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BOOK VI.

The

ASHTADHYAYI

of

PANINI.

PARTS XXI—XXIV.

S. C. VASU.

Price Rs 3.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

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

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

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

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

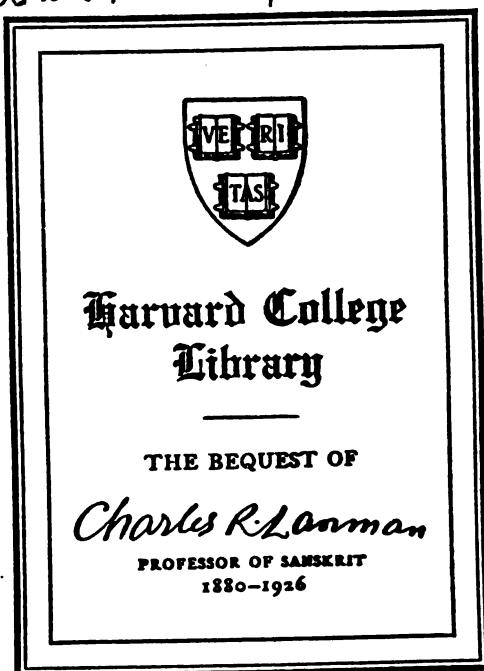
Professor V. Fausböl, Copenhagen, 15th June, 1893.— * ** It appears to me to be a splendid production of Indian industry and scholarship, and I value it particularly on account of the extracts from the Kasika.

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

स्वत्सीभ्वरे हितपुरे हितदे प्रयागे सत्संगमप्रजवसंमतिरे बुधानां ।
विद्याविनोदब्रविरक्षित्तुषुशारात् वास्वन्यात्तिष्ठरिशच्चन्द्रविदांरिटात् ॥ १ ॥
शृङ्खलिमेऽमुर्विरोहमुश्मशन्तीत् सच्छास्त्रशोधितसुखास्पर्शबोधभाजः ।
सम्बद्धसंतु नत्योनितराम्भीयाः यद्वाबद्युक्काविकर्मतांतरेभ्यः ॥ २ ॥
शृङ्खलाद्युतं विमलयोधनबोधराणी सद्याकृतिप्रथितकीर्तिर्कर्त्तप्रशास्य ।
यद्यश्मीवाद्यमतिमेऽवहं वरेण्यं सत्पुस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोशकृत्यं ॥ ३ ॥
पित्रयस्ति भवतेऽग्निलशबोधभाजा यद्वस्तुतो विरचितं समवृक्षं तु विद्यन्यं ।
लोकेऽस्त्रिवरचनाभरणैकशीला विभ्रेष्विचमनसः प्रतिबिवमात्रे ॥ ४ ॥
सत्संगिलशप्रकादितं वरसूत्रवृत्तौ संज्ञादिपेशलमनो झुइकल्पसार्थिः ।
स्थानेवसुप्रहितविज्ञाविशृतिवर्णं यद्वासुतासुविहिनेऽग्निलशभाववृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥
येनस्त्वया मुनिमताद्वृतशास्त्रसंधान् निर्मध्यतौधरसवन्महतादरेण ।
संगुम्भितं सरलसंस्कृतसाध्वसारं धन्यं वदान्यहमलं भवते हितात् ॥ ६ ॥
मन्यस्यवत्प्रसरणाखिलकीर्तिं कुत्य याचेपराह्वगवतोप्यहमज्ञविद्वन् ।
शत्पूर्वप्रविमुखेऽप्साम्रचारं लाभेऽप्सुखं गुरुश्चिरं च तवापि धीमत् ॥ ७ ॥
वाणीविदाम्बरतवास्तुमुखे ज्योत्या यत्पूर्वप्रविमञ्जबोधभृते च विद्या ।
शक्त्यात्स्त्रिवासकल वर्धभूजां समूहप्याशीर्वचो भवतु पंजित लालचन्द्रं ॥ ८ ॥

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Indian Union, (Allahabad), 26th November, 1891.— * ** The original Text and Commentaries, carefully edited with English notes and explanations, bespeak of much diligence, care and ability; and those of the English-reading public who have a taste for Sanskrit cannot be too thankful to Babu Sris Chandra for offering them so easy an access to the intricate regions reigned over by that Master Grammarian. * * * We recommend this book to all English-knowing lovers of the Sanskrit Language.

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BOOK VI.

THE ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.



Bennars:

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ओ३म् ।

अथ षष्ठाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अच्चः, द्वें, प्रथमस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारी श्यम् । एकांच इति च द्वे इति च प्रथमस्येति च त्रितयमधिकृतं वेशितव्यम् । इति उत्तरं यद्वयामः प्राक्संप्रसारणविभानात् तत्रैकाच्चः प्रथमस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्विशितव्यम् । वस्थाति लिङ्गं शातोरन्नभासस्येति । तत्र भातोरवयवस्थानभ्यासस्य प्रथमस्यैकाच्चो द्वे भवतः ॥

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

Upto Sūtra VI. i. 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 adhikāra sūtra: all the three words viz एकाच्चः, and द्वे and प्रथमस्य are to be read in the subsequent sūtras upto VI. i. 12, before the rule of Samprasāraṇa begins. Thus Sūtra VI. i. 8 says "when लिङ्ग follows, of an unreduplicated verbal root". The sense of this sūtra is incomplete, unless we supply the three words of this sūtra, when it will read thus: "when लिङ्ग follows, there are two in the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel of an unreduplicated verbal root". Thus from जागुः—जजागार (जागृ + जल् IV. 3. 82 = जा + जागृ + झ = ज + जागृ + झ VII. 4. 59 = जजागार "he awoke"). So also पषाण्, इयाय, आर from the roots पञ्च्, इ and आ॥ The reduplication takes place through the force of the affix that follows. Thus the affixes of the Perfect Tense (लिङ्ग), the Desiderative (सर्), the Intensive (यह्), the गतु विकारण, the Aorist in चन्; all cause reduplication.

