुत्रचेलम्, भार्याचेलम्, उपानत्खेटम्, नगरखेटम्, (खेट इति तृणनाम, तद्वद् दुर्बला उपानत्) अधिकैटुकम् (कटुकमस्वादु) उपस्थितकटुकम्, भूतकाण्डम् (काण्डमिति घरनाम, तथया सत्त्वपी-ड़ाकर मेवं भूतमपि) प्रजाकाण्डम् ॥ The reproach is denoted of the sons &c by comparing them to चेल &c. The analysis will be पुत्रश्चेलमिव i. e. चेलवत् तुच्छम् and the compounding takes place under II. 1. 56: the Vyâghrâdi class being an akṛti-gaṇa. When reproach is not meant, we have परमचेलम् ॥

चीरमुपमानम् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चीरम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चीरमुत्तरपदमुपमानवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus वस्त्रम् चीरमिव = वस्त्रचीरम्, पट्टचीरम्, कम्बलचीरम् ॥ Why do we say 'when comparison is meant?' Observe परमचीरम् ॥

पललसूपशाकं मिश्रे ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलल, सूप, शाकम्, मिश्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलल सूप शाक इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि मिश्रवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

128. In a Tatpurusha ending in पलल, सूप and शाक the acute falls on the first syllable of these, when the compound denotes a food mixed or seasoned with something.

Thus गुडपललम्, घृतपललम्, घृतसूपः, मूलकसूपः, घृतशाकम्, घुसशाकम् = गुडेन 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 तत्पुरुषे समासे संज्ञायां विषये आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

129. The words कूल, सूद, स्थल and कर्ष have acute on their first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha denoting a Name.

Thus साक्षिकूलम्, आहकिकूलम्, देवसूदम्, भाजीसूदम्, साण्डायनस्थली, माहकिस्थली, साक्षि-कर्षः ॥ All these are names of villages. The feminine of स्थल is taken here, formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 42). When not a name we have परमकूलम् ॥

अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, कर्मधारये, राज्यम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारवर्जिते तत्पुरुषे समासे राज्यमित्येतदुत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

130. The word राज्यम् has acute on the first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, which is not a Karmadhâraya.

Thus ब्राह्मणराज्यम्, क्षत्रियराज्यम् ॥ In a Karmadhâraya we have परमराज्यम् ॥ The accent taught in VI. 2. 126 to 130 is superseded by the accent of the Indeclinable taught in VI, 2. 2, though that rule stands first and this subsequent. As कुचेलम्, कुराज्यम् ॥

वर्ग्यादयश्च ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ग्यादयः, च, (आद्युदात्तानि)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ग्य इत्येवमादीन्युत्तरपदानि अकर्मधारये तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युशात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus वासुदेववर्ग्यः, वासुदेवपक्ष्यः, अर्जुनवर्ग्यः, अर्जुनपक्ष्यः ॥ In a Karmadhâraya we have परमवर्ग्यः ॥ The words वर्ग्य &c are no where exhibited as such ; the primitive words वर्ग, पूग, गण &c sub-division of विगारि (IV. 3. 54) are here referred to, as ending with यत् affix.

पुत्रः पुम्भ्यः ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रः, पुम्भ्यः (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दः पुंशब्देभ्य उत्तरस्तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युशात्तो 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, वास्तीपुत्रः ॥

नाचार्यराजत्विक्संयुक्तात्याख्येभ्यः ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आचार्य, राज, ऋत्विक, संयुक्त, त्याख्येभ्यः, (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्य उपाध्याय । राजा ईश्वरः । ऋत्विजो याजकाः । संयुक्ताः स्त्रीसंबन्धिनः स्यालास्यः । ज्ञातयो मातृपितृसंबन्धिनौ बान्धवाः । आचार्याद्याख्येभ्यः परः पुत्रशब्दो नाद्युशात्तो 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 श्याल 'brother-in-law' &c: ज्ञाति means 'all kinsmen related through father and mother or blood-relations'. The word आख्या shows that the rule applies to the synonyms of 'teacher' &c, as well as to particular 'teacher' &c. Thus आचार्यपुत्रैः, उपाध्यायपुत्रैः, शाकटायनकपुत्रैः, राजपुत्रैः, ईश्वरपुत्रैः, नन्दपुत्रैः, ऋत्विकपुत्रैः, याजकपुत्रैः, होतुःपुत्रैः, (VI. 3. 23) संयुक्तपुत्रैः, संबन्धिपुत्रैः, श्यालकपुत्रैः, ज्ञातिपुत्रैः, भ्रातुष्पुत्रैः (VI. 3. 23). Here the special accent of पुत्र taught in the last sûtra being prohibited, the accent falls on the last syllable by the general rule VI. 1. 2 23.

चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णादीनि, अ, प्राणि, षष्ठ्याः, (आ-द्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदादिरिति वर्त्तते तत्पुरुषइति च । चूर्णादीन्युत्तरपदानि अप्राणिवाचिनः षष्ठयन्तान्यपदानि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

134. The words चूर्ण &c, in a Tatpurusha compound have acute on the first syllable, when the preceding word ends in a Genitive and does not denote a living being.

Thus गुड़चूर्णम्, मसूरचूर्णम्, but मस्स्यचूर्णम् where the first term is a living being, and परमचूर्णम् where it is not Genitive. Another reading of the sûtra is चूर्णादीन्यप्राण्युपमहात्, the word उपमह being rhe ancient name of षष्ठी given by old Grammarians.

1 चूर्ण, 2 करिव, 3 करिप, 4 शाकिन, 5 शाकट, 6 द्राक्षा, 7 सूस्त, 8 कुन्दुम (कुन्दम), 9 इलप, 10 चमसी, 11 चक्कन (चकन चक्वन), 12 चौल ॥

The word चूर्ण is derived from the root चूरी शाहे (Div 50) with the affix क ; करिव and करिप are formed with the upapada करि and the verbs वा 'to go' and पा ' to protect ' respectively, and the affix क (करिणंयाति = करिव) (III. 2. 3); शाक with the affix इनण् added diversely (Uṇ II. 56) ; शाक with अटच (Uṇ IV. 81) gives शाकट ; this with अण् (तद्धहति) gives शाकट ; द्राक् क्षराति = द्राक्षा (Prishodarâdi); सुस (शासे) with क्त gives सूस्त the penultimate being lengthened; the word कुन्दु is formed by the affix क्रिप added to the root दु with the upapada कु (कुन्दुनोति कुत्सितं वा दुनोति) the augment मुट् being added to दु ॥ कुन्दुं मिमीते = कुन्दुमः ॥ इल with the affix कपन् gives इलपः, चम with असच् forms चमस, then is added ङीष् ; चक्कन is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to क्कन् and reduplication. चौलस्यापत्यं = चौलः ॥

षद् च काण्डादीनि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, च, काण्डादीनि, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षद् पूर्वोक्तानि काण्डादीन्युत्तरपदानि अप्राणिषष्ठया आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

135. The six words काण्ड, चीर, पलल, सूप, शाक and कूल of Sûtras VI. 2. 126–129, preceded by a non-living geni-tive word, have acute on the first syllable.

As इर्षिकाण्डम्, शारकाण्डम्; इर्भंचीरम्, कुशचीरम् ॥ In the last two examples चीर is not used as a comparision, that case being governed by VI. 2. 127, तिलपललम्, मूलकशाकम्, मुद्गसूपः ॥ Here पलल, सूप and शाक do not denote mixing, which is governed by VI. 2. 128. नन्दीकूलम्, समुद्रकूलम्, here the compound does not denote a Name, which would be the case under VI. 2, 129. Why these 'six' only? Observe राजसूपः ॥

कुण्डं वनम् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुण्डम, वनम् (आद्युदात्तम) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डशब्देन कुण्डसादृश्येन वने वर्त्तते । कुण्डमित्येतदुत्तरपदं 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 इर्भिकुण्डम्, शारकुण्डम् ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a wood'? Observe घृतकुण्डम् ॥ The word कुण्ड means (1) a basin (2) a caste called kuṇḍa. Some say it means 'for-est' also primarily and metaphorically. The force here is that of समुदाय, i. e. आरण्यवनसमुदायः = शारकुण्डम् ॥

प्रकृत्या भगालम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, भगालम्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भगालवाच्युत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

137. The word भगाल at the end of a Tatpurusha, preserves its original accent.

The synonyms of भगाल are also included. As कुम्भीभगालम्, कुम्भीकर्पालम्, कुम्भीनिर्बालम् ॥ The words भगाल &c, have acute on the middle. Phit II. 9. The word प्रकृत्य governs the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 2. 143.

शितेर्नित्याबह्वज् बहुव्रीहावभसत् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शितेः, नित्य, अबह्वच्, ब-हुव्रीहौ, अभसत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शितेरुत्तरपदं नित्ये यसबह्वच भसच्छब्दवर्जितं बहुव्रीहौ समासे तत्प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

138. After शिति, a word retains in a Bahuvrîhi its original accent, when it is always of not more than two syllables, with the exception of भसद् ॥

Thus शितिपाव:, शितियंस:, शितियौंछ: ॥   The word पाव belongs to वृषादि class (VI. 1. 203) and has acute on the first, and अंस: and ओछ: 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 शिति'? Observe ईर्षनीयपाव: which being formed by the affix अनीयर् has acute on the penultimate syllable नी by VI. 1. 217 ॥ Why do we say 'always'? Observe शितिककुत्, for though ककुत् is here of two syllables, it is an abbreviated form of ककुद, the final अ being elided in denoting condition of life (V. 4. 146), in compounds other than those denoting 'age', we have शितिककुद:, hence this word is not such which is *always* of two syllables. The word शिति 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 शितितिललाट: ॥   Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi?   Observe शिते: पाव: = शितिपाव: ॥   Why do we say 'with the exception of भसत्'?   Observe शितिभसत् ॥   This sûtra is an exception to VI. 2. 1.

गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत् ॥ १३९ ॥   पदानि ॥ गति, कारक, उपपदात्, कृत, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषति वर्त्तते न बहुव्रीहाविति । गतेः कारकादुपपदाच कृदन्तादुत्तरपदं तत्पुरुषे 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 (Kâraka), or any word which gives occasion for compounding (Upapada see III. 1. 92).

The above is according to Professor Bohtlingk.   Thus प्रकारक:, प्रकरणम्, प्रहारक:, प्रहरणम् ॥   The compounding is here by II. 2. 18. With kâraka-word we have :—इध्मप्रव्रश्चन: पलाशशातन:, डमशुकल्पन: (III. 3. 117).   With upapada words, we have :—ईषत्कर:, दुष्कर:, सुकर: ॥   All these are formed by लिट् affixes and the accent is governed by VI. 1. 193. i. e. the word प्रव्रश्चन is formed by ल्युट् (इध्मं प्रव्रश्च्यते येन); so also with शातन (पलाशानि शात्यन्ते येन स दण्ड:); so also with कल्पन (अमश्रु कल्पते येन स क्षुरादिः) Why do we say "after a Gati, Kâraka, or an Upapada word?"   Observe देवदत्तस्यकारक: = देवदत्तकारक: ॥   Here the Genitive in देवदत्त does not express a kâraka 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 sûtra for the sake of distinctness ; for a gati, karaka 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 (dhâtu) namely तिङ् and कृत् ॥   A samâsa can take place with kṛit-formed words, but

not with tiṅanta words. So that without employing कृत् in the sûtra, we could have inferred that कृत् was meant. Therefore, it is said the 'Kṛit' is employed in the sûtra 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 आम्, is added and the accent of the whole word is regulated by आम् by the rule of सतिशिष्ट (see V. 3. 56. and V. 4. 11). According to others, the कृत् is taken in this sûtra, in order to prevent the gati accent applying to verbal compounds in words like प्रैपचति इप्यः,or प्रैपचति ईयीयं (V. 3. 67), or प्रैपचतिरूपम् (V. 3. 66). The accent of these will be governed by the rule of the Indeclinable first term retaining its accent.

उमे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उमे, वनस्पत्यादिषु, युगपत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्येति वर्तते । वनस्पत्यादिषु समासेषु उमे पूर्वोत्तरपदे युगपत् प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

140. In वनस्पति &c, both members of the compound preserve their original accent simultaneously.

Thus वनस्पतिः, both वन and पति have acute on the first syllable, and सुट् augment comes by VI. 1. 157. (2) बृहस्पतिः or बृहस्पतिः = बृहतां पतिः (VI. 1. 157) The word बृहत् is acutely accented on the final, some say it has acute on the first. (3) शचीपतिः (Sachî being formed by ङीष्), some make Sachî acute on the first शचीपतिः, by including it in Sarangrava class (IV. 1. 73). (4) तनूनपात् (tanû being formed by ऋ Un I. 80 has acute on the final, according to others it has acute on the first and napât = na pâti or na palayati with क्विप् and has acute on the first). (5) नरासंसः नरा अस्मिन्नासीनाः शंसन्ति or नरा एव शंसन्ति (nara is formed by अप् and has acute on the first, Saṅsa is formed by घञ्, the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137). (6) शुनः शेपः = शुन इव शेपोऽस्य is a Bahuvrihi : the Genitive is not elided by (VI. 3. 21. Vârt.), and both have acute on the first. (7) शण्डामर्कौ both 'Sanda' and 'Marka' being formed by घञ् have acute on the first: the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. (8) तृष्णावरूषी ॥ Trishṇa has acute on the first, वरूषी has acute on the final. The lengthening here also is by VI. 3. 137. (9) बम्बाविश्ववयसौ ॥ Bamba is finally acute, and viśva by VI. 2. 106 has acute on the final, as viśvavayas is a Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place as before by VI. 3. 137. (10) मरुत्स्युः ॥ मरुत् is formed by क्विप् affix and मृत्यु has acute on the final. The words governed by this sûtra are those which would not be included in the next two sûtras.

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता, द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तस्म युगपदुभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

141. In a Dvandva compound of names of Divinities, the both members retain their original accent.

Thus इन्द्रासोमी, इन्द्रावरुणी, इन्द्राबृहस्पती ॥ The word इन्द्र 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 कलन्यमोधौ ॥ Why do we say 'a Dvandva'? Observe अग्निष्टोमः ॥

नोत्तरपदे ऽनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उत्तरपदे, अनुदात्तादौ, अ पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूष, मन्थिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदे ऽनुदात्तादौ पृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिवर्जिते देवतान्द्वे नोभे युगपत्प्रकृतिस्वरे 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 anudâtta, with the exception of पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूषन्, and मन्थिन् ॥

Thus इन्द्राग्नी, इन्द्रवायू, the words Agni and Vâyu have acute on the final. The word uttarapada is repeated in the sûtra, in order that it should be qualified by the word 'anudâttâdau', which latter would otherwise have qualified Dvandva. The word "anudattadau" shows the scope of the prohibition and the injunction. Why do we say with the exception of 'prthivi' &c? Observe द्यावापृथिव्यौ or द्यौ dvyâvâ has acute on the first, 'prithivi' being formed by 'ṅish', has acute on the final. सोमारुद्रौ, Rudra is formed by 'rak' affix (Uṇ II. 22.), and has acute on the final. इन्द्रापूषणौ, Pûshan has acute on the end. (Uṇ I. 159) शुक्रामन्थिनौ, the words Śukra and manthin have acute on the final.

अन्तः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकारो यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्र समासस्योत्तरपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं वेदि-तव्यम् ॥

143. In the following sûtrâs 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 sûtra.

थाथघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम् ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ थ, अथ, घञ्, क्त, अच्, अप्, इत्र, काणाम्, (अन्त उदात्तः,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ थ अथ घञ् क्त अच् अप् इत्र क इत्येषमन्तानाढुत्तरपदानां गतिकारकोपपदस्वरेषामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

144. The last syllable of the second member has the acute, in the verbal nouns ending in थ, अथ, घञ्, क्त, अच्, अप्, इत्र and क, when preceded by a Gati, a Kâraka or an Upa-pada (VI. 2. 139).

Thus सुनीर्थैः, अस्वभूर्थैः formed by क्यप् affix (Uṇ II. 2 and 3), and but for this sûtra, by VI. 2. 139 these words would have retained their original accent which was acute on the first. अयः—आयवसर्यैः, उपवसर्यैः formed by अयन् affix (Uṇ III. 116). घञ्—प्रभेर्वैः, काष्ठभेर्वैः, रज्जुभेर्वैः ॥ क्तः—वूरादागतैः, Here क्त has the force of कर्म, and the gati आ would retain its accent (VI. 2. 49) therefore, आगत is first acute: this accent would have been retained when compounded with the kâraka word dûra, but for this sûtra. विङुल्कैः आतपशुल्कैः ॥ अच् (III. 3. 56):—प्रक्षयैः, प्रजयैः, the words क्षय 'dwelling', and जय 'victory' are acute otherwise on the first (VI. 1. 201, 202). अप्—प्रलवैः, प्रसवैः ॥ इन्—प्रलविनौम्, प्रसविनौम् ॥ क—खरीवृषैः गोवृषैः=गां वर्षति, खरीं वर्षति (III. 2. 5 Vârt), प्रवृषैः, प्रहृषैः, (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, Kâraka or Upapada, this rule does not apply : as सुस्तुतं भवता, अतिस्तुतं भवता, where सु and अति being Karma-pravachaniya, the words get the accent of the Indeclinable.

सूपमानात् कः ॥ १४५ ॥   पदानि ॥ सु, उपमानात्, कः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सु इत्येतस्मादुपमानाच्च परं क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं 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, सुभुक्तम्, सुपीतम् ॥ With Upamâna words we have—वृकाव-लुप्तम्, वायसलुप्तम्, सिंहविनर्दितम् ॥ 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 गतिकारकोपपदात् क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं 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 संवृत्ती रामायणः, उपहूतं धाकल्यः, परिजग्धः कौण्डिन्यः ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49, धनुष्खातां नदी, कुदालखातम् नगरम्, हस्तिप्रस्तितौ भूमिः ॥ Here VI. 2. 48 is debarred. Why do we say " when it is not आचित &c " Observe आचितम् &c.

1 आचित, 2 पर्याचित, 3 भास्थापित, 4 परिगृहीत, 5 निरुक्त, 6 प्रतिपन्न, 7 अपश्लिष्ट*, 8 प्रश्लिष्ट, 9 उपहित (उपहत) 10 उपस्थित, 11 संहितागविं (संहिताघन्वरौ यदा गोरन्यस्य संज्ञा तस्तान्तोदात्तो न भवति । यदा तु गोः संज्ञा तस्तान्तोदात्त 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 क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

147.   The words प्रवृद्ध &c. ending in 'kta' have acute on the final.

Thus प्रवृद्धं यानम्, प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, प्रयुक्तोः सक्तवः, आकर्षेडवहितैं, अवहितो भोगेषु, खट्वा-रूढं, कविशस्तैं ॥ It is an Akritigaṇa. The words have acute on the final, even when not followed by ज्ञान &c, though in the Ganapâṭha they are read along with these words. Some hold it is only in connection with ज्ञान &c that these words have acute on the final. This being an Akritigaṇa we have पुनहस्स्थूतं वासोरेयं, पुनर्निष्कृतो रयः &c.

1 प्रवृद्धं यानम्, 2 प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, 3 प्रयुत्तासृष्णयः or प्रयुक्ताः सक्तवः 4 आकर्षे ऽवहितः, 5 अवहितो भोगेषु, 6 खट्वारूढः 7 कविशस्तः, आकृतिगण.

कारकाद्त्तश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि ॥ १४८ ॥   पदानि ॥ कारकात्, दत्त, श्रुतयोः, एव, आशिषि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामिनि वर्सते, क्त इति च। संज्ञायां विषये आशिषि गम्यमानायां कारकाद्त्तरयोरैत्तश्रुतयोरेव क्तान्तयान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

148.   The final of Part Participles दत्त and श्रुत alone has acute, in a compound denoting a Name and a benediction, the preceding word being a word standing in close relation to an action (kâraka).

Thus देवा एनंदेयासुः =देवदत्तैं:, विष्णुरेयं भूयात् = विष्णुभूतैं: ॥

Why do we say "of दत्त and भूत"? Observe सर्वेपालितः: (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 kâraka, and the compound denotes a benediction and a Name, the accent is not on the final, as required by VI. 2. 146, but such a word is governed by VI. 2. 48, unless the Participle be Datta and śruta, when the present rule applies. The word कारक indicates that the rule will not apply when a gati or upapada precedes. Why do we use 'एव (alone)'? So that the restriction should apply to 'kâraka', and not to 'Datta' and 'Śruta'. For the words 'Datta' and 'Sruta' will have acute on the final even after a nonkâraka word.   As संभूतैं:, विभूतैं: ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting benedi-ction'? The rule will not apply where benediction is not meant. As देवा खाता = देवखाता ॥ This rule applies to Datta and Sruta after a kâraka-word, only when benediction is meant. It therefore does not apply to देवदत्त 'the name of Arjuna's conch', as आहतेानवति देवदत्तः:, which is governed by VI. 2. 48.

इत्थंभूतेन कृतमिति च ॥ १४९ ॥   पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूतेन, कृतम्, इति, च, (अ-न्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इमं प्रकारमापन्न इत्थंभूतः । इत्थंभूतेन कृतमिथ्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः समासो वर्तते तत्र क्तान्तमुत्तरपद-मन्तोश्त्तं भवति ॥

149.   The Participle in क्त has acute on the final, when the compound denotes 'done by one in such a condition';

The word इत्यंभूत means 'being in such a condition'. Thus सुप्रमलपितैँ, उन्मत्तप्रलपितम्, प्रमत्तगतिम्, विपन्नभुतेम् as Adjectives and Abstract verbal nouns. This is an exception to VI. 2. 48. When the words प्रलपित &c are used to de-note 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 प्रत्ययान्तमुत्तरपदं 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 आसनभोजनं सुखम्, पथपानं सुखम्, चन्दनप्रियङ्गकालेपनं सुखम् ॥ All these are examples of भाव or Abstract Verbal Nouns. राजभोजनाः आलयः, राजाच्छादनानि वा-सांसि, are examples of कर्मवचन or Passive Adjectives. These are formed by ल्युट् under III. 3. 116. For the Sûtra III. 3. 116 may be explained by saying that (1) ल्युट् is applied when the Upapada is in the objective case and bhâva is meant, (2) as well as when object is to be expressed. When the first explan-ation is taken, the above are examples of Bhâva; when the second explanation is taken, they are examples of Karma. Why do we say " ending in अन " ? Observe, इत्तहार्यसुरभित् ॥ Why do we say "when expressing an action in the abstract (bhâva), or an Object (karma)"? Observe इन्तधार्वनम्, here ल्युट् is added after an Instrumental kâraka (III. 3. 117). Why do we say "after a kâraka"? Observe निरवैनम्, अवलेखनम् ॥ In all the counter-examples, the second members retain there original accent.

मनूक्तिन्व्याख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः ॥ १५१ ॥   पदानि ॥ मन्, क्ति-म्, व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान, याजकादि, क्रीताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्नन्तं क्तिन्नन्तं व्याख्यान शयन आसन स्थान इत्येतानि याजकादयः क्रीतशब्दश्चोगरपदमन्तोरा-त्तं भवति ॥

151. The words ending in मन् or क्तिन् affixes, and the words व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान and क्रीत as well as याजक &c, have acute on the final, when at the end of a compound, preceded by a kâraka word.

Thus मन्—रथवर्त्मन्. शकृटवर्त्मन् ॥ क्तिन्—पाणिनिकृतिः, आपिशालिकृतिः ॥ व्याख्यान— मृगवनव्याख्यानम्, छन्दोव्याख्यानम् ॥ शयन—राजशयनम्, ब्राह्मणशयनम् ॥ आसन—राजासनम्, ब्राह्म-णासनम् ॥ स्थान—गोस्थानम्, अभ्रस्थानम् ॥ याजकादि words are those which form Genitive compounds under II. 2. 9, and those compounds only are to be taken here; as ब्राह्मणयाजकैः, क्षत्रिययाजकैः, ब्राह्मणपूजकैः, क्षत्रियपूजकैः ॥ क्रीत—गोक्रीतः, अभ्रक्रीतः ॥ 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 प्रक्रान्तः and प्रहारिः ॥

1 याजक. 2 पूजक, 3 परिचारक, 4 परिवेषक परिवेषक 5 आपक आतक 6 अध्यापक, 7 उस्साहक (उस्सारक) 8 उद्वर्तक, 9 होतृ, 10 भर्तृ, 11 रथगणक, 12 पात्तिगणक, 13 पोतृ, 14 होतृ, 15 व्रतेक,

सप्तम्याः पुण्यम् ॥ १'५२ ॥   पदानि ॥ सप्तम्याः, पुण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तात्परं पुण्यमियेतदुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

152.   The word पुण्य has acute on the final when preceded by a noun in the Locative case.

Thus अध्ययने पुण्यम् = अध्ययनपुण्यम्, वेत्पुण्यम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 40 by the process of splitting the sûtra (yoga-vibhâga), taking सप्तमी there as a full sûtra, and चोण्डे: another. Here by VI. 2. 2, the first member would have preserved its accent, the present sûtra supersedes that and ordains acute on the final.   The word पुण्य is derived by the Unâdi affix यत् (Un 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 वेत्रेन पुण्यं = वेत्रपुण्यम् ॥

ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः ॥ १'५३ ॥   पदानि ॥ ऊनार्थ, कलहम्, तृतीयायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊनार्थान्युत्तरपदानि कलहशब्दश्च तृतीयान्तात्परान्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

153.   The acute falls on the final of words having the sense of ऊन, and of कलह, when they are second members in a compound, preceded by a term in the instrumental case.

Thus माषोनैम्, कार्षापणोनैम्, मासविकलम्, कार्षापणविकलम्, 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 sûtra 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,:—धान्येनार्यां: = धान्यार्यः ॥   If this be so, then the word-form ऊन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विकल .&c. To this we reply, that ऊन will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word अर्थ ॥   By sûtra II. 1. 31, ऊनार्थ and कलह always take the Instru-mental case, so we could have omitted the word तृतीयायाः, from this sûtra, 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 तृतीयान्तात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवत्यसंधौ गम्यमाने ॥

154. The word मिश्र has acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any Preposition and does not mean a 'compact or alliance'.

Thus गुडमिश्राः, तिलमिश्राः, सर्पिमिश्राः ॥ Why do we say मिश्र? Observe गुडधा-नाः ॥ Why do we say 'not having a Preposition'? Observe गुडसंमिश्रा: ॥ The employment in this sûtra of the phrase 'anupasargam' implies, that wherever else, the word miśra is used, it includes miśra with a preposition also. Therefore in II. I. 31 where the word मिश्र is used, we can form the Instrumental compounds with मिश्र preceded by. a preposition also. Why do we say 'not denoting a compact'? Observe ब्राह्मणमिश्रो राजा = ब्राह्मणैः सह संहित 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 Brâhmaṇa may be in close proximity as regards space, they both retain their several individualities: hence the counter-example ब्राह्मणमिश्रोराजा ॥ While in the examples गुडमिश्राः &c there is no possibility of separating the two.

नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे संपाद्यर्हहिताेलमर्थास्तद्धिताः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, गुण, प्रतिषेधे, संपादि, अर्ह, हित, अलम, अर्थाः, तद्धिताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपादि अर्ह हित अलम् इत्येवमर्यां ये तद्धितास्तरन्तान्तुत्तरपदानि नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे वर्तेमानात्प-रण्यन्तोवाचानि भवन्ति ॥

155. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes denoting 'fitted for that' (V. 1. 99), 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63), 'good for that' (V. 1. 5), 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101), have acute on the final, when preceded by the Negative Particle नञ्, when it makes a negation with regard to the above mentioned attributes.

Thus संपादि 'suited for that' (V. 1. 99):—अकार्णवेष्टकिकं सुखम् = न कार्ण वेष्ट-किकं (कर्ण वेष्टकार्यां सम्पादि) ॥ The affix is ठम् ॥ अर्ह 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63):—अवक्छांत्रिकं: = न छांत्र कः (छेमहंति). The affix is ठक् (V. 1.64 and V. 1. 19). हित 'good for that' (V. 1. 5) :—अवत्सीयं: = न वत्सी यः ॥ The affix is छ V. I. I. अलमर्थः 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101) :—असंतापिकं: = न संतापिकः ॥ The affix is ठम् (V. 1. 18) Why do we say 'after नञ्'? Observe गर्भरयमर्हति = गार्भरयिकः, विगार्भरयिकः, 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 गार्भरयिकावान्यः = अगार्भरयिकः ॥ The word गुण here means the attribute denoted by the Taddhita affix, and not any attribute in general. Thus अकार्णवेष्टकिकं सुखं =

कर्णवेष्टकाभ्याम् न संपादि मुखम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the sense of sampādi &c' ? Observe पाणिनीयमधीयते = पाणिनीयः; न पाणिनीयः, = अपाणिनीयः ॥ Why do we say "Taddhita affixes"? Observe कन्यां वोदुमर्हति = कन्यावोढा, न वोढा = अवोढा ॥ Here तृच् a kṛit affix is added in the sense of 'deserving' (III. 3. 169).

ययतोश्चातदर्थे ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ य, यतो, च, अतदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ य यत् इत्येतौ यौ तद्धितावतदर्थे वर्तेते तदन्तस्योत्तरपदस्य नञो गुणप्रतिषेधविषयायास्तन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

156. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes य and यत् when not denoting 'useful for that', have acute on the last syllable, after the particle नञ् negativing the attribute.

Thus पाषाणां समूहः = पाष्याः, न पाष्याः = अपाष्यौः, So also. अतृण्यौः (IV. 2. 49); एन्तेषु भवं = एन्त्यम्, न एन्त्यं = अवन्त्यम्, अकर्ण्यम् (V. 1. 6). Why do we say 'atadartha:— not useful for that'. Observe पाष्याय्युत्सक्रम् = पाष्यम्, न पाष्यम् = अपाष्यम् (V. 4. 25). This rule does not apply when the affixes are not Taddhita, as अवेत्यम् formed with the kṛit affix यत् ॥ There must be negation of the attribute, otherwise एन्त्यावन्यत् = अवन्त्यम् ॥ The affix य and यत्, one without any anubandha and the other with the anubandha त् being specifically mentioned, excludes all other affixes having य as their effective element, such as इय &c. (IV. 2. 9), thus न वामदेव्यं = अवामदेव्यम् ॥ See IV. 2. 9.

अचकावशक्तौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच, कौ, अ शक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच् क इत्येवमन्तमशक्तौ गम्यमानायाद्युत्तरपदं नञः परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

157. A word formed with the kṛit affix अच् and क, preceded by the particle नञ्. has acute on the final, when the meaning is 'not capable.'

Thus अपचः = य पक्तुं न शक्नोति, so also अजर्यैः, अपठः, अविक्षिपः, अविलिखः (III. 1. 134 &c). Why do we say when meaning 'not capable'? Observe अपचो दीक्षितः, अपचः परिव्राजकः ॥ A दीक्षित 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 गम्यमान नञ उत्तरमच्कान्तमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

158. A word formed by the kṛit-affixes अच् or क, preceded by the Negative particle, has acute on the final when one abuses somebody by that word.

Thus अपचोँऽयं 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 अपठोँऽयं जाल्मः, so also अविक्षिपः, अविलिखः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (अन्तो दात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नञः परछत्तरपदं संज्ञायां वर्तमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

159. When abuse is meant, a word preceded by नञ्, has acute on the final, in denoting a Name.

Thus अवेवदत्ते: 'No Devadatta, not deserving of this name' अयज्ञदत्तः, अविष्णुमित्रः ॥

कृत्योकेष्णुच्चावादयश्च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, उक, इष्णुच्, चावादियः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य उक इष्णुच् इत्येवमन्ताभावांदियश्च नञ उत्तरेन्तोदाग्गा भवन्ति ॥

160. After the Negative particle, the words formed by the kṛitya affixes (III. 1. 95), by उक, and इष्णुच्, and the words चार &c. have acute on the final.

Thus kritya:—अकर्तव्यम्, अकरणीयम्, उकः—अनागाधुर्कैम्, अनपलाधुर्कैम् ॥ इष्णुच्—अनलंकारिष्णुः, अनिराकरिष्णुः ॥ The affix इष्णुच् includes खिष्णुच् also: अनाऊंयभविष्णुः, अब्भगभाविष्णु ॥ चार &c:—अचारुः, असाधुः, अर्योधिकैः, अववान्यः, अननग्रमेजयैः (double negation). अनकस्मात् (double negation), The words वर्तमान, वर्धमान स्वरमाण, धीयमान, ऐाचमान, क्रीयमाण, and ग्रोभमान preceded by अ (नञ्) when denoting names have acute on the final. अविकारैः, असट्दैः and अविकारसट्दैः (विकार and सट्ठ taken jointly & separately). अगृहपति, अगहपतिकैः ॥ अराजा and अनऋः in the Vedas only. In the Vernacular they have the accent of नञ्, i. e. udâtta on the first.

1 चार, 2 साधु, 3 यौधाक्री (यौधिक) 4 अनग्रमेजय, 5 ववान्य 6 अकस्मात्, 7 वर्तमानवर्धमानस्वरमाणधियमाणक्रीयमाणरौच्वमानग्रोभमानाः (क्रियमाण क्रोयमाण) संज्ञायाम्, 8 विकारसट्दृश व्यस्ते समस्ते (अविकार, असट्ठ अविकारसट्ठ), 9 गृहपति, 10 गृहपतिक, 11 राजाह्राऽछन्सि.

विभाषा तृन्नन्नतीक्ष्णशुचिषु ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृन्, अन्न, तीक्ष्ण, शुचिषु, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तृन्नन्त अन्न तीक्ष्ण शुचि इत्येतेषु नञ उत्तरेषु विभाषा अन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

161. After the Negative particle, the final of the following is optionally acute :—a word formed with the affix तृन्, and the words अन्न, तीक्ष्ण, and शुचि ॥

Thus तृन्—अकर्ता or अंकर्ता ; अन्न &c—अनन्नम् or अंनन्नम्, अतीक्ष्णम्, or अंतीक्ष्णम्, अशुचिः or अंशुचिः ॥ The alternative accent is that of the Indeclinable. (VI. 2. 2)

बहुव्रीहावविद्मेतत्तद्व्रयः प्रथमपूरयोः क्रियागणने ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, इदम्, एतत्, तद्व्रयः, प्रथम, पूरयोः, क्रिया-गणने, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीही समासे इदम् एतद् तस्त्रिवेतेभ्य उत्तरस्य प्रथमशब्दस्य पूरणप्रत्ययान्तस्य च क्रियागणने वर्तमानस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. In a Bahuvrîhi, 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 द्वितीयैं, इदं तृतीयैं, एतत्प्रथमैं, एतद्द्वितीयैं, एतत्तृतीयैं तत्प्रथमैं, तद्द्वितीयैं तत्तृतीयैं ॥ Why do we say ' in a Bahuvrihi?' Observe अनेन प्रथमः=इदमप्रथमः ॥ Here the first member being in the third case retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say "after idam &c". Observe यत्प्रथमः=यःप्रथम एषाम्, here the first term retains its accent by VI. 2. 1. Why do we say 'of prathama and the Ordinals'? Observe तानि बहून्यस्य=तद्बहुः ॥ Why do we say ' in counting an action'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां=त इमे प्रथमाः ॥ Here *substances* are counted and not *action*. Why do we say ' in counting'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां = इदं प्रथमाः i. e. इदं प्रधानाः ॥ and the word प्रथम means here 'foremost', and is not a numeral. When the कप् affix is added, the acute falls on the last syllable preceding कप् ॥ As इदं प्रथमकाः ॥ The Bahuvrihi governs the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 2. 178.

संख्यायाः स्तनः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, स्तनः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दो बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

163. In a Bahuvrîhi, after a Numeral, the word स्तन has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनाँ, त्रिस्तनाँ, चतुःस्तनौं ॥ Why do we say after a Numeral? Observe वत्सनायस्तना ॥ Why do we say ' स्तन'? Observe द्विशिराः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दे विभाषा अन्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

164. Optionally so, in the Vedas, the stana after a Numeral has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनाँ or द्विस्तना, चतुःस्तनाँ or चैतुःस्तना ॥

संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, मित्र, अजिनयोः (अन्तउ-दात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे मित्र अजिन इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋषिप्रतिषेधो मित्र ॥

165. In a Bahuvrîhi, ending in मित्र and अजिन, the acute falls on the last syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

As देवमित्रैः, ब्रह्ममित्रैः, वृकाजिनैः, कृशाजिनैः कृष्णाजिनैः ॥ Why do we say 'a Name'? Observe प्रियमित्रः, 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 व्यवधाता । तद्वाचिनः परमन्तरं बहुव्रीहौ समासे अन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

166. In a Bahuvrîhi ending in अन्तर, the acute falls
on the final, after a word which denotes 'that which lies
between'.

Thus कक्षान्तर्म् 'through an intervened cloth or drapery', पटान्तर्म्, कम्बला-
न्तर्म्=वस्त्रमन्तरं व्यवधायकं यस्य &c.   Why do we say 'when meaning lying between'?
Observe आत्मान्तम्= आत्मा स्वभावोऽन्तरोऽन्यायस्य ॥

मुखं स्वाङ्गम् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुखम्, स्वाङ्गम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मुखमुत्तरपरं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासे उन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

167. In a Bahuvrîhi 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 गोमुखः, भद्रमुखः ॥ Why do we say 'an actual part of a body'?
Observe दीर्घमुखा शाला ॥ Here मुख means "entrance or door". The word स्वाङ्ग means
"a non liquid substance actually to be found in living beings &c". as explained
in III. 4. 54.

नाव्ययादिक्शब्दगोमहत्स्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्यय,
दिक्शब्द, गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु, वत्सेभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय दिक्शब्द गो महत् स्थूल छुष्टि पृथु वत्स इयेतेभ्यः परं मुखं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासे
नान्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

168. In a Bahuvrîhi, the acute does not fall on
such मुख denoting a real mouth, when it comes after an Inde-
clinable, 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 :—गोमुखः,
महामुखः, स्थूलमुखः, मुष्टिमुखः पृथुमुखः and वत्समुखः ॥ In these the first members of the
Bahuvrîhi 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 sûtra is also superseded by anticipation, though the words may denote
comparison. .

निष्ठोपमानाद्ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपमानात्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तादुपमानवाचिनश्च मुखं स्वाङ्गमुत्तरपदमन्यतरस्यां बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

169, In a Bahuvrîhi, the word मुख denoting 'an
actual mouth', has optionally the acute on the final, when
preceded by a participle in त, or by that wherewith something
is compared.