The word एकाच्च means that which consists of one vowel (आञ्च) ॥ When a stem or root consists of more than one vowel (is a dissyllabic or polysyllabic root), then the एकाच्च प्रथमः will be the *first syllable*: as in जागृ the portion जा is the प्रथम एकाच्च '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 ekāch consisting of a single

vowel). Here, however, will this rule be applied and इ will be reduplicated, according to the maxim “व्यपदेशिवरेकस्मिन्”—“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. i. 59 should always be borne in mind. Thus पच् + अ (जल of लिद) = पाच् पाच् + अ = प पाच् + अ (VII. 4. 59 and 60) = पपाच्॥

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

अजादेद्वितीयस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, आदेः, द्वितीयस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमद्वितीयनापवादे ऽयम् । अजादेद्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्विर्वचनमधिक्रेयते । अन् आदिर्यस्य धातो-स्तरवयवस्थ द्वितीयस्यैकाचो हे 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 इट् and the 3rd per. sing is अटि इटति, the इ being elided by VII. 4. 60: and स changed to इ by VIII. 3. 59. So also अशिषिषति, अरिषिषति ॥ The last form is thus evolved, इट्+सन्=अट्+इट्+सन् (VII. 2. 74)=अर्+इ+स (VII. 3. 84, and VI. i. 51). Here now we have to make reduplication, and if I. i. 59 be applied, then since a vowel affix इ follows, the reduplication of अर् should take place i. e. the इ the sthāni should be reduplicated. But we have explained the sūtra द्विर्वचनेऽप्ति I. i. 59, by the phrase द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽप्ति, i. e. the vowel-affix causing reduplication. Here the vowel-affix इ does not cause reduplication, but the consonant-affix सन् that does so. Therefore rule I. i. 59 does not apply, for इ itself is a कार्यं, and the maxim applies कार्यमनुभवन्ह कार्यं निमित्ततया नाश्रीयते “surely that which undergoes an operation can, so far as it undergoes that operation, not be made the cause of the application of a grammatical rule”. Thus from the root शीइ is formed शीयिता; here the root शी is gunated before the augment इ. Rule I. i. 5 declaring the prohibition of gunation with regard to कित् or डित् words does not apply here. For though शीइ has an indicatory इ, yet as it undergoes an operation itself, it cannot be the cause of the application of another rule.

Some persons explain the word अजातेः as the Ablative singular (and not Genitive Singular) of अजातिः and they consider the word as a Karma-dhāraya compound and not a Bahuvrīhi compound. According to them the word means—"The syllable *following* the *initial vowel* is reduplicated". (अजातात्वादिप्रेत्यजातिः, अजातेरुहत्तस्यएकाचो ह्ये भवतः)॥ According to this interpretation, the word द्वितीयस्य is merely explanatory.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयस्थेति कर्णते । द्वितीयथैकाचो उत्त्वमूलतानां न्द्राणां तदन्तमांवात् प्राप्तं हिर्वचनं प्रतिविष्ठ-
से । नकारदक्षाररेपा द्वितीयैकाचो उत्त्वमृताः संयोगासुयो न विरुद्धन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वकारस्याप्ययं प्रतिषेधो वन्नप्यः ॥

वा० ॥ दक्षारोपधोपरेशो तु न वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ यकारपरस्य रेफस्य प्रांतवेद्यो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ ईर्घ्यतेस्तुतीय हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ कण्डारीनां तृतीयस्थेकाचो हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ नामधातुनां तृतीयस्यैकाचो हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यथेष्ट नामधातुष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

The word dvitīyasya "of the second syllable", is understood here. This sūtra debars the doubling of the consonants n, d, and r when forming parts of the second syllable, provided these letters occur in the beginning of a conjunct (sañyoga) letter. Thus the Desiderative root of उन्न is उन्निष्ट, formed by adding सन् and इ॒॥ The second syllable here is निष्ट which is to be reduplicated by the last rule. But in doing so, न् will not be doubled. Thus we get the form उन्निष्टिः; so also from अङ्ग॑ and अर्थ॑ we have अङ्गिष्टिः, and अर्थिष्टिः ॥

Why do we say "when न्, द् and त् are the letters"? Observe इन्द्रियिष्टते from इन्द्र 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 प्राणिणिष्टति from the root अन् 'to breathe', the न् being changed into च् by VIII. 4. 19 and 21. The phrase अजाइः of the last sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. Thus सरिद्वासति ॥ Some explain the word अजाइः understood in this sūtra in the same way as in the last, namely as a karmadhāraya compound in the Ablative singular. They do so, in order to explain the form इन्द्रियिष्टति, which is thus evolved इन्द्रमि च्छति = इन्द्र + कृयच् III. 1. 8 = इन्द्रीय ॥ Then इन्द्रीयितुनिच्छति = इन्द्रीय + सन् ॥ Here though the second syllable consists of n, d and r, yet न् alone is rejected in reduplication and not द् and त् also, as द् and त् are not immediately after the *initial vowel* (अजाइ) त् in this case.

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

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

Vart :—There is no prohibition of the ए when it is followed by ए ॥ Thus अर्थते ॥ This is the Intensive form of the verb ए, and is thus evolved: ए + ए (III. 1. 22. Vart) = एर् + ए (VII. 4. 30) = अर्थ, then follows reduplication by the rules of this sūtra. The second syllable ए has an initial ए which is not however rejected in reduplication,

Vart :—In the case of the verb ईर्थति the third should be reduplicated. "Third of what"? Some say the third of the consonants, and according to them the form is ईर्थ्यथिष्ठति ॥ Some say the third syllable, therefore of the root ईर्थय (ईर्थ + इट + सत्), the third syllable ए is reduplicated: Thus ईर्थ्यय, ईर्थ्यष्ठ (VII. 4. 79) the ए of ए is changed into short त्र by VII. 4. 79. = ईर्थ्यष्ठति ॥

Vart :—The third syllable of the verbs कण्डूय &c. is to be reduplicated. Thus कण्डूय + इट + सत् = कण्डूयिष्ठ = कण्डूयिष्ठति; so also असूयिष्ठति &c.

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

Vart :—Others say, any syllable of a नामधातु (verbs derived from nouns) may be reduplicated. Thus from the noun पुर् is derived the root पुरीय, the desiderative root of which is पुरीष्ठ, which requires reduplication. Here any syllable may be reduplicated; as, 1. पुरुषीष्ठति, 2. पुरिष्ठीष्ठति, 3. पुरीयार्थति, 4. पुरुषीयिष्ठति ॥ Or there may be double and treble reduplication simultaneously as. पुपुरुषीयिष्ठति ॥

पूर्वोऽभ्यासः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वः, अभ्यासः: ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वे इति प्रयगान्तं ग्रन्थुर्वर्तते सर्वर्थिष्ठ पञ्चान्तं जायते । तत्र प्रत्यासनेऽस्मिन्प्रकरणे ये द्वे विहिते तथोर्धः पूर्वोऽववतः सोऽभ्याससंक्षेत्रो भवति ॥

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

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

उमे अभ्यस्तम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उमे, अभ्यस्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वे इति वर्तमाने उभेष्वर्णं सप्तशत्यसंक्षापतिपत्त्वर्थम् । ये द्वे विहिते ते उमे उपि सप्तुर्वित भभ्यस्त-
हस्ते भवतः ॥

5. The both are collectively called Abhyasta.

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

an Abhyasta gets the *udātta accent*". The Abhyasta being the collective name of the both, the accent will fall on the first and not on the second, as in ईशति dādati, the accent is on the first अ ॥ So also by VII. I. 4 अत् takes the place of ए after an Abhyasta, therefore, इद् + श्वि = इद् + अति = इशति ॥ So also इदत् (VI. 4. 112).

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तामिति वर्तते । जक्ष इत्यथं धातुरित्यादयान्ये षट् धातवो अभ्यस्तसंज्ञा भवन्ति । सेयं सप्तानां धातूनामभ्यस्तसंज्ञाविधीयते ॥ जक्षभक्षहसनयोरित्यतः प्रश्नति वेदीङ् वेतिना तुल्यइति यावत् ॥

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

The word abhyasta is understood here. The verb jakshi and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhātupāṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, आग्, ईरिद्रा, चक्कास्, शास्, रेधी, and वेदी ॥ Pānini has overlooked वेदी 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 sārvādhātuka Tense-affix not having the intermediate इट् and beginning with a vowel. Thus जौपति jौ-grati, जैक्षति jैkshati, ईरिद्रति dāridrati, चौक्कासाति chākāsati, शौशति śāsati, शीधते śidhyate, and वेव्यते vevyate. The present participle शीधत् is irregularly formed by adding the affix शत् (अत्) and when so formed it does not take the augment तुष् by VII. I. 78.

तुजादीनां दीर्घोऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुज, आदीनाम, दीर्घः, अभ्यासस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तुजादीनामित्यप्रकारेआविश्वदः । कथं प्रकारः । तुजेदीर्घोऽभ्यासस्य न विहितः, हृष्टयते अ, ये तथा-
भूतात्मे तुजादयस्तेषामभ्यासस्य शीर्घः साधुर्भवति ॥

7. In the room of a short vowel of the Reduplicate of the roots तुज् & 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 सूतुजानः (तुज् + कानच् III. 2. 106 = सूतुजानः Rig. I. 3. 6). मामहानः, अनञ्जान् शापार, स्वधां मीमांश, स तूताव ॥ This lengthening only takes place in the Vedas before some special affixes, and not every where or in secular literature. As तूतोऽशब्लान् हरीन् ॥

लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्य ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, धातोः, अनभ्यासस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतो इनभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्थैकाचोः वितीयस्य वा वयायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विर्विचनप्रकरणे छन्नसि वेति वन्नव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ लिटिद्विर्विचने जागरेवैति वन्नव्यम् ॥

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 पञ्च + जल् = पञ्च पञ्च + जल् = पञ्चाञ्च ॥ So also पश्चाद्, प्रोर्णुनाव ॥ 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 तु ॥ See sūtra III. 1. 36 Vārt. वाच्य ऊर्णुर्वद् भावो यहु प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनं, आमम् प्रतिवेधार्थमे-काचमेष्टुपग्रहात् ॥

Why do we say when लहु follows? Observe कर्ता, इर्णा ॥ Why do we say "of a Dhātu"? Observe सम्पाद्यो विश्विरे, सोमविन्द्रायसुन्विरे ॥ The question arises from the fact that the root (dhātu) always directly precedes the affixes of the Perfect, no vikarana intervenes as in the case of other tenses. So there was no necessity of using the word dhātu in the sūtra. To this it is replied that by III. 4. 117, sometimes लहु is treated as sārvadhātuka, and then it takes vikarana. As शु taking the vikarana इतु becomes शृणु; (III. 1. 74) this whole base is not a dhātu, therefore when the affixes of Perfect are added there is no reduplication, and we have शृन्विरे ॥ See III. 4. 117.

Why do we say 'of a non-reduplicate'? Observe कृष्णो नोनाव वृषभो यसी-हम् । नोनृयतेनोनाव, i. e. it is the Perfect Tense of the Intensive verb नोनृय, and is not reduplicated again, यहु having already caused reduplication. So also संमान्या मरतः समिन्मुः: ending in the उत्त of the Perfect.

Vārt.—In the Chandas there is optionally reduplication of the root in the Perfect and other tenses. As आरित्याकृ यच्चिदामहे or यित्याचिदामहे; देवतानो शाति प्रियाणि or इत्याति प्रियाणि ॥ भगवा शतु or इशतु, नस्तुतो वीरवद् धातु or इधातु ॥

Vārt.—The root आग् is optionally reduplicated in the Perfect. As, यो आगार (or अआगार) सत्त्वः कामयन्ते ॥

सन्यज्ञोः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन् यज्ञोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरनभ्यासस्येति वर्तते । सन्यज्ञोरिति च वच्चन्तमेतत् । सन्नन्तस्य यज्ञन्तस्य आनभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्त्वैकाहौ द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

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

The word सन् यज्ञोः should be construed as genitive dual and not as Locative dual. In the latter case, the meaning would be "when the affixes सन् and यज्ञ follow, a non-reduplicate root is reduplicated". The difficulty would be that while the root alone would be reduplicated, the augment इहु would not, as in अटिदिष्टि, अशिशिष्टि ॥

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 पञ्च + सन् (III. 1. 7) पञ्च, reduplicate विपक्षति (VII. 4. 79). So पञ्च.

पिपतिष्ठति. च्छ—अरिरिष्ठति, उन्न—उन्निष्ठति ॥ So also of वडन्तः—as, पापच्छते (VII. 4. 83), अटाच्छते, यायज्ञते, अरार्थते, प्रोणीनृश्चते ॥ If a root is already a reduplicated one, there is no reduplication : as शुगुप्तस्ते, लोक्त्रिष्ठिष्ठते being the Desiderative forms of शुगुप्त (already formed by svārthika सन् III. 1. 5), and of लोक्त्रि (the Intensive form of लू) ॥ See III. 1. 22.

इलौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ इलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूते परतो इन्धासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्वैकाचो हितीयस्य वा वयावोगं है भवतः ॥

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

The श्लु is the characteristic sign of the roots of the third class, and causes the elision of the vikaraṇa श्लृ ॥ The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or a vowel. Thus श्लेषति (from हू), विभेति, जिज्ञेति ॥

चङ्गि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङ्गि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङ्गि परतो इन्धासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्वैकाचो हितीयस्य वा वयावोगं है भवतः ॥

11. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the affix चङ्ग् 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 अपीपच्नू, अपीपड्नू, (VII. 4. 93 and 94). So also आटिट्नू, आशिश्नू, आर्विक्नू ॥ These are aorists of the causative roots पाचि &c.