Thus प्रक्षालितमुखैः or प्रक्षालितमुखः or प्रक्षालितमुखः ॥ When the final is not acute, then Rule VI. 2. 110 applies which makes the first member have acute on the final optionally, and when that also does not apply, then by VI. 2. 1. the first member preserves its original accent, which is that of the gati (VI. 2. 49). Thus there are three forms. So also with a word denoting comparison:— सिंहमुखैः or सिंहमुखः, व्याघ्रमुखैः or व्याघ्रमुखः ॥

जातिकालसुखादिभ्यो ऽनाच्छादनात् क्तो ऽक्तमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिकाल, सुखादिभ्यः, अनाच्छादनात्, कः, अक्तमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिन आच्छादनवर्जितात् कालवाचिनः सुखादिश्च पदं क्तान्तं क्तृतमितप्रतिपन्नान्वर्जयित्वा बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तं 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 Bahuvrîhi, but not so when the participles are क्रत, मित and प्रतिपन्न ॥

Thus सारङ्गजग्धः, पलाण्डुभक्षितः, सुरापीतः ॥ कालः—मासजातः, संवत्सरजातः, ह्यहजातः, ऽयहजातः ॥ सुख &c:—सुखजातः दुःखजातः, तृप्तजातः ॥ Why do we say " after a Species, a time or सुख &c. word" ? Observe पुत्रजातः (II. 2. 37), the participle being placed after the word Putra.   Why do we say 'when not meaning a garment' ? Observe वस्त्रच्छन्नः, वसनच्छत्रः from the root वस with the affixes ष्ट्रन् and ल्युट् respectively.   Why do we say " when not क्रत &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 sûtra 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 तृप्र (तृप्र तोत्र) 4 कृच्छ्र, 5 अस्र, 6 आस्र*, 7 अलीक 8 प्रतीप, 9 करुण, 10 कृपण, 11 सोढ. 12 गहन.

वा जाते ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जाते, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातशब्दउत्तरपदे वा अन्त उदात्तो भवति बहुव्रीहौ समासे जातिकालसुखादिभ्य॰ ॥

171.   After a species (with the exception of garment) or a time denoting word, or after सुख &c. in a Bahuvrîhi, the word जात has optionally acute on the final.

Thus दन्तजातः or दन्तजातः, स्तनजातः or स्तनजातः, मासजातः or मासजातः, संवत्सरजातः or संवत्सरजातः; सुखजातः or सुखजातः, दुःखजातः or दुःखजातः &c.   The words दन्त and स्तन are first-acute by Phit II. 6; मास is first-acute by Phit II. 15, संवत्सर is finally-acute by Phit I. 7. वहिष्चस्सरति षात्र्यान्ताम् "words ending in वहिष, वस्स, ति, षात् and य are finally acute", as वहिष्, संवत्सरैः, सप्ततिः, मिषीत्, सूर्यैम् ॥ The words सुख and दुःख are end-acute by Phit I. 6.

नञ्सुभ्याम् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, सुभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां परछुत्तरपरं बहुव्रीहौ समासेन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

172. A Bahuvrîhi formed by the Negative particle नञ् or by सु has acute on the last syllable of the compound.

Thus अयतो देशा:, अत्रीीहि:, अमार्षं:, सुयर्वे:, सुत्रीहि:, सुमार्षे: ॥ 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 samâsânta affixes. Thus अनृच्: (formed by the samâsânta affix अ V. 4. 74). Though the word समास and उत्तरपर are both present here by context, yet the operation is performed on samâsa. This is to be inferred, because of the next sûtra. For had the present sûtra 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 sûtra, 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* (Samâsa) सुकुमारी; and therefore, if we translated the present sûtra, by saying that the end of second term gets acute, the accent would have fallen on ई in सुकुमारीक: even by this sûtra. But this is not intended, because of the accent of the samasanta words अनृच्: and बहुच्: ॥ There is necessity of the next sûtra, because a samâsa includes not only the simple samâsa, but one ending with a samâsânta affix. Therefore, had not the next sûtra 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 समासान्तः समासस्यावयवो नोत्तरपदस्य ॥

कपि पूर्वम् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, पूर्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां कपि परतः पूर्वमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

173. A Bahuvrîhi 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 sûtra the accent would have fallen on कप्, this makes it fall on the vowel preceding it. Thus अकुमारीकोदेशा:, अवृषलीक:, अब्रह्मबन्धूक:, सुकुमारीक:, सुवृषलीक:, सुब्रह्मबन्धूक: ॥

ह्रस्वान्ते अन्त्यात्पूर्वम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वान्ते, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, (उदात्तम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वो ऽन्तो यस्य तसिर्व ह्रस्वान्तुछुत्तरपरं समासो बा, तत्रान्त्यात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति कपि परतो नञ्सुभ्यां परं बहुव्रीहौ समासे ॥

174. When the compound ends in a light vowel, the acute falls on the syllable before such last, in a Bahuvrîhi preceded by नञ् and सु to which कप् is added.

Thus अयंवकोदेशा:, अत्रीीहिक:, अमार्षक:, सुयंवक:, सुत्रीहिक:, सुमार्षक: ॥ The repetition of पूर्व in this sûtra, 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, डु and क or कप्). Therefore, in अत्तैकः and सुत्तैकः, the acute is on the syllable preceding कप् by VI. 2. 173, because it has here no antyât-purvam.

बहोर्नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूम्नि ॥ १७५ ॥   पदानि ॥ बहोः, नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूम्नि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदार्थबहुत्वे यो बहुशब्दो वर्तते तस्मात्रञ्इव स्वरो भवति । नञ्स्वभ्यामित्युक्तम् । बहोरपि तथा भवति ॥

175.   A Bahuvrîhi with बहु, has the same accent as नञ्, when it denotes muchness of the object expressed by the second member.

In other words a Bahuvrîhi with the word बहु in the first member, is governed by all those rules which apply to a Bahuvrîhi with a Negative Particle such as Rules VI. 2. 172 &c. when this gives the sense of multiety of the objects denoted by the second member.   Thus बहुयवा देशः, बहुश्रीहिः, बहु-तिलैः the same as VI. 2. 172.   बहुयवकः, बहुव्रीहिकः, बहुमाषकः by VI. 2. 174.   बहुजैरः, बहुमरः, बहुमित्रः, बहुश्रुतः by VI. 2. 116: these examples of VI. 2. 116 are not given by Dr. Bohtlingk.

Why do we say ‘uttara-pada-bhumni—when multcity of the objects denoted by the second member is meant’? Observe बहुयु मनोऽस्य = बहुमना अयम् (VI. 2. 1).

न गुणादयो ऽवयवाः ॥ १७६ ॥   पदानि ॥ न, गुणादयः, अवयवाः (अन्तोदात्ताः)

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणादयो ऽवयवचिनोबहोरनरे बहुव्रीहौ नान्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

176.   In a Bahuvrîhi, after बहु, the acute does not fall on the final of गुण &c. when they appear in the compound as ingredient of something else.

Thus बहुगुणाः रज्जुः, बहुक्षरं पदम्, बहुच्छन्दोमानम्, बहुध्यायः (VI. 2. 1).   गुणादि is an Akṛtigaṇa.   Why do we say “ when it denotes an avayava or ingredient ” ? As बहुगुणोंब्राह्मणः = अध्ययनभूतसंशाशारायोऽत्रगुणाः ॥

1 गुण, 2 अक्षर, 3 अध्याय, 4 सूक्त, 5 छन्दोमान. आकृतिगण.

उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपशु ॥ १७७ ॥   पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, स्वाङ्गम्, ध्रुवम्, अपशु, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवं पशुर्वर्जितमन्तोदात्तं भवति बहुव्रीहौ समासे ॥

177.   A word denoting a part of the body, which is constant (and indispensable), with the exception of पशु, has, after a Preposition in a Bahuvrîhi compound, the acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रपृष्ठैः, प्रौष्ठैः, प्रललाटैः; सततं यस्य प्रगतं पृष्ठं भवति स प्रपृष्ठः ॥ Why do we say 'after a Preposition'? Observe दर्शनीयललाटः ॥ Why do we say ' part of the body'? Observe प्रशाखो वृक्षः ॥ Why do we say 'dhruva—constant and indispensable'? Observe उद्वाहुः कौशति ॥ Here the hand is raised up only at the time of cursing and not *always*, so the state of उद्वाहु is temporary and not permanent. Why do we say with the exception of पर्शु ? Observe ईत्पर्शुः, विपर्शुः (VI.2.1).

वनं समासे ॥ १७८ ॥   पदानि ॥ वनम्, समासे, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासमात्रे वनांमव्येतदुत्तरपदसुपसर्गात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

178.   After a preposition, वन has acute on the final in compounds of every kind.

Thus प्रवणं वट्व्यम्, निर्वणं प्रणिधीयते, the न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 5. The word 'samâsa' is used in the sûtra to indicate that all sorts of compounds are meant, otherwise only Bahuvrîhi would have been meant.

अन्तः ॥ १७९ ॥   पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तइघाछादुत्तरं वनमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

179.   After अन्तर् the acute falls on the final of वन ॥

Thus अन्तर्वणा देशः ॥ This sûtra is made in order to make वन oxytoned, when a preposition (upasarga) does not precede.

अन्तश्च ॥ १८० ॥   पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तइघाछर्शोत्तरपदसुपसर्गादन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

180.   The word अन्तर् has acute on the final when preceded by a Preposition.

Thus प्रान्तैः, पर्यन्तैः ॥ This is a Bahuvrîhi or a प्रादि compound.

न निविश्याम् ॥ १८१ ॥   पदानि ॥ न, नि, विश्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरोन्तइघाछो नान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

181.   The word antar has not acute on the final, after the prepositions नि and वि ॥

Thus न्यन्तः, व्यन्तः, here the first member retains its acute, and semivowel is then substituted for the vowel इ, then the subsequent grave is changed to svarita by VIII. 2. 4.

परेरभितोभावि मण्डलम् ॥ १८२ ॥   पदानि ॥ परेः, अभितः-भावि, मण्डलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेरुत्तरमभितोभाविविषयं 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, परितीरम्, परिमण्डलम् ॥ This is a Bahuvrîhi or प्रादि compound or an Avyayîbhâva. If it is an Avyayîbhâva, then rule VI. 2, 33 is superseded,

and the first member does not retain its original accent. अभितः = उभयतः 'on both sides, अभितोभावोऽस्त्यस्ति = अभितोभावन् '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 उन्तोदात्तं 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, प्रगृध्रम्, प्रहूर्तम् ॥ 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, (अन्तोदात्ताम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरुदकादीनि च शब्दरूपाण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

184. The words निरुदक &c, have acute on the final.

Thus निरुदकम्, निरुलपम्, निरुपलम् &c.

1 निरुदक, 2 निरुपल निरुलप 3 निर्मक्षिक, 4 निर्मशक, 5 निष्कालक, 6 निष्कालिक, 7 निष्पेष, 8 दुस्तरीप, 9 निस्तरीप, 10 निस्तरीक, 11 नियञ्जिन, 12 उरञ्जिन, 13 उपाञ्जिन, 14 परेहस्तपारकेषकर्ष आकृतिगण.

These may be considered either as प्रादि समास or Bahuvrihi. If they be considered as avyayi bhâva compounds then they are end acute already by VI. I. 223. The word निष्कालकः = निष्कान्तः कालकात्, is a Prâdi-samâsa with the word काल ending in the affix कन् ॥ The word दुस्तरीपः is thus formed: to the root तॄ is added the affix ई and we have तरी (Uṇ III. 158) तरीम् पाति = तरीपः; कुत्सित स्तरीपः = दुस्तरीपः ॥ The word निस्तरीकः is formed by adding the affix कप् to the Bahuvrihi निस्तरी ॥ The words हस्त, पार, कश anb कर्ष have acute on the final after परि, as, परिहस्तः, परिपारः, परिकेशः, and परिकर्षः ॥

अभेर्मुखम् ॥ १८५ ॥   पदानि ॥ अभेः, मुखम्, (अन्तोदात्ताम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभेहत्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

185. The word मुख has acute on the final when preceded by अभि ॥

As, अभिमुखम् ॥ It is a Bahuvrihi or a प्रादि samâsa. If it is an Avyayi-bhâva, then it would have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223 also. By VI. 2. 177, even मुख would have oxytone after an upasarga, the present sûtra 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 अभिमुखी शाला ॥

अपाच्च ॥ १८६ ॥   पदानि ॥ अपात्, च, (अन्तोदात्ताम्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ अपाचोत्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

186. The word मुख has acute on the final, after the preposition अप ॥

Thus अपमुर्खम्, अपमुर्खैः ॥ The compound is in one case Avyayibháva also, when rule VI. 2. 33 will be superseded. The separation of this from the last sûtra, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism, in which the anuvritti of अप only goes.

स्किगपूतवीणाञ्जोध्वकुक्षिसिरिनाम नाम च १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्किग, पूत, वीण, अञ्जः, उध्वम् कुक्षि, सीर नाम, नाम, च,

वृत्तिः ॥ स्किग पूत वीणा भञ्जस् अध्वम् कुक्षि इत्येतान्युत्तरशानि सीरनामानि नामशब्दश्चापादुत्तराण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ।

187. The words स्किग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जस्, अध्वम्, कुक्षि, नामन् and a word denoting 'a plough', have acute on the final when preceded by अप ॥

Thus अपस्किगैम्, अपपूतैम्, अपवीणम्, अपाङ्जैः, अपार्ध्वौ (This ordains acute on the final where the compound apâdhwa does not take the samâsanta 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 samâsanta affixes are not compulsory. (अनित्यम समासान्तः), अपकुक्षिः, अपसीरैः अपहलैः, अपलाङ्गलैम्, अपनामैं ॥ These are प्रादि compounds or Bahuvrihi or Avyayibhavas. Some of these viz. स्किग, पूत and कुक्षिः will be end-acute by VI. 2. 177, also when they denote parts of body and a permanent condition and the compound is a Bahuvrihi. Here the compound must not be a Bahuvrihi, nor should these words denote parts of body and permanent condition of these parts.

अधेरुपरिस्थम् ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, उपरिस्थम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधेरुत्तरमुपरिस्थवाचि अन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

188. After अधि, that word, which denotes that thing which overlaps or stands upon, has acute on the final.

Thus अधिदन्तैः = दन्तस्योपरि योऽन्योदन्तो जायते 'a tooth that grows over another tooth'. अधिकर्णः, अधिकेशैः ॥ These are प्रादि samâsa 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 कनीयश्चान्तोदात्तं 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 ज्येष्ठम् = अनुज्येष्ठैः, अनुमध्यमैः ॥ These are प्रादि samâsa

in which the first member is the principal or Pradhâna. अनुगत:ंकनीयान्=अनुक्-भीर्यान्, here the second member is the Principal: the word कनीयस् is taken as प्रधान ॥Had it been non-pradhâna, it would be covered by the first portion of the sûtra, and there would have been no necessity of its separate enumeration. Why do we say "अप्रधान"? Observe अनुगतो ज्येष्ठ:=अनुज्येष्ठ:, where ज्येष्ठ is the Principal.

पुरुषश्चान्वादिष्ट: ॥ १९० ॥   पदानि ॥ पुरुष:, च, अन्वादिष्ट: ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ पुरुषशब्दो ऽन्वादिष्टवाची चानोरुत्तरान्तोदात्तो भवति ।

250. **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 अन्वादिष्ट: पुरुष:=अनुपुरुष: ; but अनुगत: पुरुष:=अनुपुरुष: ॥

अतेरकृत्पदे ॥ १९१ ॥   पदानि ॥ अते:, अकृत्पदे ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अते: परमकृदन्तं पदशब्दश्चान्तोदात्तो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अतेर्धातुलोपइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191.   After अति, a word not formed by a kṛit-affix, and the word पद्, have acute on the last syllable.

Thus अस्त्यङ्कुशो नाग:, अतिक्रीडोऽध्व:, अतिपरा शक्करी ॥ Why do we say 'non-kṛit-word and पद'? Observe अतिकारक: ॥

Vârt :—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 गार्ग्य:=अतिगार्ग्य: ॥ But it would apply to अतिकारक:, which when analysed becomes equal to अतिक्रान्त: कारम् ॥

नेरनिधाने ॥ १९२ ॥   पदानि ॥ ने:, अनिधाने, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ ने: 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, न्यक्षम्, नितृणम् ॥ These are either Bahuvrîhi or prâdisamâsa. In the case of their being Avyayîbhâva, they would have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223. Why do we say when meaning 'not laying down'? Observe निवाक्=निहितवाक् as निवागत्वृषल: ; निरण्ड:=निहितदण्ड: ॥ The force of नि is that of निधान here.

प्रतेरंश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे ॥१९३॥   पदानि ॥ प्रते:, अंश्वादय:, तत्पुरुषे, (अन्तोदात्ता:) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ प्रतेरंश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे समासेऽन्तोदात्ता भवति ।

193.   In a Tatpurusha compound, the words अंशु &c have acute on the final when preceded by प्रति ॥

Thus प्रयंर्हुः, प्रतिजनेः, प्रतिराज्ञेाँ ॥ 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 चित् affix.

1 अंशु, 2 जन, 3 राजन्, 4 दग्रु, 5 खेटक (रोटक), 6 अजिर, 7 आर्द्रा, 8 श्रवण, 9 कृत्तिका, 10 अर्घ, 11 पुर (आर्घपुर आर्घपुरः) ॥

The word अंशु is formed by the affix कु under the general class मृगयु: (Uṇ I. 37), राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156), दग्रु by adding ग्रु to दग्र 'to burn'. (Uṇ IV. 162), खिद् + ण्वुल् = खेटक ; अजिर is formed by किरच् (Uṇ I. 53) आ + ग्रा + अच् (III. 3. 106), with the augment रक् added to आ = आर्द्रा ॥ भृ + ल्युट् = श्रवण, कृत + तिकन् = कृत्तिका (Uṇ III. 147) ऋद्य् + अच् (III. 1. 134) = अर्घ ; पुर् + क = पुर ॥

Why do we say 'in the Tatpurusha'? Observe प्रतिगता अंशयेास्य = प्रत्यं-शुरयशुट्ः ॥

उपादू द्व्यजजिनमगौरादयः ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपादू, द्व्यच् अजिनम्, अ-गौरादयः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरं द्व्यजजिनं चान्तोदात्तं भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे गौरादीन्वर्जयित्वा ॥

194. In a Tatpurusha, the words of two syllables and अजिन have acute on the final when preceded by उप, but not when they are गौर and the rest.

Thus उपगतो देवः = उपदेवेः, उपनर्हुः, उपसोमेः, उपहेार्दुः, उपाजिनम् ॥ But not so in उपगौरः, उपनैषः &c.

1 गौर, 2 नैष (नैष) 3 तैल, 4 लट, 5 लोट, 6 जिह्वा, 7 कृष्ण (कृष्णा) 8 कन्या, 9 गुध (गुड) 10 कल्प, 11 पात्र

Why "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe उपगतः सोमेास्य = उपसोमः ॥

सोरवक्षेपणे ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, अवक्षेपणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुशब्दात्परद्युत्तरपदं तत्पुरुषे समासेन्तोदात्तं भवते 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 खस्विसार्नीं, सुस्यप्डिले सुस्फिताभ्यां सुप्रत्यवसितैः ॥ The word सु here verily denotes praise, but it is the sense of the whole sentence that indicates reproach or censure. Why do we say "after सु"? Observe कुब्राह्मणः ॥ Why ' when reproach is meant'? Observe शोभनेषु तृणेषु = सुतृणषु ॥

विभाषोत्पुच्छे ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उत्पुच्छे, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पुच्छशब्दे तत्पुरुषे विभाषा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

196. In a Tatpurusha, the word उत्पुच्छ may optionally have acute on the final.

Thus उत्कान्तः पुच्छात् = उत्पुच्छैः or ईत्पुच्छः (VI. 2. 2) ॥ When this word is derived by the affix अच् from पुच्छमुत्स्यति = वत्पुच्छयति, then it would always have taken acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, the present sûtra ordains option there also. The rule does not apply to a non-Tatpurusha : as, उत्तं पुच्छमस्य = उत्पुच्छः ॥

द्वित्रिभ्यां पाद्दन्मूर्द्ध सु बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, त्रिभ्याम्, पात्, दत्, मूर्ध सु, बहुव्रीहौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि त्रि इत्येताभ्यादुत्तरेषु पाद् दत् मूर्धन् इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु सु बहुव्रीहिस्तम विभाषा उन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

197. In a Bahuvrîhi, the words पाद्, दत् and मूर्धन् have optionally acute on the final after द्वि and त्रि ॥

Thus द्वौ पारावस्य = द्विपौत् or द्विपात्, त्रिपौद् or त्रिपाद्, द्विदन् or द्विॅदन्, त्रिदन् or त्रिॅदन्, द्विमूर्धा or त्रिॅमूर्धा ॥ The word पाद् is पात् with its अ elided, (V. 4. 140) दत् is the substitute of दन्त (V. 4. 141) and मूर्धन् retains its न् not allowing samâsanta affix. This also indicates that the samâsanta rule is not universal. When the samâsanta affix is added, then also the acute is on the final, for the कार्य is here the Bahuvrihi compound, and this is only a part of it. Thus द्विमूर्धः, त्रिमूर्धः ॥ Why after द्वि and त्रि ? Observe कल्याॅणमूर्धा here the first member is middle acute by Phiṭ II. 19 and this accent is retained VI. 2. 1. Why 'पाद् &c' ? Observe त्रिहस्तम्, त्रिहस्तम् ॥ Why 'Bahuvrîhi' ? Observe त्रयोमूर्धा = त्रिमूर्धा ॥

सक्थं चाक्रान्तात् ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सक्थम्, च, अ क्रान्तात्, (अन्तोदात्तः) (विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सक्थमिति कृतसमासान्तः सक्थयिग्रह्येन गृह्यते सोक्रान्तात्परो विभाषान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

198. The word सक्थ has acute on the final optionally, when preceded by any word other than what ends in ऋ ॥

The word सक्थ is the samâsânta form of सक्थि (V. 4. 113,). Thus गौरसक्थ्यैः or गौॅर्सक्थ्यः, श्लक्ष्णसक्थ्यैः or श्लक्ष्णॅसक्थ्यः The word गौर being formed by प्रज्ञादि अण् and श्लक्ष्ण by कल्प (Uṇ III. 19) are both end-acute. Why 'not after a word ending in ऋ'? Observe चक्रसक्थ्यैः which is always oxytone as it is formed by पच् (V. 4. 113) a चित् affix.

परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परादिः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये परादिरुदात्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

Karika—परादिश्च परान्तश्च पूर्वान्तश्चापि दृश्यते ।
पूर्वादयश्च दृश्यन्ते व्यत्ययो बहुलं ततः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्तप्रकरणे त्रिचक्रादीनांछन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥
वा० ॥ पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तप्रकरणे मरुद्वृधादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥
वा० ॥ पूर्वपदाद्युदात्तप्रकरणे त्रिशासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

199.   The first syllable of the second member is diversely acute, in the Veda.

The word पर "the second member" refers to सक्थ, as well as to any other word in general. Thus अङ्घ्रिषक्थ्यमालभेत, but लोमषसक्थ्यः so also क्षुबाहुः, वाक्पतिः, चित्तपति ॥ In the non-Vedic literative 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 *Vârtika*—In the Veda, चिषक &c have acute on the final of the second term. As चिषकेण, चिबन्धुरेण, चिवृत्तारयेन, ॥ नियेन चुष्टिहुल्ययां ॥

As to where the final of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vârtika* :—The words मरुद्वृद्ध &c in the Vedas have acute on the final of the first term. As मरुद्वृद्धः and विभ्वाँयुः ॥

As to where the first syllable of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vârtika* :—In the Veda, the words चिवादास &c have acute on the first syllable of the first member. As चिवादासाय सामगाय ते ॥

षष्ठाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

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BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER THIRD

अलुगुत्तरपदे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलुक्, उत्तरपदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलुगीति च उत्तरपदे इति च ऎतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । यवित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो ऽलुगुत्तरपदऽ-
ल्येव 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 sûtras. Both these words
govern the sûtras upto VI. 3. 24, jointly ; while उत्तरपदे extends further upto
that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अङ्ग (VI.4. 1). Thus
sûtra VI. 3. 2 says "the affixes of the Ablative after 'stoka' &c". The
present sûtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. "the affixes of
the Ablative after stoka &c are not elided before the second member of the
compound ". Thus स्तोकात् मुक्तः = स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः ॥ Why do we say "be-
fore the second member "? Observe निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकात् = 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 स्तोक &c is not elid-
ed before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः, अन्तिकादागतः, अभ्याशादागतः, दूरादागतः, विप्रकृष्टा-
दागतः, कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः ॥ By I. 2. 46, a case-inflected word when forming part of a
compound is called prâtipadika, and by II. 4. 71 the endings of a Prâtipadika
are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् मुक्तः, the ablative
ending required to be dropped. The present sûtra prevents that. The words
स्तोक &c in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently
this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः, स्तोकेभ्यः मुक्तः are separate
words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not

one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have *one* accent, for in *one* word, there is only *one* acute. Thus while स्तोकान्मुक्तः being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI. 1. 158, VI. 2. 144), the word स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः being treated as *two* words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39.

Vårt :—The word ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणाच्छंस्य शंसति = ब्राह्मणा-च्छंसिन् "a kind of Ritvik priest".

ओजः सहोम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयायाः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् तम-सः, तृतीयायाः (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् तमस् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयाया अलुग्भवति उत्तरपदे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अउजस उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा॰ ॥ 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 ॥

Vårt —अउजस also should be enumerated. Thus अउजसाकृतम् ॥

Vårt :—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 उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयायाः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

4. After मनस् when the compound is a Name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसारक्ता, मनसायुमा, मनसासंगता ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe मनोरक्ता, मनोयुमा ॥

आज्ञायिनि च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आज्ञायिनि, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आज्ञायिन्युत्तरपदे मनस उत्तरस्यास्ततीयाया अलुग्भवति ॥

5. Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन = मनसाऽऽज्ञातुं शीलमस्य ॥

आत्मनश्च पूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनः, च, पूरणे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन उत्तरस्यास्ततीयायाः पूरणप्रत्यान्तउत्तरपदे 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 Vârtika तृतीयाविधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसंख्यानं (II. 3. 18 Vârt). And compounding takes place by II. 1. 30, by separating तृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sûtra or in this way :—आत्मना कृतः पंचमः = आत्मनापंचमः ॥ How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थ in जनार्तिनस्त्वात्मचतुर्थ एव? It is a Bahuvrîhi compound = आत्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य ॥   The word पूर्णे is a later addition of the Vârtikakâra.

वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्योः ॥ ७ ॥   पदानि ॥ वैयाकरणाख्यायाम्, चतुर्थ्योः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैयकारणस्याख्या वैयाकरणाख्या । आख्या संज्ञा । यया संज्ञया वैयाकरणा एव व्यवहरन्ति तस्या-मात्मन उत्तरस्याश्चतुर्थ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

7.   The Dative case ending is not elided after आत्मन् when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥   The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhâga of sûtra 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 ॥ हलन्तादवन्ताद्योत्तरस्याः सप्तम्याः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हृद्युम्यां ङेः ॥

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, स्वधिसारः, गविष्ठिरः ॥   Though गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of VIII. 3. 95 (गविष्युधिभ्यां स्थिरः) which shows by implication that गवि is governed by this rule. So also अ ending words: as अरण्यतिलकाः, अरण्येभाषकाः, वनेकिंशुकाः, वनेहरिद्रिकाः, वनेबल्बजकाः, पूर्वाह्णे-स्फोटकाः, कूपेपिशाचकाः ॥   Why do we say "after a word ending in a consonant or अ"? Observe नद्यां कुक्कुटिका = नदीकुक्कुटिका, भूम्यां पाद्याः = भूमिपाद्याः ॥   Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe अक्षशौण्डः ॥

Vârt :—The Locative ending is not elided after हृद् and दिव् ; as : हृदिस्पृक्, दिविस्पृक् ॥

कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ ॥ १० ॥   पदानि ॥ कारनाम्नि, च, प्राचाम्, हलादौ, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे बल्कांनाम तच्च इलासावृत्तरपदे इलवन्तादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

10. The Locative-case affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus सूपेषाणः, इषविमाषकः, इलेद्विपरिका, इलेत्रिपरिका ॥ 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 अम्बार्हितपशुः = अम्बार्हितपशुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues', but not of a 'tax'. Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe यूयेपशुः = यूथपशुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe अविकटे उरणः = अविकटोरणः ॥ So also नद्यां शेहनी = नदीशेहनी ॥ For accent of these words see VI. 2. 65.

मध्यादुगुरौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्, गुरौ, अलुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यादुत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या गुरावुत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तादेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

11. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows.

As, मध्येगुरुः ॥

Várt :—So also after अन्त ; as अन्तेगुरुः ॥

अमूर्धमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ मूर्धे, मस्तकात्, स्वाङ्गात्, अकामे, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्धमस्तकवर्जितास्वाङ्गादुत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या अकामउत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

12. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठे कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः, उरसिलोमा, उरसेमणिः ॥ But मूर्धशिखः, मस्तक-शिखः, 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 अंगुलिनाणः, जङ्घाबलिः ॥

बन्धे च विभाषा ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धे, च, विभाषा, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बन्ध इति घमन्तो गृह्यते । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपदे इलवन्तादुत्तरस्याः 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 Tat-purusha, 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 युतिबन्धः ॥

तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् ॥ १४ ॥   पदानि ॥ तत्, पुरुषे, कृति, बहुलम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे कृदन्तउत्तरपरे समम्बा 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 स्तम्बेरमः, कर्णेजपः, but also कुरुचरः, मद्रुचरः ॥

प्रावृड्शरत्कालदिवां जे ॥१५॥   पदानि ॥ प्रावृट्, शरत्, काल, दिवाम्, जे, (अलुक्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृट् शरत् काल दिव् इत्येतेषां ज उत्तरपरे समम्बा अलुग्भवति ॥

15.   The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृट्, शरत्, काल and दिव् when ज follows.

Thus प्रावृषिजः, शरदिजः, कालेजः, दिविजः ॥ This sûtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sûtra.

विभाषा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् ॥ १६ ॥   पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वर्ष, क्षर, शर, वरात्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ष क्षर शर वर इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्याः समम्बा ज उत्तरपरे 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 कालघब्दे तनप्रत्यये च परतः कालनाम्न उत्तरस्याः समम्बा 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 तर and तम are called घ (I. 1. 22).   Thus घ :—पूर्वाह्णेतरे or पूर्वा-ह्णेतरे, पूर्वाह्णेतमे or पूर्वाह्णतमे ॥   काल :—पूर्वाह्णेकाले or पूर्वाह्णकाले ॥   तन :—पूर्वाह्णेतने or पूर्वाह्ण-तने ॥   Why do we say 'after a time—name'? Observe शुक्लतरे, शुक्लतमे ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also.   Thus no option is allowed in रात्रितरायाम् ॥

As a general maxim, an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदादि 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 तर्, तम and तन here do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in sûtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares "ह्र is the substitute of ह्रस्व when the word लेख, and the affixes वत्, 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 sûtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix. The word काल in the aphorism means the word-form काल ॥ See Sûtra IV. 3. 23 for the affix तन ॥

शायवासवासिष्वकालात् ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥शाय, वास, वासिषु, अकालात्, (अलुक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ शाय वास वासिन् इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेष्वकालवाचिन उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽल्लुग्भवति ॥

18. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शाय, वास and वासिन् when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus खेशायः, or खशायः, ग्रामेवासः or ग्रामवासः, ग्रामेवासिन् or ग्रामवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have पुर्वाह्णशायः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिशायः ॥

Vârt :—The Locative case-affix is retained after अप् when योनि, or the affix वत् or मतुप् follows. Thus अप्सुयोनिः, अप्सव्यः, अप्सुमन्तौ ॥ The affix वत् is added by treating अप् as belonging to the दिगादि class (अप्सु भवः, IV. 3. 54).

नेन्सिद्धबध्नातिषु च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्, सिद्ध, बध्नातिषु, च, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इग्नन्ते सिद्धशब्दे बध्नातौ च परतः सप्तम्या अलुग्न भवति ॥

19. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from बन्ध ॥

Thus स्यण्डिलशायिन्, सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिल्यसिद्धः, चक्रबन्धकः, चरकबन्धकः ॥ The compounding takes place by yoga-vibhâga of sûtra II. 1. 40. Some use the word चक्रबन्धः as an illustration under this rule : बन्ध then is derived by अप् of III. 1. 134. The बन्ध ending in घञ् is governed by VI. 3. 13. This sûtra is an exception to VI. 3. 14.

स्थे च भाषायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थे, च, भाषायाम्, (न) (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्थे चोत्तरपदे भाषायां सप्तम्या अलुग्न भवति ॥

20. The Locative ending is not preserved before स्थ in the spoken language.

Thus विषमस्थः, कूटस्थः, पर्वतस्थः ॥ But आखरेष्ठः in the Veda, as in कृष्णोस्या-
खरेष्ठः ॥ स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106.

षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः, आक्रोशे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने उत्तरपरे षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ षठीप्रकरणे वाक् विक्पथ्यधूर्णो युक्तिरण्डहरेषु यथासंख्यमलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ आतुष्व्यायणातुष्व्यपुत्रिकातुष्व्यकुलिकेति चालुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ देवानां प्रिय इत्यत्र च षष्ठ्या अलुग् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ शेषपुच्छलाङ्गूलेषु श्वनः भसन्तायां षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ विश्वत्र शासि षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

21. The Genitive case affix is retained when the
compound expresses an ' affront or insult '.

Thus चोरस्यकुलम्, वृषलस्यकुलम् ॥ Why do we say when insult is meant ?.
Observe ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Vârt :—The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्ति,
after विश् before रण्ड, and after पद्यत् before हर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्तिः, विश्वोरण्डः,
पद्यतोहरः ॥

Vârt :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आतु-
ष्व्यायणः, आतुष्व्यपुत्रिका and आतुष्व्यकुलिका ॥ अतुष्व्य is the Genitive Singular of the
Pronoun अतम्, and is enumerated in the नडादि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes फक्
in forming the Patronymic, अतुष्व्यापत्यम्— आतुष्व्यायणः, अतुष्व्यपुत्रस्य भावः— आतुष्व्यपुत्रिका
formed by तुश (V. 1. 133) ॥ So also आतुष्व्यकुलिका ॥

Vârt :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानांप्रियः ॥
The author of Siddhânta Kaumudi says "when the sense is that of a fool, the
affix is not elided in devânâm-priya"   There is no authority for this, either
in the Mahâbhâshya or the 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.

Vârt :—The Genitive affix is not elided after श्वन् when शेप, पुच्छ and
लांगुल follow it :—श्वनः शेपः, श्वनः पुच्छः, श्वनोलांगुलं ॥

Vârt :—The Genitive affix is not elided after विश् when वास follows : as
विश्वोवासः ॥

पुत्रे ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रघब्दत्तरपरे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ऽन्यतरस्यां षष्ठा अलुग्भवति ।

22. The genitive affix is optionally retained when
insult is meant, when पुत्र follows.

Thus शास्याः पुत्रः or शासिपुत्रः, वृषल्याः पुत्रः, or वृषलीपुत्रः ॥ But when insult
is not meant we have ब्राह्मणीपुत्रः ॥

श्रुतो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः ॥२३॥   पदानि ॥ श्रुतः, विद्या, योनि, सम्बन्धेभ्यः,
(अलुक्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यो विद्यासम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो योनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्योत्तरस्याः षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

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 भार्यार्थपुत्रः, 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, होतृ गृहम्, पितृगृहम् ॥

विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, स्वसृ, पत्योः, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्ति ॥ स्वसृ पति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्ऋकारान्तेभ्यो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो विभाषा ल्लुग्भवति ॥

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 ॥
वृत्ति ॥ ऋकारान्तानां विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तस्योत्तरपदे पूर्वपदस्यानङादेशो 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 होतापोतारौ, नेष्टोद्गातारौ, प्रशास्तापोतृच्चारौ मातापितरौ, यातानमान्तरौ ॥ 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 पितृपितामहौ ॥ 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 पितापुत्रौ, मातापुत्रौ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता द्वन्द्वे, च, (आनङ्) ॥
वृत्ति ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तस्योत्तरपदे पूर्वपदस्यानङादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयत्र वायोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dwandva compound of the names of the Devtâs.

Thus इन्द्रावरुणौ, इन्द्रासोमौ, इन्द्राबृहस्पती, मित्रावरुणौ ॥ The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sûtra, 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 ब्रह्मप्रजापति, शिववैश्रवणौ ॥ In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

Várt:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as अग्निवायू or वाय्वग्नी ॥

इदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, अग्नेः, सोम, वरुणयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोम वरुण इत्येतयोर्देवतान्द्वे 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 ष by VIII. 3. 82.

इद्वृद्धौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, वृद्धौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतवृद्धावुत्तरपदे देवतान्द्वे ऽग्नेरिकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इद्वृद्धौ 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 आग्निवारुणी, which would have required long **ई** by the last rule: आग्निमारुतम्, which would have required आनङ् by VI. 3. 26. Thus आग्निवारुणी-मनुशासीमालमेत, आग्निमारुतं कर्म क्रियेत ॥ आग्नीमरुतौ देवताऽस्य (IV. 2. 24), takes the Taddhita 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 (आग्न इन्द्र), because इन्द्र does not take Vriddhi, by VII. 3. 22.