When the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative (पचन्त) verbs पच् &c is to be formed, as here, we should first elide the causative sign पि, then shorten the penultimate vowel, and then reduplicate. Then by VII. 4. 93 the effect would be like as if सन् had followed, and this would not be prohibited by the short vowel being considered sthānivat. For rule VII. 4. 93 says "Let the effect be as if सन् had followed, on the reduplicate, if followed by a light vowel, of an inflectional base to which पि followed by चङ्ग् is affixed; provided there is not the elision of any letter in the pratyāhāra अङ्ग occasioned by the affixing of पि ॥" 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 चङ्ग् ॥ Now arises the difficulty. Should this light vowel coming in the room of a heavy vowel be considered like the heavy vowel by the rule of sthānivat आदेश (I. 1. 56), or not ? It should not be considered so, for the reasons given in I. 1. 57. For it was established there that the sthānivadbhāva will arise then only when some operation is to be done to a thing *anterior* to the non-substituted i. e. original vowel. Here no operation is to be applied to something *anterior* to such original (अनातिष्ठ) vowel, but to

a form consisting of such substituted (आविष्ट) vowel. Therefore, the light vowel is not considered non-existent for the purposes of सन्वद्धाव ॥ 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 sthānivad: the *light* vowel being considered as still *heavy*, will prevent the application of सन्वद्धाव ॥ The difficulty will be in the form of आशीशमत्, 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 दि in the word अटिटत्? This is, however, done by I. i. 59. which see.

दाश्वान् साहान् मीढ़ानं अ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश्वान्, साहान्, मीढ़ान्, अ ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ साम्बान् साहान् मीढ़ानिस्येते शब्दाशालन्सि भाषायां चाविशेषेण निपात्यन्ते ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ कृमाशीना के द्वे भवत इति वन्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चरित्यलिपित्वरसीनां हित्यमच्यक्त्वाभ्यासस्य ॥
 वा० ॥ वेति वन्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ हन्तेर्षत्वं अ ॥ वा० ॥ पार्थिष्ठुक् चाक् अ सीर्घभाभ्यासस्य ॥

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

The word शाश्वान् is from the root शाश्व 'to give' with the affix क्षु (III. 2. 107), here the reduplication and the augment इह are prohibited irregularly. As शाश्वांसो शाश्वपः शूतम् (Rig I. 3. 7). The word साहान् is derived from the root सह 'to endure', by adding the affix क्षु (III. 2. 107), the irregularity being in lengthening the penultimate, not allowing the augment इह and the reduplication. Thus साहान् बलाहकः ॥ So also मीढ़ान् comes from मीढ़ु 'to sprinkle' with the affix क्षु (III. 2. 107) the irregularity consisting in non-reduplication, non-application of इह, the lengthening of the penultimate vowel, and the change of श into ढ ॥ As मीढ़स्त्रोकाव तनयाय शूतम् ॥ It is not necessary that these words should be in the singular always, in their plural forms also they do not reduplicate.

Vart:—Reduplication takes place when कृष् &c, are followed by the affix क ॥ Thus कियं अनेन = क + क = अकम्, लिन् + क = चिलिनम् ॥ The affix क comes after कृष् and लिन् with the force of the affix अम् ॥

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

Vārtī :—The above vārtīka is optional, so we have the forms अरः पुरुषः, अलो रथः, वरो मनुष्यः &c.

Vārtī :—The root हन् is reduplicated before the affix अच्, and the augment आङ् comes after the Abhyāsa, and ए is the substitute of ई of the Abhyāsa. Thus हन् + अच् = हन् + आङ् + हन् + अच् = घनाधनः (The second ए is changed into ए by VII. 3. 55), as in the phrase घनाधनः क्षेभनश्चर्णीनाम् ॥

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

व्यडः संप्रसारणं पुत्रपत्न्योस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यडः, संप्रसारणम्, पुत्र, पत्न्योः, तत्पुरुषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषं पाते इत्यतयोरुत्तरपत्न्योस्तत्पुरुषे समासे व्यडः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

वार्तात्क्रम ॥ व्यडः सम्प्रसारणं गौकाकाशायाः पतिवेशः ॥

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

When the words पुत्र and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samprasāraṇa (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix व्यड् of the preceding. That is ए is changed into ई ॥ Thus करीषगन्धे गन्धो-स्थ्य = करीषगन्धिः (a Bahuvrīhi compound taking the samāsanta affix or rather substitute ई by V. 4. 137) करीषगन्धेरपत्यम् = करीषगन्धिः + आङ् (IV. 1. 92) = करीषगन्धः ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding व्यडः (IV. 1. 78). Thus we have कारीषगन्धा (see IV. 1. 78). Now in forming the Tatpurusha compound of this word with पुत्र or पति, the final य् will be changed into ई and we have कारीषगन्धी-पुत्रः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ The आ of आ becomes merged into ई (VI. 1. 108), and the short ई is lengthened (VI. 3. 139). So also कौमुदिगन्धीपतिः o कौमुदिगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say "of the affix व्यडः"? Observe इथापुत्र, क्षिप्तयापुत्रः ॥

Why do we say "when followed by पुत्र or पति"? Observe कारीषगन्धी-पुत्रम्, कौमुदिगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say "when forming a Tatpurusha compound"? Observe कारीषगन्धीपतिरस्य भासम्य = कारीषगन्धीपतिरयं भासः ॥ It is a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The affix व्यडः is here the feminine affix ए followed by आए (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: प्रत्ययप्रहणे यस्मात् स विहितस्तशेस्तत्त्वस्थ्य यहणम्" ॥ 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 : ऋग्न्ये चानुपसर्जने त् ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्धायाः पुञः = परमकारीषगन्धीपुञः and so also परमकारीषगन्धीपसिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिकान्ता कारीषगन्धाम् = अतिकारीषगन्धा, तस्यपुञः = अतिकारीषगन्धापुञः, अतिकारीषगन्धापसिः ॥

This vocalisation takes place when पुञः and पसि alone, not compounded with any other word, stand at the end : not so when a word beginning or ending with these words follows. Thus कारीषगन्धापुञ्चकुलं, कारीषगन्धापरमपुञः &c.

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

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

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated when पसि and पुञः follow the word गौकास्थ ॥ As गौकास्थापुञः, गौकास्थायातः instead of गौकास्थपुञः &c.

बन्धुनि बहुवीहौ ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धुनि, बहुवीहौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञः संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्तते । बन्धुभद्रसरपदे बहुवीहौ समाते व्यञः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥
वा० ॥ मातृच्छानृकमातृषु ॥

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

Thus कारीषगन्धाबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः ॥ So also कोशुषगन्धीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi"? Observe कारीषगन्धाया बन्धुः = कारीषगन्धाबन्धुः, which is a Tatpurusha compound. Like the last sūtra, we have here also परमकारीषगन्धविन्धुः, but अतिकारीषगन्धाबन्धुः, कारीषगन्धाबन्धुः, कारीषगन्धापरमवन्धुः ॥

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

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

वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचि, स्वपि, यजादीनाम्, किति ॥
कृतिः ॥ संप्रसारणमिति वर्तते । अथ इति निवृत्तम् । वचि । वच परिभाषणे । हुयो वचितिते च । स्वपि ॥
भिष्पृष्ठ शब्दे । यजादीयो, यज वेशपृजासंगतिक्रणशनेत्रित्यतःप्रधृति आ गणान्तात् । तेषां वचिस्वपियजादी-
शीनां किति प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