Várt:—Prohibition must be stated when the word विष्णु follows : as आग्नावैष्णवं चरं निर्वपेत् ॥

दिवो द्यावा ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, द्यावा, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिविदिवेतस्य द्यावा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवतान्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

29. For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names, of the Devatâs.

Thus द्यावाक्षामा, द्यावाभूमी ॥

दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवसः, च, पृथिव्याम्, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथिव्याम्उत्तरपदे देवतान्द्वे दिवो दिवसित्ययमादेशो भवति चकारात् 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 अ, in order to indicate that the स् of दिवस् is not changed to र or a visarga or upadhmaniya when followed by पृथिवी ॥ Following is an

anomalous use there being no Dvandva compounding here. **द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमेते ॥**

उषासोषसः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उषासा, उषसः, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उषस उषासा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवतादन्द्व उत्तरपदे ॥

31.   For **उषस्** is substituted **उषासा** in a devatâ-dvandva.

Thus :—**उषासासूर्यम्, उषासानक्ता ॥**

मातरपितरावुदीचाम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातर, पितरौ, उदीचाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातरपितरावित्युदीचामाचार्याणां मतेनारकारादेशो मातृशब्दस्य निपात्यते ॥

32.   According to the Northern Grammarians, **मातरपितरौ** is a valid form.

This is formed by **अरङ्** substitution of the **ऋ** of **मातृ** ॥   The other form Is **मातापितरौ ॥**

पितरामातरा च छन्दसि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितरा, मातरा, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितरामातरा इति छन्दसि निपात्यते ॥

33.   In the Vedas the form **पितरामातरा** is valid.

In the ordinary language **मातापितरौ** is the proper form. The Vedic form is derived by adding **अङ्** to the first member, and **आ** is added to the second by VII. 1. 39: and then Guṇa by VII. 3. 110. Thus **आ मा गन्तां पितरामातरा च ॥**

स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, पुम्वत्, भाषितपुंस्कात्, अनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियाम्, अपूरणी, प्रियादिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषितपुंस्कादनूङः स्त्रीशब्दस्य पुंशब्दस्येव रूपं भवति समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे स्त्रीलिङ्गे पूरणीप्रिया-विवर्जिते ॥

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 sûtra require a detailed analysis ; **स्त्रियाः** 'for a feminine word', **पुंवत्** "like the mascul ine", i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. **भाषितपुंस्कात्** = **भाषितपुमान्येन**, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspond-

ence must be in the *form* (आकृति) and the *connotation* (भायाम) 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 ङङ is called अनूह ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ङङ and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कादनूह भीयाच्यः ॥ The word भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously. Of such a भाषितपुस्कादनूङ feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form. Provided that, the second member is a (समानाधिकरण) i. e. a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियाम्) of the feminine gender : with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus दर्शनीयभार्यः (= दर्शनीयाभार्या यस्य). Here दर्शनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीयः, moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ङङ, but in the affix आ ; it is followed by another feminine word भार्या which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the प्रियादि class ; hence this word दर्शनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also कल्याणचूडः, दीर्घजङ्घः ॥ Why do we say स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word'? Observe मामाकि ब्राह्मणकुलं दहिरस्य = मामणिदहिः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine (भाषितपुंस्कः)? Observe खट्टाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of खट्टा ॥ 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 गर्भेभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in ङङ? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धूभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यामाता = कल्या- णीमाता "the mother of Kalyâni". Why do we say स्त्रियाम् 'followed by a feminine word'? Observe कल्याणी प्रधानमेषां = कल्याणीप्रधानाः (इमे) ॥ Here the second mem- ber प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? Observe कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां ताः = कल्याणी पञ्चमाराचवः, so also कल्याणीदशमाः ॥ The Ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Deriva- tive Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पक्षः ॥ The samâsânta affix अप् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as a secondary word : and therefore the above compound does not take अप ॥ 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 अम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्तिः is anomalous.

तसिलादिष्वाकृत्स्वसुच्रः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिलादिषु, आकृत्स्वसुच्रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यास्तसिलित्यतः प्रभति संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्स्वसुजिति प्रागितस्माद् ये प्रत्यया- स्तेषु भाषितपुंस्कादृङ्हित्रियाः पुंवद्भवति ॥

वार्सिकम् ॥ घसि गह्वल्पार्थस्य पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ स्वतलोर्गुणवचनस्य पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ भस्याडे तद्धिते पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ठक्छसोभ पुंवद्भावो 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 तसिल्
&c (V. 3. 7) and ending with कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17)

Thus तस्याः घालायाः = ततः, तस्यां = तत्र, वस्यां = यत्र, वस्या = यतः ॥ The following
are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: त्र and तस्,
तरप् and तमप्, चरट्, आतीयर्, कल्पप्, देश्य, देशीयर् रूपप्, पाघप्, यम्, थाल, त्रा and हिल सिल्
तालिल ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender. Thus तरप् तमप् &c दर्शनीयतरा,
दर्शनीयतमा, पटुचरी, पटुजातीया, दर्शनीयकल्पा, दर्शनीयदेश्या, दशनीयरूपा, दर्शनीयपाघा ॥ कया प्रकृत्या
= कथम्, यया प्रकृत्या = यथा, तस्यां वेलाया = तदा, तर्हि &c.

Várt:—The feminine of बहु and अल्प is changed to masculine before the
Taddhita affix घास्:—as बहूभ्यो देहि = बहुधो देहि; अल्पाभ्यो देहि = अल्पधो देहि ॥

Várt:—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine before the
affixes त्व and तल् ॥ As पटुत्वा भावः = पटुत्वम् or पटुता ॥ Why do we say 'an adje-
ctive'? Observe कव्या भावः = कण्ठीत्वं or कठीता ॥

Várt: The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita
affixes, except इ, when the word gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus हस्तिनीनां
समूहः = हास्तिकम् ॥ Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost
its ई (VI. 4. 148), the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided be fore the Taddhta
affix, because the lopa-elision being sthânivat, would have prevented the app-
lication of the rule VI. 4. 144, ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So
the form would have been something like हस्तिनिकम् instead of हास्तिकम् ॥ Why
do we say 'with the exception of इ'? Observe द्यैनेयः, रौहिनेयः the masculine being
द्येत and रोहित ॥ The word आग्नेयः (= अग्नायी देवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य) is an excep-
tion to this rule.

Várt:—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes ठक् and
छस् ॥ As भवत्या ४छात्रा = भावत्काः, भवरीयाः ॥

क्यङ्मानिनोश्च ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यङ्, मानिनोः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्यङ्ङि परतो मानिनि च स्त्रिया भाषितपुंस्कारनूङ् पुंवद्भवति ॥

36. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and hav-
ing 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 अवमस्याः "He
esteems her as handsome". दर्शनीयमानिनीयमस्याः (इयम् अस्याः "She esteems her as
handsome'. The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and
non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words:—दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तां =

दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तां यत-दत्ता = दर्शनीयमानिनी इयमस्याः ॥

न कोपधायाः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क, उपधायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोपधायाः स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भावो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कोपधप्रतिषेधे तु तद्धितग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

37. A Feminine word having a penultimate क्, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाचिकाभार्यः, कारिकाभार्यः, वृजिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाकल्पा, मद्रिकायते ॥ वृजिकायते, मद्रिकामानिनी, वृजिकामानिनी, वैलेपिकं (वैलेपिकाया धर्म्ये). This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36: and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Várt:—The rule applies to the क of the affix डु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाक्भार्यः, भेक्भार्यः ॥ The word पाका means "young"; and भेकी means 'action'.

संज्ञापूरण्योश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, पूरण्योः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाः पूरण्याश्च स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भावो न भवति ॥

38. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । गुप्ताभार्यः । दत्तापाधा । गुप्तापाधा । दत्तायते । गुप्तायते । दत्तामानिनी । गुप्तामानिनी । पूरण्याः । पञ्चमीभार्यः । दशमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाधा । दशमीपाधा । पञ्चमीयते । दशमीयते । पञ्चमीमानिनी । दशमीमानिनी ॥

वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य, च, तद्धितस्य, अरक्तविकारे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्तद्धितः स यदि रक्तेर्ये विकारे च न विहितः, तदन्तस्य स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य 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 सौघ्रीभार्यः, माथुरीभार्यः, सौघ्नीपाधा, माथुरीपाधा, सौघ्नीयते, माथुरीयते, सौघ्नीमानिनी and माथुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say 'which causes Vriddhi'? Observe मध्यमभार्यः (मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8 which does not cause Vriddhi). Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe काण्डलावभार्यः (काण्डं लुनाति = काण्डलावी with अण् (कर्मण्यण्) and ङीप्). Why do we say when not meaning 'colored there with' or 'made thereof'? Observe. कषायेण रक्ता = काषायी, काषायी बृहतिका यस्य = काषायबृहतिकः, लोहस्य विकारोलोही लोही इषा यस्य रथस्य = लौहेषः (IV. 3. 134). The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpurusha, i. e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or ञ् or क् &c which causes

Vriddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तावद्भार्यः यावद्भार्यः (तावती भार्या यस्य &c). Here the affix वतुप् V. 2. 39 added to तद् does not cause Vriddhi by its own force, but by VI. 3. 91.

स्वाङ्गाच्चेतो ऽमानिनि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गत्, च, इतः, अमानिनि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गादुत्तरो य ईकारस्तदन्तायाः स्त्रिया न पुंवद्भवति अमानिनि परतः ॥

40. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine, except when the word मानिन् follows.

Thus दीर्घकेशीभार्यः, शुक्लकेशीभार्यः, दीर्घकेशीपाद्या, ऽलक्षणकेशीपाद्या, दीर्घकेशीयते, ऽलक्षण-केशीयते, but पटुभार्यः (पटु not denoting any bodily member), अकेशाभार्या (अकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई), and दीर्घकेशमानिनी ॥ The exception अमानिनि has been added from the Vârtika and is no part of the original sûtra.

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 कठीपाद्या, बह्वृचीपाद्या, कठीयते, बह्वृचीयते ॥ But not so when मानिन् follows, as कठमानिनी, बह्वचमानिनी ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् ॥

पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुम्वत्, कर्मधारय, जातीय, देशीयेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे जातीय देशीय इत्येतयोश्च प्रत्यययोर्भाषितपुंस्कादन्नङ्स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुक्कुण्घारीनामण्डादिषु पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥

42. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhâraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

This sûtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sûtras. Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37). Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. Thus दत्तवृन्दारिका, दत्त-जातीया, दत्तदेशीया, पंचमवृन्दारिका, पंचमजातीया, पंचमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : सौम्रवृन्दारिका, सौम्रजातीया, सौम्रदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, as ऽलक्षणमुखवृन्दारिका, ऽलक्षणमुखजातीया and ऽलक्षणमुखदेशीया ॥ 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 खट्टावृन्दारिका, as खट्टा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ ; as ब्रह्मबन्धूवृन्दारिका ॥

Vârt :—The words कुक्कुटी &c become masculine before अण्ड &c : as, कुक्कुट्या अण्डं = कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ मृग्याः पदं = मृगपदम्, मृग्याः क्षीरं = मृगक्षीरम्, काक्याः शावः = काक-

घायः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

Vârt :—When a word formed by an affix having an indicatory ख, or the affixes तर and तम &c (VI. 3. 43) follow, the final long vowel of the first term becomes short instead of its becoming masculine. As कालीमात्मानं मन्यते काव्येवाहम्=कालिमन्या (compare VI. 3. 66) हरिणिमन्या, पट्विवतरा, पट्विवतमा, पट्विवरूपा, पट्विवकल्पा, पट्विवका, मृद्विका ॥ We have said that the rule does not apply to the feminines in ऊ ॥ The words इडविड्, वरद्, पृथ and उशिज्ञ 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 इडविड् वृन्सारिका ॥ When the first words become masculine, we have ऐडविड, वारद, &c. Thus ऐडविडवृन्सारिका, औशिजवृन्सारिका ॥

घरूपकल्पचेलड्ब्रुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ङ्यॊऽनेकाचॊ ह्रस्वः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, रूप, कल्प, चेलड, ब्रुव, गोत्र, मत, हतेषु, ङ्यः, अनेकाचः, ह्रस्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ रूप कल्प चेलट् ब्रुव गोत्र मत हत इत्येतेषु परतो भाषितपुस्काम्परो यो ङीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचॊ ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

43. Before the affixes **तर, तम, रूप, कल्प,** before **चेल** (with the feminine in **ई**), **ब्रुव, गोत्र, मत** and **हत**, a word ending in the feminine affix **ङी** 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, ब्राह्मणिब्रुवा ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणिमता and ब्राह्मणिहता ॥ घ, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलड् &c are words as second members; ब्रुवः is formed by अच्च् (III. 1. 134) added to ब्रू, guṇa and वच्च substitution being prevented anomalously. Why do we say ending in ई (ङी)? Observe वृत्तातरा, 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 । अङॊ च या नद्री ङ्घन्त च यदेकाच् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृन्नद्याः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. In all the remaining feminine words called Nadî (I. 4. 3 and 4), the substitution of short vowel under the preceding circumstances is optional.

What are the शेष or the remnants ? Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (ङी), and are called Nadi; and those feminines which end in long ई but -consist of one syllable. Thus ब्रह्मबन्धूतरा or ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा वीरबधूतरा or वीरबन्धुतरा, क्षितरा or क्षीतरा, क्षितमा or क्षीतमा ॥

Várt:— Nadi words formed by कृत् affixes are excepted: as लक्ष्मीतरा, तन्त्रीतरा formed by the Uṇādi affix ई (Uṇ III. 158, 160)

उगितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (ह्रस्वः) (अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितभ परस्या नद्या घादिषु अन्यतरस्यां ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

45. The feminine ई (ङी) 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 श्रेयासितरा or श्रेयसीतरा, or श्रेयस्तरा, विदुषितरा or विबुषीतरा or विद्वत्तरा ॥ The first is formed by the Taddhita affix ईयसुन्, and the second by कृसु ॥ In one alternative, there is masculisation also when we get the forms श्रेयस्तरा &c. Or this latter form may be considered to have been evolved from श्रयस्, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, महतः, समाना-धिकरण, जातीययोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे जातीये च प्रत्यये परतो महत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ महत्त्वे घासकरावीशिष्टेषुपसंख्यानं पुंवद्वचनं चासमानाधिकरणार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ अष्टनः कपाले हविष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ गवि च युक्ते ऽष्टन उपसंख्यान कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

46. For the final of महत्, is substituted आत् (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीय ॥

As महादेवः, महाब्राह्मणः, महाबाहुः, महाबलः, महाजातियः ॥ But महतः पुत्रः = महत्पुत्रः "the son of the great man": the two words are not in apposition. The compounding with महत् takes place under II. 1. 61. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrihis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहुः ॥ In fact this is the object of using the word samânâdhi-karana in this sûtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipa-dokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurasha compounds of mahat taught under II. 1. 61 but not to Bahuvrihis. In महद्भूतश्रन्द्वमा = अमहान् महान् संपन्नः, the long आ is not substituted , as the sense of महत् is here secondary.

Vart :—आ is substituted for the final of महत् before घास, कर and विशिष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या घासः = महाघासः, महत्याः करः = महाकारः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Várt :—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before कपाल, when a sa-crificial offering is meant. As अष्टाकपालं चरुं निर्वपेत ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering ? Observe अष्टकपालं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vârt :—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गो, when the meaning is that of 'yoked'. As, अष्टागवेन शाकटेन ॥ But अष्टगवं ब्राह्मणस्य,' where 'yoking' is not meant. The न् in आत् is for the sake of distinctness.

द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यष्टनः, संख्यायाम्, अब-
हुव्रीहि, अशील्योः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अष्टन् इयेतयोराकारादेशो भवति संख्यायाद्युत्तरपदे अबहुव्रीह्यशील्योः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राक् शातादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टन्
when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrîhi or
before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वावश, द्वार्विंशतिः, द्वार्विशत्, अष्टादश, अष्टार्विंशतिः, अष्टार्त्रिशत् ॥ Why do we
say द्वि and अष्टन्? Observe पञ्चदश ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a
Numeral'? Observe द्वे मातुरः, अष्टमातुरः ॥ Why do we say 'not when the com-
pound is a Bahuvrîhi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्विराः, द्विशा:,
द्व्यशीतिः ॥

Vârt :—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here,
द्विशतम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम्, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

त्रेस्त्रयः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयस्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि इयेतस्य त्रयमित्ययमादेशो भवति संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशील्योः ॥

48. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another
Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrîhi or before अशीतिः ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोर्विंशतिः, त्रयर्त्रिशत् ॥ But not in त्रेमातुरः (the second word
not being a Numeral), nor in त्रिशाः which is a Bahuvrîhi, (II. 2. 25) त्र्यशीतिः ॥
This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, त्रिशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चत्वारिंशत् ,
प्रभृतौ, सर्वेषाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ संख्यायाद्युत्तरपदे ऽबहुव्रीह्यशील्योः सर्वेषां द्व्यष्टन् त्रि इयेतेषां यदुक्तं तद्विभाष
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, द्विशतम् and अष्टशतम्, त्रिशतम् ॥

द्वयस्य द्वलेखयदणलासेषु ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वयस्य, द्वत्, लेख, यत्, अण्,
लासे षु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयस्य द्वित्ययमादेशो भवति लेख यत् अण् लास इयेतेषु परतः ॥

50. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख, and the affixes यत् and अण् and before लास ॥

Thus हृदयं लिखति=हृल्लेखः, हृदयस्य प्रियं=हार्दयम्, हृदयस्येवम्=हार्दम्, हृदयस्य लासो=हृल्लासः ॥ 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 sûtra proves the existence of this maxim "उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्तग्रहणम्" ॥ See VI. 3. 17.

वा शोकष्यङ्रोगेषु ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शोक, ष्यङ्, रोगेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोक ष्यङ् रोग इत्येतेषु परतो हृदयस्य वा हृदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

51. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix ष्यङ् follows.

Thus हृच्छोकः or हृदयशोकः, सौहार्दयम् or सौहृदय्यम् ॥ Here ष्यङ् is added as हृदय belongs to Brâhmaṇâdi class V. 1. 124. When हृद् is substituted there is Vriddhi of both the members सु and हृ by VII. 3. 19. So also हृद्रोगः or हृदय-रोगः ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृद् which is a *full* word *sui generis*, having the same meaning as हृदयः ॥ The substitution taught in this sûtra is rather unnecessary.

पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादस्य, पद, आजि, आति, ग, उपहतेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादस्य पद इत्ययमादेशो भवति आजि आति ग उपहत इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु ॥

52. पद् is substituted for पाद, before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजिः=पादाभ्यामजति ; पदातिः=पादाभ्यामतति ॥ आजिः and आतिः are formed by इण् from अज् and अत् (Uṇ IV. 131), and irregularly अज् is not changed to वी though required by II. 4. 56 ; before this affix. So also पदगः=पादाभ्यां गच्छति ; पदोपहतः=पादेनोपहतः ॥ पाद belongs to Vṛishâdi class (VI. 1. 203) and has therefore acute on the first syllable, the पद substitute however has acute on the final, only in the उपहत (VI. 1. 171), therefore in पदोपहतः, पद 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 krit-accent).

पद्यत्यतदर्थे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद, यति, अतदर्थे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्प्रत्यये परतः पादस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवत्यतदर्थे ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पद्यावे एके चरसात्यपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. पद् is substituted for पाद before the affix यत् used in any sense other then that of "suited there to. ;

Thus पादीविध्यन्ति=पद्याः शर्कराः, पद्याः कण्टकाः ॥ When यत् has the force of "suited there to" we have पाद्यम्=पादार्यमुदकं ॥ (see IV. 4. 83 and V. 4. 25).

Vart:—Before the affix इक्, in the sense of 'he walks there by', पद् is substituted for पाद; as पादाभ्यां चरति = पादिकः (IV. 4. 10) by छन् affix. The word पाद in this sûtra 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 पाद here denotes ,a measure'.

हिमकाषिहतिषु च ॥ ५४ ॥　पदानि ॥ हिम, काषि, हतिषु, च, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिम काषिन् हति इत्येतेषु पादशब्दस्य परत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

54.　पद् is substituted for पाद before हिम, काषिन् and हति ॥

Thus पद्धिमम्, (= पादस्य शीतं) पत्काषिन् (= पादचारिणः) as in अथ पत्काषिणा यान्ति, and पद्धतिः (पदाभ्यां हन्यते) ॥

ऋक्पूचः शे ॥ ५५ ॥　पदानि ॥ ऋक्पूचः, शे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋक्संबन्धिनः पादशब्दस्य शे परतः परत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

55.　पद् is the substitute for पाद before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पच्छो गायत्रीं शंसति = पादं पादं शंसति, the affix शस् being added by V. 4. 43. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादशः कार्षापणं ददाति ॥

वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु ॥ ५६ ॥　पदानि ॥ वा, घोष, मिश्र, शब्देषु, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोष मिश्र शब्द इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु पादस्य वा परत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्के चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

56.　This substitution of पद् for पाद is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोषः or पादघोषः, पन्मिश्रः or पादमिश्रः, पच्छब्दः or पादशब्दः ॥

Vârt:—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 ॥ संज्ञायाउत्तरपदस्य 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-vâhah." The well-known Patronymics from these are औदमेघिः and औदवाहिः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe उदकागिरिः ॥

Vârt—उद is the substitute for उदक when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name: as, लोहितोदः, नीलोदः, क्षीरोदः ॥

पेषंवासवाहनधिषु 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 उद्पेषं पिनष्टि formed by जघुल् by III. 4. 38; उद्वासः = उद्कस्वासः, so also उद्वाहनः ॥ उद्कं धीयतेऽस्मिन् = उद्धिः 'a water jar'.

एकहलादौ पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥५९॥　पदानि ॥ एक, हलादौ, पूरयितव्ये, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल् भावियस्योत्तरपदस्य तदेकहलादिस्तस्मिन्नेकहलादौ पूरयितव्यवाचिन्यन्यतरस्याधुदकस्य उद इत्ययमादेषो भवति ॥

59. उद् is optionally substituted for उद्क, before a word biginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उद्कुम्भः, or उद्ककुम्भः, उद्पाषम् or उद्कपाषम् ॥ The word एकहलादि means 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'. The rule does not apply to उद्कस्थालम् as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant : nor to उद्कपर्वतः, as the पर्वतः is not a vessel which is to be filled.

मन्थौदनसक्तुबिन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च ॥ ६० ॥　पदानि ॥ मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, बिन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, गाहेषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्थ ओदन सक्तु बिन्दु वज्र भार हार वीवध गाह इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषूदकस्य उद इत्ययमादेषो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

60. उद् is optionally substituted for उद्क, before मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, बिन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उद्केन मन्थः = उद्मन्थ or उद्कमन्थः । उद्केनौदन, उदौदनः or उद्कौदनः । सक्तु । उद्केन सक्तुः, उद्सक्तु or उद्कसक्तुः । बिन्दु । उद्कस्य बिन्दुः, उद्बिन्दुः or उद्कबिन्दुः । वज्र । उद्कस्य वज्रः, उद्वज्रः or उद्कवज्रः । भार । उद्कं बिभर्तीति उद्भारः or उद्कभारः । हार । उद्कं हरतीति, उद्हारः or उद्कहारः । वीवध । उद्कस्य वीवध, उद्वीवधः or उद्कवीवधः । गाह । उद्कं गाहत इति, उद्गाहः or उद्कगाहः ॥

इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्ग्यो गालवस्य ॥ ६१ ॥　पदानि ॥ इकः, ह्रस्वः, अङ्ग्यः, गालवस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्याङ्ग्यधकस्योत्तरपदे ह्रस्वो भवति गालवस्याचार्यस्य मतेनान्यतरस्याम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भ्रूकुंसारीनामकारो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. According to the opinion of Gâlava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second member, for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ॠ), 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 ऋ, a short इ and उ are substituted in a compound before the second member. Thus मामजिपुत्रः 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 Gâlava is mentioned pujârtha for the anuvritti of 'optionally' was present in this sûtra. It is a limited option

pujârtha, (vyavasthita vibhâsha), and does not apply to कारीषगन्धीपाति &c which are governed by VI. 3. 139.

Vârt:—It does not apply to Avyayibhâva compounds, nor to those words which take इयङ् or उवङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीकुलम्, भ्रूकुलम्, काण्डीभूतं, कुडयीभूतं, वृषलीभूतम् ॥

Vart :—It does however apply to भ्रुकंस &c, as भ्रुकंसः, भ्रुकुटिः ॥ Others say भ is substituted for भ्र &c as भ्रकंसः and भ्रकुटिः ॥

एक तद्धिते च ॥ ६२ ॥   पदानि ॥ एक तद्धिते, च, (ह्स्वः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकशब्दस्य तद्धिते उत्तरपदे ह्स्वो 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 भाव: = एकत्वम्, एकता ॥ So also एकस्याः क्षीरं = एकक्षीरम्, एकदुग्धम् ॥ The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका, having the affix भा ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculation, 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 sûtra 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, aud not to a vowel situeated in the body of a word.

ङ्यापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् ॥६३॥   पदानि ॥ ङ्यापोः, संज्ञा, छन्दसोः, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्यन्तस्याबन्तस्य च संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलं ह्स्वो 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, भरणितुत्रः ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकरः, नान्दीघोषः, नान्दीविषालः ॥ So also in the Vedas, as कुमारिसारा, प्रवर्विश; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as फाल्गुनीपौर्णमासी, जगतीछन्दः ॥ भाप् ending words in Name: शिलवहम्, शिलप्रस्थम्; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकागृहम्, लोमकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas:—अजक्षीरेण जुहोति, ऊर्णमदा पृथिवीं विभ्रधायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णासूत्रेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

त्वे च ॥ ६४ ॥   पदानि ॥ त्वे, च, (ह्स्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्वमत्यये परतो ङ्यापोर्बहुलं ह्स्वो भवति ॥

64. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus अजायाः भाव: = अजत्वं or अजास्त्वं, रोहिणित्वं or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥ These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

इष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु ॥ ६५ ॥   पदानि ॥ इष्ट का, इषी का, माला-
नाम्, चित, तूल, भारिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टंकषीकामालानां चित तूल भारिन् इत्येतेषुत्तरपरेषु यथासंख्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

65.   For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in
इष्टका before चित, in इषीका before तूळ, and in माला before भारिन् ॥

Thus इष्टकचितम्, इषीकतूलम् and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥   The rule of tadanta
applies to इष्टका &c, so that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed
by this rule : as पकेष्टकचितम्, धुज्जेषीकंतूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

खित्यनव्ययस्य ॥ ६६ ॥   पदानि ॥ खिति, अनव्ययस्य, (ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खिदन्तउत्तरपरे उनव्ययस्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

66.   A short is always substituted for the final of
the first member, when the second member is a word formed
by an affix having an indicatory ख, but not when the first
member is an Indeclinable.

Thus कालिमन्या, हरिणिमन्या ॥   The augment मुम् does not prevent the
shortening, had it done so, the rule would have been unnecessary. But दोषा-
मन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः, where दोषा and दिवा are Indeclinables there is no shortening.
The above words are formed by खश् (III. 2. 83). The phrase anavyayasya
indicates by implication that the word खित् here means खिदन्तः, contrary to the
maxim enunciated in VI. 3. 17 उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययमहणं तदन्तविधिर्नेष्यते ॥   For an
Avyaya can never take a खित् affix which are ordained only after dhâtus.

अरुर्द्विषदजन्तस्य मुम् ॥ ६७ ॥   पदानि ॥ अरुस्, द्विषत्, अजन्तस्य, मुम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरुस् द्विषत् इत्येतयोरजन्तानां च खिदन्तउत्तरपरे मुमागमो भवति अनव्ययस्य ॥

67.   मुम् is the augment added immediately after
the final vowel, of अरुस्, द्विषत्, and of a stem ending in a
vowel, unless it is an Indeclinable, when a word formed by a
खित् affix follows.

Thus अरुन्तुवः, द्विषन्तपः, कालिमन्या &c. See III. 2. 35, 39, 83. The स of
अरुस and the त् of द्विषत् are dropped by VIII. 2. 23.

Why do we say 'of अरुस &c'? Observe विद्वन्मन्या ॥ Why do we say
'not an Indeclinable'? Observe दोषामन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः ॥ Why do we use
the word अन्त in अजन्त, when merely saying अचः would have sufficed by the
rule of tadanta-vidhi? This indicates that the shortening taught in the prece-
ding sûtra does not debar the मुम् augment, nor does मुम debar the shortening.
So that मुम is added after the shortening has taken place.

इच एकाचोम्प्रत्ययवच्च ॥ ६८ ॥   पदानि ॥ इचः, एकाचः, अम, प्रत्ययवत्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजन्तस्य एकाचः खिदन्तउत्तरपरे उमागमो भवति शम्प्रत्ययवच्चद्विर्तीयेकवचनवच 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 अम, which is added in the same way as the affix अम् of the Accusative singular.

The word अम् is to be repeated here thus, इच एकाचोऽम्, अममप्रत्ययवच ॥ Thus गांमन्यः, श्रीमन्यः, or खियंमन्यः, भ्रियंमन्यः, भुवंमन्यः ॥ By force of the atideśa अममप्रत्ययवत्, the changes produced by the Accusative ending are caused by this augment also : viz : the substitution of long आ, the substitution of a vowel homogenous with the first, the guṇa, the substitutes इयङ् and उवङ् As आ—गां मन्यः (VI. 1. 93) ; पूर्वसवर्ण as श्रीमन्यः (VI. 1. 107); guṇa, as,—नरंमन्यः (VII. 3. 110) and इयङ् and उवङ्, as भ्रियंमन्यः, भुवंमन्यः (VI. 4. 81 &c). Why do we say ending in a vowel other than अ (इच्)? Observe खन्मन्यः ॥ Why do we say 'a mon-osyllable'? Observe लेखांभुं मन्याः ॥

The affix अम is elided after a Neuter noun (VII. 1. 23), therefore, will this अम् also be elided when श्री is treated as Neuter? As भ्रियमात्मानं मन्यते ब्राह्मणकुलं = भ्रियंमन्यम् or भ्रिमन्यम्? The second is the valid form according to Patanjali.

वाचंयमपुरंदरौ च ॥ ६९ ॥　पदानि ॥ वाचंयम, पुरन्दरौ, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाचंयम पुरंदर इत्येतौ निपात्येते ॥

69. वाचंयम and पुरन्दर are irregularly formed.

Thus वाचंयमः आस्ते (III. 2. 40 खच् affix). पुरं दारयति = पुरन्दरः (III. 2. 42). The shortening of याम and शर takes place by VI. 4. 94.

कारे सत्यागदस्य ॥ ७० ॥　पदानि ॥ कारे, सत्य, अगदस्य, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कारेऽत्तरपदे सत्य अगद इत्येतयोर्मुमागमो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अस्तुसत्यागदस्य कारेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भक्षस्य छन्दसि कारे मुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ धेनोरभ्याायां मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ लोकस्य पृणे मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ इत्ये उनभ्याघस्य मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ भ्राष्ट्राग्न्योरिन्धे मुम्वक्तव्य ॥
वा० ॥ गिले उगिलस्य मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गिलगिले चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उष्णभद्रयोः करणे मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥ धृतोमराजभोजमेर्विंये तेभ्य उत्तरस्य दुहितघ्वस्य पुस्त्वडाहेघो वा वक्तव्यः ॥

70. मुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद when the word कार follows.

As सत्यंकारः = सत्यंकरोति or सत्यस्यकारः ॥ So also अगवंकारः ॥
Várt :—So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुंकारः ॥
Várt :—So also in Vedas, of भक्ष before कारः—e. g. भक्षंकार, in secular language भक्षकारः ॥
Várt :—Of धेनु before भव्या, e. g. धेनुंभव्या ॥
Várt :—Of लोक before पृण, c. g. लोकंपृणा ॥

Vârt :—Of अनभ्याश before इस्य as अनभ्याशमिन्धः ॥

Vârt :—Of भ्राष्ट्र and अग्नि, before इन्धः, as भ्राष्ट्रमिन्धः, अग्निमिन्धः ॥

Vârt :—A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल e. g. तिमिङ्गिलः, but गिलगिलः ॥

Vârt :—So also before गिलगिल, e. g. तिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

Vârt :—Of उष्ण and भद्र before करण, e. g. उष्णं करणं, भद्रंकरणं ॥

Vârt :—पुत्रट् is optionally the substitute of दुहितृ when the words सूत, उम, राज, भोज, and मेरु precede it e. g. सूतपुत्री or सूतदुहिता, उमपुत्री or उमदुहिता, राजपुत्री or राजदुहिता, भोजपुत्री or भोजदुहिता, मेरुपुत्री or मेरुदुहिता ॥ Some read पुत्र in the Sârangaravâdi class (IV. 1. 73), and then this word has its feminine पुत्री ॥ This is seen in other places also, e. g. शैलपुत्री ॥

ह्येनतिलस्य पाते ञे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्येन, तिलस्य, पाते, ञे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्येन तिलइत्येतयोः पातशब्दउत्तरपदे ञप्रत्यये ममागमो भवति ॥

71. मुम् is the augment of the words ह्येन and तिल, before पात, when the affix ञ is added.

Thus ह्येनपातोऽस्यां क्रीडायां = ह्येनंपाता, तैलंपाता ॥ See IV. 2. 58. Why do we say before ञ ? Observe ह्येनपातः ॥

रात्रेः कृति विभाषा ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, कृति, विभाषा, (मुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्रेः कृदन्तउत्तरपदे विभाषा मुमागमो भवति ॥

72. The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by kṛt-affix.

As रात्रिंचरः or रात्रिचरः, रात्रिमटः or रात्र्यटः ॥ This is an aprâpta-vibhâshâ. The augment is compulsory before a kṛit-affix having an indicatory ख, As, रात्रिमन्यः ॥

नलोपो नञः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, नञः, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञो नकारस्य लोपो भवत्युत्तरपदे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपो ऽवक्षेपे तिङ्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The न of the Negative particle नञ्, is elided when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अब्राह्मणः. अवृषलः, अक्षुरापः, असोमपः ॥

Vârt :—The न of नञ् is elided before a verb also, when reproach is meant : as, अपचसि त्वं जाल्मः, अकरोषि त्वं जाल्मः ॥

तस्मान्नुडचि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुट्, अचि, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्माल्लुप्तनकारान्नञः नुडागमो भवति अजादावुत्तरपदे ॥

74. After the above न-elided नञ् (i. e. after अ) is added the augment नुट्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनजः, अनश्वः, अनुष्ट्रः ॥ 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 sûtra would have read thus नुड्राधि ॥ Adding नुद् to नम् or rather to अ, we have अनन् (granting that नुद् is not to be added *before* अ but *after* it, against I. 1. 46). Now अनन् + अज्ञः will be अभ्रज्ञः and not अनज्ञः for VIII. 3. 32 will cause the doubling of the final न of अनन् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, नुद् is ordained with regard to the second member and not with regard to अ or नम् ॥

नभ्राण्णपान्नवेदानासत्या नमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या ॥ ७५ ॥
पदानि ॥ नभ्राट्, नपात्, नवेद्धा, नासत्या, नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र, नाकेषु, प्रकृत्या, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नभ्राट् नपात् नवेदाः नासत्या नमुचि नकुल नख नपुंसक नक्षत्र नख नक्र नाक इत्येतेषु नम् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

75. The Negative particle remains unchanged in नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या (dual), नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र and नाक ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sûtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative! नभ्राजते = नभ्राट्, formed by क्विप् and नम् composition. न पाति = नपात् formed by ग्रतृ affix. न वेत्ति = नवेदा, formed by अद्युन् ॥ सत्खु साधवः = सत्याः, न सत्याः = असत्याः, न असत्याः = नासत्याः ॥ न मुच्चति = न मुचि, formed by कि affix (Uṇâdi), नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥ न स्री न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ न क्षरते क्षीयते वा = नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति = नक्र by ड affix: न अस्मिन् अकम् = नाकम् ॥

एकादिश्चैकस्य चावुक् ॥ ७६ ॥   पदानि ॥ एकादिः, च, एकस्य, च, अवुक्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकादिश्च नम्प्रकृत्या भवति एकष्यस्त्याद्रुगागमो भवति ॥

76. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अवुक् (अद्).

Thus एकेन न विंशतिः = एकान्नविंशतिः, एकान्नविंशात् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds. The augment आवुक् is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकात् न विंशतिः and एकान् न विंशति 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 नगाः or अगाः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix ड is added to नम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring

to animate beings. Observe भगः वृषलः शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allow-
ed here.

सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सः, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहशब्दस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

78. स is substituted for सह, in a Name.

Thus साभ्रस्यम्, सपलाशम्, सासिधापम् ॥ Why when it is a Name ? Observe
सहयुध्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The word सह has acute on the first syllable, because all
Particles have acute on the first syllable. The substitute स coming in the
room of the acute स and the grave ह, will have an accent mid-way between सँ
acute and ह grave, namely, it would have the svarita accent. But, as a matter
of fact, it has the acute accent. As सेयुग्वः, सेभार्यः ॥ These are Bahuvrihi. In
Avyayîbhâva, the samâsa-accent will prevail (VI. 1. 223), as सचिँ, सपशुबन्धँम् ॥

ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रन्थान्त, अधिके, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रन्थान्ते अधिके च वर्त्तमानस्य सहशब्दस्य 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 सम्मुहूर्तम्=(मुहूर्तान्तम्) ॥ स संग्रह
(=संग्रहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayîbhâva 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 sûtra 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 सद्रोणाखारी, समाषः कार्षापणः सकाकिणीको
माषः ॥

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 con-nection 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 साग्निः (कपोतः)
'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where'.
सपिशाचा वात्या "a storm-wind which announces the Piśâchas". सराक्षसीका शाला ॥
Here the fire, the Piśâcha or the Râkshasas 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 समासे ऽकालवाचिन्युत्तरपदे सहस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

81.   स is the substitute of सह, in an Avyayîbhâva when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रधेहि, मधुरं प्राज्ञः, but सहपूर्वाह्णम् the second member being a time denoting word (II. 1. 5).

वोपसर्जनस्य ॥ ८२ ॥   पदानि ॥ वा, उपसर्जनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वोपसर्जनो बहुव्रीहिर्गृह्यते । तदवयवस्य सहशब्दस्य वा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

82.   स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrîhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrîhi is such a compound, because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood. Thus सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, सच्छात्रः or सहच्छात्रः ॥ Why do we say of a Bahuvrîhi ? Observe सहयुध्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrîhi like सहकृतवाग्प्रियः or सहयुद्धप्रियः ॥

प्रकृत्याशिष्यगोवत्सहलेषु ॥ ८३ ॥   पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, आशिषि, अ, गोवत्सहलेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या सहशब्दो 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 देवदत्ताय 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 sûtra, but has been added by the Kâsikâ from a Vârtika.

समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्ध्नप्रभृत्युदर्केषु ॥ ८४ ॥   पदानि ॥ समानस्य, छन्दसि, अ, मूर्ध्न, प्रभृति, उदर्केषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये मूर्ध्न प्रभृति उदर्क इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि वर्जयित्वा ॥

84.   स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas, but not before मूर्धन, प्रभृति and उदर्क ॥

Thus अनुभ्राता सगर्भ्यः, अनुसखा सयूध्यः, योनः सनूळ्यः (See IV. 4. 114). समानो गर्भः = सगर्भः, तत्र भवः = सगर्भ्यः formed by यन् affix IV. 4. 114. But समानमूर्धा, समान-प्रभृतयः, समानोदर्काः ॥ This substitution takes place in secular literature also, as सपक्षः, साधर्म्यम्, सजातीयः &c.

ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु ॥ ८५ ॥   पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नाम, गोत्ररूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयोवचन, बन्धुषु, (समानस्यसः)

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस जनपद रात्रि नाभि नामन् गोत्र रूप स्थान वर्ण वयस वचन बन्धु इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

85. This substitution of स for समानद् takes place before ज्योतिस्, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान वर्ण, वयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also.

Thus सज्योति:, सजनपद:, सरात्रि:, सनाभि:, सनामा, सगोच:, सरूप:, सस्थान:, सवर्ण:, सवया:, सवचन:, सबन्धु: ॥

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 sûtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study. He who has a common (samâna) branch (charaṇa) is a sa-brahmchâri.