The anuvritti of वच् does not run into this sūtra. The root वच् includes the वच् परिमाणने of the Adādi class (II. 54) and the वच् substitute of हू (II. 4. 53) स्वप् is the root भिष्पृष्ठ शब्दे of the Adādi class (II. 59). The यजादी verbs are the last nine roots of the Bhvādi class viz. यज्, वप्, वह, वस्, वेष्म्, व्येष्म्, ह्वेष्म्, वद् and विष् ॥ The semivowels of these eleven verbs are changed into the corresponding vowel, when an affix having an indicator क is added to them. Thus with the Past Participle affixes त्वं and त्वत् we have the following forms:—
1. वच्—उत्तः, उत्तवान्, (VIII. 2. 30). 2 स्वप्—सुप्तः, सुप्तवान् 3 वच्—इटः, इटवान्, (VIII. 2. 36) 4 वप्—उपः, उपवान्, 5 वह—ऊठः, ऊठवान् (VIII. 2. 31, 40, VIII. 3. 13 and VI. 3. 111)
6 वस्—ज्ञातितः ज्ञातिवान्, (VII. 2. 56 VIII. 3. 60) 7 वेष्म्—उत्तः, उत्तवान्, 8 व्येष्म्—संवीतः,
संवीतवान्, 9 ह्वेष्म्—हूतः, हूतवान्, 10 वद्—उद्दितः, उद्दितवान्, 11 दुओष्ठि—शूनः, शूनवान् ॥

धातो स्वरूपभवेत् तत्प्रत्यये कार्ये विज्ञावते:—When in a Grammatical rule, an operation (dependant on an affix) is taught with regard to a root (dhātu) by mentioning particular verbs (dhātu) specifically, and not by using the word "dhātu", generally, then the operation takes place only when the root is followed by such an affix as can be added to roots by enunciating the word धातोः ॥ The existence of this maxim is inferred in the formation of the word भौणहस्यम् in VI. 4. 174, which see. Therefore, there is no vocalisation of वच् in the following वाच्यति, वाचिकः ॥ Here वाच्यति is formed by adding वच् to वाच् (वाचिमित्तिति) ॥ वाच् is formed by क्रिप् added to वच्, the vowel being lengthened and samprasāraṇa being expressly prevented by Uṇādi II. 57. Now, it is a general rule that a root taking the affix क्रिप्, शिद्, or विच् does not lose its character of a dhātu. Therefore वाच् is a root (धातु), and it ought to take vocalisation before the affix वच् ॥ But वच् is not enunciated to come after a dhātu, but after a सुबन्त (सुपभास्मनः वच् III. 1. 8) in the rule ordaining its affixing. So also वाचिकः formed by adding डक् to वाच् (See Vart. V. 3. 83).

ग्रहिन्यावयिव्यधिविचित्रश्चतिपृच्छतिभृजतीनां डिति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥
ग्रहि, ज्या, वयि, व्यधि, वाष्टि, विचति, वृश्चति, पृच्छति, भृजतीनाम्, डिति, च ॥

कृतिः ॥ मह उपवाने, उया वयोहानौ, वेष्मो वयिः, व्यध ताडने, वश कान्तौ, व्यच व्याजीकरणे, ज्ञोव्रश्चू-
ठेनने, प्रच्छ ज्ञीप्त्वायां, भ्रस्ज पाके, इत्येतेषां धातृनां किति प्रत्यये परतश्चकारात्कृति च संप्रसारणं भवति ।
परिभाषा ॥ निष्ठादेशः पत्वस्वप्रत्ययार्थीद्विपुर्पुर्तिर्वाचनव्यः ॥

16. There is vocalisation of the semi-vowels of the following verbs, when an affix having an indicatory क् or कृ follows:—प्रहु 'to take', ज्या 'to become old', वेज् 'to weave', व्यध 'to strike', वश 'to shine', व्यच 'to deceive', वश्च 'to cut', प्रच्छु 'to ask', and प्रसज्ज 'to cook, to fry'.

By force of the word 'अ' 'and', the anuvritti of क्रति is read into this sūtra. Thus 1. प्रह—प्रहीतः, प्रहीतवान् (by क् and क्रतु), प्रहणाति (I. 2. 4), अरीग्रहते (by कृ of the Intensive). 2. ज्या—ज्ञीनः, ज्ञीनवान् (VIII. 2. 44 त changed to न), ज्ञिनाति (I. 2. 4), the short ि is lengthened by VI. 4. 2 and is shortened again by VII. 3. 80. वेजीयते (वद्ध), 3. व्यच—The root वेश् is replaced by वद् when लिद् follows (II. 4. 41). This वद् can have no दित् affix after it, it takes only लिद् terminations, which as we know are कित् (I. 2. 5). The examples, therefore given will be of कित् affixes only. Thus व्यतुः, व्युः ॥ Now arises this question 'why do you enumerate वदि, for is not वेश् (for which वदि is substituted) already included in वज्ञाति class of verbs given in the last sūtra, and by force of that sūtra, वदि will get samprasāraṇa before कित् affixes?'. The reply is "वदि is numerated here in order to show that the prohibition of samprasāraṇa with regard to वेश् as taught in VI. 1. 40, does not apply to its substitute वदि in the Perfect Tense". Thus while the Perfect of वेश् is वद्यौ, वदतुः, वदुः, the Perfect of its substitute वदि is वद्यात्, वद्यतुः and वद्युः ॥ More over VI. 1. 38 teaches that the न of वद् is not vocalised in लिद् affixes, which therefore, implies (ज्ञापका) that the other semivowel i. e. व of वद् will be vocalised. 4. व्यध—विद्धि, विद्धवान्, and with दित् affixes विधति, विविधते ॥ 5. वश—उद्धितः, उद्धीतवान्, and with दित् affixes उद्धः, उद्धन्ति ॥ 6. व्यच—विचितः, विचतवान् विपात्, वेविच्यते ॥ By a Vārtika under I. 2. 1, the word व्यच is considered to belong to वज्ञाति class, and therefore all affixes after it, other than those having an indicatory क्, कृ or the affix वस्, are considered as दित्, and therefore, there will be samprasāraṇa before these affixes : as, उद्धिचता, उद्धिचतुम्, उद्धिचतव्यम् ॥ 7. वृश—वृक्णः, वृक्णवान् ॥ How is the final च of व्रश changed into क् for by VIII. 2. 36 च ought to have been changed into ए before the वज्ञाति affix क्त? To this we reply the affix क्त is replaced by न (VII. 2. 42) and as this न is not a वज्ञाति affix, Rule VIII. 2. 36 does not apply. This is done on the following maxim : "The substitute of the Nishṭhā should be considered to be siddha or effective when applying the rules relating to the change of a letter into ए, to accent, to affix, and to the addition of the augment इट्". But when च is to be changed into क्, the substitute is considered as siddha (not to have taken place). Thus we have the forms वृक्णः &c. Before दित् affixes we have वृक्षति, वरीवृक्षते ॥ 8. प्रभु—पृष्ठः (VIII. 2. 36), पृष्ठवान्, दित्—पृष्ठति, परीपृष्ठते ॥ The forms पृष्ठलु and वृक्षलु would have been evolved by the simple rules of Reduplication even, without the