तीर्थे ये ॥ ८७ ॥　पदानि ॥ तीर्थे, ये, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीर्थाख्येऽउत्तरपदे 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 ॥ उदराख्येऽउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययान्ते समानस्य विभाषा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

88. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सोदर्यः or समानोदर्यः (IV. 4. 108).

दृग्दृशावतुषु ॥ ८९ ॥　पदानि ॥ दृक्, दृश, वतुषु, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृक् दृश वतु इत्येतेषु परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृशे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥　वा० ॥ दृशेः क्समत्ययोऽपि तत्रैव वक्तव्यः ॥

89. स is substituted for समान, before दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus सदृक्, सदृशः ॥　The affixes कञ्च and क्विन् are added to दृश under III. 2. 60. Vârt:—which give as the forms दृक् and दृश ॥　Vârt:—So also before दृश : as सदृक्षः ॥　दृक्ष is formed by क्स affix under III. 2. 60. Vârtika. The affix वत् is taken for the sake of the subsequent sûtra.

इदंकिमोरीश्की ॥ ९० ॥　पदानि ॥ इदम, किमोः, ईश, की, (दृग्दृशावतुषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदं किम् इत्येतयोरीश् की इत्येतौ यथासंख्यमादेशो भवतो दृग्दृशावतुषु ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृशे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90.　ई is substituted for इदम् and की for किम् before the words दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus ईदृक्, ईदृशः and ईयान्, कीदृक्, कीदृशः and कियान् ॥ ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई + इयत् and की + इयत् by V. 2. 40 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 : and we get इयत् and कियत् ॥

Vârt :—So also before दक्ष, as ईदृक्षः and कीदृक्षः ॥

आ सर्वनाम्नः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, सर्वनाम्नः, (दृग्दृशावतुषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्न आकारादेशो भवति दृग्दृशावतुषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

91.　आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (I. 1. 27) before these words दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus तादृक्, तादृशः, तावान्, यादृक्, यादृशः, यावान् ॥

Vârt :—So also before दक्ष, as तादृक्षः and यादृक्षः ॥

विष्वग्देवयोश्च टेरद्यञ्चतौ (ता) वप्रत्यये ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्वक्, देवयोः, च, टेः, आद्रि, अञ्चतौ, अप्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्वक् देव इत्येतयोः सर्वनाम्नश्च टेरद्रीत्ययमादेशो भवति अञ्चतौता वप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि क्रियां बहुलमिति 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 व follows.

Thus विष्वगञ्चति = विष्वग्र्यङ्, This form is thus evolved. अउच् + किवन् = अउच् + O = अउच् + नुम् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonaut उच्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the किन् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. न् is changed to ङ् and we have अङ् which with विष्वाद्रि gives the above form. उवद्यङ्, तद्यङ्, यद्यङ् ॥ आद्रि and सद्रि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (nipâtan) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when इ is changed into य् the following vowel becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 4). Why do we say of विष्वग् and देव ? Observe अभ्यञ्ची = अभ्यमञ्चति, the feminine ङीप् being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vârt*. The अ of अच् is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अम्ब is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when अञ्च follows'? Observe विष्वग्युक् ॥ Why do we say 'when the affix व follows'? Observe विष्वगञ्चनं ॥ The व is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sûtra is अप्रत्यये (अउचतावप्रत्यये). 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 añch followed, but when añchana ending in ल्युट् also followed. The maxim भातुग्रहणे तदादि विधिरिष्यते is illustrated in भयस्कृते and

अयस्कारः; for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that visarga is changed into स् when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ, therefore which begins with कृ, such as कारः and कृतः ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृत् which is followed merely by the verb कृ ; as well as to forms like अयस्कृतः ॥

Vârt :—In the Vedas, diversely before the feminine nouns : thus in "विभ्राची च घृताची च" there is no substitution in विभ्राची, but in कद्रीची there is this substitution. कद्रीची is derived from किम्+अञ्च्=कान्द्रि+अञ्च् ॥ Then is added ङीप् and then like अभ्राची ॥

समः समि ॥ ९३ ॥   पदानि ॥ समः, समि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समियेतस्य समि इत्ययमादेशो भवति अञ्चतौ च (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ॥

93. समि is substituted for सम्, before this अञ्च when no affix (or च affix) follows.

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यञ्चौ, सम्यञ्चः ॥

तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे ॥ ९४ ॥   पदानि ॥ तिरसः, तिरि, अलोपे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरस् इत्येतस्य तिरि इत्ययमादेशो भवत्यञ्चतौ च (अ) प्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ऽलोपे । यदा ऽस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

94. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अञ्च when no affix (or च affix) follows, provided that the अ of अञ्च् is not elided.

Thus तिर्यक्, तिर्यञ्चौ, 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 sûtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) " where अ is elided" or (2) "Where there is no elision". The latter meaning should be taken however.

सहस्य सध्रिः ॥ ९५ ॥   पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सध्रिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेयस्य सध्रिरित्ययमादेशो भवत्यञ्चतौ च (अ) प्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ।

95. सध्रि is the substitute of सह, before अञ्च followed by no affix (or च affix).

Thus सध्र्यङ्, सध्र्यञ्चौ, सध्र्यञ्चः ; and सध्रीचः, सध्रीचा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

सध मादस्थयोश्छन्दसि ॥ ९६ ॥   पदानि ॥ सध, माद्, स्थयोः, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माद् स्थ इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः सहस्य सध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

96. सध is substituted for सह in the Veda, when माद् and स्थ follow.

Thus सधमादोद्युम्भ एकास्ताः, सधस्थाः ॥ Another example is आत्वा बृहन्तो हरयो युजाना, अर्वांगिन्द्र सधमारो वहन्तु (Rig III. 3. 7) सहमाद्यन्ति देवा अस्मिन् ॥

द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्यो ऽप इति ॥ ९७ ॥   पदानि ॥द्वि, अन्तर, उपसर्गेभ्यः, अपः, इति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अन्तरित्येताभ्याम्उपसर्गात्तरस्याविरित्येतस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समापईत्वं प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ईत्त्वमनवर्णांशिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97.   After द्वि, अन्तर् and Prepositions, long ई is the substitute of अप् ॥

By I. 1. 54, ई replaces the *first-letter* of अप् viz अ only.   Thus द्वीपः, अन्तरीपः, नीपम्, वीपम्, समीपम् ॥ The samâsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74.

Vârt :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समापं नाम देवयजनम् ॥ 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 अप; here however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sûtra.   It means प्र &c.

ऊदनोर्देशे ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, अनोः, देशे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरस्याप ऊकारादेशो भवति देशाभिधाने ॥

98.   After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप्, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अनूपो देशः, but अन्वीपम् when locality is not meant. The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed; as अनु ऊप = अनूपः ॥ The form अनूपः could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु + उप = अनूपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

अषष्ठचतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागऽछेषु ॥९९॥

पदानि ॥ अषष्ठी, अतृतीयास्थस्य, अन्यस्य, दुक्, आशीः, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक, राग, छ्छेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अषष्ठीस्थस्य अतृतीयास्थस्य चान्यशब्दस्य दुगागमो भवति आशि स आशा आस्था आस्थित उत्सुक ऊति कारक राग छ इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

Kârikâ —दुगागमो ऽविशेषेण वक्तव्यः कारकच्छयोः ।
षष्ठीतृतीययोर्नेष्ट आशीरादिषु सप्तसु ॥

99.   अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (द्), before आशिस्, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय).

Thus अन्या आशीः = अन्यदाशीः अन्या आशा = अन्यदाशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यदास्था, अन्य आस्थितः = अन्यदास्थितः, अन्य उत्सुकः = अन्यदुत्सुकः, अन्या ऊतिः = अन्यदूतिः, अन्यः कारकः = अन्यत्कारकः, अन्यो रागः = अन्यद्रागः ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यदीयः ॥ It takes छ because it belongs to गहादि class (IV. 2. 138.)

The word अन्य belongs to गहादि class (IV. 2. 138).   Why do we say when not in Genitive or the Instrumental ?.   Observe अन्यस्य आशीः = अन्याशीः, अन्येन आस्थितः = अन्यास्थितः &c.   With regard to the word कारक and the affix छ, the दुक् augment is universal, though अन्य may be even in the Genitive case &c : as अन्यस्य कारकः = अन्यत् कारकम्, अन्यस्येदम् = अन्यदीयम् ॥   The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sûtra (अषष्ठी and अतृतीया), implies this.

अर्थे विभाषा ॥ १०० ॥   पदानि ॥ अर्थे, विभाषा, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे अन्यस्य विभाषा दुगागमो भवति ॥

100. तुक् is optionally the augment of अन्य when अर्थे follows.

As अन्यतर्थः or अन्यार्थः ॥

कोः कत्तत्पुरुषे ऽचि ॥ १०१ ॥   पदानि ॥ कोः, कत्त तत्पुरुषे, अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कु इत्येतस्य कदित्ययमादेशो भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे ऽजादावुत्तरपदे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कन्नावे चापुपसंख्यानम् ॥

101. कत् is substituted for कु in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As कवज्ञः, कवर्ध्वः, कदुष्टः, कवन्नम् ॥   Why do we say in a Tatpurusha? Observe कुष्ट्रा राजा ॥   Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel"? Observe कुब्राह्मणः, कुपुरुषः ॥

Vârt :—कत् is substituted before नय, as कनयः = कुत्सिताऽयः ॥

रथवदयोश्च ॥ १०२ ॥   पदानि ॥ रथ, वदयोः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथ वद इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः कोः कदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

102. कद् is substituted for कु before रथ and वद also.

Thus कद्रथः, कद्वदः ॥

तृणे च जातौ ॥ १०३ ॥   पदानि ॥ तृणे, च, जातौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृणशब्दउत्तरपदे जातावभिधेयायां कोः कत्रादेशो भवति ॥

103. कत् is substituted for कु, when तृण follows denoting a species.

As कत्तृणा नाम जातिः ॥   But कुत्सितानि तृणानि = कुतृणानि ॥

का पथ्यक्षयोः ॥ १०४ ॥   पदानि ॥ का, पथि, अक्षयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् अक्ष इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

104. का is the substitute of कु, before पथिन् and अक्ष ॥

Thus कापथः and काक्षः ॥

ईषदर्थे ॥ १०५ ॥   पदानि ॥ ईषत्-अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदर्थे वर्त्तमानस्य कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

105. का is the substitution for कु, when the meaning is 'a small'.

As कामधुरम्, कालवणम, काम्लम ॥   Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 : as कोष्णम् ॥

विभाषा पुरुषे ॥ १०६ ॥   पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पुरुषे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दउत्तरपदे विभाषा कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. का is optionally substituted for कु, when the word पुरुष follows.

Thus कायुरुप: or कुरुरुप: ॥　This is an aprâpta-vibhâshâ.　In the sense of 'a little ईषद्', the substitution is compulsory ; as ईषद् पुरुष: = का पुरुष: ॥

कवञ्चोष्णे ॥ १०७ ॥　पदानि ॥ कवम्, च, उष्णे, ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ उष्णघाब्दउत्तरपदे कोः कवञ्चिय्यमावेषो भवति का च विभाषा ॥

107. का and कवञ् are optionally the substitutes of कु when उष्ण follows.

As कवोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कतुष्णम् ॥

पथि चऽच्छन्द्सि ॥ १०८ ॥　पदानि ॥ पथि, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ पांधघाब्दउत्तरपदे छन्दसि विषये कोः कव का इत्येताविदेषौ भवतो विभाषा ॥

108. This substitution of का, and कव for कु takes place in the Veda, before पथ ॥

Thus कवपथ:, कापथ: and कुपथ: ॥

पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् ॥ १०९ ॥　पदानि ॥ पृषोदरादीनि, यथोपदिष्टम्, ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ पृषोदरासीनि घाब्दरुपाणि येषु लोपागमवर्णविकाराः घाब्रेण न विहिता इदयन्ते च तानि यथोप-विष्टानि साप्रानि भवन्ति ॥

वा॰त्तिक्रम ॥विक्रघ्ढंरभ्य उत्तरस्य तीरस्य तार भावो वा भवति ॥

वा॰ ॥　वाच्यो घारे डर्घं च लभावश्रेत्तरपरस्यम्नि प्रत्यये ॥

वा॰ ॥　घपउस्वं वत्वघाघारुत्तरपरस्येदुर्वं च ॥

वा॰ ॥　दुरोशाघानाघारभध्येघुरवं वक्तच्यघुत्तरपरेभट्टत्यम् ॥

वा॰ ॥ स्वरो रेहितौ छन्दस्युरवं वक्तच्यम् ॥　वा॰ ॥ पीवापरसनारीनां च लोपो वक्तच्यः ॥

Kârikâ—वर्णागमो वर्णविपयंयघ्च द्वौ चापरौ वर्णविकारनाशौ ।
धातोस्तर्थांतिशयेन 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 यथोपविष्टम् = शिष्टैरुघारितानि ॥　Thus पृषबुदरो यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् उद्रां यस्य = पृषोद्घानम् ॥　Here there is elision of द ॥ So also घारिवाहकः = बलाहकः, here घारि is replaced by ब, and ल replaces व of वाहक; जीवनस्य मूत: = जीमूतः; here वन has been elided; घावानां घायनं = इमघानम्; here इम replaces घाव; and घान for घायन ॥ उर्जां स्वमस्य = उलूखलम्; here उल replaces ऊभ, and खल replaces खम ॥ पिघितावाः = पिशाचः ॥ ह्यवन्तोस्यांसीरन्ति = बसी ॥ Here सद् takes the affix वह in the locative, and ह्व is replaced by ब ॥ ामघां रोनि = मयूर: ॥　Here महो is replaced by मयू, and the final of ह is elided before the affix भघ ॥　And so on with भभ्वस्य, कपिथ &c.

Vârt:—तीर becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as वक्षिणतीरम् or षांक्षणतारम्, उत्तरतीरम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vârt:—Before the Patronymic इम् affix, घाग्वार becomes घाडुघाल as, घाग्वार-स्यापघ्यं = घाडु.ालः ॥

Vârt:—The final of वघ् is changed to इ before इरु, इघा, and घा (meaning

'location'): and the first letter of the second member is changed to उ or ड ॥ Thus षड् इन्ता अस्य = षाडन्; so षोडश ; षड्धा or षोडा कुरु ॥ The addition of ड is optional here. The putting of षाड़ु in the plural number indicates that षा has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नानाधिकरण). In fact it has the force of an affix here. The rule therefore does not apply to these:—षड् दधाति or धयति = षड्धा ॥

Várt.—The final of दुर् is changed to उ, before साध, नाध, रभ and ह्वे and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus दुःखेन साध्यते, नाह्यते, रभ्यते यः = दूढाष:, दूणाध:, दूढभ:, In the last (दूरभ) there is elision of the nasal also. दुष् ध्वायति = दूह्व: ॥ Here is added the affix क to the root ध्वा (ह्वे) preceded by the upapada दु:, by III. I. 136.

Várt.—उ is substituted for the final of स्वर् when the verb रुह follows in the Vedas: as एहिस्वं आयस्वो रोहावं (रोहाव is Imperative Ist. Pers. Dual).

Várt:—The final of पीवस्, पयस् &c. is elided in the Vedas. as पीवोप वस-नानां, पयोपवसनानाम् ॥

संख्याविसायपूर्वस्याह्नस्याहनन्यतरस्यां ङौ ॥ ११० ॥   पदानि ॥ संख्या, वि, साय, पूर्वस्य, अह्नस्य, अहन्, अन्यतरस्याम्, ङौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्या वि साय इत्येवंपूर्वस्याह्नशब्दस्य स्थाने अहन्नियमादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां ङौ परतः ॥

110.   अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह्न, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय precedes it.

Thus द्वयोरह्नोर्मध्यः = ह्याहुः, ह्यन्नू ॥   The Locative singular of these are ह्याह्नि or ह्याह्नि, ह्यन्नि or ह्यह्नि ॥   So also ह्याह्ने, ह्यन्ने ॥   With वि—व्याह्नि, व्यह्नि or व्यह्ने ; साय—सायाह्नि, सायाह्नि, सायाह्ने ॥   These are एकार्थसमास:, and this very sûtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or साय ॥   Thus we have मध्याह्ने = मध्यमह्नु: (II. 2. 1).   But पूर्वाह्ने and अपराह्ने only.

ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घो ण: ॥ १११ ॥   पदानि ॥ ढ्रलोपे, पूर्वस्य, दीर्घ:, अण: ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डकाररेफयोर्लोपे यस्मिन् स ढ्रलोपः, तत्र पूर्वस्थानो दीर्घो भवति ॥

111.   When ढ or र is elided, for the preceding अ, इ and उ a corresponding Long vowel is substituted.

Thus लीढम्, मीढम्, उपगूढम् ॥   र्लोपे-निर्-रक्तम् = नीरक्तम्, अग्निर् रथ: = भग्नीरथ:, इन्दू रथ:, पुना रक्तम् वास:, माता राजकय: ॥   For the elision of ड see VIII. 3. 13, and for the elision of र् see VIII. 3. 14. But आवृढम्, the ऋ is not lengthened because it is not included in the pratyahara अण् which is formed with the ण् of अ इ उ ण॥

सहिवहोरोदवर्णस्य ॥ ११२ ॥   पदानि ॥ सहि, वहो:, ओत्, अवर्णस्य, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सहि वहि इत्येतयोरवर्णस्योकार आदेशो भवति ढ्रलोपे ॥

112.   When ढ or र are elided, there is the substitution of ओ for the अ or आ of the verbs सह and वह ॥

Thus साढा, सोढुम्, सोढव्यम्, वोढा, वोढुम् and वोढव्यम् ॥ Why do we say of
अ or आ ? Observe ऊढः, ऊढयाम् ॥ Why do we say अवर्ण 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 उषवोढाम्, उषवोढम् ॥ Had merely अ been read into the
sûtra, instead of अवर्ण then coming after the त् of ओत्, it would have denot-
ed only short अ (तावपि परः = तपरः I. 1. 75).

**साढ्यै साढ्वा साढेति निगमे ॥ ११३ ॥   पदानि ॥ साढ्यै, साढ्वा, साढा, इति,
निगमे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ साढ्यै साढ्वा साढा इति निगमे निपात्यन्ते ॥

113.   साढ्यै, साढ्वा and साढा are irregularly formed
in the Vedas.

Thus साढ्यै समस्तात्, साढ्वा यत्न्त् ॥ The latter is formed by क्त्वा affix, the
ओ substitution not taking place. In the other alternative क्त्वा is changed to
घौ ॥ साढा is formed by तृच् affix. In the secular literature सोढा and सोढुम् are
the proper forms.

संहितायाम् ॥ ११४ ॥   पदानि ॥ संहितायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायामित्ययमधिकारः । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुकमिष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

114.   In the following sûtras upto the end of the
pâda, are to be supplied the following words :—"In an un-
interrupted flow of speech".

Thus sûtra VI. 3. 135 declares "अ at the end of a two-syllabic in-
flected verb becomes long in the Hymns". Thus विद्माहित्वा सत्पति शूरं गोनाम्
The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sûtra to complete the sense. So
that when the above words stand separately, we have विद्म,हि, त्वा, सत्पति, शूर, गोनाम्॥

**कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टाष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रस्रुवस्वस्तिकस्य ॥११५॥   पदानि ॥
कर्णे, लक्षणस्य, अविष्ट, अष्ट, पञ्च, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रुव, स्वस्तिकस्य (दीर्घः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णे शब्दे उत्तरपदे लक्षणवाचिनमी दीर्घो भवति विष्ट अष्टम् पञ्चन् मणि भिन्न छिन्न छिद्र स्रव स्वस्ति-
क इयेतान्यजिवर्ज्या ॥

115.   Before कर्ण, there is the substitution of a
long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it de-
notes a proprietorship mark on the ears of cattle, but not when
the words are विष्ट, अष्टन्, पञ्चन्, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रुव and
स्वस्तिक ॥

Thus शाभाकर्णः, द्विरुणाकर्णः, विरुणाकर्णः, त्र्यरुणाकर्णः, अष्ट रुलाकर्णः ॥ The word
कर्ण 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 तांगमकर्णः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of विट &c'? Observe विट्कर्णः ॥ अष्टकर्णः, पञ्चकर्णः, भिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, छिद्रकर्णः, नवकर्णः, स्वास्तिककर्णः and मणिकर्णः॥

नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु कौ ॥११६॥ पदानि ॥ नहि, वृति, वृषि, व्यधि, रुधि, सहि, तमिषु, कौ, ॥

वृतिः ॥ नहि वृति वृषि व्यधि रुधि सहि तमि इमेतेषु क्विमत्ययान्तेषूत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घो भवति सं-हितायां विषये ॥

116. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नह्, वृत्, वृष्, व्यध्, रुच्, सह् and तन्, when these roots take the affix क्वि ॥

Thus उपानह् (उपानत् Nom. S.), so also, परीणत्, नीवृत्, उपावृत्, (with vṛt) प्रावृट्, उपावृट्, (with vṛsh) ममाविध्, इरुधाविध्, भाविध्,(with vyadh) नीरुक्, अभीरुक्, (with ruch) क्रुतावट्, (with sah) तरीतन् (with tan). The nasal is elided after गम् before क्वि (VI. 4. 40), by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तन् also. Why do we say when क्वि follows? Observe परिनहनम् ॥

वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलुकादीनाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वन, गिर्योः, सं-ज्ञायाम्, कोटर, किंशुलकादीनाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन गिरि इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्यथासंख्यं कोटरादीनां किंशुलकादीनां च दीर्घो भवात 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, सिप्रकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किंशुलकागिरिः, अम्बमागिरिः, &c.

The न is changed to ण in वन by VIII. 4. 4. But भसिपद्यवनम् and कृष्ण-गिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

 1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक, 3 सिप्रक, 4 पुरग (पुरक), 5 शारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किंशुलुक (किंशुलक), 2 शाल्व (साल्वक), 3 नड॰, 4 अम्बन, 5 अम्बन, 6 लोहित, 7 कृष्कुट ॥

वले ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वले, (पूर्वस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वले परतः पूर्वस्य दीर्घो भवाति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुत्साहभ्रातृपितृणमिति ॥

118. The final of the preceding word is leng-thened before the affix वल ॥

Thus आञ्जलीवलः, कृपीवलः, दन्तावलः ॥ These are formed by the affix वलच् (V. 2. 112).

Vârt:—Not so, of उत्साह, भ्रातृ and पितृ : as उत्साहवल॰, भ्रातृवलः and पितृवलः ॥

मतौ बह्वचो ऽमजिरादीनाम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ, बह्व चः, अमजिरादीनाम्, (संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतौ परतो बह्वचो ऽजिरादिवर्जितस्य दीर्घो 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 इदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, बीरणावती, पुष्करावती, अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मतुप् (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 श्रीहिमती ॥ Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c'. Observe अजिरवती, खदिरवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकार-ण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening, as वलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खदिर, 3 पुलिन. 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक.

शरादीनां च ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ 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 श्रीहि &c as these belong to ववादि class (VIII. 2. 9).

1 शर, 2 वंश, 3 धूम, 4 वहि, 5 कपि 6 मणि, 7 मुनि, 8 हरिणि, 9 हनु.

इको वहे ऽपीलोः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, वहे, अपीलोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य पीलुवर्जितस्य वहउत्तरपरे दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपीलुव्यादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

121.   The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह ॥

Thus कपीवहम्, कपीवहम्, मुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Vârt:—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As शारवहम् ॥

उपसर्गस्य घञ्अघमनुष्ये बहुलम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, घञि, अमनु-ष्ये, बहुलम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्य घमन्तउत्तरपरे अमनुष्येअभिधेये बहुलं दीर्घो भवति ॥

122.   The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the kṛit-affix घञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus नीह्रेरः, वीमार्गः, अपामार्गः ॥ It does not take place, as प्रसंचः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before सार and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासारः and प्राकारः, otherwise प्रसारः and प्रकारः ॥ Optionally in वेध &c. as प्रतिवेधः or प्रतीवेधः, प्रतिरोधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥ When human beings are meant, there is no lengthening, as निपाशो मनुष्यः ॥

इकः काशे ॥ १२३ ॥   पदानि ॥ इकः, काशे, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य काशशब्दवत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

123. A Preposition ending in इ, or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As नीकाशः, वीकाशः, अनुकाशः ॥ काश is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इक् ॥

दस्ति ॥ १२४ ॥   पदानि ॥ दः, ति, (दीर्घः इकः उपसर्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा इत्येतस्य यस्तकारादिरादेशस्तस्मिन्परत 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 नीत्तम्, वीत्तम्, परीत्तम् ॥ See VII. 4. 47 for the change of दा to त ॥ But प्रत्तम्, अवत्तम्, where the prepositions do not end in इ or उ ॥ Why do we say 'दा is changed to त'? Observe वितीर्णम् नितीर्णम् ॥ Why do we say ति 'a substitute of दा, beginning with a त'? Observe दुरत्तम्, here दद् is the substitute of दा (VII. 4. 46).

अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२५ ॥   पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनित्येतस्योत्तरपदे संज्ञायां दीर्घो भवति ॥

125. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अष्टावक्रः, अष्टावन्धुरः अष्टापदम् ॥ But अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः where the compounds are not names.

छन्दसि च ॥ १२६ ॥   पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, च, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये अष्टन उत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गवि च युक्ते भाषायामष्टनो दीर्घो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

126. In the Veda also, the long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a second member.

Thus आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत्, अष्टाहिरण्या दक्षिणा, अष्टापदी रेवता सुमती ॥ The form अष्टापदी is the feminine in ङीप् (IV. 1. 8) of अष्टपाद् (V. 4. 138 the अ of पाद being elided in a Bahuvrīhi), पद् being substituted for पाद् by VI. 4. 130.

Vârt:—The final of अष्टन् is lengthened before गो even in the vernacular, when yoking is meant. Thus अष्टागवं शाकटम् ॥

चितेः कपि ॥ १२७ ॥   पदानि ॥ चितेः, कपि, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चितिशब्दस्य कपि परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

127. The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकक्षितीकः, द्विक्षितीकः, त्रिक्षितीकः ॥

विश्वस्य वसुराटोः ॥ १२८ ॥   पदानि ॥ विश्वस्य, वसु, राटोः, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विश्वशब्दस्य वसु राडित्येतयोरुत्तरपरयोर्दीर्घो भादिघो भवति ॥

128. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राट् (the form assumed by राज्).

Thus विश्ववसुः, विश्वराट् ॥ The rule applies to the राट् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form: as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

नरे संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥   पदानि ॥ नरे, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नरशब्दउत्तरपरे संज्ञायां विषये विश्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

129. The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a Name.

Thus विश्वानरः, वैश्वानरिः (the son of Vishvânara). But विश्वनरः = विश्वे नरा यस्य when it is not a name.

मित्रे चर्षौ ॥ १३० ॥   पदानि ॥ मित्रे, च, ऋषौ, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित्रे चोत्तरपरे ऋषावभिधेये विश्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

130. The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvâmitra'. But विश्वमित्रः 'a boy called Viśvamitra'.

मन्त्रे सोमाश्वेन्द्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ ॥ १३१ ॥   पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय, विश्वदेव्यस्य, मतौ, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये सोम अश्व इन्द्रिय विश्वदेव्य इत्येतेषां मतुप्प्रत्यये परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

131. In a Mantra, the final vowels of सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय and विश्वदेव्य are lengthened when the affix मतुप् follows.

Thus सोमावती, अश्वावती, इन्द्रियावती, विश्वदेव्यावती ॥

ओषधेश्च विभक्तावप्रथमायाम् ॥ १३२ ॥   पदानि ॥ ओषधेः, च, विभक्तौ, अप्रथमायाम्, (मन्त्रे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिशब्दस्य विभक्तावप्रथमायां परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

132. In a Mantra, the final of ओषधि is lengthened before the case-endings, but not in the Nominative.

Thus ओषधीभिरपीपतत्, नमः पृथिव्यै नमः ओषधीभ्यः ॥ Why do we say 'before case-endings'? Observe ओषधिपते ॥ Why do we say 'but not in the Nominative'? Observe स्थिरेयमस्त्वोषधिः ॥

ऋचि तुनुघमक्षुतङ्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम् ॥ १३३ ॥   पदानि ॥ ऋचि, तु, नु, घ, मक्षु, तङ्, कुत्र, उरुष्याणाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचि विषये तु नु घ मक्षु तङ् कु त्र उरुष्य इत्येषां दीर्घो भवति ॥

133. In the Rig-Veda the finals of the particles
नु, तु, घ, मक्षु, the tense-affix तङ्, कु, the ending न and the word
उरुष्य are lengthened.

Thus नु :—आ नू न इन्द्र वृत्रहन् (Rig IV. 32. 1) तु—तू करणे ॥   घ : —उत वाघा
स्यालात् ॥   मक्षुः—मधू गोमन्तमीमहे ॥ तङ् :—भरता जातंवेदसम् (Rig X. 176. 2).   तङ् is
the न substitute of या, when it is treated as ङित्, therefore it does not apply
here, मृजोत मावाजः (I. 2. 4).   कु—कुमनस ;   न—अभ्रा गौः ; उरुष्या जोग्रैः ॥

इकः सुञि ॥ १३४ ॥   पदानि ॥ इकः, सुञि, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुम् 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 षु जः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) वर्ध्वी ऊ षुण उतयथ (Rig I. 36. 13).
The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 107: and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

द्व्यचोतस्तिङः ॥ १३५ ॥   पदानि ॥ द्व्यचः, अतः, तिङः, (ऋचि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचस्तिङन्तस्यात छन्दविषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

135. A tense affix ending in अ is lengthened in
the Rig-veda, when the Verb consists of two syllables.

Thus विधा हि त्वा सत्पार्ति शूर गोनाम् &c. See Rig III. 42. 6, विधा हि तस्य पितरम्
&c. But not here देवा भवत वाजिनः, as the verb consists of more than two syllables:
not also here आ देवान् वसि वसि च as the verbs do not end in अ ॥

निपातस्य च ॥ १३६ ॥   पदानि ॥ निपातस्य, च, (ऋचि) (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निपातस्य च छन्दविषये दीर्घ आदेशो भवति ॥

136. In the Rig Veda the final of a particle is leng-
thened.

Thus एवा ते, अच्छाते, अच्छा जरितारः (R. 1. 2. 2).

अन्येषामपि दृश्यते ॥ १३७ ॥   पदानि ॥ अन्येषाम्, अपि, दृश्यते, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येषामपि दीर्घो दृश्यते स शिष्टप्रयोगादनुगन्तव्यः ॥ यस्य दीर्घत्वं न विहितं दृश्यते च प्रयोगे तत्-
नेन कर्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुनो दन्तंष्ट्राकर्णकुन्नवराहपुच्छपदेषु ॥

137. The elongation of the final is to be found
in other words also.

Here we must follow the usage of the Śishṭhas. 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
केषाकोषि, कचाकचि, जलासाद्, मारकः, पूरुषः ॥

Vârt:—The final of भ्रम् is lengthened before the following दन्त, दृष्ट, कर्ण कुन्द, वराह, पुच्छ, and पद:—as भावन्तः भांदृष्टः, भाकर्णः, भाकुन्दः, भावराहः, भायुच्छः, भापदः ॥

चौ ॥ १३८ ॥   पदानि ॥ चौ, (पूर्वस्यदीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चौ परतः पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥ चाविल्यऊर्चातर्लुप्तनकाराकारो गृह्यते ॥

138. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च, having lost its nasal and the vowel.

Thus दधीचः पम्ब, दधीचा, दधीचे, मधूचः पम्ब, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The nasal of भङ्च is elided by VI. 4. 24, and the भ by VI. 4. 138. In दधि+अच् the इ is not changed to its semivowel, though that is an antaranga rule, because the present sûtra ordains specifically long ई, and so also दधी+अच् and मधू+अच् ॥ See also VI. 3. 92.

संप्रसारणस्य ॥ १३९ ॥   पदानि ॥ संप्रसारणस्य, (उत्तरपदे दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणान्तस्य पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

139. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कारीषगन्धीयुमः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः, कौष्ठुवगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13. करीषस्येव गन्धोऽस्य=करीषगन्धिः (इ being added as samâsânta by V. 4. 136 and 137). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61. does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option; moreover, on the maxim of परत्व, '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 सकृत्ता, विप्रतिषेधेयद्वाधितं 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."

ओ३म् ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

Chapter Fourth

अङ्गस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयमाऽऽसप्तमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित उर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽङ्गस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sûtra. Thus in VI. 4. 2 is taught the lengthening of the vowel of a samprasâraṇa : as कूतः, कीतः, संगीतः ॥ That means that the vowel preceded by a consonant belonging to the stem is lengthened. Therefore in निर्+वेश+क्त=निरुतम्, the vocalised vowel उ is not lengthened, as निर् is upasarga and not stem. So दुरुतम् ॥ Similarly VI. 4. 3, teaches the lengthening of the final before नाम्, as अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् ॥ But क्रिमिणाम् पश्य, पामनां पश्य, as मि and न are not the end-portions of a stem. The stem is क्रिमिणा and पामना 'a female having क्रिमि or पामन्', formed by न affix (V. 2. 100). The forms क्रिमिणाम् and पामनाम् are Accusative Singular. Similarly VII. 1. 9 teaches that after अ, भिस् is changed into ऐस् ॥ As वृक्षैः, प्लक्षैः ॥ There also, the अ must be the अ final in an aṅga or stem : hence not here ब्राह्मणभिस्सा, चौदनभिस्सरा, the भिस does not follow an aṅga. भिस्स means boiled rice and भिस्सरा means तृषिः ॥

The maxim of अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य does not apply here ; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of making this sûtra. For example, in the sûtra नामि (VI. 4. 3), the affix नाम् having a meaning would have been meant, and not any other नाम् ॥

The word अङ्गस्य must be read in the following sûtras, otherwise there would arise incongruity : *first*; sûtras teaching the lengthening of the vowel when सम् or Samprasarana follows, thus : VI. 4. 16 ordains the lengthening of vowel before सम्, as विवीषति ; but not here इधि सनोति for इ of इधि is not that of aṅga. So also in Samprasârana, but not in निरुत &c as shown above.

2ndly—For the purposes of एत्व in sûtra VI. 4. 68. The optional change of आ into ए must refer to anga,, as ग्लेयात् or ग्लायात्, but not here निर्वा- यात् or निर्वायात्, for here र is not part of the anga, and so य cannot be consider- ed 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 hot here जीव तु स्वम् ॥

4thly—For the substitution of इयङ् aud उवङ् in VI. 4. 77. Therefore not here इयर्थम् and वर्यम् ॥

5thly—For the sake of नुद् augment in VII. 1. 54. But not here कुमारी आमिति आह ॥

6thly—For the sake of shortening of vowels. Thus VII. 4. 13 or- dains the shortening of अण् vowels before क ॥ It refers to the anga-vowel, as कुमारिका ॥ But not here, कुमारी कस्मै स्पृहयति or कुमार्याः कं सुखं = कुमारीकं ॥

And lastly for तत्व or त substitution. Thus VII. 4. 48 ordains the change of उ into त् in the case of अप् before भ ॥ It refers to anga, as अद्भिः ॥ But not here अब्भारः, for अप् here is not anga.

To sum up in Sanskrit : सन् सम्प्रसारण दीर्घत्वेस्वतातांङ्यङुवह्नुट इस्त्वत्व तत्वे च अङ्गस्यत्वधिकारे प्रयोजनं ॥

The word अङ्गस्य is in the Genitive case. But the force of Genitive is here not only that taught in I. 1. 49 (स्थाने योगः), but of mere relation-ship. Or अङ्गस्य may be considered as a mere prâtipadika, without any case-affix. In the subsequent aphorisms, it should be read with proper case-affixes as the exigencies of each sûtra may require. Thus in अतो भिस ऐस् (VII. 1. 9) अङ्ग should be read in the ablative case : अकारान्तात् अङ्गात् भिसः ऐस् ॥ The Genitive case has force of स्थानषष्ठी in sûtras like हन्तेर्ज, where the *whole* of इन् is replaced (VI. 4. 36). It has the force of अवयवषष्ठी in sûtras like ऋदुपधाया 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 ॥ अङ्गावयवाद्धलो 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 preced- ed by a consonant which is a portion of the stem.

Both the words दीर्घ and अण् from VI. 3. 111, and संप्रसारण from VI. 3. 139 are understood here. Thus हूः from हा, जीनः from उवा, संवीतः from व्या ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe उतः and उतवान् from वेञ्॥ Why do we say that the preceding consonant should be a portion of the stem?

Observe निस्तम्, here र is not an integral part of the stem, but a portion of the upasarga निर् and therefore र is not lengthened. Why do we say 'at the end of a stem'? Observe विद्धः, विषितः from व्यध् and व्यष्; here the vowel इ is in the *middle* of the stem. Why do we say 'अ, इ and उ substitutes of semivowels'? Observe तृतीयः ॥ Here रि has been vocalised into ऋ, ऋ being substituted for र् before the affix तीय (V. 2. 55). The ऋ will not be lengthened. Or the absence of lengthening in तृतीय is an irregularity countenanced by Pâṇini himself in sûtras like II. 1. 30 &c. The word अम् should be repeated in this sûtra, first to qualify the word हल्, and then to qualify the letters अ, इ and उ ॥

नामि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नामि, (अङ्गस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामीत्येतत्ष्ठीबहुवचनम् आगतनुट्कं गृह्यते ॥ तस्मिन्नपरतोऽङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

Kârikâ—नामि दीर्घं आमि चेत्स्यात्कृते दीर्घे न नुट् भवेत् ।
वचनायम् तन्नास्ति, नोपधायाश्च चर्मणाम् ॥

3. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment नुट्).

Thus अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम्, कर्तॄणाम्, हर्तॄणाम् ॥ The anuvṛitti of अण् (VI. 3. 111) ceases. The augment नुट्(VII. 1. 54) in नाम् is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra; like VI.4.7. and the lengthening takes place after the addition of नुट् to the genitive affix आम् ॥ For if the lengthening took place before the addition of नुट्, there would be no occasion for नुट् which comes only after short stems.

न तिस्ऋचतस्ऋ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तिस्ऋ, चतस्ऋ, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिस्ऋ चतस्ऋ इत्येतयोर्नामि दीर्घो न भवति ॥

4. The finals of तिस्ऋ and चतस्ऋ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

As तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम् ॥ The very fact of this prohibition proves by implication that the final ऋ of these words is not changed to र before a genitive plural, VII. 2. 100 notwithstanding. In fact नुट् 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, उभय था ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये तिस्ऋचतस्ऋोर्नामि परत उभयथा दृश्यते, दीर्घभावोदीर्घश्च ॥

5. In the Veda, the finals of तिस्ऋ and चतस्ऋ are found in both ways, before the Genitive plural नाम् ॥

In some places they are seen as lengthened, in others not. As तिसृण मध्यंसिने or तिसृणाम् मध्यंसिने ॥ So also चतसृणाम् and चतसृणाम् ॥

नृ च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्य नामि परत्युभयथा भवति ॥

6.   So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम is leng-
thened optionally.

As स्वं नृणां नृपते, and स्वं नृणां नृपते ॥   According to some this option is con-
fined to the Vedas, according to others, it extends to secular literature also.

नोपधायाः ॥ ७ ॥   पदानि ॥ न, उपधायाः, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तस्याङ्गस्योपधाया नामि परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

7.   In a stem ending in नृ, the preceding vowel is
lengthened before the affix नाम ॥

Thus पञ्चन् + नाम (VII. 1. 55) = पञ्चान् + नाम (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 नाम but आम् without नुट् ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ ॥ ८ ॥   पदानि ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने, च, असम्बुद्धौ (नोप-
धायाः दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने च परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ नोपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

8.   In a stem ending in नृ, the preceding vowel is
lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative
singular.

As राजा, राजानौ, राजानः, राजानम्, राजानौ ॥   So also सामानि तिष्ठन्ति ॥ राजा was
राजान्स्, the स् was elided by VI. 1. 68, and न by VIII. 2. 7. Why do we say 'in
strong cases'?   Observe राजनि (Loc-Sing); सामनि (Loc. Sing).   Why do we say
'but not in the Vocative Singular'?   Observe हे राजन् ! हे तक्षन् !

घा षपूर्वस्य निगमे ॥ ९ ॥   पदानि ॥ घा, ष, पूर्वस्य, निगमे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षपूर्वस्याचो नोपधाया निगमविषये सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ वा दीर्घो भवति ॥

9.   The lengthening of the penultimate vowel of a
stem ending in नृ, before the affixes of the strong-case, is optional
in the Veda, when ष precedes such a vowel.

Thus स तक्षाणं or तक्षणं, तिष्ठन्तमब्रवीत् । ऋधुक्षाणं or ऋधुक्षणमिन्द्रम् ॥
Why do we say 'in the Veda'? In the secular literature we have तक्षा, तक्षाणौ
तक्षाणः always.

सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥   पदानि ॥ सान्त, महतः, संयोगस्य, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य संयोगस्य यो नकारः महतश्च तस्योपधाया दीर्घो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ ॥

10.   In the strong cases with the exception of Voca-
tive singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case
of a stem ending in स, with a Nasal consonant preceding it,
and of महत् ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant न्स, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases. Thus श्रेयान्, श्रेयांसौ, श्रेयांसः, श्रेयांसि, पयांसि, यशांसि ॥ महत्—महान्, महान्तौ, महान्तः ॥ But हे श्रेयन्, हे महन् in Vocative Singular. The Nasal is inserted by VII. 1. 70.

अप्तृन्तृच्स्वसृनप्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृक्षत्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्तृणाम् ॥११॥ पदानि ॥ अप्, तृन्, तृच्, स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ, प्रशास्तृणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इयेतस्य तृजन्तस्य स्वसृ नप्तृ नष्टृ त्वष्टृ क्षत्तृ होतृ पोतृ प्रशास्तृ इयेतेषां 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, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ and प्रशास्तृ ॥

Thus आपः तिष्ठन्ति ॥ Some would have it even in compounds; as बहूम्पि सडागानि ॥ The Samâsânta rule is not applied here, because it is *anitya*. If it be considered *nitya*, then also there is lengthening, but without the addition of the nasal. तत्र समासान्तो विधिरनित्य इति समासान्तो न क्रियते। नित्यमपि च नुममकृत्वा दीर्घत्वमिष्यते। तन्। कर्त्तारौ कटान्। वरितारौ जनापवासान्। कर्त्तारः। तृच्। कर्त्तारौ कटस्य। कर्त्तारः। हत्तारौ भारस्य, हत्तारः। स्वसृ। स्वसा। स्वसारौ। स्वसारः। नप्तृ। नप्ता। नप्तारौ। नप्तारः। नेष्टृ। नेष्टारौ। नेष्टारः। त्वष्टृ। त्वष्टारौ। त्वष्टारः। क्षत्तृ। क्षत्तारौ। क्षत्तारः। होतृ। होतारौ। होतारः। पोतृ। पोतारौ। पोतारः। प्रशास्तृ। प्रशास्तारौ। प्रशास्तारः। नप्त्रादीनां ग्रहणमव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे विध्यर्थम्। व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम्। एवंभूतानामन्येषां संज्ञा-शब्दानां दीर्घो मा भूदिति। पितरौ। पितरः। मातरौ। मातरः। असंबुद्धाविति किम्। हेकर्त्तः। हेस्वसः ॥

If the words नप्तृ &c. be considered as रूढि, not derived from any root, then their enumeration is here for the sake of Vidhi (injunction); if they be considered as derivative words formed by Uṇâdi 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 इयेवमन्तानामङ्गानां 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 तदन्त विधिं प्रयोजयन्ति", the employment of इन् in this sûtra includes and means "words *ending* in the syllable इन्" ॥ As regards the rest (हन् &c.), the affix शि (Neuter Pl.) is never added to them alone, but when they are parts of a compound. Thus हन् is a noun formed by the addition of

the affix 'क्विप् to the root हन् ; and the affix Kvip is added to it only then, when it is preceded by another word like "Brahma" &c. See III. 2. 87. Similarly the words पूषन् and अर्यमन् are masculine and cannot take the Neuter Plural affix शि in their original state. They must be parts of a neuter compound, to admit this affix. Hence we have used words " when the stem *ends* in हन् &c."

Thus बहुदण्डीनि and बहुच्छत्रीणि । बहुवृत्रहाणि । बहुभ्रूणहाणि । बहुपूषाणि । बह्वर्यमाणि ॥ सिद्धे सत्यारम्भो नियमार्थः । इन्ह न्पूषार्यम्णाम्रुपधायाः घावेव दीर्घो भवति नान्यत्र । दण्डिनौ । छत्रिणौ । वृत्रहणौ । 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 दण्डिनौ, छत्रिणौ, वृत्र-हणौ, पूषणौ, अर्यमणौ ॥

Kârikâ :—Regarding the rule of lengthening taught about इन् &c here, let the wise reader, after making a restrictive rule with regard to सुट् (sarva-nâmas thâna) affixes in general, make again another rule regarding the affix शि in particular, (i. e., make a yoga-bibhâga). By so doing, the form भ्रूणहनि (Loc. sin.) of the Achârya, will not be found fault with.

2. (But if yoga-vibhaga be not made) then I rule that the anuvritti of सुट् being dropped, let the rule be made with regard to शि affix in general (without regarding it as a Sarvanâmasthâna affix). And as the rule of lengthening applies to penultimates, there would arise no fault, if the vowel of हन् is lengthened before the demonstrative affix य (in words like वृत्रहायते = वृत्रहा इव आचरत, This refers to VII, 4. 25).

3. Or if the anuvritti of सुट् (Sarvanamasthana) be taken into this Sûtra, because of the context, then the mention of शि in this Sûtra, (would be redundant, because the word Sarvanâmasthâna includes it, so far as the strong cases are concerned) but it would find scope and utility in preventing the lengthening in those cases to which the context of Sarvanâmasthâna does not apply. That is, the Sarvanâmasthâna will be restricted with regard to इन् &c to the affix शि and not to सुट् affixes generally.

Note :—शि is the affix of the Nom. and Acc. Pl. in Neuter (VII. 1. 20.) It it a Sarvanamasthana by I. 1. 42. But the word Sarvanamasthana may be read into this sutra from the preceding VI. 4. 8. What is then the necessity of employing शि in this ? The above karika answers this.

In the case of इन् ending words, the subsequent rule VI. 4. 15, which required the lengthening of the penultimate vowel before an affix having an indicatory क or ङ, is however debarred by the present restrictive rule. Thus the Locative Singular (ङि) is वृत्रहनि, and भ्रूणहनि ॥ How do you make this ? By splitting up the present sutra into two parts, the first part being इन् हन् पूषार्यम्णाम्, and the second being शौ ॥ It would then mean :—

(1) The penultimate vowel is lengthened, in strong cases only and no where else, when the stem ends in इन् or हन् or in पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥ (2) So also it is lengthened before the strong case शि and no where else. These two restrictive rules therefore, would debar all other rules of penultimate lengthening which would otherwise have been applicable. But a rule which does not relate to *penultimate* vowel, is not debarred by this restriction, but does take effect. Thus वृत्रहायते, भ्रूणहायते denominative verbs in क्यङ् ॥

Or even though the Sarvanâmasthâna may be read into the sûtra by anuvritti, yet this may be considered a Restrictive Rule in general, and not only with regard to शि considered a Sarvanâmasthâna or a Neuter affix शि is the Sarvanâmasthâna affix of the Neuter : which has no other Sarvanâmasthâna, therefore, it is a general Niyama and not only a Sarvanâmasthâna or a Neuter niyama. Therefore in this niyama the word "नपुंस-कस्य"—" of the Neuter "—is not to be taken.

For if it be taken, then the Sûtra would mean, the neuter stems in इन् &c are lengthened in शि only and no where else. The result would be that in examples like भ्रूणहनि ब्राह्मणकुले (loc. sin), there would be no lengthening at all (i.e. we shall never have the form भ्रूणहानि in loc. sin. by force of VI. 4. 15); moreover, by so doing, there would arise this anomaly also, that words other than Neuter would also not be lengthened.

The force of the definition of Sarvanâmasthâna applies to Neuter also in certain cases, therefore, any rule (niyama) made with regard to Sarvanâmasthâna would apply to Neuter also.

सौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, च, (उपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सावसंबुद्धौ परत इन्हन्पूषार्यम्णाञुपधाया रीर्घो 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 दण्डी, वृत्रहा, पूषा, अर्यमा ॥ The न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7, and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. In the Vocative singular we have हे दण्डिन्, हे पूषन्, हे वृत्रहन्, हे अर्यमन् ॥

अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतु, असन्तस्य, च, अधातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतु अस इत्येवमन्तस्य अधातोरुपधायाः सावसंबुद्धौ परतो रीर्घो 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 डवतुप् Uṇ I. 63 from भा to shine), कृतवान् (with क्तवतु) ; 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, सुयघाः, सुश्रोताः ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging to a dhâtu'? Observe पिण्डमः where स् belongs to the root मस् (पिण्डं मसते), so also चर्मयः (चर्म वस्ते) ॥ The अस् having no significance as an affix &c is also included here, on the strength of the maxim "whenever अच् 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 महानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तवन्तविधि प्रयोजयन्ति) ॥ The word अन्त in the sûtra indicates whatever *ends* in अतु whether when first enunciated (उपदेश), such as उअतु, क्वतु &c, or which assumes the form अतु in grammatical inflection, such as मतुप् which in upadeśa ends in अतुप्, but becomes अतु in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गोमन्, हे सुपयः this rule not applying there.

अनुनासिकस्य क्विझलो: क्ङिति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकस्य, क्वि, झलो:, क्ङिति, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्य उपधाया दीर्घो भवति क्विमत्यये परतो झलादौ च क्ङिति ॥

15. The penultimate vowel of a stem, ending in a nasal, is lengthened before the affix क्वि, and before an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ्, which begins with a consonant other than a semivowel or a nasal.

Thus प्रशान् and प्रतान् from the roots शम् and तम् by VIII. 2. 64. So also before an affix beginning with a झल् consonant (any consonant but a nasal and a semivowel). As शान्तः (with क्त), शान्तवान् (with क्तवतु), शान्त्वा (with क्त्वा), and शान्तिः (with क्तिन्). These are all formed with क्तित् affixes. As to ङित् affixes we have शंशान्तः and तन्तान्तः formed by तस् 3rd Person Dual added to the Intensive roots शम् and तम् ॥ तस् is ङित् by I. 2. 4. Why do we say 'ending in a Nasal'? Observe आस्नपक्र, पक्रः, पक्रवान् ॥ Why do we say 'before क्वि and jhalâdi affix'? Observe गम्यते, रम्यते ॥ Why do we say a ङित् or a कित् affix? Observe गन्ता and रन्ता ॥

अज्झनगमां सनि ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, हन्, गमाम्. सनि, (वा दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तानामङ्हानां हनिगम्योश्च सनि झलादौ परे वा दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गमेरिडङिदेशस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16, The lengthening of the vowel takes place in the case of a stem ending in a vowel, as well as of हन् and गम्, when the Desiderative affix सन् being jhalâdi (i. e. not taking the augment इट्) follows.

Thus of roots ending in vowel we have :—विशीर्षति, तुतूर्षति, चिकीर्षति, जिहीर्षति (VII. 1. 100) ; of हन् and गम्, जिघांसति, and अधिजिगांसते ॥

Várt :—The rule applies to that नम् which is the substitute of इङ् (II. 4. 48) 'to study'. Therefore, not here, संजिगंसते वस्तां मात्रा (cf. VII. 2. 58) ; In the Veda we read स्वर्गं लोकं समजिगांसत्, where though नम् means 'to go' and is not, therefore, the substitute of इङ्, the lengthening takes place by the rule VI. 3, 137. Or the word अच् should not be added in the sûtra at all : which should be read as इनगमां 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 नम् also, in this way :—"A stem ending in a vowel is lengthened in the Desiderative, and so also of नम् which is a substitute of the vowel-stem इ" ॥ In this way, we may see, that there is no necessity of the Vârtika.

तनोतेर्विभाषा ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनोंतेरङ्गस्य सनि झलादौ विभाषा दीर्घो भवति ॥

17. The lengthening of the stem of तन् is optional, before the Desiderative सन्, when it does not take the augment इट् ॥

Thus तितांसति or तितंसति ॥ But in तितनिषति no alternative is allowed, as इट् is added to सन् by VII. 2. 49 Vârt: optionally.

क्रमश्च क्ति ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, च, क्ति, (झलि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम उपधाया विभाषा दीर्घो भवति क्त्वाप्रत्यये झलादौ परतः ॥

18. The penultimate of क्रम् is optionally lengthened, before the affix क्ता, when it is without the augment इट् ॥

Thus क्रन्त्वा or क्राम्त्वा ; but क्रमित्वा only, with इट् augment. But when क्त्वा is replaced by ल्यप्, the rule does not apply : as प्रक्रम्य, उपक्रम्य ॥ This is on the maxim अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गोल्यप् बाधते 'a bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaranga rule".

छत्वो: शूडनुनासिके च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छत्वोः, शूड्, अनुनासिके, च, (किझलोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छ इत्येतस्य सतुक्कस्य वकारस्य च स्थाने यथासंख्यं श ऊड् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः, अनुनासिकादौ प्रत्यये परतः क्वौ झलादौ च कङितिः ॥

19. For छ्छ (including the augment तुक्) is substituted श, and for व is substituted ऊड्, before an affix beginning with a Nasal, as well as before क्वि and jhalâdi ङित् and कित् affixes (VI. 4. 15).

Thus प्रश्नः, विश्नः from प्रच्छ् and विच्छ, with the affix नङ् (III. 3. 90) the च्छ being replaced by श ॥ Similarly from the root सिव् we have स्योनः thus: सिव् + न (Un III. 9). = सि + ऊ + न = स्यू + 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 सिव् + न = सेव् + 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+ऋ=स्यृ, 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 Aṅgâdhikâra, and affects the aṅga or stem, possesses greater force than an operation which concerns a combination of letters (i. e. is taught in a sandhi rule)".

With क्नु we have शब्रमाद् 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 श्. So also गोविश् ॥

Of the change of व into ऊ we have the following :—अभऋयू:, हिरण्ययू: (विव्+क्विप्=वि+ऊ+यू:) ॥ 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 बहिष्ट प्रक्लप्तिः "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 (क्तवतु), पृष्ट्वा (क्त्वा); here च्छ is changed to. ष्, there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, and ष changed to ट by VIII. 2. 36.

So also व is changed to ऊ as, धूत:, धूतवान्, धूत्वा ॥

When the affixes are not ङित् or कित्, the rule does not apply: as गुभ्याम्, गुभिः ॥ Some do not read the anuvritti of कित् and ङित् into this sûtra, and explain गुभ्याम् and गुभिः by VI. 1. 131 : उ short being substituted for व of दिव् ॥

In "छ्वां व्" (VIII. 2. 36) the letter छ should not be taken, because by the force of the present sûtra, व is ordained to come every where in the place of छ ॥

The indicatory ड् in ऊड् is for the sake of distinguishing this ऊ in sûtras like एचे धरयूड् झु (VI. 1. 89). In the sutra वाह ऊड् (VI. 4. 132) there is also indicatory ड ॥

ज्वरत्वरश्रिव्यविमवामुपधायाश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्वर, त्वर, श्रिवि, अवि, मवाम, उपधायाः, च, (किज्झलोः वस्य) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ ज्वर त्वर श्रिवि अव मव इत्येतेषामङ्गानां वकारस्य उपधायाश्च स्थाने ऊदित्ययमादेशो भवति क्वौ परतो ऽनुनासिके झलादौ च कृङिति ॥

20. In ज्वर्, त्वर्, श्रिव्, अव्, and मव्, before the above-mentioned affixes (क्विव, a Nasal or a jhalâdi 'कित्' or ङित्) there is the single substitution of ऊड् for the व्, and the vowel preceding the final consonant.

Thus झुः, झुरौ, झुरः, झूर्तिः ॥ स्वरः—हुः, तुरौ, तुरः, तुगिः ॥ श्रिविः—मूः, मुर्वा, मुवः, मूतः मूतवान्, मूतिः ॥ अवूः—ऊः, उर्वा, उवः, ऊतिः ॥ मवः—मूः, मुवौ, मुवः, मूतः, मूतवान्, मूतिः ॥ ज्वरस्वरो- रुपधा वकारात् परा, श्रिव्य वमवां पूर्वा ॥

In ज्वर and स्वर the ऊ replaces व as well as the अ which *follows* व; and in श्रिव, अव and मव it replaces the व and the vowel इ and अ which *precede* व ॥ Another reading is ख़िव् ॥

राल्लोपः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, लोपः, (किझल्लोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफादुत्तरयोरछ्वोर्लोपो भवति क्वौ परतो झलादौ कडिति च परतः ॥

21.   After र there is the elision of छ and व before 'कि' and jhalâdi 'कित्' and 'ङित्' affixes.

Thus from मुर्छा—मूर्, मुरौ, मुरः, मूर्तः मूर्तवान्, मूर्तिः, the त of Nishthâ is not changed into न by VII₁. 2. 57. So also from हुछा we have हूर्, हुरौ, हुरः, हूर्णः, हूर्ण-वान्, हूर्तिः ॥ So also the व is elided, as from तूर्व्रीः—तूर्, तुरौ, तुरः, तूर्णः, तूर्णवान्, तूर्तिः ॥ धुर्वीः—धूः, धुरौ, धुरः, धूर्णः, धूर्णवान्, धूर्तिः ॥

असिद्धवदत्राऽऽ भात् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ असिद्धवत्, अत्र, आभात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असिद्धवदित्ययमधिकारो यदित ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आ मध्यावपरिसमाप्तेस्तद् असिद्धवदेवेतितव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ द्युगुदावुवह्रयणोः सिद्धो भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22.   The change, which a stem will undergo by the application of any of the rules from this sûtra upto VI. 4. 129, is to be considered as not to have taken effect, when we have to apply any other rule of this very section VI. 4. 23 to 129.

This is an adhikâra rule. The above translation is given according to Prof. Bohtlingk. According to Kâsika the असिद्धवत् extends up to the end of the chapter. Dr. Ballantyne translates it thus :—"The rules, reckoning from this one to the end of the chapter, are called Abhiya, because the chapter ends with a series of rules dependant on the aphorism 'bhasya' VI. 4. 129. When that (i. e. one of the âbhiya rules) is to be brought into operation, having the same place for coming into operation as another âbhiya, which has already taken effect, that one which has taken effect, shall be regarded as not having taken effect".

The word आभात् means 'up to म' i. e. upto VI. 4. 129. in which last sûtra the word म 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 'âdeśa' or substitution taught by another rule should not be considered to have taken effect in apply-ing the special rule. Thus in forming एधि and शाधि (Imperative 2nd person)

ए is first substituted for अस् 'to be' by VI. 4. 119 : and श्रा for शास् by VI. 4. 35 and then is धि added by VI. 4. 101. The latter rule says that धि is added in the Imperative, only after those roots which end in a consonant of झल् class. Now अस् and शास् end in a *jhal* consonant, and can take धि, but their substitute ए and श्रा 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 श्रा for शास् should be considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect. Similarly in श्रागहि (Vedic Imperative, शप् 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 श्राग and ज, which ending in श्र would require the ellision 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 श्राभात् ' up to VI. 4. 129'? In applying any other rule the changes ordained by Abhiya rules would not be considered as asiddha. Thus श्रभार्जि and राग: from भञ्ज and रञ्ज ॥ Here the nasals of rañj and bhañj have been elided by VI. 4. 27-28 and 33 before the affixes घञ् and णिच् respectively, and we have the stems रञ्, and भज् to which rule VII. 2. 116 applies and we have Vṛiddhi of श्र preceding the final consonant. Had the elision of the nasal been considered as non-effective for the purposes of VII. 2. 116, then श्र could not have taken Vṛiddhi, as it would not then be उपधा or penultimate.

Why do we use the word श्रञ्च in the aphorism ? The rules are asiddha to each other with regard to a common place of operation and not otherwise. Thus पा + वस् (क्वसु) + अस् (शस् Acc. Pl). = पपा + उस् + अस् (VI. 4. 131 vocalisation of व). If this उ substitute be considered as asiddha for the purposes of sûtra VI. 4. 64, then we cannot elide the श्रा of पा, because श्रा is not then followed by a vowel (उ being non-existent). उ however is not considered as asiddha, and श्रा being thus elided, we have पपुष: in पपुष: पश्य ॥ Similarly चि + वस् + अस् = चिचि + उस् + अस् ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we apply rule VI. 4. 82, and substitute य् for उ as चिच्युष: पश्य ॥ Similarly हू + वस् + अस् जुहू + उस् + अस् = जुहुवुष: ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we change the ऊ of हू into उव् by VI. 4. 77. In all the above three cases, the elision of श्रा, or change of इ to य, or of ऊ to उव्, takes place in reference to वस्, while the samprasâraṇa of व takes place with reference to the Accusative plural case-ending अस् which makes the stem Bha. So they have not the same श्राभ्रय ॥ Nor does the maxim of असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे apply here, because the special maxim of Abhiya governs the sûtras of this section, so there cannot be the relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga among these sûtras, simultaneously with their being asiddha to each other.

Vârt:—The substitute बुक् (VI. 4. 88), and युट् (VI. 4. 63) should however be considered as not asiddha, and rule VI. 4. 77 teaching उवङ् and VI. 4. 82, teaching ब substitution should not be applied simultaneously with them. Thus भू—बभूव, बभूवतुः बभूवुः with बुक्, and उपरिशीये, उपरिशीयाते, उपरिशीयिरे with युट् 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 युट् is added, there is not बणादेश ॥

The आ in आभात् has the force of limit inclusive, so that, the asiddha rule applies to the sûtras governed by भ ॥

आम्नलोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्नात्, न लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्नादिति श्नमयन्तुस्तुष्टमकारो गृह्यते तत उत्तरस्य नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. After न, which is added to the roots of the seventh class as a characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa श्नम्), there is the elision of the following न ॥

Thus अनक्ति and भनक्ति from अञ्जु 'to anoint', and भञ्जु 'to break'. Thus अञ्जु + श्नम् + तिप् = अनञ्ज + ति (I. 1. 47) = अनञ्ज + ति (VI. 4. 23) = अनक्ति ॥ So also हिनस्ति from हिसि (हिन्स्) 'to injure'. Why do we say 'after भ्' and not merely 'after न', without the indicatory म? Observe यञ्नाम्, यब्नाम्, where the न of नाम् is not elided after the न of यञ्ज and यब्ज, the lengthening of भ by VII. 3. 102 being sthânivat would not have prevented the elision. In the case of विभ्नाम् and प्रभ्नाम् (formed by विभ्र + नाम् and प्रभ्र + नाम्) also, the न of नाम् is not elided after भ of विभ्र ॥ For the भ of the sûtra is the *technical* भ the vikaraṇa, and not any combination of the letters भ and न ॥ The pratipadokta maxim applies here. लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव महणम् ॥

अनिदितां हल उपधायाः क्ङिति ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनिदिताम्, हलः, उपधायाः, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिदितामङ्गानां हलन्तानामुपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनिदितां नंलोप लब्लिकम्योरुपतापघरीरविकारयोरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ उञ्झर्जी घृगरमणडउपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यन् ॥ वा० ॥ घिनुणि च उञ्झरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ रज्करजनञ्ज: मूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

24. In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न्,—this न not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory र (VII. 1. 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ् follows.

Thus from स्रन्स् and ध्वन्स् are formed स्रस्तः and ध्वस्तः with क्त, स्रस्यते, ध्वस्यते with यक्, सनीस्रस्यते, सनीध्वस्यते with यङ् the नी being added by VII. 4. 84. But नम्यते and नानम्यते, the न् is not elided, the root being written in the Dhâtupâtha as णुदि समृद्धौ, and न being added by VII. 1. 58. Why do we say ending in a consonant? Observe नीयते, ननीयते from नी which has a penulti-

mate nasal, but ends in a vowel. Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe नह्यते, नानह्यते ॥ Why do we say having an indicatory क or इ ? Observe स्रंसनं, ध्वंसनं with ल्युट् ॥

Vârt :—The roots लङ्गि (लगि) and कम्पि (कपि) 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 अनिदित् : thus विलगितः and विकपितः, when not having the above meanings, we have विलङ्गितं and विकम्पितं ॥

Vârt :—The causative of the root रञ्ज, loses its nasal when meaning 'to hunt deer' : as, रजयति मृगान् 'he hunts the deer', but रञ्जयति वस्त्राणि 'he colors the clothes'.

Vârt :—रञ्ज loses its nasal before the affix चिनुण्, as रागी ॥

Vârt :—The words रजकः, रजनम्, and रजः are formed from रञ्ज by the elision of the nasal.

दंशसञ्जस्वञ्जां शपि ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दंश, सञ्ज, स्वञ्जाम्, शपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दंश सञ्ज व्यञ्ज इत्येतेषामङ्गानां शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

25. The nasal of दंश्, संज् and स्वञ्ज् is elided before the vikaraṇa शप् of the roots of the 1st class.

Thus दशति, सजति and परिष्वजते for the change of the स् of स्वञ्ज् to ष see VIII. 3. 65

रञ्जेश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रञ्जेः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रञ्जेश्च शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

26. The nasal of रञ्ज is also elided before शप् ॥

As रजति, रजतः, रजन्ति ॥ The separation of this from the preceding is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras 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 राग: ' passion, color, or the coloring stuff'. Thus आभयों राग:, विचित्र राग: denote भाव, while रज्यतेऽनेनिति राग: denotes instrument. The घञ is added by III. 3. 121; and ज् changed to ग् by VII. 3. 52. But रङ्ग:=रज्यन्ति तस्मिन् ' a theatre ;

स्यदो जवे ॥ २८ ॥ स्यद:, जवे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जवे अभिधेये स्यद इति घञि निपात्यते । स्यन्देर्नलोपो वृष्यमावम् ॥

28. The word स्यद is formed by घञ् in the sense of 'speed'.

This word is derived from स्यन्द्, the nasal is elided, and the Vriddhi prohibited irregularly. Though the ârdhadhâtuka 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 अ ॥ The prevention of this Vṛiddhi is irregular and not governed by I. 1. 4. Thus गोस्यदः' अश्वस्यदः meaning "cow-speed," "horse-speed." but तैलस्यन्दः, and घृतस्यन्दः meaning "dripping of oil or ghee".

अवोदैधौघप्रथयहिमथथाः ॥२९॥   पदानि ॥ अवोद,एध, ओघ, प्रथय, हिमथथाः

वृत्तिः ॥ अवोद एध ओघप्रभय हिमथय इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ।

29.   अवोद, एध, ओघ, प्रथथ, and हिमथथ are irregularly formed by the elision of न ॥

Thus उन्द्—अव + उन्द् + घञ् = अवोदः ; इन्ध् + घञ् = एधः, the guṇa is irregular, for I. 1. 4 applied here, and prevented guṇa. उन्द् + मन् = ओघ (Uṇadi मन्). प्र + ग्रन्थ + घञ् = प्रमथयः (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 गुरवः, अञ्चितमिव शिरो वहति ॥ The इट् augment is added by VII. 2. 53. When the sense is not that of 'honoring', we have उदक्तघुरकं कूपात् "the water was *drawn* from the well." Here the इट् is prohibited by VII. 2. 15.

क्कि स्कान्दिस्यन्दोः ॥ ३१ ॥   पदानि ॥ क्कि, स्कन्दि, स्यन्दोः, (न लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्काप्रत्यये परतः स्कन्द स्यन्द इत्येतयोर्नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

31.   स्कन्द् and स्यन्द retain their nasal before the affix क्का ॥

Thus स्कन्त्वा, and स्यन्दित्वा or स्यन्त्वा, the इट् being added when स्यन्द is considered as having an indicatory ऋ in the dhatupâtha. When इट् is added, क्का is no longer कित् 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 ॥ जान्तानामङ्नानां नशश्च क्काप्रत्यये परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

32.   The nasal may be optionally elided before क्का in a root ending in ज् and in नश् ॥

Thus रङ्क्त्वा or रक्त्वा, भङ्क्त्वा or भक्त्वा, नष्ट्वा or नंष्ट्वा See ॥ VII. 1. 60 for the augment न् in नश् ॥ When इट् comes, we have नशित्वा ॥

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 मञ्ज्र before the third person Passive of the Aorist in चिण् (इ)

Thus अभाजि or अभाङ्जि ॥ This is an aprâpta vibhâshâ, and teaches for the first time the elision of न in a certain contingency.

शास इदङ्हलोः ॥ ३४ ॥   पदानि ॥ शासः, इत्, अङ्, हलोः, (क्ङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शास उपधाया इकारादेशो भवति अङि परतो हलादौ च क्ङिति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्वौ च शास 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 क्तवतु), तौ शिष्टः यये शिष्मः (with the tense-affixes तः and मः which are ङित् by I. 2. 4). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 60. Why do we say 'before the affixes of अ Aorist and consonant affixes'? Observe शासति, शशासतु, शशासुः ॥

Vart:—There is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास् before the affix क्वि ॥ As आर्यशीः = आर्यान् शास्ति ॥ So also मित्रशीः ॥ The form is thus evolved, शास् + क्वि = शिस् + o = शिर् + o = शीः (the short इ being lengthened by VIII. 2. 76.

The root शास् is that root which takes अङ् aorist; namely the second Adâdi शास् (शासु अनुशिष्टौ), and not the Bhvâdi and the first Adâdi शास (आङ् शासु इच्छायाम्) ॥ Therefore not here आशास्ते, आशास्यमानः ॥

Vârt:—But before क्विप्, this शास् also is changed, as आशीः, आशिषौ, आशिषः ॥ Or this is an irregular form indicated by the author in the word शियाशीः used in VIII. 2. 104.

शा हौ ॥ ३५ ॥   पदानि ॥ शा, हौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शासो हौ परतः शा इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

35. Before the Imperative affix हि, शा is substituted for शास् ॥

Thus अनुशाधि, प्रशाधि ॥ The हि is changed to धि by VI. 4. 101. See VI 4. 22. The anuvritti of उपधायाः is not here; so शा is substituted in the room of the full word शास् and not only for the penultimate vowel of शास् ॥ The anuvritti of कित् and ङित् also is not here. Therefore, when this हि is treated as पित् (III. 4. 88), then too the substitution takes place, though a पित् Sárvadhâtuka is not ङित् (I. 2. 4). Thus शाधि is also found in the Vedas as having acute on the first syllable, which can only be when धि is पित् and consequently anudâtta (III. 1. 4)

हन्तेर्जः ॥ ३६ ॥   पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, जः, (हौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्द्धातोर्ज इत्ययमादेशो भवति हौ परतः ॥

36. ज is substituted for हन् before हि ॥

Thus जहि शत्रून् ॥

अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि क्ङिति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तोपदेश, घनति, तनोत्यादीनाम्, अनुनासिक लोप:, झलि, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अनुदात्तोपदेशानामङ्गानां वनेतस्तनोत्यादीनां चानुनासिकलोपो भवति झलादौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

37. The final nasal of those roots which in the Dhâtupâtha have an unaccented root-vowel, as well as of वन and तन &c, is elided before an affix beginning with a consonant (except a semi-vowel or nasal), when these have an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus यमु gives us यत्वा (with क्त्वा), यत: (with क्त), यतवान् (with क्तवतु), यति: (with क्तिन्), Similarly रमु gives us रत्वा, रत:, रतवान्, राति: ॥ यम् , रम्, नम्, गम्, हन् and मन् which end in a nasal are to be considered as unaccented roots, though taught as accented in the Dhâtupâtha. So also of वन् i. e. वति: with क्तिन्; with क्तिच् the nasal is not elided as वान्ति; (VI. 4. 39): and before other jhalâdi affixes व, retains न् as all those affixes take the augment इट् ॥ The तनादि roots belong to the eighth class. Thus तत:, ततवान्. The Tanâdi roots are ten in number, तनु सन्, क्षण्, षिण्, ऋण्, तृण्, घृण्, वन् , मन् and क्रुम् ॥ Of these सन् takes long आ also (VI. 4. 45). क्षण्—क्षत:, क्षतवान्, ऋण्—ऋत:, ऋतवान् ; तृण्—तृत:, तृतवान् ; घृण्—घृत: घृतवान्; वन्—वत:, वतवान् ; मन्—मत:, मतवान् ॥

Why do we say before a क्ङित् affix ? Observe अतत, अतया: (I. 2. 11 these affixes are क्ङित्) So also not in यान्त:, यान्तवान्, तान्त:, तान्तवान्, शान्त:, शान्त-वान् , not being anudâtta in the Dhâtupâtha. If the root does not end in a nasal, the rule does not apply, as in पक्त्व:, पक्तवान् ॥ If the affix does not begin with a *jhal* consonant, the rule does not apply: as गम्यते, रम्यते ॥ If the affix is not क्ित् or क्ङित् the rule does not apply: as, यन्ता, यन्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say "anudâtta by *upadesa*" ? So that the rule may apply to गम् root, as गति:, but not to शम्, as शान्त: शान्तवान् ॥ For गति: is formed by क्तिन् affix and is accented with udâtta on the first, but it is a secondary udâtta and not of upadeśa or dhâtu-pâtha, and does not prevent the elision of म् of गम् ॥ Similarly शम् is udâtta-upadesa though in शान्त it has become अनुदात्त: ॥ The former though taught in the Dhâtupâtha as udâtta, has been specifically mentioned above as anudâtta, and शम् is taught as udatta in the Dhâtupâtha, and no where *else* taught as anudâtta.

वा ल्यपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ल्यपि, ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ ल्यपि परतो ऽनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो वा भवति ॥

38. The nasal of the above roots (i. e. anudâtta ending in a nasal, and वन and तनादि) is optionally elided before the Absolutive affix ल्यप् ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhâshâ. The option applies to roots ending in
म . 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 किंचि दीर्घश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, किंचि, दीर्घः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ किंचि परतो ऽनुदात्तोपदेशानामनुनासिकलोपो दीर्घश्च न भवति ।

39. Before the affix किच्, the above roots neither drop their nasal nor lengthen their root-vowel.

The above roots i. e. anudâttopadeśa, ending in a nasal, and वन and
तनादि, do not lose their nasal before किच्. Thus यन्ति, तन्ति, वन्ति ॥ The leng-
thening would have taken place by VI. 4. 15, when the nasal was not elided :
that also is prohibited.

गमः क्नौ ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, क्नौ, (अनुनासिकलोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकलोप इति वर्तते । गमः क्नौ परतो ऽनुनासिकलोपो भवति ।
वार्त्तिकं ॥ गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ऊङ् च गमादीनामितिवक्तव्यम् ॥

40. The nasal of गम् is always elided before कि ॥

Thus अङ्गगत्, कलिङ्गगत्, अध्वगतो हरिः ॥ The त् is added by VI. 1. 71.
Vârt:—It should be stated of गम् and the rest. The elision takes
place here also संयत्, परीतत् ॥
Vârt:—The nasal of गम् &c. is elided before ऊङ् : as, अमेगूः, अमेभूः ॥

विड्वनोरनुनासिकस्यात् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विट्-वनोः, अनुनासिकस्य आत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विटि वनो च प्रत्यये परतो ऽनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्याकार आदेशोभवति ॥

41. A stem ending in a nasal, and followed by the affix विट् or वन्, always substitutes long आ for its nasal.

Thus अङ्गजाः, गोजाः, क्षतजाः, अद्रिजाः, गोषाः (e. g. गोषा इन्द्रोतृषा असि Rig V.),
क्रूपखाः, शतखाः, सहसखाः, रधिक्राः, 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 वन् we have the following :—विजावा, अमेजावा
(III. 2. 75). The repetition of the word अनुनासिक in this sûtra shows that the
limitation of anudâttopadeśa &c. which applied to the अनुनासिक of sûtra VI. 4.
37 does not apply here.

जनसनखनां सन्झलोः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खनाम्, सन्-झलोः, (आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जन सन खन इत्येतेषामङ्गानां सनि झलारौ द्विति हलारौ प्रत्यय परत आकार आदेशो भवति ।

42. The long आ is substituted for the final of जन्, सन् and खन् before the consonant beginning Desiderative affix सन्, and before any other affix beginning with a jhal consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus जातः, जातवान्, जातिः, सातः, सातवान्, सातिः, सिषासति; खातः, खातवान्, खातिः॥
In जन् and खन् the Desiderative does not begin with a consonant, but takes the
augment इट्, the न् is not therefore elided, as जिजनिषति, चिखानिषति ॥　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 सन्हलोः be taken to mean 'the Desiderative beginning
with a consonant', then we should read the anuvṛitti of हलि क्ञ्रंति from the pre-
ceding sûtras, to complete the sense of this ; and if the phrase means "when
the Desiderative of a jhalâdi affix follows", then we should qualify the word
Desiderative by the word jhal from the preceding sûtras.　Or we may divide
the sûtra into two (1) Before a कित् or ङित् jhalâdi affix long आ is the substi-
tute 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, be-
cause this verb belongs to Tanâdi class, still the आ substitution taught in
this sûtra 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 vipratisedha.　That that maxim applies
in this section also, is to be inferred from the employment of the term हल् in
VI. 4. 66, which supersedes the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64, and substitutes
instead the long इ ॥

ये विभाषा ॥ ४३ ॥　पदानि ॥ ये, विभाषा, (जनसनखनाम् आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ ङ्किति 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) आजायते or जञ्जन्यते (with यङ्) ı So also
सायते or सन्यते, सासायते, or संसन्यते, खायते, or खन्यते, चाखायते or चङ्खन्यते ॥　Before
the vikaraṇa श्यन् of the Fourth class, which is ङित् according to I. 2. 4 ; the आ
is *always* substituted for जन् by VII. 3. 79.　No option is allowed there.