application of this rule. But प्रच्छु + नह् (III. 3. 90) = प्रचनः ॥ Here there is no vocalisation, because Pānini himself uses the word प्रचनः in sūtra III. 2. 117 showing that this is the proper form though irregular. १९, भसज्ज—भृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), शृष्टवान्, किन्—शृज्जाते, वरी शृज्जयते ॥ The स of भसज्ज is changed first into ए by मलं असा शासि (VIII. 4. 53), and then ए is changed into अ by स्तोः शसुना शसुः (VIII. 4. 40).

लिट्ट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्टि, अभ्यासस्य, उभयेषाम्,
(संप्रसारणम्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ उभयेषां वाच्यारीनां भावारीनां च लिट्टि परतो अभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवाति ॥

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

Thus वच्—उवाच्, उवाचिय, स्वप्—सुप्त्वाप, सुप्त्वपिय, अज्—इयाज, इयाजिय, द्वप्—उवाप, उवपिय ॥ As regards भाविरि verbs; घह—जपाह, जपहिय (there is no speciality in case of this verb, as these forms would have been evolved without even this rule). कथ—जिक्त्वा, जिक्त्विय, वय—उवाय, and उवयिय; व्यप्—विव्याप, विव्यधिय, वश—उवाश, उवशिय, व्यश्—विव्याश, विव्यधिय, ब्रश—वब्रश and वब्राधिय ॥ Some say that with regard to ब्रश, it is equal whether there existed this present rule or not. For they argue thus, ब्रश + जल् = ब्रश + ब्रइश् + अ = ए + ब्रश् + अ (इलाहि शेषः VII. 4. 60) = बब्रश ॥ 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 ए, then you will have to vocalise ए by force of this rule. Hence the necessity of this rule with regard to ब्रश also, for having changed ए into इश्, we have बब्रइश् and then change इश् into अ by VII. 4. 66. Then this अ substitute becomes श्वानिवत् to इश् (I. 1. 59), and therefore there is no vocalisation of this अ, 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 प्रच्छु and भसज्ज verbs.

This vocalisation of the reduplicate is taught with regard to those affixes which are not किन् ॥ With regard to किन् 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 परस्प I. 4. 2, vocalisation will take place first and then reduplication, according to the maxim तुनः 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+भतुः (which is किन् I. 2. 5) = उच्+भतुः = उच्+उच्+भतुः = ऊचतुः, ऊचुः ॥

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

स्वापेभविदि ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वापे:, चडि, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

बृतिः ॥ स्वापेपिति स्वपेष्यन्तस्य महणं तस्य अडि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

Thus the Aorist of स्वापि is असूषुपत्, असूषुपताम्, असूषुपत् ॥ 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+चहूः=सुपि+चहूः=सुए् (VI. 4. 51)+चहूः (VII. 3. 86)=सोए्+चहूः=ञ्जुए्+चहूः (VII. 4. 1)=सु+ञ्जु+चहूः (VI. 1. 11)=सूषुपत् (VII. 4. 94) which with the augment अ becomes असूषुपत् ॥

Why do we say ‘when चहूः follows’? Observe स्वाप्यते, स्वापितः ॥ The anuvritti of किति has ceased, that of डिति however is here.

स्वपिस्थमिव्येभां यडि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वापि, स्थामि, व्येभाम्, यडि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥
बृतिः ॥ ग्रिष्वप् शब्दे स्थषु स्वन खन शब्दे, व्येभ् संवरणं, इत्येतत्थां धातूनां यडि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

19. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the verbs स्वप् ‘to sleep’, स्थम् ‘to shout’, and व्ये ‘to cover’, when followed by the affix यहूः of the Intensive.

Thus सोञ्जुप्यते, सोसिन्यते, वेशीवते (VII. 4. 25 the short इ is lengthened). Why do we say ‘when यहूः follows’? Observe स्वपक् formed by नाजिह् III. 2. 172.

न वशः ॥ २० ॥
बृतिः ॥ यहीति वर्णते । वर्णद्वार्तोर्यडि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

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

The word अङ्गि is understood here. As वावदसे, वावदयेते, वावदन्ते ॥ Why do we say "when अङ्गि follows"? Observe उहः, उघन्ति ॥ See VI. I. 16 to which this rule is an exception.

चायः की ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गीति वर्तते । अथ पूजानिशामनयोरित्येत्स्य धातोर्यंडि परतः क्रीत्ययमेवशो भवति ॥

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

The phrase अङ्गि is understood here. Thus चेकीयते, चेकीयेते, चेकीयन्ते ॥ The exhibition of की in the sūtra with a long ई indicates that there is long vowel even in tenses where अङ्गि is elided, as चेकीतः ॥ For if the sūtra had enunciated की with a short ई as the substitute of चायू, the forms चंकीयते &c would have been still valid. Thus की + अङ्ग = ची + की + य = चे + की + य = चे + की + य (VII. 4. 25 causing the lengthening of the short ई). But then the Nishṭhā would have been चेकीतः which is wrong.

स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, स्फी, निष्ठायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्फायी शोप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः स्फीत्ययमेवशो भवति ॥

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

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

स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्यः, प्र, पूर्वस्य, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायामिति वर्तते संप्रसारणमिति च । स्फा इत्येतत्र स्वर्यते । स्त्यै व्यै शब्दसंधातयोर्द्योरप्येत-यो द्वात्म्यैः स्थारूपमापत्रयोः सामान्येन महणम् । स्त्या इत्येतत्स्य प्रपूर्वस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारण-भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

द्रवमूर्तिस्पर्शयोः इयः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रवमूर्त्ति, स्पर्शयोः, इयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रवमूर्त्तौ द्रवकाठिन्ये स्वर्ते वर्तमानस्य श्वेष्टु गताविस्थस्य धातोर्निर्भायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

24. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the root इया (इयै) ‘to go’ when the nishṭhā affixes follow, when the sense is “coagulation” or “cold to touch”.