तनोतेर्याकि ॥ 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 किचि लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४५ ॥　पदानि ॥ सनः, किचि, लोपः,
च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरङ्स्य किचि प्रत्यये परत आकार आदेशो भवति लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ।

45. The long आ is optionally substituted for the final of सन् before the affix क्रिच; and there is also elision optionally of the Nasal.

Thus we have three forms सातिँ:, सन्तिँ: and सतिँ: ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् 'optionally' has been employed in the sûtra 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 ॥ आर्द्धधातुकइत्यधिकारो न स्यपीति प्रागेतस्माद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आर्द्धधातुकइत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ।

46. From this upto VI. 4. 68 inclusive, is always to be supplied "before an affix called ârdhadhâtuka (III. 4. 114 &c)."

This is an adhikâra sûtra and extends upto VI. 4. 69 (exclusive). In all the sûtras upto VI. 4. 68 should be supplied the phrase "before an affix called ârdhadhâtuka". 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 ardhadhâtuka affix". Thus the final अ of the verbal stem चिकीर्ष is elided before the ârdhâtuka affix इ, as चिकीर्षितृ, जिहीर्षित, but the final अ is not elided before a sârvadhatuka affix, as the अ of भव in भवति, भवतः ॥ The *luk*-elision of शप् after roots of भसादि class, implies that there is never *lopa* of शप् ॥

The following purposes are served by this sûtra, i. e. an ârdhâtuka affix causes the following special changes (1) अतोलोपः:— The elision of अ of a stem, as shown above, in चिकीर्षिता, चिकीर्षितुम्, (2) यलोपम, The elision of य by VI. 4. 49, 50: as बेभिदिता, बेभिदितुन्, बेभिदित्यम् from बेभिद्य the Intensive stem. Before Sârvadhâtuka, we have बेभिद्यते, चेचिद्यते ॥ (3) णिलोपम प्रयोजनम्, The elision of णि by VI. 4. 51, as कारणा हारणा पाच्यते (पाचि + यक् + ते = पाच् + य + ते), याच्यते ॥ In Sârvadhâtuka, पाचयति, याजयति, वारयति, हारयति ॥ (4) आल्लोपः, the elision of आ, VI. 4. 64— as पपतुः, पपुः, ववतुः यबुः, In Sârvadhâtuka, यान्ति, वान्ति (5) ईत्वम्— The substitution of long ई for आ in some roots, VI. 4. 65 as धीयते, लीयते ; in Sârvadhâtuka अयाताम्, अधाताम् (6) एत्वम्— The substitution of ए for आ, VI. 4. 68 ; as स्नेयात्, ग्लेयात्; in Sârvadhâtuka, स्नायात्, ग्लायात् ॥ This is confined to the Precative (âsirlin). (7) चिण्वद्भावम सीयुटि, the treatment of the Precative like Aorist Passive in चिण् , by VI. 4. 62. as कारिषीष्ट, हारिषीष्ट ॥ In Sârvadhâtuka, क्रियेत, ह्रियेत ॥

Kâsikâ:—अतो लोपो यलोपम निलोपम प्रयोजनम् ।

आल्लोप ईत्वमेल्वं च चिण्वद्भावम सीयुटि ॥

भ्रस्जो रोपधयोरमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि । भ्रस्जः, र-उपधयोः, रम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रस्जो रेफस्योपधायाम रमन्यतरस्यां भवति ।

47. In the room of the र and the penultimate letter स of the root भ्रस्ज, there is optionally the substitute रम्, when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows.

The र and स cease to exist and र takes their place. The substitute having an indicatory म् comes after the final vowel (I. 1. 49). Thus भ्रस्ज + तृ = भर्ज + तृ = भर्ष्टा the ज being changed to ष by VIII. 2. 36, and त to ट by VIII. 4. 41. The other form will be भष्टा ; so also भ्रष्टुम् and भर्ष्टुम्, भ्रष्टव्यम् and भर्ष्टव्यम्, भ्रज्जनम् or भर्ज्जनम् ॥ But भृष्ट: and भृष्टवान् by VI. 1. 16, in spite of this rule. The word उपदेश (VI. 4. 37). is understood here also. The rule therefore applies to the simple root bhrasj as originally taught in the Dhatupâṭha, and not to any Derivative root from it. ' As the Intensive (यङ्) is बरीभृज्यते ॥

अतो लोप: ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, लोप:, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अकारान्तस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धिदीर्घाभ्यामतो लोपः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥

48. The अ standing at the end of a stem is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus चिकीर्षिता, चिकीर्षितुम्, and चिकीर्षितव्यम्, from the Desiderative stem चिकीर्ष ॥ So also धिनुतः and कृणुतः from the roots धिन्व and कृण्व thus, धिन्व् + उ (III. 1. 80) = धिन् + अ + उ (III, 1. 80) = धिन् + उ (अ being elided before the ârdhâtuka उ) = धिनु, the 3rd Personal dual of it is धिनुतः ॥ The addition of अ by III. 1. 80 and its subsequent elision by the present sûtra, may appear a redundancy, but the elided अ being sthânivat, prevents guṇa of धि ॥ So also कृणुतः ॥ See sûtra III. 1. 80. Why do we say "the अ is elided' ? Observe चेता, स्तोता here इ and उ have not been elided. Why do we say "अतः with a त "? The long आ will not be elided : as याता, वाता ॥ Why do we say ' before an Ardha-dhâtuka'? 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 Vriddhi and lengthening. As चिकीर्षकः, जिही-र्षकः, चिकीर्ष्यते and जिहीर्ष्यते ॥

यस्य हलः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, हलः ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ 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 बेभिदिता, बेभिदितुम्, बेभिदितव्यम् from the Intensive stem बेभिद्य ॥ In the sûtra यस्य is given, which is the Genitive singular of य namely of the letters य अ ॥ By the rule of अलोऽन्त्यस्य (I. 1. 52), the अ of य ought to be elided

and not य ; but that rule is evidently inapplicable here, since the elision of अ would have taken place by the preceding rule : the present rule therefore teaches the elision of य (ya). Or the word इलः may be considered as in the ablative case, and then by I. 1. 54, the first letter would be elided namely य ॥ Why have we taken [the two letters (संघात) conjointly viz.] य and not य् ? Observe ईर्ध्यिता, मव्यिता, गुर्ध्यिता from the simple *roots* ईर्ध्य, मव्य, and गुर्ध्य ॥ Here य् not being followed by अ, is not elided (see Bhvadi 541—546). Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant ?' Observe लोलूयिता, पोपूयिता ॥

क्यस्य विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यस्य, विभाषा, (आर्धधातुके) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्यस्य इल उत्तरस्य विभाषा लोपो भवति आर्धधातुके ।

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 क्यङ् ॥ Thus समिध्यिता or समिधिता, ऋषयिता or ऋषिता meaning समिधमात्मन इच्छति or समिध इवाचरति &c.

णेरनिटि ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, अनिटि, (आर्धधातुके) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनिडादावार्धधातुके णेर्लोपो 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 इट् ॥

This debars इयङ्, the semi-vowel य, the guṇa, Vṛiddhi and the long substitutions. Thus अततक्षत्, अररक्षत्, आभिधात्, आदिदत्, कारणा, हारणा, कारकः, हारकः, कार्यते, हार्यते and जीप्सति (see VII. 4. 1 for the shortening of the stem of the Aorists in these). Why do we say 'not having the augment इट् ?' Observe कारयिता and हारयिता ॥

निष्ठायां सेटि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्, सेटि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायां सेटि परतो णेर्लोपो भवति ।

52. The affix णि is elided before the affixes क्त and क्तवतु when these take the augment इट् ॥

Thus कारितम्, हारितम्, गणितम्, लक्षितम् ॥ Why do we say "before an ardhadhâtuka affix having the augment इट्"? 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 इट् augment in the Nishṭhâ. It may be objected that VII. 2. 15 preventing इट् augment applies to verbs of one syllable (VII. 2. 10), and the causative ज्ञपि being of two syllables will always have इट् in the Nishṭhâ, and so it is useless to use the word सेटि in the sûtra. The word सेटि in the sûtra fixes the *time* when the elision of णि should take place. Namely, *first* there should be added the

augment इट् and *then*, there should take place the elision of णि ॥ Otherwise we shall have this difficulty कारि + त, here let us elide the णि *first* : and we get कार् + त, now we cannot add इट् to त, for कार् being a verb of one syllable will not take इट् by VII. 2. 10.   Therefore, the reverse process must be adopted. We must clide इट् *first*. For जनिता: 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 त with the augment इट् ॥

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 इट् augmented affix, when meaning a sacrificial act.

Thus कृतं हविः शमितः ॥ It is formed by णिच् and is in the Vocative case. Why do we say 'when referring to a sacrificial act'? See कृतं हविः शामयितः ॥ See Śatpatha Br. III. 8. 3, 4 and 5.

अयामन्ताल्वाय्येत्न्विष्णुषु ॥ ५५ ॥   पदानि ॥ अय, आम्-अन्त-आलु-आय्य-इत्नु-इष्णुषु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आम् अन्त आलु आय्य इत्नु इष्णु इत्येतेषु परतो णेरयादेशो 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 झच्, झ = अन्त, added to the roots गंड and मंड) आलु । स्पृहयालु । आय्य, स्पृहयाय्यः, गृहयाय्यः ॥ इत्नुः—स्तनयित्नुः ॥ इष्णुः—पोषयिष्णुः ॥ Thus sûtra could have been well dispensed with; for the इ of णि would take guṇa ए which will be changed to अय् by the rules of Sandhi, be fore these affixes. This substitution of अय् for इ is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra however, because there इ could not be changed to अय by any sandhi-rules.

ल्यपि लघुपूर्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥   पदानि ॥ ल्यपि, लघु पूर्वात (णेः अय ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि परतो लघुपूर्वादुत्तरस्य णेरयादेशो भवति ।

56. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the Absolutive affix ल्यप्, when the vowel preceding the इ is light.

Thus प्रशमय्य गतः, संशमय्य गतः, प्रवेशयिय्य, प्रगणय्य ॥ But प्रपाल्य गतः the vowel preceding the इ being long. Here VI. 4. 51 applies. The shortening, the

elision of य and the elision of अ should not be considered as asiddha, as their place of operation is not the same. Thus याम् + जिच् = यामि ; this आ is shorten- ed by VI. 4. 92, and we have यमि ॥ This shortening is not to be considered as asiddha, for if asiddha, there being no laghu pûrva, the present rule would not apply. Similarly वेमिय is the Intensive root, its य is elided by VI. 4. 49, this elision is not considered as asiddha, if it were asiddha, the इ of मि would not be laghu. Similarly the elision of अ in गण which is a root which ends in अ, (see Dhâtupâṭha Churadi 309), is not considered as asiddha for similar reasons.

विभाषा, ऽऽपः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप उत्तरस्य णेर्ल्यपि परतो विभाषा ऽयादेशो भवति ॥

57. अय् is optionally substituted for the इ of णि before the affix ल्यप्, after the verb आप् ॥

Thus प्रापय्य or प्राप्य गतः ॥ This however does not apply to the आप् substitute for इह, as अध्वाप्य गतः (VI. 1. 48, VII. 3. 36). The maxim of Prati- padokta applies here.

युप्लुवोर्दीर्घश्छन्दसि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-प्लुवोः, दीर्घः, छन्दसि, (ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यु प्लुच्येतयोर्ल्यपि परतश्छन्दसि विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

58. In यु and प्लु, long is substituted for उ, before ल्यप् in the Veda.

Thus तान्तनुपूर्वं विद्यूय ; यथा यो दक्षिणा परिप्लूय ॥ Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe संयुत्य, प्राप्लुत्य in the secular literature.

क्षियः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, (दीर्घः ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियश्च दीर्घो भवति ल्यपि परतः ॥

59. A long is substituted for the इ of क्षि before ल्यप् ॥

As प्रक्षीय, उपक्षीय ॥

निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्. अ-ण्यदर्थे, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यतः कृत्यस्यार्थो भावकर्मणी ताभ्यामन्यत्र निष्ठा तस्यां क्षियो दीर्घो भवति ।

60. A long is substituted for the इ of क्षि before the Participle in क्त, when it has not the sense of the future Passive Participle in ण्यत् ॥

The force of ण्यत् is to denote condition (Impersonal action) and ob- ject (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 क्त is added to the Intransitive क्षि to denote the agent (III. 4. 72). Thus प्रक्षीणमिदं देवदत्तस्य 'this is the spot where Devadatta perished'. Here क्त is used with a Locative force (III. 4. 76). Why do we say ' not having the force of

ब्यत् ?' Observe अक्षितमसिमामेषेठा: ॥ Here त is added with the force of condition, and akshitam means 'imperishable'. The vowel not being lengthened the व is not changed to न (VIII. 2. 46).

वा ऽऽक्रोशादैन्ययोः ॥ ६१ ॥   पद्वानि ॥ वा, आक्रोश-दैन्ययोः (स्त्रियः दीर्घः विभाषा)

वृत्ति ॥ आक्रोश गम्यमाने दैन्ये च स्त्रियो निष्ठाबामन्यतर्ये वा दीर्घो भवति ॥

61. The long is optionally substituted, for the इ of क्षि, before the Past Participle क्त, not having the sense of the Future Passive Participle ब्यत्, when the word means 'imprecation' or 'a miserable plight'.

Thus क्षितायुरसि or क्षीणायुरसि, क्षितकः or क्षीणकः, क्षितोयं तपस्वी, क्षीणोऽयं तपस्वी ॥ When not having the sense of cursing or miserable condition, we have one form only, as क्षीणबन्धुः ॥

स्यसिच्सीयुट्तासिषु भावकर्म्मणोरुपदेश ऽज्झनग्रहदृशां वा चिण्वदिट् च ॥६२॥

पद्वानि ॥ स्य-सिच्-सीयुट्-तासि, भाव-कर्मणोः, उपदेशे, अच्-हन्-ग्रह-दृशाम्, वा, चिण्वत्, इट्, च, ॥

वृत्ति ॥ स्य सिच् सीयुट् तासि इत्येतेषु भावकर्म्मविषयेषु परत उपदेशे ऽज्झन्तानामग्रहानां हन् मह दृश् इत्येषां च चिण्वत्कार्यं भवति वा । यदा चिण्वत् तदा इडागमो भवति ।

62. Before the affixes स्य (First Future and Conditional), सिच् (S-Aorist), सीयुट् (Benedictive) and तासि (the Priphrastic Future), when there are used in the Impersonal (भाव) and Passive (कर्म) Voices, (1) the verbal stems ending in a vowel in the Grammatical system of instruction (उपदेश), as well as the verbs (2) हन् (3) ग्रह and (4) दृश् are treated optionally in the same way as in the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिण्, and when so treated, they have the augment इट् ॥

The augment इट् is, of course, added to the affixes स्य, सिच्, सीयुट् and तासि and not to the stem. What are the special objects served by this atideśa aphorism ? They are given in the following verse :—

Kârikâ   चिण्वद् वृद्धिर्युक् च हन्तेम घस्वं

दीर्घश्चोक्तो वा मितां वा चिण्णिति ।

इट् चासिच्स्तेन मे लुप्यते जि-

र्मितयश्चायं बलनिमित्तोऽविघाती ॥

First :—The Vṛiddhi takes place as in चिण् (VII. 2. 116, VII. 3. 34), ' secondly, there is the addition of युक् augment (VII. 3. 33), thirdly च is substituted for the इ of हन् (VII. 3. 54), fourthly, the roots having indicatory म

(Bhuādi 809 to 873) optionally lengthen their vowel (VI. 4. 93), and lastly the addition of the augment इट् 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 इट् 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, चि:—चायिष्यत or चेष्यते, अचायिष्यत or अचेष्यत ॥ So also with शा, as, शायिष्यते or शास्यते, अशायिष्यत or अशास्यत ॥

In शमि there are three forms, the two शामिष्यते or शमिष्यते, अशामिष्यत and अशमिष्यत being given by the elision of the causative ending by VI. 4. 51, in spite of the इट् augment which is considered as asiddha : and शम् being a root of मित् class, the अ is lengthened optionally by VI. 4. 93. The forms शामयिष्यते and अशामयिष्यत are given when not treated as चिण्, the causative is retained, the penultimate being shortened by VI. 4. 92. With the affix सिच्—अचायिषाताम् or अचेषाताम्, अशाषिषाताम्, or अशिषाताम् and अशामिषाताम् or अशमिषाताम् ॥ With the affix सीयुट्—चायिषीष्ट or चेषीष्ट, शायिषीष्ट or शासीष्ट and शामिषीष्ट or शमिषीष्ट ॥ With the affix तासि :—चायिता or चेता, शायिता or शासा, शामिता or शमिता ॥ The चिण् aorist model of these roots is अचायि, अशायि (VII. 3. 33), and अशामि (VII. 3. 34) or अशामि (VI. 4. 93).

(2) हन् :—Fut. घानिष्यते or हनिष्यते; Con. अघानिष्यत or अहनिष्यत, Aor. अघानिषाताम् or अवाधिषाताम् and अहसाताम् (II. 4. 44); Ben घानिषीष्ट or वधिषीष्ट ; Per. Fut. घानिता or हन्ता ॥ The चिण् model is अघानि ॥

(3) मह:—Fut. माहिष्यते or महीष्यते Con. अमाहिष्यत or अमहीष्यत; Aor. अमाहिषाताम् or अमहीषाताम् (अमहिषाताम्) ? ; Ben. माहिषीष्ट or (महिषीष्ट) ? महीषीष्ट, Per. Fut. माहिता or महिता ॥ The lengthening of ही takes place by VII. 2. 37. The चिण् model is अमाहि ॥

(4) दृशः:— Fut. दर्शिष्यते or द्रक्ष्यते, Con. अदर्शिष्यत or अद्रक्ष्यत ; Aor. अदर्शिषाताम् or अदृक्षाताम् ; Ben दर्शिषीष्ट or दृक्षीष्ट; Per. Fut. दर्शिता or द्रष्टा (दर्षा)? ॥ The चिण् model is अदर्शि ॥

Why do we say before स्य &c ? Observe चेतव्यम्, शातव्यम् ॥ Why in the Impersonal and Passive ? Observe चेष्यते and शास्यते ॥ Why in Upadeśa ? The rule applies to कारिष्यते also, though कार् (after guṇa change) ends in a consonant, but in its original ennunciation it ends with a vowel. The atideśa rule being enunciated with regard to stems (aṅga), prevents the substitutions of हन् and इट् and इण् ॥ Thus हानिष्यते, घानिष्यते, एष्यते or शायिष्यते, अभ्येष्यते or अभ्यायिष्यते ॥ The substitutes वध or गा (II. 4. 42, 43, 45, 50) do not come according to the Kāśikā, when these roots are treated as चिण् ॥

दीङो युडचि कुङिति ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीङ्:, युद्, अचि, कुङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीङोयुडागमो भवति अजादौ कुङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

63. युद् is the augment after दीङ्, of an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus उपदिदीये, उपदिदीयाते and उपदिदीयिरे ॥ The Personal ending is कित् by I. 2. 5. दीङ्ः 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 उपदानम् ॥

आतो लोप इटि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, लोपः, इटि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इटादावार्द्धधातुके क्ङिति चाकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य लोपो भवति ॥

64. The final आ of a root is elided before an ārdhadhātuka affix with the augment इट् as well as when it begins with a vowel and has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus पपिय and तस्थिय ॥ Here the affix has the इट् augment. पपतुः, पपुः, तस्थतुः, तस्थुः ॥ Here the affixes are कित् by I. 2. 5 गोदः, कम्बलदः with the affix क (III. 2. 3). So also प्रस्न (fem), प्रधा (fem) by अङ् III. 3. 106. Before Sārvadhātuka affixes, we have यान्ति, वान्ति, व्यत्यरे and व्यत्यले ॥ The two latter are the Imperfect 1st Pers. Sing. Atm. of व and ला with the affix इ (इट्). When it does not begin with a vowel, we have ग्लायते, यासीव ॥

ई घ्यति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई घ्, यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकार आदेशो भवति आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य यति परतः ॥

65. The final आ of a stem is changed into ई before the Kṛit-affix यत् ॥

Thus हेयम्, धेयम्, हेयम्, and स्तेयम् ॥ The Guṇa takes place according to VII. 3. 84.

घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ घु, मा, स्था, गा, पा, जहाति साम्, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानां मा स्था गा पा जहाति सा इत्येतेषां हलादौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परत ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

66. For the final of the roots of the form of दा and धा (घु), as well as for that of the roots मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा (जहाति) and सा (सो), there is substituted ई before an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus दीयते, धीयते with यक्, देदीयते, देधीयते with यङ् ॥ So also मीयते मेमीयते स्थीयते, तेस्थीयते, गीयते, जेगीयते, अध्यगीष्ट, अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत, पीयते, पेपीयते, हीयते, जेहीयते, अवसीयते, अवसंसीयते ॥

The पा 'to protect' of Adādi (47) is not meant here. be come the

vikarana शप् is elided in roots of that class. Its form will be पायते. It is Bhvâdi पा 'to drink' that is taken here. So also हा-जिहीते is not to be taken here. Its form is हायते ॥

Why do we say 'before a consonant'? Observe ययतुः, ययुः ॥ Here had हल् not been used in the sûtra, the आ of या would be replaced by इ by the present sûtra, even before a vowel-affix अतु. o उस् ; for the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64 is prevented by this *subsequent* sûtra teaching इ substitution. In fact, the employment of the word हल् in the aphorism is a jñâpaka 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 इ instead.So also ग्लाता and धाता before non-क्ङित् and non-ङित् affixes.

एर्ङिङ्कि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, लिङ्कि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुमास्थागापाजहातिसाम्ज्ञानां लिङ्कि परत एकारादेशो भवति ॥

67. ए is substituted for the आ of the above roots in the Benedictive mood Active.

Thus देयात्, मेयात्, पेयात्, स्थेयात्, गेयात्, पेयात् and अवसेयात् ॥ Before non-क्ङित् and non-ङित् we have ग्लासीष्ट and धासीष्ट ॥ By the word लिङ् is here meant the आशीर्लिङ् or the Precative mood ; the Personal endings of which mood are ârdhadhâtuka by III. 4. 116. More-over by III. 4. 104 the Parasmaipada affixes only of the Benedictive are क्ङित्, so the present rule does not apply to the Atmanepada affixes of the Precative.

वा ऽन्यस्य संयोगादेः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्य-संयोग, आदेः, (लिङ्कि) (आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुवादिभ्यो ऽन्यस्य संयोगादिराकारान्तस्य वा एकारादेशो भवति लिङ्कि 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 स्था was the only root of VI. 4. 66, which could have been affected by this rule. It has been, however, specially exempted by the word अन्यस्य ॥ Thus ग्लेयात् or ग्लायात्, म्लेयात् or म्लायात्, but only स्थेयात् (VI. 4. 66), and यायात् (not commencing with a double consonant). The phrase क्ङिदति is understood here and therefore the rule applies to Parasmaepada affixes (III. 4. 104). Thus ग्लासीष्ट in Atmanepada. The root considered as an añga, should consist of a double consonant, therefore in निर्वायात् (from निर् + वा), र्व is not to be considered as a root having a double consonant, for र is no part of the añga, but of the preposition.

न ल्यपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल्यपि, घुमास्थागापाजहातिसाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि प्रत्यये परतो धुमास्यागपाऊहातिसां यदुक्त तत्र ॥

69. The इ substitution for आ under rule VI. 4. 66, does not apply when the absolutive affix ल्यप् follows धु मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा and सा ॥

Thus प्रमाय, प्रधाय, प्रमाय, प्रस्थाय, प्रगाय, प्रपाय, प्रहाय and अवसाय ॥ The affix ल्यप् as the substitute of क्त्वा, is a कित् affix by I. 1. 56.

मयतेरिद्न्यतरस्यांम् ॥ ७० ॥   पदानि ॥ मयतेः, इत्, अन्यतरस्याम्, (ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मयतेरिकारादेषां वा भवति ॥

70. इ may optionally be substituted for the आ of मा, (मयति) before ल्यप् ॥

Thus अपमित्य or अपमाय ॥

लुङ्लङ्ऌङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः ॥ ७१ ॥   पदानि ॥ लुङ्, लङ्, ऌङ् क्षु, अट्, उदात्तः (अङ्स्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङ् लङ् ऌङ् इत्येतेषु परतोऽट्स्याडागमो भवति, उदात्तश्च स भवति ॥

71. अट् acutely accented is the augment of the verbal stem in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus अकार्षीत्, अहार्षीत्, अकरोत्, अहरत् and अकरिष्यत्, अहरिष्यत् ॥

आड्जादीनाम् ॥ ७२ ॥   पदानि ॥ आट्, अच्-आदीनाम्, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आडागमो भवत्यजादीनां लुङ्लङ्ऌङ्क्षु 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 ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत्; औऽज्जीत्, औऽजत्, औऽजिज्यत् ॥ ऐहिष्ट, ऐहत and ऐहिष्य औम्भीत्, औम्भत्, and औम्भिष्यत् ॥ The Vriddhi takes place by VI. 1. 90.

The Passive Imperfect (लङ्) of यज्, वप् and वह are ऐज्यत, औप्यत and औह्यत 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 इज्यत, उप्यत, and उह्यत stems (VI. I. 15). The stems having now assumed a form in which they begin with a vowel, take आट् ॥ The addition of tense-affixes being an antaranga operation precedes the addition of augment. After the affixes have been added, the vikaraṇa यक्, being nitya, is added and precedes in order the augment, the latter being so far anitya; after यक् addition the roots assume a form in which we can add आट् ॥ Why आट् is considered anitya depends on the following maxim :—यस्मान्तरस्य प्राप्नुवन् विधिरनित्यो भवति "when the word-form in reference to which a rule teaches something ; after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously would be different from what it was before that other rule had taken effect, then the former rule is not nitya."

छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ॥ ७३ ॥　पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अपि, दृश्यते, आट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये आडागमो दृश्यते । यत्र हि विहितस्ततोन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ।

73. The आट् augment is found in the Veda also.

It is found there before the roots beginning with a vowel as well as before consonant roots. Thus आवः, आनक्, and आयुनक् ॥ आवः is the Aorist of वृञ्, the affix being elided by II. 4. 80. अनक् from नश् (II. 4. 80), and आयुनक् is the Imperfect of युम् ॥

न माङ्योगे ॥ ७४ ॥　पदानि ॥ न, माङ्, योगे (लुङ् लङ् लृङ्क्षु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्योगे लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्षु यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

74. In connection with the prohibitive particle मा, the augment अट् or आट् is not added in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus मा भवान् कार्षीत्, मा भवान् हार्षीत्, मा स्म करोत्, मा स्म हरत्, मा भवानीहिष्ट, भवानीहिष्ट, मा स्म भवानीहत, मा स्म भवानीहत ॥

बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्योगेऽपि ॥ ७५ ॥　पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, अ माङ योगे, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माङ्योगेऽपि बहुलमडादौ भवतः अमाङ्योगेऽपि न भवतः ॥

75. There is diversity in the Veda : the augment अट् or आट् is added even with मा, and sometimes not added even when there is no मा ॥

Thus in जनिष्ठा उग्रः (Rig X. 73. 1), कामूमूनयीत् (Rig I. 53. 3) and काममर्षयीत्; the augment is not added though there is no मा ॥ In मा वः क्षेत्रे परबीजान्यवापुः, मा अभिस्थाः, मा भावः, the augment is not elided, though the particle मा is added.

इरयो रे ॥ ७६ ॥　पदानि ॥ इरयोः, रे, (बहुलंछन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इरे इत्येतस्य छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रे इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

76. रे is diversely substituted for इरे in the Veda.

Thus कं त्विन्द्रमें प्रथमं दधे आपः (Rig X. 82. 5) या स्व परिदधे ॥ In दधे, the आ of धा is elided before the affix इरे by VI. 4. 64, the रे substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of the elision of आ ॥ Sometimes the substitution does not take place, as परमाया धियोग्निर्म्मांजि चक्रिरे ॥ Here इट् augment is first added to रे after the सेट् roots and the affix thus becomes इरे, then रे is substituted again for this इरे by this sûtra, thus the affix is brought back to its original condition. To show this repetition—रे—इरे—रे the sûtra has exhibited the word इरयोः in the dual number.

अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ ॥ ७७ ॥　पदानि ॥ अचि, श्नु, धातु, भ्रुवाम्, य्वोः, इयङ्, उवङौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ꣶꣳउप्रत्ययान्तस्याꣳक्रस्य धातोरिꣳरिवणोवर्णान्तस्य ꣳ इत्येतस्य इयङ्उवङ् इत्येतावादिेषो भवतो ऽचि परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयङुवङ्प्रकरणेनन्वासीनां छन्दसि बहुलमुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

77. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of नु, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of भू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

Thus आप्नुवन्ति, राध्नुवन्ति, शक्नुवन्ति, from roots of the 5th class. चिक्षियतुः छुछुवतुः, हृलुप्रः, नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, ꣳलुवः and भुवौ and भुवः ॥

Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe आप्नुयात्, शक्नुयात्, राध्नुयात् ॥ Why "of नु &c."? Observe लक्ष्यै, लक्ष्याः, वध्यै, वध्याः ॥ Why "of इ and उ"? Observe चक्रतुः, चक्रुः where the vowel is ऋ ॥

Várt:—The Guṇa (VII. 3. 84) and Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 115) however take place to the supersession of इयङ् and उवङ् : as from चि—चयनम् and चायकः, लू—लवनम् and लावकः, with ल्युट् and ण्वुल् ॥

Várt:—In the Chhandas there is deversely the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in the case of तनु &c. Thus तन्वं पुषेम or तनुवं पुषेम ॥ विष्णुरं पुषेम, स्वर्गो लोकः, सुवर्गो लोकः, ꣳयम्बकं यजामहे, त्रियम्बकं यजामहे ॥

अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे ॥७८॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासस्य, अ, सवर्णे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्येवर्णोवर्णान्तस्यासवर्णे ꣳचि परत इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावादिेषो भवतः ॥

78. इयङ् and उवङ् are substituted for the इ and उ of a reduplicate, before a non-homogenous vowel.

Thus इयेष, उवोष, इयर्ति, (VII. 4. 77) but इयतुः and ईयुः, ऊषतुः and ऊषुः before homogenous vowels and इयाय and उवाय before a non-vowel.

स्त्रियाः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, (अचि इयङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीइत्यतस्याजादौ प्रत्यये परते इयङादिेषो भवति ॥

79. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्री, स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः; but स्त्रीणाम् the न being added by a subsequent rule, supersedes this rule. The making this a separate sûtra is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

वा ऽम्शसोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अम्, शासोः (इयङ् स्त्रियाः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अमि शसि परतः स्त्रिया वा उयङादिेषो भवति ॥

80. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of stri is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शास् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्री पश्य or स्त्रियं पश्य, स्त्रीः पश्य or स्त्रियः पश्यः ॥

इणो यण् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, यण्, (अङ्स्य अचि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इणोह्रस्य यणादिेशो भवति अचि परतः ॥

81. For the इ of the root इण् (पति) is substituted a semivowel (य), before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus यन्ति, यन्तु, आयन् ॥ This supersedes इयङ् substitution, and is itself superseded by VII. 2. 115, and VII. 3. 84 which ordain Vṛiddhi and Guṇa: on the maxim मध्ये ऽपवादाः पूर्वान् विधीन् वाधन्ते, नोत्तरात् ॥ "Apavâdas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them." So we have अयनम् and आयकः ॥

परनेकाचो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अनेकाचः, अ संयोगपूर्वस्य, (धातोः अचि प्रत्यये) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरवयवः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्यादिवर्णोऽन्न भवति असावसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्याङ्त्यानेकाचोऽपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

82. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

The word धातोः is understood here, and the word संयोग is qualified by that : i. e. the इ or ई which is not preceded by conjunct consonant forming part of the root is called an asamyoga pûrva इ ॥ Thus निन्यतुः, निन्युः, उन्यौ, उन्यः, मामण्यौ, मामण्यः ॥ All the above examples are of the soot नी preceded by the gati prepositions नि and उत्, or a Kâraka-upapada माम ॥ The rule will not apply however if the preceding word is neither a gati nor a Kâraka, but an adjective, as परमनी, its dual and plural will be परमनियौ and पर-मनियः 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 sûtra. Why do we say the stem should be of more than one syllable? Observe नी; its dual and plural are नियौ and नियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say the इ or ई should not be preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe यवक्री d. यवक्रियौ pl. यवक्रियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say "forming part of the root"? So that the rule may apply to उन्नी also. Here though ई is preceded by a conjunct न्न, yet the latter is not part of the root, one न being part of the upasarga उत् ॥ Thus we have उन्यौ and उन्यः ॥ The phrase असंयोगपूर्व should in fact be taken as qualifying the letter ई, and not as qualifying the word अङ् ॥

ओः सुपि ॥८३॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, सुपि, (यण्, धातोः, असंयोगपूर्वस्य, अनेकाचः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्ववयवः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्मादुवर्णोऽन्न भवति तदन्तस्याङ्गस्या नेकाचो ऽजादौ सुपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

83. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व् is substituted for the final

ऋ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऋ not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short ऋ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलपू 'a sweeper':—d. खलप्वौ, pl. खलप्वः; so also धातस्वौ and धातस्वः, and सकृलू : dual सकृल्वौ and सकृल्वः ॥ But लुलुवतः and लुलुवः before tense-affixes, (non—क्विप्); लू—लुवौ, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only), and कटप्रू—कटप्र्वौ, कटप्रुवः (because ऋ is preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root). The rule does not apply if the first member is not a Gati or a Kâraka word: as परमलू :—परमलुवौ and परमलुवः ॥

वर्षाभ्वश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षा भ्वः, च, अचि सुपि यण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाभू इत्येतस्याजादौ सुपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुनर्भवेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

84.   व् is substituted for the ऋ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभ्वौ, वर्षाभ्वः ॥ वर्षाभू 'what is born in the rains, a kind of herb.' This is an exception to the subsequent rule.

Vârt:—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when हन्, कार and पुनर् precede भू; as हन्भ्वौ, हन्भ्वः, पुनर्भ्वौ, पुनर्भ्वः, काराभ्वौ (काराभ्वौ), काराभ्वः (काराभ्वः) ॥

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 प्रतिभु—प्रतिभुवौ, प्रतिभुवः ; सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥   VI. 4. 77.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा, भूसुधियोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये भू सुधी इत्येतयोरुभयथा दृश्यते यण् ॥

86.   In the Chhandas, in the case of a stem in भू and सुधी, are found sometimes the इयङ्, उवङ् and sometimes the semivowel substitution.

As विभ्वम्,विभुवम्,सुभ्यः and सुधियः; वनेषु चित्रं विभ्वं विधे, विधे विभुवम्, सुध्यो हव्यमग्ने, सुधियो हव्यमग्ने ॥

हुश्नुवोः सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हुश्नु चोः, सार्वधातु के, अङ्गस्य, अनेकाचः, असंयोग, पूर्वस्य, अचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य श्नुप्रत्ययान्तस्यानेकाचो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्याजादौ सार्वधातुके परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

87.   The semi-vowel व् is substituted for the उ of हु, and for that of नु (the characteristic of the fifth class roots),

before a sârvadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 113) beginning with a vowel, when the stem consists of more than one syllable and the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

Thus हु—जुह्वति, जुह्वतु ; अजुह्वन्, so also with षु—as षुन्वन्ति, षुन्वन्तु, अषुन्वन् ॥ Why do we say "of हु and षनु formed stems"? Observe योयुवति, रोरुवति, 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 उ, 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 Sârvadhâtuka? Observe जुहवतुः, जुहवुः (VI. 4. 77). So also not in आप्नुवन्ति and घ्नुवन्ति as the उ is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

भुवो वुग्लुङ्लिटोः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, वुक्, लुङ्, लिटोः, अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुवो वुगागमो भवति लुङि लिटि चाजादौ परतः ॥

88. भू gets the augment व् (वुक्) before the tense-affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect, when beginning with a vowel.

Thus अभूवन्, अभूवम् ; बभूवः, बभूवतुः, बभूवुः ॥

ऊदुपधाया गोहः ॥८९॥ पदानि ॥ ऊत, उपधायाः, गोहः,अङ्गस्य, अचि,प्रत्यये॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोहो ऽङ्गस्य उपधाया ऊकारादेशो भवति भजादौ प्रत्यये परतः ॥

89. For the penultimate ओ of the gunated stem गोह् (from गुह्), there is substituted ऊ before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus नि गूहति, निगूहकः, साधुनिगूहिन्, निगूहम्, निगूहन्ति, गूहो वर्तते ॥ Why do we say 'penultimate'? So that the substitution should not apply any where else. The form गोह् is taken in the sûtra to prohibit the application of the rule to cases where गुह् does not assume the form गोह् ॥ Therefore not here, निजुगुहतुः, निजुगुहुः ॥ This change will not take place before the affixes begin-ning with a consonant ; as निगोढा, निगोढुम् ॥ Some say, the word is exhibited as गोह in order to prohibit the अय् substitution of णि before ण्यप् ॥ As निगाहि + ण्यप्=निगूह्य (VI. 4. 56 not applied), the ऊ substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) would have brought in अय्, गुह् being considered as a word having a light vowel for its penultimate. According to Kâśikâ the ऊ substi-tution, however, is not asiddha, as their places of operation are different.

दोषो णौ ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ दोषः, णौ, उदुपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दोष उपधाया ऊकार आदेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

90. The ओ of दोष् is replaced by ऊ before the causative णि ॥

Thus दूषयति, दूषयतः, दूषयन्ति ॥ Similar reasons as in गूह, may be given for the root दुष being exhibited as दोष in the sûtra. When not followed by णि, we have दोषो वर्तते ॥

वा चित्तविरागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, चित्त-विरागे, उदुपधायाः, णौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्तविकारार्थे दोष उपधाया वा ऊकारादेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

91. The ऊ substitution for the ओ of दोष् is optional, when the sense is that of the disturbing of the mind.

As चित्तं or प्रज्ञां दूषयति or दोषयति ॥ Otherwise साधनं दूषयति when mental agitation is not meant.

मितां ह्रस्वः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिताम्, ह्रस्वः, णौ, उपधायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मितो धातवो घटादयो मित इंचवमादयो ये प्रतिपादितास्तेषामुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति णौ परतः ॥

92. The roots having an indicatory म, retain their penultimate short vowel before the causative णि ॥

The मित् roots are घटादि a subdivision of Bhwâdi (800 to 873), and all other roots that end in अम् as ग्लम् and तम् of Divâdi class. Thus घटयति, व्ययति, जनयति, रजयति, शमयति, ज्ञपयति ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' from the last sûra into this. This will then be a limited option only (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ). 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 चिण् (इ), and before the Absolutive affix णमुल् (अम्) ॥

चिण्णमुलोर्दीर्घो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण, णमुलोः, दीर्घः, अन्यतरस्याम्, णौ, मितः उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण्परे णमुल्परं च णौ परतो मितामङ्गानामुपधाया दीर्घो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Thus अशामि or अशामि, भतमि or भतामि with चिण्; and शामंशामम्, and शामंशामं ; तमंतमम् or तामंतामम् with णमुल् ॥ Why have we used the word दीर्घ in the sûtra? The rule does not teach merely the *optional shortening*. So that in the alternative of short, we have अशामि and in the other alternative we have अशामि, so that there is long. For had दीर्घ not been used, it would have taught optional short only, i. e. it would be a ह्रस्वविकल्पविधि only, and there will be this difficulty :—when the causative of causative is taken, as in शामयन्तं मयुङ्क्ते, there would not be lengthening in the alternative. Because the lopa substitute of णि would be sthânivat : therefore, the णि which would be followed by

चिन्न or जबुन्, would not have in it the मिन् anga, because the first चि intervenes between the मन् anga and the चिण् and जबुल् affix, and that चि which is preced-ed by a मिन् anga is not followed by चिण् and जबुल्, because the second चि (though elided) intervenes. Therefore, there would not be *optional* short here, but *compulsory* short, by the preceding sûtra 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 चि would *not* be sthânivat, by the express prohibition contain-ed in I. 1. 58, and so we can get forms of double causatives. But if we take it a ह्रस्वविकल्पविधि, then the lopa-adeśa of चि being sthânivat, would prevent getting the alternative long form. Therefore the word दीर्घ is used in the sûtra to make this rule a दीर्घविधि, and prevent sthânivat-bhâva. Thus take the causative of धम्, which will be धामि by the last sûtra. Take its Intensive with यङ्, धामि + यङ् which causes doubling by VI. 1. 9 = धामि धामि + यङ् = धाधामि + यङ् (VII. 4. 60) = धं धामि + यङ् (नुक् or nasal being added to the abhyâsa by VII. 4. 85) = धंधामि + यङ् = धंधाम् + य (VI. 4. 51)= धंधाम्य. Add चिण् to this ie. make the causa-tive of the Intensive. धंधाम् + य + इ ॥ Then the अ of य is elided by VI. 4. 48 = धं धाम् + य् + इ. Then य् is elided by VI. 4. 49 = धंधाम् + इ = धंधामि ॥ This धंधामि is the causative root of the Intensive of the causative धम् ॥ Now add चिण् or जबुल् to this root; and we get two forms short and long अधंधामि or अधांधामि with चिण् and धंधामम् or धांधामम् with जबुल् ॥ The long forms could not have been obtained had this not been a दीर्घविधि, for then the lopa-adeśâ of चिण् being sthâni-vat would have prevented the application of दीर्घ ॥ The roots धम् and नम् (both Divâdi) ending in म do not ever lengthen the root vowel before चिण् and जबुल् by-VII. 3. 34. The present sûtra, therefore, does not apply to the simple roots. The derivative causative roots of these, namely, धामि — धामयति, नामि — नमयति, option-ally lengthen the penultimate before these affixes. Thus धामि + चिण् = धाम् + चिण् (the इ of चि being elided by VI. 4. 51)= धामि or धामि (with the augment अ = अधामि or अधामि) ॥ 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 sûtra could have been made without this word, for the word 'optionally' would have brought in both 'short' and 'long'. Thus in धामयन्तं प्रयुङ्क्ते 'he causes another to make quiet,' we add चि (the Causative sign.), to the Causative root धामि, as धामि + चि = धाम् + इ (VI. 4. 51) = धामि, the lopâdeśa here is not sthânivat for the purposes of *lengthening* (दीर्घविधि) the अ of धम् (I. 1. 58) ॥ From this धामि with चिण् we get अधामि, and with जबुल् we get धामम् ॥ But we cannot get the short forms, by taking the other alternative, as the lopâdeśa will then be sthânivat. Hence the necessity of the word दीर्घ in the sûtra. Thus the चिण् and जबुल् forms of the Causative of the Cau-sative (i. e. the double Causative) of धम् are अधामि or अधामि ; धामंधामम् or धामंधामम् and from the form धंधमयति, we have अधंधामि or अधांधामि, धंधमंधामम् or धंधामं-

णामम् ॥ These latter are from the Causative stems of the Intensive root. The sign यङ् of the Intensive has been elided (VI. 4. 49) as shown above.

खचि ह्रस्वः ॥ ९४ ॥　पदानि ॥ खचि, ह्रस्वः, (उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खच्परे णौ परतो ह्रस्वो भवत्यङ्गस्योपधायाः ॥

94. The penultimate of the Causative stem is shortened before the affix खच् ॥

Thus द्विषन्तपः, परंतपः, पुरंदरः ॥　See III. 2. 29 and 41.

ह्लादो निष्ठायाम् ॥ ९५ ॥　पदानि ॥ ह्लादः, निष्ठायाम्, (ह्रस्वः उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्लादो ऽङ्गस्योपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति निष्ठायां परतः ॥

95. The penultimate of the Causative of हद् (छादि) is shortened before the Participle affixes क्त and क्तवतु ॥

Thus प्रह्लन्नः, प्रह्लप्रवान्, but प्रह्लादयति before non-nishthâ.　The rule applies also when क्तिन् follows as प्रह्लत्तिः ॥　This is done by splitting up the aphorism into two (1) ह्लादः (2) निष्ठायाम् ॥

छादेर्घे ऽद्व्युपसर्गस्य ॥ ९६ ॥　पदानि ॥ छआदेः, घे, अ द्व्युपसर्गस्य, (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छादेरङ्गस्याद्व्युपसर्गस्य घप्रत्यये परत उपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्रिप्रभृत्युपसर्गस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

96. The penultimate of the Churâdi छद् is shortened before the affix घ (III. 3. 118), when not preceded by two prepositions (or more).

As उरछ्छदः, प्रच्छदः, वन्तश्छदः ॥　But समुपछादः with two prepositions. The same when preceded by more than two prepositions, as समुपातिश्छादः ॥ The elision of णि of छादि &c., by VI. 4. 51, should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) or sthânivat (I. 1. 57), otherwise there would be no *penultimate* to be shortened.

Vârt:—The prohibition with regard to द्वि should be extended to numbers more than two.

इसमन्त्रनिकिषु च ॥ ९७ ॥　पदानि ॥ इस्, मन्, त्रन्, किषु, च, छादेः (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्ति॥इस् मन् त्रन् किन इत्येतेषु परतश्छादेरुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ।

97. The penultimate of छादि is shortened before the affixes इस्, मन्, त्रन् and कि ॥

Thus छदिस्, छद्मन् (neuter), छत्रम्, धामच्छत् and उपच्छत् ॥　The first three are Uṇâdi affixes.

गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङित्यनङि ॥ ९८ ॥　पदानि ॥ गम, हन, जन, खन, घसाम्, लोपः, क्ङिति अनङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन जन खन घस इत्येतेषामभ्रानाञ्चुपधाया लोपो भवत्यजारौ प्रत्यये क्ङित्यनङि परतः ॥

98.   The root-vowel of गम्, हन्, जन्, खन्, and घस् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicatory क् or ङ्; but not before the Aorist affix अङ् ॥

Thus जग्मतुः, जग्मुः जघ्नतुः, जघ्नुः, जज्ञे, जज्ञाते, जज्ञिरे, चख्नतुः, चख्नुः, जक्षतुः, जक्षुः, अक्षन्नमीमरन्नतिपितरः, ॥ क्ङितीतिकिम्, गमनम्, हननम् ॥ अनङीतिकिम्, अगमत्, अघसत् ॥ अचीत्यैव, गम्यते, हन्यते ॥

Why 'having indicatory क् or ङ्'? See गमनम्, हननम् ॥   Why 'not अङ्'? See अगमत्, अघसत् ॥   Why 'beginning with a vowel,? See गम्यते and हन्यते ॥

तनिपत्योश्छन्दसि ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनि, पत्योः, छन्दसि, (क्ङिति उपधायाः लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनि पति इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि विषये उपधाया लोपो भवति अजादौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

99.   In the Chhandas, the root-vowel of तन् and पत् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

As वितन्वते कवयः, चक्रुना इव पतिमः ॥   In secular language वितेनिरे, पेनिम् ॥

घसिभसोर्हलि च ॥१००॥ पदानि ॥ घसि, भसोः, हलि, च, (अचि क्ङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घसि भस इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि उपधाया लोपो भवति हलादावजादौ च क्ङिति 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 ङ् ॥

Thus सम्बभ्रमे सपीतिभ्य मे, बभ्रांते हरी धानाः ॥ सग्धिः is thus derived: क्तिन् is added to the root अद्; then by II. 4. 39, घस् is substituted for अद्; thus घस् + ति = घस् + ति (अ being elided by the present sûtra) = ग्घ् + ति (स् being elided by VIII. 2. 26), then त is changed to ध, and घ to ग and we have ग्धिः ॥   Then समान ग्धिः = सग्धिः (समान changed to स VI. 3. 84). The word बभ्राम् is the Imperative of भस्, thus भस् + अतु + ताम् = भ भस् + ताम् = ब भ्स् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = ब भ् + धाम् = बभ्धाम् ॥   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 + झु + ति = ब भ्स् + अति (VII. 1. 4) = बप्सति (VIII. 4. 55).

Why having an indicatory क् or ङ्? Observe अंघुन् बभसि ॥   The च has been added into the aphorism by the Vârtikakâra.

हुझल्भ्यो हेर्धिः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु-झल्भ्योः, हेः, धिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्मात् झलन्तेभ्योऽन्तरस्य हलोर्हेः स्याने 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 aug-
ment इट् ॥

Thus इ – भुद्धधि; हार् consonants; भिद् – भिन्धि, छिद् – छिन्धि ॥ But मीणीहि,
प्रीणीहि (VI. 4. 113) not ending in consonants. Why 'हि only'? O serve भुद्धताम् ॥
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 हिसिधि, स्वपिहि ॥ In the case of भुद्धतात्, भिन्तात्, when हि is replaced
by तात् (VII. 1. 35) this substitution does not take place because तात् is a later rule
in the order of Ashṭādhyāyī, and because सकृम्तौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं 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 ". When अकच् is added by V. 3. 71, धि substitution takes place, as
भिन्द्धाकि, छिन्द्धकि ॥ The maxim पुनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानात् सिद्धम् applies here :— 'Occa-
sionally 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 super-
seded by a subsequent rule."

श्रुश्टृणुपृकृवृभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रु-श्टृणु-पृ-कृ-वृ-भ्यः, छन्दसि,
हेर्धिः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ श्रु श्टृणु पृ कृ वृ इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य हेर्धिरादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

102. धि is substituted for हि in the Vedas, after श्रु,
श्टृणु, पृ, कृ and वृ ॥

As श्रुधी हविमिन्द्र, शृणुधी, गिरः, पूर्धि, उरुकृतुरुणस्कृ धि and भवावृधि, ॥

In शृणुधी, the हि is not elided after the उ of श्टु as it was required by
VI. 4. 106, since the present aphorism specifically mentions it. The lengthen-
ing takes place by VI. 3. 137. The forms other than भृणुधि are irregular; वाट्
being added *diversely* by III. 1. 85, and then elided diversely by बहुलं छन्दसि II. 4. 73

आङितश्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्-इतः, च, हेर्धिः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आङितश्च हेर्धिरादेशो 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 तारन्धि, यन्धि and युयोधि in the following सोमरारन्धि
अस्मभ्यं तज्र्यंश्च प्रयन्धि, युयोध्यस्मज्ञ जुहुराणमेनः
Why do we say 'when it is not ङित्'? Observe मीणीहि ॥ तारन्धि is
irregularly Parasmaipada of रध्; the शव being replaced by इल्, and the redupli-
cate lengthened as a Vedic form. The म् is not elided, by VI. 4. 37 as the affix
is not ङित् ॥ प्रयांध्व is from यम, the शप् is elided : and युयोधि from यु (यौति), the
शप being replaced by इल् ॥

चिणो लुक् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिणः, लुक्, प्रत्ययस्य ॥
वृत्ति ॥ चिण उत्तरस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

104. The personal-endings are elided after चिण्, the third person, singular Passive of the Aorist.

As अहारि, अलांवि, अकारि, अपाचि ॥ So also अकारितयाम्, अहारितमाम्, here the elision of the personal affix त (III. 1. 60) of the Aorist being considered as *asiddha*, the affixes तरप् and तमप् are not elided: though if the sûtra were to be literally interpreted, *every affix* after चिण्, ought to be elided. Or the word किङ्कति is understood here; so that किन् and डिन् affixes of चिण् are elided and not every affix.

अतो हे: ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत:, हे:, अङ्गस्य ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य 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 उ. Why do we say "*short* अ"? Observe लुनीहि, पुनीहि (लुना + हि, the ई substitution by VI. 4. 113, should be considered *asiddha*), here हि is not elided after the long आ ॥

उतश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत:, च, प्रत्ययात्, असंयोग पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ उकारो यो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तात्प्रत्ययादुत्तरस्य हेर्लुग्भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ उतश्च प्रत्ययारिष्विष्य छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यं ॥

106 The Imperative हि is elided after the उ of an affix, in the vikaraṇa with which the Present-stem (special conjugation) is made, provided that the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

The affix उ with which the Present-stem is made is उ and स्नु ॥ Thus चिनु, सुनु, कुरु ॥ Why after 'उ'? Observe लुनीहि, सुनीहि ॥ Why do we say "उ being part of the vikaraṇa or affix"? Observe रुहि, युहि, here उ is part of the *root* itself, and not of the vikaraṇa. Why de we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant,? Observe शाग्नुहि, राध्नुहि, तृग्णुहि ॥

Vârt:—The elision of हि after the उ of the vikaraṇa उ and स्नु is optional in the Vedas ; as आतनुहि यातुधानान्, धिनुहि यत्नपातिम्, तेन मा भागिनं कृणुहि ॥

लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां म्वो: ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोप:, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, म्वो:, ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ योऽयमुकारो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यान्यतरस्यां लोपो भवति ॥

107. The उ of the vikaraṇa उ and स्नु, where not preceded by a conjunct consonant, may be elided optionally before a personal ending beginning with म or व् ॥

Thus सुन्व: or सुनुव:, सुन्म:, सुनुम:, तन्व:, तनुव:, तन्म:, तनुम: ॥ The उ must be-

long to the affix, and should not be part of the root. Therefore not in युव:, युम: ॥

Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe वाक्युव:, वाक्युम: only. Though the elision word लुक् was understood in this sûtra, the mention of लोप indicates that the *final* is only to be elided, and not the whole affix नु ॥ It is a general maxim that the words लुक्, श्लु 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 श्रुन्व: &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, ॥

वृत्ति ॥ करोतेरुत्तरस्य उकारप्रत्ययस्य वकारमकारौ प्रत्यये परतो निस्यं लोपो भवति ॥

108. The elision of उ is invariable before व and म in the case of कृ (करोति).

Thus कुर्व: and कुर्म: ॥ Thus कृ + उ + व: = कुर् + उ + व: (VI. 4. 110) = कुर् + ० + व: (VI. 4. 108). Now the lopa being not sthânivat, 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, लोप: नित्यंकरोतेः ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ यकारादौ च प्रत्यये परतः करोतेरुत्तरस्योकारप्रत्ययस्य निस्यं 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 कुर्युं: ॥ The augment यासुट् 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, कङिति ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ उकारप्रत्ययान्तस्य करोतेरकारस्य स्थाने उकार आदेशो भवति सार्वधातुके कङिति परतः ।

110. Before a Sârvadhâtuka affix with an indicatory क् or ङ्, short उ is substituted for the अ of कृ (कर् + उ) when gunated.

Thus कृ + उ + तस् = कर् + उ + तस् (VII. 3. 84) = कुर् + उ + तस् = कुरुतः (VI. 4. 110) The तस is ङित् by I. 2. 4. So also कुर्वन्ति, करु ॥ Why do we say 'before a Sârvadhâtukâ'? So that the rule may apply to what was once a Sârvadhâtuka, though no longer existent. Thus कुरु where the personal ending हि is elided, but it leaves its effect behind. The त् in उत् shows that this उ is not to be gunated by VII. 3. 86. When the affix is not कित् or ङित् we have करोति, करोषि and कराम (I. 2. 4).

इनसोर्ल्लोपः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन-असोः, अत्-लोपः, सार्वधातुके कृङिति ॥

वृत्ति: । अस्याऽस्तभाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कृङिति परतः ।

111. Before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or ङित् affix, the अ of श्न and अस् is elided.

इन is the characteristic of the roots of the Rudhâdi class, while अस् is the root itself. Thus रुन्धः; रुन्धाति, भिन्तः, भिन्नन्ति; So also of अस्:—स्तः, सन्ति ॥ But भिनग्गि and अस्ति before non—किन् and non—ङित् affixes. इन + अस् ought to be इनास्, instead of that we have इनस् in the sûtra. The पररूप single substitution is an irregularity.

इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इना-अभ्यस्तयोः, आतः, लोपः सार्वधा-
तुके कङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्ना इत्येतस्याभ्यस्तानां चाङ्गानामाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कङिति परतः ।

112. Before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or ङित् affix be-ginning with a vowel, the long आ of श्न (the vikaraṇa of the 9th class) and of the reduplicate stems is elided.

Thus लुनते, लुनताम्, अलुनत; मिमते, मिमताम्, अमिमत, संजिहते, संजिहताम् and समजिहत ॥ Why do we say 'of इना and the reduplicates'? Observe वान्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why 'of long आ'? Observe बिभ्रति ॥ Why 'before किन् and ङित्'? Observe अलुनात्, अजहात् ॥

ई हल्यघोः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, हलि, अ-धोः (इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः सार्वधातु के कङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्नान्तानामङ्गानामभ्यस्तानां च घुवर्जितानामात ईकारादेधो भवति हलादौ सार्वधातुके कङिति परतः ॥

113. Before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or ङित् affix be-ginning with a consonant, the आ of श्न 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 मिमीते, मिमीषे, मिमीध्वे, संजिहीते, संजिहीषे, संजिहीध्वे ॥ Why do we say 'be-ginning with a consonant'? Observe लुनन्ति, मिमते ॥ Why with the exception of घु? Observe दत्तः, धत्तः ॥ So also लुनाति and जहाति before non-किन् and non-ङित् affixes.

इद्दरिद्रस्य ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, हरिद्रस्य, (हलिसार्वधातुकेकङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दरिद्रातेर्हलादौ सार्वधातुके कङिति परत एकारादेधो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दरिद्रातेरधंधातुके लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सिद्धश्व प्रत्ययविधौ भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kârikâ ॥ न दरिद्रायके लोपो दरिद्राणे च नेष्यते ।
रिशरिद्रासतीर्येके दिशरिद्रद्रिपतीति वा ॥

वा० ॥ अयतन्वां येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

114. इ is substituted for the आ of दरिद्रा before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or ङित् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus दरिद्रितः, दरिद्रियः, दरिद्रिवः, दरिद्रिमः ॥ But दरिद्राति before a vowel affix (VI. 4. 112) and दरिद्राति before a non-ङित् affix.

Vârt :—The final of दरिद्रा is elided before an Ârdhadhâtuka affix.
Vârt :—And this elision should be considered as siddha, in applying rules
relating to affixes. Thus दरिद्रा by loosing आ becomes दरिद्र्, and we should
apply those affixes which would come after a form like 'daridr', and not
what would have come after a form like 'daridrâ'. Thus ण comes after roots
ending in long आ (III. 1. 141) : but this affix would not be applied here, but
the general affix अण् (III. 1. 134). Thus दरिद्रान्त = दरिद्रः ॥

Kârikâ :—The elision does not take place in the forms दरिद्रायक and
दरिद्राण, and the Desiderative may be either दिदरिद्रासति or दिदरिद्रिर्षति ॥ Sid-
dhânta Kaumudi gives the following rule : "आ of दरिद्रा should be considered
as elided when applying an ârdhadhâtuka affix, but optionally so before लुङ्
(Aorist), and not at all before सन् (Desiderative), ण्वुल् and ल्युट् " ॥

Vârt :—Optionally so in the Aorist (adyatana-past) as, अदरिद्रीत् or
अदरिद्रासीत् ॥ The latter form is evolved by VII. 2. 73 and elision of सिच् ॥
The form दरिद्रस्य in the sûtra is Vedic, the root being shortened from दरिद्रा to
दरिद्र ॥

भियो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (इतहलि क्ङिति सार्वधातु के) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्याङ्गस्येकारादेशो भवति हलादौ क्ङिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

115. इ is optionally substituted for the ई of भी
before a Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant and
having an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus बिभितः or बिभीतः, बिभियः or बिभीयः, बिभिवः or बिभीवः; बिभिमः or बिभीमः॥
But बिभ्यति before a vowel-beginning affix and बिभेति before a non-ङित् affix
and भीयते before an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

जहातेश्च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, (इ हलि अन्यतरस्याम् क्ङितिसार्व-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेश इकारादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां हलादौ क्ङिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

116. इ is optionally substituted for the आ of हा
(जहाति) before a Sârvadhâtuka क्ङित् or ङित् affix beginning with
a consonant.

Thus जहितः or जहीतः (VI. 4. 113) अहियः or जहीयः (VI. 4. 113). But
जहाति before a vowel affix, and जहाति before a non-ङित् affix, and हीयते and
जिहीयते before an ârdhadhâtuka. The separation of this sûtra from the last,
is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms.

आ च हौ ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, च, हौ, (इ अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेराकारान्तादेशो भवति इकारश्चान्यतरस्यां हौ परतः ।

117. आ as well as इ may optionally be substituted
for the final of the stem of हा before the Imperative ending
हि ॥

Thus जहाहि, जहिहि or जहीहि (VI. 4. 113).

लोपो यि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, यि, (जहातेः सार्वधातुके क्ङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोपो भवति जहातेर्थकारास्य क्ङिति सार्वधातुके परतः ।

118. The final of the stem of हा is elided before an affix beginning with य being a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or ङित् affix.

Thus जहात्, जहाताम् and जह्युः ॥

ध्वसोरेद्धावभ्यासलोपश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ घु-असोः, एत्, हौ, अभ्यास-लोपः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानामद्धानामस्तेश्च एकारादेशो भवति ही परतो ऽभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

119. For the final vowel of the roots दा and धा (घु), and for the स् of अस्, is substituted ए before the Imperative ending हि; and thereby the reduplicated syllable of दा and धा is elided.

Thus देहि, and धेहि, of घु, and एधि of अस्, the स being elided by this sûtra, and अ being elided by VI. 4. 111. This लोप of the present sûtra should be considered as having an indicatory ङु so that the *whole* of the reduplicated and not only the final letter of the abhyâsa (I. 1. 55) is elided.

अत एकहल्मध्ये ऽनादेशादेर्लिवि ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, एक-हल्, मध्ये, अनादेशादेः, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ङितीतिवर्तते ॥ लिटि परस आदेश आदिर्यस्याह्रस्य नास्ति, तस्य एकहल्मध्ये, असहाययोर्हेलोर्मध्ये यो ऽकारस्तस्य एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि क्ङिति परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋमेरेत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ नशिमन्योरलिट्येत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ छन्दस्यमिपचोरप्यलिटि 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 क् (I. 2. 5), provided that, at the beginning of the root, in the reduplication, no other consonant has been substituted; and when this ए is substituted, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus रेणतुः, रेणुः, येमतुः, येमुः, पेचतुः, पेचुः, सेभतुः, सेभुः ॥ Why 'for अ'? Observe बिभिदतुः, बिभिदुः 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 ररन्धतुः, ररन्धुः ॥ 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:—तस्सरतुः and तस्सरुः ॥ Why do we say 'which has no substituted consonant in the reduplicate'? Observe चकणतु, चकणुः, जगणतु, 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 सेहाते, सेहिरे though णम् and षह् are the roots, and ण् and ष् are changed to न and स ॥ The substitution of जश् consonant or a चर् consonant in the reduplicate, should not be here considered asiddha (VIII. 4. 54, read with VIII. 2. 1). That substitution will be considered a substitution for the purposes of this sûtra and will make the stem आदिवादिः, as is indicated by the special exception made in favor of फल् and भज् (VI. 4. 122). If the form of the letter is not changed in the reduplicate, by substitution, then such substitution will not make the stem आदिवादिः ॥ Thus by VIII. 4. 54, a चर् letter (च, ट, त, क, प, ग, 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 (jñâpaka) of sûtra VI. 4. 126 where exception is made in case of घस् and द्द ॥ Therefore, where the substitute is a *different* letter, then the reduplicate becomes âdeśâdî : otherwise not.

When the affixes are not कित् or ङित् the rule does not apply : as अहं पपच, अहं पपठ ॥

Vârt :—ए is substituted for the अ of हन्म under similar circumstances :—thus हेमतुः, हेमुः ॥ The elision of the nasal by VI. 4. 24, would be considered asiddha by VI. 4. 22, hence this vârtika.

Vârt :—ए is substituted for the अ of नश और मन before affixes other than those of लिट् ॥ As अनेशम्, मेनका ॥ अनेशम् is the Aorist in अङ् of नश् which belongs to Pushâdi roots (III. 1. 55). मेनका is formed by बुन् (III. 1. 150). Padamanjari gives अनेशन् (3 rd Pl.), and quotes अनेशन्नस्त्रेषवः ॥

Vârt :—In the Vedas, ए is substituted for the अ of अम् and पच् before affixes other than those of the Perfect, as व्येमानम्, (वि + अम् + चानश्, the augment शुक् being dropped); पचिरन् instead of पचेरन्, the Imperfect of पच् ॥ The shortening is also a Vedic irregularity.

Vârt :—So also of यज् and वप ,as आयेजे and आविपे the Imperfect Vedic forms. The augment आट् being added by VI. 4. 73. ·

थलि च सेटि ॥१२१॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, (अत एक हल् मध्ये अनादेशादिः) वृत्तिः ॥ थलि च सेटि परतो ऽनादेशादिरङ्गस्य एकहल्मध्यगतस्यात् स्थाने एकार आदिषो भवति अभ्यास लोपश्च ॥

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 इट् follows, and thereby, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus पेचिय, शेकिय ॥ But पपकय before aniṭ य ; दिदेविय, the vowel being इ and not अ ; ततक्षिय, ररक्षिय, the अ not standing between two *simple* consonants ; and चकणिय, बभाणिय, the reduplicate having the substitutes च and ब different from क and भ ॥ This sûtra applies even when the affix is not किन्; and थल् is read in the sûtra only for the sake of clearness, no non-kit Perfect ending can take इट् except यह् ॥

तृफलभजत्रपश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृ, फल, भज, त्रपः, च, (अत् एक हल्मध्ये अनादेशादेर्लिटि थलिच सेटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृ फल भज त्रप इत्येतेषामङ्गानामत एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च, लिटि कृङिति परतस्यलि च सेटि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्येभोति वक्तव्यम् ॥

122. ए is substituted for the अ of तृ, फल, भज and त्रप, and the reduplicate is elided, when the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ङ्) follow, as well as when थल् with the इट् augment follows.

Thus तेरतुः, तेरुः, तेरिय, फेलतुः, फेलुः, फेलिय, भेजतु, भेजुः, भेजिय, त्रेपे, त्रेपाते, त्रेपिरे ॥ In the case of तृ the rule applies to the अ obtained by Guṇa, contrary to VI. 4. 126, in फल and भज 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.

Vârt: It should be stated that the rule opplies to अन्य also:-as, अेयतुः, अेयुः ॥

राधो हिंसायाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधो हिंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधो हिंसायामर्थेऽभर्णस्य एकार आदेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृङिति 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 थल् with the इट् augment.

Thus अपरेधतुः, अपरेधुः, अपरेधिय, but रराधतुः, रराधुः, रराधिय in any other sense than that of 'hurting'. In this sûtra 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 annuvṛitti of आ from VI. 4. 112, or we should read the word एकहल्मध्ये in this way "in राध *whatever* stands between two simple consonants is replaced by ए".

वा जृभ्रमुत्रसाम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जॄ, भ्रमु, त्रसाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जॄ भ्रमु त्रस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतः स्थाने वा एकार आदेशो भवति अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृङिति परतस्यलि च सेटि ॥

124.   व is optionally substituted for the अ of the stems जर् (जॄ), भ्रम, and त्रस्, and the reduplicate is thereby elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ङ्), as well as before the थल् with the augment इट् ॥

Thus जरतुः, जेरुः, जेरिथ, or जज्ञरतुः, जज्रहुः, जज्ञरिथ, भ्रेमतुः, भ्रेषुः, भ्रेमिथ, or बभ्र मतुः, बभ्रषुः, बभ्रमिथ, त्रेसतुः, त्रेषुः, त्रेसिथ, or तत्रसतुः, तत्रषुः, तत्रसिथ ॥

फणां च सप्तानाम् ॥ १२५ ॥   पदानि ॥ फणाम्, च, सप्तानाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फणादीनां सप्तानां धातूनामवर्णस्य स्थाने वा एकार आदेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि क्ङिति परत, थलि च सेटि ॥

125.   व 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 ङ्) as well as before the थ with the इट् augment.

Thus फेणतुः, फेणुः, फेणिथ or पफणतुः, पफणुः, पफणिथ; रेजतुः, रेजुः, रेजिथ, or रराजतुः, रराजुः, रराजिथ; भ्रेजे, भ्रेजाते, भ्रेजिरे, or बभ्राजे, बभ्राजाते, बभ्राजिरे; भ्रेशे, भ्रेशाते, भ्रेशिरे, or बभ्राशे, बभ्राशाते, बभ्राशिरे, भ्लेशे, भ्लेशाते, भ्लेशिरे, or बभ्लाशे, बभ्लाशाते, बभ्लाशिरे; स्येमतुः, स्येषुः, स्येमिथ, or सस्यमतुः, सस्यषुः, सस्यमिथ; स्वेनतुः, स्वेनुः, स्वेनिथ, or सस्वनतुः, सस्वनुः, सस्वनिथ, Why of 'seven"?   Observe, दध्वनतुः, दध्वनुः, दध्वनिथ ॥   The Phaṇādi is a subdivision of Bhuâdi (873-879)

न शसददवादिगुणानाम् ॥ १२६ ॥   पदानि ॥ न, शस, दद, वादि, गुणानाम्, (अत एक हल्मध्येऽनादेशादेर्लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शस दद इत्येतयोर्विकारादीनां च धातूनां गुण इत्येवमभिनिर्वृत्तस्य च योकारस्तस्य स्थाने एकारा-देशो न, भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

126.   व is not substituted for the अ of शस्, दद्, or of roots beginning with a व, or of such verbal stems in which the अ results through the substitution of Guṇa, though the affixes of the Perfect being कित् or ङित् follow, or the set थल्, nor is the reduplicate elided.

Thus विशशसतुः, विशशसुः, विशशसिथ, ददे, दददाते, ददविर, Of roots beginning with व:-ववमतुः, ववषुः, ववमिथ, ॥ Of roots where अ is the result of Guṇa, विशशरतुः, विशशरुः, विशशरिथ, छुलविथ, पुपविथ ॥ गुणघस्राभिनिर्वृत्तस्यार्वस्यैकारस्य चायमकार इति एवं प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

The अ of Guṇa may result either from the guṇa of ऋ as ऋ changed to अर् or of उ changed to भो again changed to अव् as लु—लव ॥

अर्वणस्त्रसावनञः ॥ १२७ ॥   पदानि ॥ अर्वणः, त्र, असौ, अनञः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्वन्नित्येतस्याङ्गस्यत् इत्ययमादेशो भवति, छुभ्येततः परो न भवति, स च नञ उत्तरो न भवति ॥

127. तृ (which is changed to न्त in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in ई unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem अर्वन्, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is तृ, the न is for the sake of making this affix an उगित्, so that in sarvanâmasthâna cases we have नुम् augment VII. 1. 70. Thus अर्वन्तौ, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्तम्, अर्वन्तौ, अर्वतः, अर्वता, अर्वद्भ्याम्, अर्वद्भिः, अर्वती, आर्वतम् ॥ असाविति किम्, अर्वा ॥ अनम इति किम्, अनर्वाणौ, अनर्वाणः, अनर्वाणं वृषभं मन्द्रजिह्वम् ॥

But अर्वा in the Nominative Sing: and अनर्वाणौ, अनर्वाणः, अनर्वाणं वृषभं मन्द्रजिह्वम् with the Negative Particle नञ् ॥

मघवा बहुलम् ॥ १५८ ॥   पदानि ॥ मघवा, बहुलम्, (तृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मघवन्नित्येतस्याङ्गस्य बहुलं तृ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

128. तृ is diversely substituted for the final of मघवन् ॥

As मघवान्, मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः, मघवन्तम्, मघवन्तौ, मघवतः, मघवना, मघवती, माघव-तम्, ॥ न च भवति, मघवा, मघवानौ, मघवानः, मघवानम्, मघवानौ, मघोनः, मघोना, मघवभ्याम्, मघवभिः मघोनी, माघवनम् ॥

भस्य ॥ १५९ ॥   पदानि ॥ भस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्येत्ययमधिकारः, आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः, यदित ऊर्ध्वं अनुक्रमिष्यामो भस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

129. Whatever will be taught in the following upto the end of the Adhyâya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19).

Thus sûtra VI. 4. 130 says 'पद् is the substitute of पाद्' ॥ It means पद् is substituted for पाद् when the latter gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus द्विपरः पदय, द्विपदा कृतम् but द्विपादौ, द्विपादः where the affixes are those of Sarvanâmasthâna.

पादः पत् ॥ १३० ॥   पादः, पत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिति पादशब्दो लुप्ताकारो गृह्यते । तवन्तस्याङ्गस्य भस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवति । स च पाच्छब्दस्यव 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 द्विपदः पदय, द्विपदा, द्विपदे, द्विपदिकां हवाति (V. 4. 1), त्रिपदिकां हवाति, वैयाघ्रपद्य ॥

वसोः संप्रसारणम् ॥ १३१ ॥   पदानि ॥ वसोः, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्तस्य भस्य सम्प्रसारणं भवति ॥

131. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वंस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विदुषः पदब, विदुषे, पेचुषः पभ्य, पेचुषा, पेचुषे, ययुषः पभ्य ॥ For the purposes of the elision of आ (VI. 4. 64), vocalisation under the present sûtra should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22). Thus पा + क्वसु (III. 2. 107) = पपा + वस् = पपा + उस् + वस् (VI. 4. 131, VI. 1. 108). Now if उ were to be considered as asiddha, then the affix does not begin with a vowel, and we can not apply VI. 4. 64, which requires the elision of आ, but the samprasâraṇa is not considered assiddha, and we have पप् + उस् + अस् = पचुषः पद्य ॥ 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 क्वसु is included in वसु for the purposes of samprasâraṇa.

वाह ऊठ् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, ऊठ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाह इत्येवमन्तस्य भस्य ऊठ् इत्येतत्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

132. The व in वाह is vocalised to ऊ (ऊठ्), when the compound stem is Bha.

The word वाह is a ण्वि formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada: hence we have used the word "compound." Thus प्रष्ठौहः, प्रष्ठौहा, प्रष्ठौहे, दित्यौहः, दित्यौहा, दित्यौहे ॥ By VI. 1. 108, उ + आ (of वा) = ऊ ;and then प्रष्ठ + ऊह् = प्रष्ठौह् ; the Vṛiddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasâraṇa thus : प्रष्ठ + वह् + वस् = प्रष्ठ + उह् + अस् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रष्ठ + ओह् + अस् (the affix ण्वि III. 2. 64, will produce guṇa) = प्रष्ठौहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact ण्वि is never added to वह् (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in अ and that अ + ओ of वा will always produce ओ ॥ The making of this special samprasâraṇa in ऊठ्, indicates the existence of following maxim : असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ; and the samprasâraṇa 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 ओह् ॥

श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वव, युव, मघोनाम्, अतद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वन् युवन् मघवन् इत्येतेषामतद्धितनामनद्धिते प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

133. The व of श्वन्, युवन् and मघवन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus शुनः, शुना, शुने, शुनः, शुना, शुने, मघोनः, मघोना, मघोने ॥ But शौवनं मांसम् शौवनं वर्तते, माघवनः स्थालीपाकः with Taddhita affixes. शौवन is formed by अम् affix (IV. 3. 154) and औ being added by VII. 3. 4 as श्वन् belongs dvârâdi class.

This vocalisation takes place of the nouns ending in न्, but not when they become feminine or do not end in न्, as युवतीः पभ्य, मघवतः, मघवते, मघवता ॥ The word श्वनः of the next sûtra, in a way, qualifies this sûtra also.

अह्लोपोऽनः ॥ १३४ ॥   पदानि ॥ अल्, लोपः, अनः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्येवमन्तस्य भस्य अकारलोपो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अनो नकारान्तस्यायं लोप इष्यते ॥

134. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

As राज्ञः पश्य, राज्ञा, राज्ञे, तक्षणः पश्य, तक्षणा and तक्षणे ॥ *Vârt:*—The elision takes place of a stem which actually ends in न्, therefore, it does not take place here, राजकीयम् ॥

षपूर्वेहन्धृतराज्ञामणि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष पूर्वे, हन्, धृतराज्ञाम्, अणि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षकारपूर्वो यो ऽन् हनो धृतराज्ञ तस्याकारलोपो भवति ॥

135. Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding ष, as well as of हन् and धृतराजन्, the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus गौक्षणः, तार्क्षणः, भौनघ्नः, धार्तराज्ञः ॥ But सामनः, वेमन ॥ Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्षण्यः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a ष'? Observe सामनः and वेमनः 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 ङिद्यो: ॥ १३६ ॥   पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ङि, द्यो: (अह्लोपोऽनः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ङौ परतः षीद्यब्दे च अनो विभाषा अकारलोपो भवात ॥

136. In a stem ending in अन्, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending षी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As राज्ञि or राजनि, साम्नि or सामनि, साम्नी or सामनी (VII. 1. 19).

न संयोगाद्वमन्तात् ॥ १३७ ॥   पदानि ॥ न, संयोगात्, व, म, अन्तात्, (अह्लो-पोऽनः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वकारमकारान्तास्संयोगादुत्तरस्यानो ऽकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

137. The अ in अन् is not elided when the Bha stem ends in वन् or मन् with a consonant preceding व् or म् ॥

Thus पर्वणा, पर्वणे, अथर्वणा, अथर्वणे, चर्मणा and चर्मणे ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe प्रतिदीव्ना, प्रातर्दीव्ने, साम्ना, साम्ने ॥ Why do we say 'stems in वन् and मन्'? Observe तक्षणा, and तक्षणे ॥

अचः ॥ १३८ ॥   पदानि ॥ अचः, (भस्य अह्लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अच इत्ययमङ्गतिल्मनकारो गृह्यते । तदन्तस्य भस्य अकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

138. The अ of अच् (अऽच्) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

Thus ऋधीचः पइय, ऋधीचा, ऋधीचे, मधूचः पइय, मधूचा, मधूच ॥ The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138: and न् of अऽच is elided by VI. 4. 24.

उद ईत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, ईत्, (अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद उत्तरस्याच ईकारादिशो भवति ॥

139. Long ई is substituted for the अ of अच् (अञ्च), after the word उद when the stem is Bha.

As उदीचः, उदीचा, उदीचे ॥

आतो धातोः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, धातोः, (भस्य लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्य धातोर्भस्य लोपो भवति ॥

140. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

Thus कीलालपः पइयः, कीलालपा, कीलालपे, शुभंयः पभ्य, शुभंया, and शुभंवे from कीलालपा and शुभंया ॥ Why do we say 'the आ of a root'? Observe खट्टाः पभ्य, मालाः पभ्य ॥ This sûtra should be divided into two (1) आतः (2) धातोः ; so that the long आ in general may be elided. For Pâṇini himself has declined त्त्वा and इना by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37, (त्त्वो ल्यप्) and III. 1. 83, (ध्नः शानच्) ॥

मन्त्रेष्वाङ्ग्यादेरात्मनः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रेषु, आङि, आदेः, आत्मनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रेषु आङि परत आत्मन आदिर्लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङ्ग्न्यत्रापि छन्दसि लोपो दृश्यते ॥

141. In the Mantras, the beginning of आत्मन् is elided, when the affix of the Instrumental Singular follows.

आङ् is the name of the Instrumental singular affix, given by ancient Grammarians. Thus त्मना देवेभ्यः, त्मना सोमेषु ॥ Why in the Mantras? Observe आत्मनो कृतम् ॥ Why in the Instrumental Singular? यत्रात्मन स्तन्त्रो वरिष्ठा ॥

Vârt :—The elision of आ of 'âtman' is found in other cases also, but not so frequently as in the Instrumental, as त्मन्यासमञ्जत महयम् ॥

ति विंशतेर्डिति ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, विंशतेः, डिति, (भस्य, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य विंशतेस्तिशब्दस्य डिति प्रत्यये परतो लोपो भवति ॥

142. Of the Bha stem विंशति, before an affix having an indicatory ड, the ति is elided.

Thus विंशकः = विंशत्या क्रीतः (with ठुञ् V. 1. 24), विंशं शतम्, (विंशतेः पूरणो विंशः, with ड affix V. 2. 48), एकविंशः ॥ Why do we say 'having an indicatory ड'? Observe विंशत्या ॥

टे: ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ टे:, (डिति, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टिसंज्ञकस्य डिति 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 कुर्वत्, नड्युत् and वंतस्वत् with इमतुप् (IV. 2. 87). So also निघातः कोतः = निघाकः with इयुन् 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 kṛit affix ट) ॥

नस्तद्धिते ॥ १४४ ॥   पदानि ॥ नः, तद्धिते, (भस्य, टे:, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य भस्य टेलोपो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सब्रह्मचारिपीठसर्पिककलापिकुथुमितैतिलिज्ञ्जलिलाड्गलिशिलालिशिखण्डिडु-करसघवुपर्वाद्युपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥   वार्तिकम् ॥ अइमनो विकार उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ चर्मणः कोष उपसंख्यानम् ॥   वा० ॥ श्नुनः संकोच उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अव्ययानां च सायंप्रातिकाद्यर्थमुपसंख्यानम् ॥

144.   Of the stem bha, the final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is elided, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus आमिषलोमिः, औडुलोमिः, सारलोमिः from अमिषलोमन्, ओडुलोमन्, and सरलोमन् with the Taddhita affix इञ् (IV. 1. 96). Why do we say 'ending in न्'? Observe साक्षत: ॥ Why 'before a Taddhita affix'? Observe चर्मणा, चर्मणे ॥

Vârt :—The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following : 1. सब्रह्मचारिन्—साब्रह्मचाराः (IV. 3. 120), 2. पीठ-सर्पिन्—पैठसर्पाः (IV. 3. 120), 3. कलापिन्—कालापाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59), 4. कुथुमिन्—कौथुमाः (IV. 3. 101), 5. तैतिलिन्—तैतिलाः (IV. 3. 116), 6. आञ्जलिन्—आञ्जलाः (IV. 2. 59), 7. लाङ्गलिन्—लाङ्गलाः, 8. शिलालिन्—शैलालाः, 9. शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डाः, 10. डुकरसघमन्—सौकर सघाः, 11. सुपर्वन्—सौपर्वाः ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI. 4. 164, and those in अन् contradict VI. 4. 167.

Vârt :—अइमन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with' : as, आइमः, otherwise आइमनः ॥

Vârt :—Of चर्मन्, the अन् is elided when meaning 'a sheath or purse' : as, चार्मः कोषः (IV. 3. 134), otherwise चार्मणः ॥

Vârt :—The अन् of श्नन् is elided when the sense is 'to contract', as शौचः संकोचः (IV. 3. 120), otherwise शौवनः ॥

Vârt :—The Indeclinables like सायंप्रातिकः &c are formed by the टि elision : as सायंप्रातिकः, पौनः पुनिकः, बाह्यः, कौतस्कुतः (formed by ठञ् IV. 3. 11). But not before the affixes ष्णु and ष्युल्, as भारातीयः, चाभ्रतिकः ॥ Pâṇini himself has shown the exception, in the case of चाभ्रतिक, by using it in II. 4. 9. So also चाभ्रतनम् ॥

अह्रष्खोरेव ॥ १५५ ॥   पदानि ॥ अहः, ड, खोः, एव ॥

वृत्ति ॥ अहन्नित्येतस्य टखोरेव परतष्टिलोपो भवति ।

वार्गक ॥ अह्नः समूहे खां वक्तव्यः ॥

145. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes द and ख ॥

Thus द्वे अहनी समाहृते = द्र्यहः, द्र्यहः (V. 4. 91 with टच्). द्वे अहनी अधीष्टे भृतं भूतो भावी वा = द्र्यहीनः, द्र्यहीनः (with ख V. 1. 87).

Vârt :—ख is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्नां समूहः क्रतुः = अहीनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes द and ख, the present sûtra makes a restrictive rule: अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम् (with ठम् V. 1. 79.). The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before द and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of âtman and adhvan, before ख, in VI. 4. 169.

ओर्गुणः ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुणो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥

146. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाभ्रव्यः from बभ्रू, माण्डव्यः from मण्डु, शाङ्कव्यं शाह (from शंकु), पिषव्यः कार्पासः, (from पिचु) कमण्डलव्या मृत्तिका (from कमण्डलू), परशव्यमयः, औपगवः, कापटवः &c. Instead of making the sûtra simpler by saying ओरोत् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुणः in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरनित्यः " A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term ". The present sûtra is, therefore, anitya, and we have forms like स्वायंभुवः from स्वयंभू without guṇa. See VII. 4. 30 also.

ढे लोपोऽकद्र्वाः ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढे, लोपः, अ, कट्र्वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढे परत उवर्णान्तस्य भस्याकद्र्वा लोपो भवति ॥

147. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (ढ), but not of the stem 'Katrû'.

Thus कामण्डलेयः, चैतिवाहेयः, जाम्बेयः, माद्रवाहेयः, 1 ut कार्द्रवेयौ मन्त्रमपठयत् ॥

यस्येति च ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, इति, च, (भस्य, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्तस्यावर्णान्तस्य च भस्य इकारे पर तद्धित च लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यस्त्येयोङः द्यां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इयङ् उवङ्भ्यां लोपो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

148. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a bha stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गी, शार्क्षी, सखी from शार्ङ्ग, शार्क्ष 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 साखि + ई = साखी ॥ It might be asked, where was then the necessity of eliding ई ? There would arise difficulty in the forms like अति सखि ॥ From the word सखी formed by ङीष् under IV. 1. 62, we form the compound सखीमतिक्रान्त : = अतिसखि, the final becoming short by I. 2. 48 (the samâsânta 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 ई of खि, then the long ई being the single substitute for both ई + ई, would be considered as like the final ई of सखि by VI. 1. 85. That being so, the word अतिसखि would be considered a non−खि word by I. 4. 7, for सखि has been specifically excluded form खि class. Not being a खि, we cannot have the form अतिसखे: in the Ablative and Genitive singular. Hence the necessity of eliding ई before the feminine ई, so that the ekâdeśa rule VI. 1. 85, should not apply.

The short ई is elided before Taddhita affixes :—दुलि−दौलेयः, वलि−वालेयः, अत्रि−आत्रेयः ॥ अ is elided before ई as :—कुमार−कुमारी, गौर−गौरी, गार्ग्यव−गार्ग्यरत्री ॥ अ and आ are elided before the Taddhita :—इक्ष−इक्षिः, हक्ष−हाक्षिः, चूड−चौडिः, बलाका−बालाकिः, सुमित्रा−सौमित्रिः ॥

Vârt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (ई), 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, ई 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 ; कुडचे ॥ सौर्व + ई = सौर्ये (the व would have beeen elided by VI. 4. 149). It is owing to this Vârtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sûtra. This may also be done by reading the anuvritti of स्यां (VI. 4. 136), and न (VI. 4. 137) into this sûtra.

Vârt :—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 भ्रियौ, श्रियः, भुवौ, भुवः ॥ Lopa has unimpeded scope in कमण्डलु−कामण्डलेयः (with इञ IV. 1. 135), and भाद्रबाहेव: ॥ But in वस्समी + इञ् (IV. 1. 135), both the rules VI. 4. 77 and VI. 4. 148, present themselves. The former is superseded, and we have वास्समेयः (वस्सं प्रीणाति = वस्समी:, तस्यापत्यं) ; so also लेखाभ्रु:−लेखाभ्रियः with the इञ् affix, this word belonging to Śubhrâdi class (IV. 1. 123).

सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य, मत्स्यानाम्, यः, उपधायाः, (इति, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ सूर्य तिष्य अगस्त्य मस्स्य इत्येतेषां यकारस्य उपधाया भस्य लोपो भवति इति परतस्तद्धिते च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मस्स्यस्य ङेत्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सूर्यागस्त्ययोोश्छे च इयां च ॥

वा॰ ॥ तिष्यपुष्ययोनंक्षत्राणि ॥
वा॰ ॥ अन्तिकशब्दस्य तसिप्रत्यये परतः ककारानिघशब्दस्य लोपो वक्तव्य, भादुशात्तं च ॥
वा॰ ॥ तमे तारेम्र ॥   वा॰ ॥ काविलोपे बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥   वा॰ ॥ य च ॥

149.   Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य and मत्स्य, (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate य is also elided before the long ई and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येणकारेक्= सौरी (सूर्य + अण् under IV. 3, 112= सौर्य, then ई of ङीप्= सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य—तैषमहः, तैषी रात्रि: ॥ So also अगस्त्यस्यापत्यं स्त्री = आगस्ती (IV. 1. 114), आगस्तीयः ; So also मत्स्य—मत्सी with ङीष् as it belongs to Gaurâdi class (IV. 1. 40). If the words सूर्य &c, were to be qualified by the word भ, then the sûtra would mean सूर्यारांनां भसंज्ञानां " of सूर्य &c, when they get the designa- tion of भ "; and the result of this interpretation would be, that the rule would apply to cases like सूर्यस्य स्त्री = सूरी, आगस्त्यस्य स्त्री = आभस्ती, &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 intro- duced 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 आभ्रय must be the same, Thus सौर्य + ई = सौर्य् + अ lopa+ ई = सौरी ॥   But सौर्य itself was formed by the eli- sion of अ of सूर्य before the affix अण्, thus, सूर्य + अण् = सौर्य् + ० + अण् (last sûtra) = सौर्य ॥   But if this lopa be considered as asiddha by VI. 4. 22, then we have the following equation सौर्य् + ० + अ (of अण्)+ ई = सौर्य् + ० + ० (अ of अण् being elided by VI. 4. 148)+ ई ॥   Here य cannot be elided, as it is not upadhâ or penultimate : because the first lopa is considered asiddha.   But it is not to be so considered, as their scopes (आभ्रय) are different.   Hence we have the elision of य by this sûtra.   It should not be objected that the य here is not penulti- mate, but ultimate : as सौर्य + ई = सौर्य + ० + ई (अ elided by the last sûtra), and thus य is ultimate.   Here, however, rule VI. 4. 22, applies.   This elision of अ will be considered asiddha for the purposes of the elision of य, their scope being the same.   So being considered asibdha, य still retains its designation of upadhâ and is elided by the present sûtra.   It should be remembered here, that we could not take help of the rule of sthanivat-bhâva, because for pur- poses of यलोप, that rule is set aside.   See I. 1. 58.

Why do we say the penultimate य ? Observe मत्स्यचरी ॥   This word is thus formed.   The affix चरट् is added to मत्सी by V. 3. 53, in the sense of मत्सी भूतपूर्वा ॥   Then the मत्सी becomes masculine मत्स्य by VI. 4. 35, and we

have मस्यचर ॥　This word takes ङीप् by IV. 1. 15, because it is formed by an affix having an indicatory ए ॥　Thus मस्यचर + ई, and the word is म, but the य is not elided, because it is not penultimate.　The य has been read for the sake of the subsequent sûtras : उपधायाः alone would have been enough for the purposes of this aphorism.　The rule contained in this sûtra is rather too general ; it is limited by the following vârtikas, which enumerate the conditions under which the elision takes place.

Vart :—The य of मस्य is elided before the feminine ई only : therefore not here मस्यखेषं मांसं = मास्यम् ॥

Vârt :—Of सूर्य and अगस्त्य before the affixes छ, and ई (of the feminine) : as सौरीयः, सौरी, आगस्तीयः, आगस्ती ॥　But not here सौर्वे चहं निर्वपेत्, आगस्त्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV. I. 114)

Vârt :—Of तिष्य and पुष्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्येण नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः = तैषः, पौषः (IV. 2. 3).

Vârt :—Of अन्तिक before the affix तसि, the क is elided, and the word has acute on the first syllable : as, अन्तितः in अन्तितो न दूरात् (V. 4. 45).

Vârt :—Before the affix तम, it loses the syllable तिक as well as क, as अन्तमः or अन्तितमः, in अग्रे त्वं नो अन्तिमः अन्तितमे अवरोहसि ॥

Vârt :—The elision of क of अन्तिक takes place diversely, before the second member also, as अन्तिके सीश्वति = अन्तिषत् (स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106)

Vârt :—The elision takes place also before the affix य, as अन्तिय:, this is found in the Atharva-Veda, (अन्तिके भवः, with the affix यत् IV. 4. 110).

हलस्तद्धितस्य ॥ १५० ॥　पदानि ॥ हलः, तद्धितस्य, (य उपधायाः लोपः इति)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य तद्धितयकारस्य उपधाया इति परतो लोपो भवति ॥

150. The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

The anuvritti of "taddhita" ceases, because of its mention in the next sûtra.　Hence this sûtra applies to feminine ई only.　As गार्गी, वात्सी from गार्ग्य and वात्स्य ॥　Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant'? Observe कारिकेयी ॥　Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'.　Observe वेदस्य भावां = वेद्यी ॥

आपत्यस्य च तद्धिते ऽनाति ॥ १५१ ॥　पदानि ॥ आपत्यस्य, च, तद्धिते, अनाति (लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्ययकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य तद्धिते अनाकारादौ लोपो भवति ॥

151. The य, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गर्गाणां समूहः = गार्गकम् from गार्ग्य, वाम्सकम from वास्य (IV. 2. 37-40). Why do we say 'a Patronymic य'? Observe सांकाइयकः, काम्पिल्यकः (IV. 2. 80).

The repetition of the word Taddhita indicates that the elision takes place some-times of the non-patronymic य also, as सांमी इटिः ॥

Why do we say 'not beginning with a long आ'? Observe गार्ग्यायणः, वास्त्यायनः ॥ The य should be preceded by a consonant, otherwise we have कारिकियस्यापत्यं = कारिकेयिः ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Taddhita affix'? Observe गार्ग्ययोः, वास्त्ययोः (before the Genitive and Locative dual affixes).

क्यच्व्योश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्य, च्व्योः, च, (हलः, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्य च्वि इत्येतयोश्च परत आपत्ययकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य लोपो भवति ॥

152. The य belonging to a Patronymic affix, pre-ceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य, and the adverbial affix च्वि ॥

Thus वास्सीयति or वास्सीयते गार्गीयति, or गार्गीयते ॥ So also गार्गीभूतः, वास्सी-भूतः ॥ But सांकाइयायते (where य is not Patronymic) and so also सांकाइयीभूतः ; and not also in कारिकेयीयति, कारिकेयीभूतः, the य not being preceded by a conso-nant.

बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक् ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वक-आदिभ्यः, छस्य, लुक् (भस्य तद्धिते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडादिषु बिल्वादयः पठ्यन्ते ॥ नडादीनां कुक् च इति कृतकुगागमा बिल्वकादयो भवन्ति तेभ्य उत्तरस्य छस्य भस्य तद्धिते परतो लुग् भवति ॥

153. The affix छ of the bha stems बिल्वक &c is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The बिल्व &c are a subdivision of Nadâdi class (IV. 2. 91), and the augment क is added to them by IV. 2. 91. After these words, with the aug-ment क, the affix छ is elided. Thus बिल्वा यस्यां सन्ति = बिल्वकीयाः ; तस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = बैल्वकाः ॥ Similarly वेणुकीयाः—वेणुकाः, वैत्रकीयाः, वैत्रकाः, वेतसकीयाः, वेतसकाः, तृणकीयाः, तार्णकाः इक्षुकीयाः, ऐक्षुकाः, काष्ठकीयाः, काष्ठकाः, कपोतकीयाः, कापोतकाः ॥ There is shortening of the final of कुंचा by the Vârtika कुञ्चा ह्रस्वत्वं च ॥ कुञ्चकीयाः, कौञ्चकाः ॥ छमहणं किम, छमात्रस्य लुग्यथा स्यात् कुको निवृत्तिर्मा भूर्वित, ॥ अन्यथा हि सांनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये उभयोरप्यभाव इति कुगपि निवर्तेत ॥ लुग्महणं सर्वलोपो यथा स्याद् यकारमात्रस्य मा भूत् ॥

The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise क would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim :—संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये (or अभावे) उभयोरप्यभावः (or अपायः), "When of the two things which are taught to-gether, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise". The लुक् indi-cates the elision of the *whole* affix ईय, and not merely of य ॥

तुरिष्ठेमेयस्सु ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुः, इष्ठ, इम, ईयस्सु, (लोपः) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ इछन् इमनिन्न् ईयसुन् इन्ङेषु परतः तृग्रहस्य लोपा भवति ॥

154.   The affix तृ is elided before the affixes इछन्,
इमनिन् and ईयसुन् ॥

Thus करिछः, विजयिष्ठः, वहिष्ठः, रंहीयसी धेनुः ॥ The whole affix तृ is elided,
otherwise only the last vowel (टि) with the following consonant would have been
elided by the following rules. The anuvṛitti of लुक् of the last aphorism
should not be read into this, for had the elision taken place by लुक्, then the
mark of the affix would also have disappeared likewise (I. 1. 63), and there
would have remained no guṇa in विजायिष्ठ and करिष्ठ ॥ 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 sûtra, there being no example of तृ followed by
इमन् ; तृ is followed by इछ and ईयस by V. 3. 59.

टेः ॥ १५५ ॥   पदानि ॥ टेः, (भस्य लोपः इछेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य टेर्लोपो भवति इछेमेयस्तु परतः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ णाविष्टवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य कार्यं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा॰ ॥ णाविष्टवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य पुंवद्भावरवभावटिलोपयणादिपरविन्मतोलुक्कनर्थमिति ॥

155.   The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that
follows it, is elided when the affixes इछ, इमन् and ईयस follow.

Thus पटिष्ठः, पटिमा, and पटीयान् from पटु, and लघिष्ठः, लघिमा and लघीयान्
from लघु ॥

Vârt :—The Prâtipadika followed by the causative णि, undergoes all
the changes, as it would have undergone, had the affix इछ followed it. Those
changes are (1) पुंवद्भावः the feminine noun becomes masculine : as, एनीमाचष्टे
= एतयति, इयतयति ॥ इछ belongs to तसिलादि affixes and causes masculation by
VI. 3. 35, (2) रभावः—the change of ऋ to र, as पृथुमाचष्टे = प्रथयति, प्रवयति, see VI.
4. 161. (3) टिलोपः—as, पटुमाचष्टे = पटयति, लघयति by this sûtra, (4) यणादिपरम् i. e.
the application of Rule VI. 4. 156; as, स्थूलमाचष्टे = स्थययति ॥ According to the
school of Bhâradvâja, three more purposes are served : (5) विन् मतोलुक्—as आग्वण-
माचष्टे = अजयति, 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 ॥

स्थूलदूरयुवहस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः ॥१५६॥   पदानि ॥ स्थूल,
दूर, युव, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, क्षुद्राणाम, यण, आदिपरम, पूर्वस्य, च गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थूल दूर युव ह्रस्व क्षिप्र क्षुद्र इत्येतेषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते इछ मेयस्तु परतः, पूर्वस्य च गुणो भवति ॥

156.   Before the affixes इछ, इमन् and ईयस, is elided
the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the
first vowel, a Guṇa is substituted, in स्थूल, दूर, युवन्, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र
and क्षुद्र ॥

That is न, र, वन्, व, र, and र are elided. Thus स्थविष्ठ:, स्थवीयान् ; सविष्ठ: वरीयान् ; वविष्ठ, वरीयान् ; ह्रासव्छ, ह्रसीयान्, ह्रसिमा ; क्षेपिष्ठ:, क्षेपीयान्, क्षेपिमा ॥ The words इस्र, किस्र, and क्षुद्र are read in Prithvâdi class and take 'iman' affix (V. I. 122). क्षोदिष्ठ:, क्षोदावान्, क्षोदिमा ॥ Why do we say परं in वर्णात्परं i. e. 'the *last* semi-vowel'? The *first* semi-vowel of युवन् and इस्र i. e. व of यु and र of इ should not be elided. The word पूर्वं is employed for the sake of distinctness.

प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्बंहिगर्वर्षित्रब्रूद्राघि-
वृन्दा: ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय, स्थिर, स्फिर, उरु, बहुल, गुरु, वृद्ध, तृप्र, दीर्घ, वृन्दारकाणाम्, प्र, स्थ, स्फ, वर्, बंह, गर्, बर्ष, अए, द्राघि, वृन्दा:, (इच्छेमेयस्तु) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ प्रिय स्थिर स्फिर उरु बहुल गुरु वृद्ध तृम दीर्घ वृन्दारक इत्येतेषां प्र स्थ स्फ वर् बंहि गर् वर्षि अए द्राघि वृन्द इत्यंते यथासंख्यमादेशा भवन्ति इच्छेमेयस्तुपरत: ॥

157.   Before the affixes इच्छ, इमन् and ईयस् the following substitutions take place :—प्र for प्रिय ; स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, वर् for उरु, बंह for बहुल, गर् for गुरु, वर्ष for वृद्ध, अए for तृप्र, द्राघ for दीर्घ, and वृन्द for वृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रष्ठ:, प्रेमा, प्रवान् ; स्थिर, स्थेष्ठ:, स्थेयान्, स्थेमा ; स्फिर, स्फेष्ठ:, स्फेयान् ; उरु, वरिष्ठ:, वरिमा, वरीयान् ; बहुल, बंहिष्ठ:, बंहीयान्, बंहिमा ; गुरु, गरिष्ठ:, गरीयान्, गरिमा ; वृद्ध, वर्षिष्ठ:, वर्षीवान् ; तृप, त्रपिष्ठ:, त्रपीयान् ; दीर्घ, द्राघिष्ठ:, द्राघीयान्, द्राघिमा ; वृन्दारक, वृन्दिष्ठ:, वृन्दीयान् ; प्रियोरुगुरु-बहुलदीर्घां: पृथ्वादिषु पठ्यन्ते, तेनान्येषामिमानिड् न भवतीति नोदाह्रियते ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in Prithvâdi class and take इमन् (V. I. 122), others do not.

बहोर्लोपो भू च बहो: ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहो:, लोप:, भू, च, बहो: ॥
वृत्ति: ॥ बहोरुत्तरेषामिच्छेमेयसां लोपो भवति तस्य च बहो: स्थाने भू इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

158.   The र 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 इच्छ, the following rule 159 will apply. Under I. 1. 54 and 67, बहो: being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz. र or ई; in this case. ॥ बहु belongs to Prithvâdi class and takes इमन् affix.   (V. I. 122) The repetition of बहो: is for the sake of pointing out the sthânî, for which the word भू is to be substituted : otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

इच्छस्य यिट् च ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छस्य, यिट्, च, (बहो: भू च बहो:) ॥
वृत्ति: ॥ बहोरुत्तरस्य इच्छस्य यिडागमो भवति बहोश्च भूरादेशो भवति ॥

159.   After बहु, the augment यिट् is added to इच्छ, and भू replaces बहु ॥

As भूयिष्ठ: ॥ This augment यिट् debars the lopa substitution, of the last sûtra, in the case of इच्छ ॥ The र in यिट् is for the sake of pronunciation, the

augment being व् ॥ Or इछ may be taken to have lost its र by the foregoing
sûtra, and to the छ, the augment यि may be added.

ज्यादादीयसः ॥ १६० ॥   पदानि ॥ ज्यात्, आत्, ईयसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्यादुत्तरस्य ईयस आकारे आदिशो भवति ॥

160.   आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस्,
after ज्य ॥

As ज्यायान् ॥ ज्य is substituted for प्रशस्य by V. 3. 61. 'Lopa' being
shut out by the intervening चिद् VI. 4. 159, the आत् is read in this sûtra. If
the anuvṛitti of 'lopa' were present here, then the अ of ज्य would be lengthen-
ed before यस् by VII. 4. 25, and we would get the form ज्यायान् ॥ The pecu-
liar construction of this sûtra indicates the existence of the following
maxim :—अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधिः 'when an operation which is taught in the aṅgâ-
dhikâra (VI. 4, end—VII. 4, end) has taken place, and another operation of
the aṅgâdhikâra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed
to take place." In VII. 4. 25, however, क्ङित् is understood, and lengthening
could not have taken place by that rule.

र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥१६१॥   पदानि ॥ र, ऋतः, हल, आदेः, लघोः, (इछेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रशब्द आदिशो भवति ऋकारस्य हलादेर्लघोरिछेमेयस्सु परतः ॥

Kârikâ   पूर्व्यं मृढं भृशं चैव कृषं च हृढमेव च ।
परिपूर्ण वृढं चैव षडेतान् रविधौ स्मरेत् ॥

161.   Before the affixes इछ, 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, प्रथीयान् and प्रथिमा from पृथु (V. 1. 122), प्रविष्ठः, प्रशीयान् and प्रशिमा ॥
Why do we say 'the ऋ'? Observe पटिष्ठः &c.   Why do we say 'preceded by a
consonant'? Observe ऋजिष्ठः, ऋजीयान् ॥   Why do we say 'when prosodially
short'? Observe कृष्णिष्ठः, कृष्णीयान्, कृष्णिमा ॥   The following are the six words
to which this rule applies and to none else :—पृथु, मृदु, भृश, कृश, दृढ, परिवृढ ॥   It
therefore, does not apply to words like कृत, मातृ, भ्रातृ, &c, as कृतमाचष्टे = कृतयति,
मातरमाचष्टे = मातयति, भातरमाचष्टे = भासयति ॥

विभाषर्जोश्छन्दसि ॥१६२॥   पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऋजोः, छन्दसि, (इछेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋजु इत्येतस्य ऋतः स्थाने विभाषा रैफ आदिशो भवति इछेमेयस्सु परतश्छन्दसि विषये ॥

162.   Before the affixes इछ, इमन् and ईयस्, the ऋ of
ऋजु may optionally be changed to र, in the Chhandas.

As रजिष्ठः and ऋजिष्ठः, in रजिष्ठमेति पन्थानम्, स्वयृजिष्ठः ॥

प्रकृत्यैकाच् ॥ १६३ ॥   पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, एक-अच्, (इछेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच् यञसन्नकं तद्विच्छेमेयस्तु परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रकृत्या ऽके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवानः ॥

163. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन्, and ईयस् ॥

Thus स्रजिष्ठः, स्रजीयान्, स्रजयति from स्रग्विन्, the विन् being elided by V. 3. 65, the stem thus becoming monosyllabic. स्रजयति is the causative, formed on the model of इष्ठ by the Vârtika under VI. 4. 155. So also सुचिष्ठः, सुचीयान् and सुचयति from सुग्वत्, the मतुप् being elided as before. Why do we say 'a monosyllabic stem'? Observe वसिष्ठः from वसुमत् ॥ This rule is an exception to VI. 4. 155.

Vârt:—राजन्य, मनुष्य and युवन् retain their original form unchanged, before the affix अक ॥ As, राजन्यानां समूहः = राजन्यकम्, मानुष्यकम् ॥ This debars the elision of न required by VI. 4. 151. So यूना भावः = यौवनिकः with युञ् affix (V. 1. 133), in supersession of VI. 4. 144.

इनण्यनपत्ये ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, अणि, अ नपत्ये, (प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्नन्तमनपत्यार्थेणि परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

164. The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Thus सांकुटिनम्, सांराविणम्, सांमार्जिनम् (III. 3. 44 and V. 4. 15). These are formed by the Kṛit-affix इनुच् (III. 3. 44), and then अण् is added in स्वार्थे by V. 4. 15. So also स्राम्विणम् from स्रग्विन् ॥ Why 'when अण् follows'? Observe दण्डिनां समूहः = दाण्डम् ॥ It is formed by अञ् (IV. 2. 44). Why do we say 'non-Patronymic'? Observe मेधाविनोऽपत्यं = मैधावः ॥

गाथिविदथिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाथि, विदथि, केशि, गणि, पणिनः, च, (अणिप्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाथिन् विदथिन् केशिन् गणिन् पणिन् इत्येते चाणि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

165. गाथिन्, विदथिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus गाथिनोऽपत्यं = गाथिनः, वैदथिनः, कैशिनः, गाणिनः, and पाणिनः ॥ This sûtra applies to Patronymics.

संयोगादिश्च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग- आदिः, च, (इन् अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादिरिन 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, याद्रिणः, वाञ्जिणः ॥

अन् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, (अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भन्नन्तमणि 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, सौत्वनः, जैत्वनः, from सामन्, वेमन्, सुत्वन् and जित्वन् ॥

ये चाभावकर्मणोः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, अभाव, कर्मणोः, (तद्धिते अन् प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ 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 = राज्यम् ॥ राजन् belongs to Purohitādi class and takes यक् (V. I. 128).

आत्माध्वानौ खे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्म, अध्वानौ, खे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन् अध्वन् इत्येतौ खे परतः प्रकृत्या भवतः ॥

169. The finals of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ख ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं = आत्मनीनः (V. I. 9), अध्वानमलभ्रामी (V. 2. 16) = अध्वनीनः ॥ But प्रत्यारमम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samāsanta affix टच् added to the avyayībhāva (V. 4. 108), and the latter by अच् (V. 4. 85).

न मपूर्वो ऽपत्ये ऽवर्म्मणः ॥१७०॥ पदानि ॥न, म, पूर्वः, अपत्ये, अवर्म्मणः, (अणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मपूर्शे डन् अवर्म्मणांनि परतो ऽपत्येर्थे न प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मपूर्वप्रतिषेधे वा हितनाम इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

170. In a stem in अन् with a preceding म, with the exception of वर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अण् ॥

Thus सुघाम्णोऽपत्यं = सौघामः, चान्द्रसामः from चन्द्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म'? Observe सौत्वन, preceded by व ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चमर्णा परिवृतो रथः = चामर्णः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 4. 167. Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन'? Observe चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

Vārt :—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं = हैतनामः or हैतनामनः ॥

ब्राह्मो जातौ ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मः, अजातौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्म इत्येतदपत्याधिकारेऽपि सामर्थ्या अपत्यादन्यानि देर्लोपार्थं निपात्यते ततोऽजातौ भपत्यइत्येव भपत्ये जातावणि ब्राह्मणष्टिलोपो न भवति ॥

171. ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a kind or jâti.'

This sûtra 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, ब्रह्मसमम् ; ब्राह्मो नारदः ॥ (2) अब्रातो, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jâti ; for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix : as ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं = ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmaṇa'. When jâti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥

कार्म्मस्ताच्छील्ये ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्मः, ताच्छील्ये, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कार्म इति ताच्छील्ये टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

172. कार्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or prompt therein'.

This is formed by ण affix (IV. 4. 62). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144, the form कार्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ण and अण् affixes, in the sense of tâchchhilika 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 :—ताच्छीलिकं णेऽण् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ "The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix अण्, take place, whenever the affix ण is added in the sense of one accustomed to that." Thus though ङीप् is added, to अण्–formed words, it is also added to ण–formed words, in the feminine : as चोरी ; तापसी &c. The ण taught in V. 2. 101, and III. 1. 140, is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that ? Observe कर्मणः इदम् = कार्मणम् ॥

औक्षमनपत्ये ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ औक्षम्, अ नपत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ औक्षमिवनपत्येऽनि टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

173. From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant.

As औक्षं पदम् but आक्षणः = उक्ष्णो ऽ पत्यम्, the अ is elided in the latter example by VI. 4. 135.

दाण्डिनायनहास्तिनायनाथर्वणिकजैह्वाशिनेयवासिनायनिभ्रौणहत्यधैवत्यसारव-
श्वाकमैत्रेयहिरण्मयानि ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाण्डिनायन, हास्तिनायन, आथर्वणिक,
जैह्वाशिनेय, वासिनायनि, भ्रौणहत्य, धैवत्य, सारव, पेश्वाक, मैत्रेय, हिरण्मयानि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दाण्डिनायन हास्तिनायन आथर्वणिक जैह्वाशिनेय वासिनायनि भ्रौणहत्य धैवत्य सारव पेश्वाक
मैत्रेय हिरण्मय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते ॥

174. The following are irregularly formed ; 1.

Dâṇḍinâyana, 2. Hâstinâyana, 3. Âtharvaṇika, 4. Jaihmâ-
śineya, 5. Vâsinâyani, 6. Bhrauṇahatya, 7. Dhaivatya. 8. Sârava,
9. Aikshvâka, 10. Maitreya and 11. Hiraṇmaya.

These words are thus derived (1 and 2) शाण्डिनायन and हास्तिनायन from शण्डिन्
and हस्तिन् belonging to नडादि class. The affix is फक् (IV. 2. 91). If they do
not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly: शण्डिनोऽपत्यं = शाण्डिनायनः
&c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantâdi class (IV.
2. 63). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He
who studies that work is called Atharvaṇika: the final is not elided before the
इक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्मारान् and वासिन् are Jaihmâśineya
and Vâsinâyani, the former with the affix ढक् of the Subhrâdi class (IV. 1.
123), and the latter with the affix फिञ् of IV. 1. 157. The finals of the stems
are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from भूणहन् and धीवन् with the
affix व्यम्, and न् being replaced by त = भूणहनो भावः, धीघ्नो भावः ॥ हन् takes त
before affixes having an indicatory ञ or म् by VII. 3. 32: it might be said त
would be added to भूणहन् before व्यम् by that rule. That rule is, however, con-
fined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That
rule does not apply to cases like भ्रौणघ्नी, वार्त्रघ्नः ॥ The त in Bhrauṇhatya is there-
fore, an irregularity. (8) सारव is from सरयू with the affix अण्, the final अयू being
elided, सरय्वां भवः = सारवमुत्सुकं ॥ (9) The son of इक्ष्वाकु, with अम् affix (IV. 1. 168),
the final उ is elided, or इक्ष्वाकुषु जनपदेषु भवः = ऐक्ष्वाकः with अञ् affix (IV. 2. 132).
Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of
final उ ॥ As one word is ऐक्ष्वाकः and the other ऐक्ष्वाकः, the sûtra ought to have
read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified
on the ground, that the sûtra gives ऐष्वाक without any accent (eka-śruti), and
consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Gṛishṭyâdi class IV. 1. 136, and takes ढम् as
मित्रयु + एय, here VI. 4. 146, requires Guṇa, but VI. 4. 146, prevents it, and requires
lopa of उ, but VII. 3. 2, required the substitution of एय for यु ॥ The irregu-
larity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेय, the अ of मित्र cannot be elided
by VI. 4. 148, befor एय, as the lopa of यु is considered asiddha VI. 4. 22; how-
ever the result is the same, for अ + ए = ए by VI. 1. 97; the single substitute
being the form of the subsequent. The plural of मैत्रेय will be मित्रयवः (the
plural of मित्रयु); as it belongs of Yaskâdi class and loses the affix in the
plural (II. 4. 63). Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII. 3. 2.
It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bidâdi class (IV. 1. 104), it
would have taken the affix अञ्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved
regularly: as मित्रयु + अञ् = मित्र + एय (VII. 3. 2) + अ = मैत्रेयः ॥ This would have
prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskâdi class (II. 4.

63), for then by II. 4. 63, भम् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मिश्रयव: in the plural.   So far it would have been all right, but if मेधव were to be formed with भम् affix, as proposed, then the संघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with भण् affix under IV. 3. 127, and not with चुम् under IV. 3. 126; but we require चुम्, as मेंचयकः संघः ॥   (11) हिरण्मय from हिरण्य with मयट् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकारः = हिरण्मयः ॥

ऋत्व्यवास्त्व्यवास्त्वमाध्वीहिरण्ययानिच्छन्दसि ॥ १७५ ॥   पदानि ॥ ऋत्व्य, वास्त्व्य, वास्त्व, माध्वी, हिरण्ययानि, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्व्य वास्त्व्य वास्त्व माध्वी हिरण्यय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

175.   In the Veda the following are irregularly formed : Ṛitvya, Vastvya Vâstva, Mâdhvî, and Hiraṇyaya.

The word ऋत्व्य is derived from ऋतु, and वास्त्व्य from वास्तु with the affix यत्, उ being changed to व ॥   ऋतौ भवम् = ऋत्व्यम्, वास्तौ भवम् = वास्त्व्यम् ॥   वास्त्व is from वस्तु, as वस्तुनि भवः = वास्त्वः with the affix भण् ॥   माध्वी from मधु with the affix भण् in the feminine, as माध्वीनः सन्त्वोषधीः ॥   हिरण्यय is from हिरण्य with the affix मयट्, the म being elided.