The word द्रवमूर्त्ति means hardening of a fluid, by coagulation &c. Thus शीनं धृतं, शीना वसा, शीनं मेदः “a coagulated butter, grease &c”. The त of nishṭhā is changed to न by VIII. 2. 47. But when the sense is that of ‘cold’, the त is not changed; as शीतं वर्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतमुद्रकम् ॥ 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 संद्यानो वृश्चिकः ‘the rolled up scorpion’. The short ए is lengthened in शीन &c, by VI. 4. 2.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इय इति वर्तते । प्रतिरूपस्य स्यायतेर्निर्भायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

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

विभाषा इयवपूर्वस्य ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अभि, अव, पूर्वस्य, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इय इति वर्तते । अभि अव इत्येवंपूर्वस्य स्यायतेर्निर्भायां विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

Thus अभिशीनम् or अभिद्यानम् धृतं, अवशीनम् or अवद्यानम् वृश्चिकः ॥ This option applies even when the word means “coagulation” and “cold”. As अवशीनं or अवद्यानं धृतं, मेदः ॥ अवशीतो or अवद्यानो वायुः, &c. अवशीतं or अवद्यानमुद्रकं ॥

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

शृतं पाके ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृतम्, पाके, ॥
**शृतिः ॥ विभाषेत्यनुवर्तते । आ पाके इत्येतस्य धातोर्थन्तस्याण्यन्तस्य च पाके उभिधेऽन्ते क्रमस्थये परतः
 शृभावा निपास्यते विभाषा ॥**

27. Optionally शृतं is formed in the sense of 'cooked', by the vocalisation of the semivowel of आ before the nish्ठā affix क् ॥

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

प्यायः पी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्यायः, पी ॥
शृतिः ॥ विभाषेत्येव । आप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्मिंशायां विभाषा पीत्यथमादेषो भवति ॥

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

The root आप्यायी वृद्धी belongs to Bhvādi class. The indicatory आ shows that the affixes स and तवत् are changed into त and नवत् (VIII. 2. 45). Thus पीने मुखम्, पीनौ बाहू, पीनमूरः ॥ The option here is also a regulated option (vyavasthita-vibhāshā). The substitution takes place *invariably* when the root is without upasarga, and *never* when it is preceded by an upasarga. Thus पाप्यानः आप्यानशब्दगाः ॥ The substitution, however, must take place when the preposition आह precedes the root, and the words अस्तुः and ऊप्तस् are in composition : as आपीनोन्तुः, आपीनमूरः ॥

लिङ्घडोश्च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्घ, यडोः, च, (पी) ॥
शृतिः ॥ विभाषेति निवृत्तम् । प्यायः पीत्येतच्छब्देनानुकृष्टये । लिङ्घ यक्षिं च परतः प्यायः पीत्यथमादेषो भवति ॥

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

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

tioned in VI. I. 17. Thus शी+लिद्=षि+शी+त्=षि+प्य+ए (VI. 4. 82 the च being substituted)=भाषिष्ये with the affix भा. So also in the Intensive, as भाषिष्यते, भाषेषीयते, भाषेषीयन्ते ॥

विभाषा श्वेः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, श्वेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लिह्यङ्गोरिति वर्तते संप्रसारणमिति च । लिटि यठि च इवयते धातोर्धिभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ।

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

The phrases लिह्यङ्गोः and संप्रसारणं are to be read into this sūtra. Thus शुशावे or शिश्वाय, शुशुवतुः or शिश्वियतुः ॥ So also in the Intensive as शीशुयते or शाश्वीयते ॥ The root श्वि would not have taken vocalisation before वह् by any previous rule, this sūtra teaches optional vocalisation. The root would have taken vocalisation before लिद्, which is a कित् affix, invariably by VI. I. 15, this sūtra modifies that by making the substitution optional. In the alternative, when the root does become vocalised, the reduplicate is also not vocalised in spite of VI. I. 17. This explains the form शिश्वाय, which by VI. I. 17 would have been शुशाव ॥ दिव+जल्=(शु उह+जल् VI. I. 30)=शु+जल् (VI. I. 108)=शु+शु+अ (VI. I. 8)=शुशाव ॥

जौ च संश्वङ्गोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जौ, च, सन्, चङ्गोः, (संप्रसारणम्,) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा इवेरिति वर्तते । सन्परे चह् परे च जौ परतः भवते धातोर्धिभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

The phrase विभाषा श्वेः is understood here. In forming the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist forms of the Causative of श्वि, there is optional vocalisation. Thus शुशावयिषति or शिश्वायविष्यत ॥ So also in the Reduplicated Aorist चह्, as अशुशावत् or अशिश्वयत् ॥ By the maxim संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाश्वयं च बलीयो भवति (see sūtra VI. I. 17), the antaranga substitution of Vriddhi &c is superseded by the samprasāraṇa and the subsidiary operations relating to it here. The vṛiddhi and the substitution of आव take place *after* the samprasāraṇa has taken place. The sūtra VII. 4. 80 teaching the substitution of ई for the उ of the reduplicate, when सन् follows, shows by implication that the substitution caused by जि is sthānivat though it itself does not cause reduplication (I. I. 59). Thus श्वि+जि=श्वै+ई=शावै+ई=शावी ॥ In reduplicating शावि we cannot form शाश्वाय, but must consider the substitute equal to the original ई of श्वि and must reduplicate it. We thus get शिश्वायविषति ॥ In the case of vocalisation, the rules of Vriddhi &c are postponed. Thus श्वि+जि+सन् (VI. I. 108)=शु+जि+सन्=शौ+ई+सन्=शावै+ई+ई+सन्=शावै+ई+सन्=शावयि+सन् ॥ Here we requ-

ire reduplication. Here the substitute आ॒ in शाव् though not *caused* by सन्, is treated sthānivat under I. I. 59 to ए, which is carried in reduplication. Similarly the Aorist: श्वि॒ + यि॒ + चर॒॑ = शु॒ + इ॒ + अ॒॑ = शु॒ + शु॒ + इ॒ + अ॒॑ = शु॒ + शो॒॑ + इ॒ + अ॒॑ = शु॒ + शाव्॒ + इ॒ + अ॒॑ (VII. 4. 1) = शु॒ + शाव्॒ + ०॒॑ + अ॒॑ (VI. 4. 51) = अशू॒ शवत्॒॑ (VII. 4. 94)

हः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, संप्रसारणम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जौ च संशडोरिति वर्तते । सन्परे चद्दे॑ परे च जौ परतो हः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

The whole of the last sūtra is to be read into this sūtra. Thus शुहाव-विष्टि and शुहावविष्टि; शुहावविष्टि; अशू॒ शवत्॒॑ and अशू॒ शवत्॒॑ ॥ The root ह्वा does not take the augment अ required by VII. 3. 37 before the affix यि, because the Samprasārana rule is stronger. The repetition of the word संप्रसारण in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the force of the word विभाषा has ceased. Though this and the next sūtra could well have been made one, their separation shows that the samprasārana does not take place when another affix, not causing reduplication, intervenes. As ह्वायकमिष्टाति = ह्वायकीयति; the Desiderative of this verb is जिह्वायकीयिष्टि ॥

अश्यस्तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्यस्तस्य, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ह्व इति वर्तते, तदश्यस्तस्य चेत्यनेन व्यधिकरणम्, अश्यस्तस्य यो ह्वयतिः, कश्याश्यस्तस्य ह्वयतिः, कारणं, तेनाश्यस्तकारणस्य ह्वयतेः प्रगेव द्विर्वचनासंप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

The abhyasta means the reduplicate and the reduplicated, both the syllables. The vocalisation takes place before reduplication. Thus शुहाव, जोहूयते, and शुहूयति ॥ This and the last sūtra are one, in the original of Pāṇini, they have been divided into two by the authority of a Vārtika.

अहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ह्व इति वर्तते । छन्दसि विष्टेह्वयतेऽर्दातो र्षहुलं संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

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

Thus हुवे or ह्वयामि, as इन्द्राग्नी हुवे 'Invoke Indra and Agni'. हेवी सरस्वती हुवे ॥ The form हुवे is Atmanepada, Present tense, 1st Pers. sing. the vikarana शए॑ is elided, then there is vocalisation and substitution of उवह् ॥ So also ह्वयामि मरुतः शिवान्, ह्वयामि विश्वान्, वेशान् ॥ So also हवः as शुभीहृषम् (Rig I. 2. 1.) 'hear the invocation'.

चायः की ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वर्तते । चायत्तर्दतोश्छन्दति विषये बहुलं कीत्यथमविशो भवति ॥

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

Thus विषुना निच्छिक्षुः, नान्यं चिक्षुर्न निच्छिक्षुरन्यम् ॥ These are forms ending in the affix उस् of the Perfect. Sometimes there is no substitution. As अभिर्ज्योतिनिश्चायः ॥

अपस्पृधेथामानृचुरानृह्यश्चिल्युषेतित्याजश्राताः श्रितमाशीराशीर्ताः ॥ ३६ ॥
पदानि ॥ अपस्पृधेयाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिल्युषे, तित्याज, श्राताः, श्रितम्,
आशीः, आशीर्ताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्पृधेयाम् आनृचुः आनृहुः चिल्युषे तित्याज, श्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः, आशीर्ताः, एतेनिपात्यन्ते
छन्दसि विषये ॥

36. In the Chhandas, the following irregular forms are met with :—अपस्पृधेथाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिल्युषे, तित्याज, श्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः and आशीर्ताः ॥

The word छन्दसि is understood here. From the root स्वर्द्ध 'to challenge', is formed अपस्पृधेयाम् being the Imperfect (लङ्), 2nd Pers. Dual, Atmanepada : there is reduplication of the root, vocalisation of र्, and the elision of अ irregularly. As, इन्द्रस् विष्णो यस्पस्पृधेयाम् ॥ In secular language the form is अपस्पृधेयाम् ॥ Some say, it is derived from स्वर्द्ध with the preposition अ, the vocalisation of र्, the elision of अ, and the non-prefixing of the augment अ॒ in the Imperfect (VI. 4. 75). The counter-example of this will be अपास्पृधेयाम् ॥ From अर्च and अर्ह 'to respect, to worship', are derived आनृचुः and आनृहुः in the Perfect before the 3rd per. pl. उस्, there being vocalisation of र् and the elision of अ irregularly. Then there is reduplication, then र्ह॒ changed to अ॒, then the lengthening of this अ॒, then the addition of the augment न्, as : अ॒र्ह॒ + उस् = अ॒र्ह॒ + उस् = अ॒ + अ॒र्ह॒ + उस् = अ॒ + अ॒र्ह॒ + उस् (VII. 4. 66) = आ॒ + अ॒र्ह॒ + उस् (VII. 4. 70) = आ॒ + न् + अ॒र्ह॒ + उस् (VII. 4. 71) = आनृचुः ॥ The irregularity consists in the samprasāraṇa with the elision of अ॒ ॥ Thus अवधा अर्कमानृचुः, न वसून्यानृहुः ॥ The secular forms will be आनृचुः, आनृहुः ॥ The form चिल्युषे is the Perfect 2nd per. sing. of the root च्युइ् 'to go' : there is vocalisation of the reduplicate, and the non-addition of the augment इ॒ 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 श्रीस् 'to cook', is derived श्राता before the Nishṭha affix, श्री changed to श्रा irregularly. As श्रातास्त इन्द्रसोमाः ॥ The form श्रितम् is also derived from the same root by shortening the vowel with the same affix. As सोमो गौरी अधिश्वितः, 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 आतः is seen in the singular, referring to objects other than सोम । Thus यदि आतो जुरोतन ॥ In fact, the exhibition of the word आतः in the plural in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary. The words आशीर् and आशीर्तः are from the same root शी, with the prefix आङ् and taking the affixes क्रिप् and न्त् respectively. Before these शी is replaced by शीर्, and the non-addition of न in the Nishṭhā is irregular. As, तामाशीरा दुष्टिं आशीर्तं कर्त्तव्यं, शीरैर्मध्यत आशीर्तः ॥

न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संप्रसारणे, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥
वृत्ति ॥ संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्थ यणः संप्रसारणं न भवते ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कहचि ब्रह्मतरपशास्त्रिलोपशङ्कन्सि ॥ वा० ॥ स्येमतौ बहुलम् ॥

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

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

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

Vart:—There is vocalisation of the semivowel of वि� when followed by कहच्, and there is elision of the अ of कहच्, when it refers to Metres. As तिक्त एक्ष्यो यस्मिन् = तृष्णं सुन्तं ॥ तृष्णं साम ॥ The word तृष्ण takes the samāsanta affix अ by V. 4. 74. Why do we say when referring to a metre? Observe तृष्णं कर्म ॥

Vārtīt—In the Chandas there is diversely vocalisation of the semi-vowel of रवि followed by the affix मत् as रवि + मत् = रवि + मत् = र + इ + मत् = र + इ + मत् (VIII. 2. 15) = रेत्; as, आ रेवानेतु नो विशः ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as रविमान् पुष्टिवर्जनः ॥ The म here is not changed to व as required by VIII. 2. 15.

Vārtīt—There is vocalisation of कस्था before मत् when a Name is meant: as कस्थीवित्तं व भौशिङ्गः ॥ This Vārtīka is unnecessary. See VIII. 2. 12 where the form कस्थीवित् is given.

लिंदि वयो यः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिंदि, वयः, यः (संप्रसारणम् न) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ न संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्तते । लिंदि 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 उवाच, ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ The word लिंदि is employed in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras, this one could have done well without it even.

वश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां किति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, किति ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अस्य वयो यकारस्य किति लिंदि परतो वकारादेषो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

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

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

वेभः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वेभः, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ लिंदित्यनुवर्तते । वेभ तन्तुसंतानहत्यस्य धातोलिंदि 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 वजाहि class and would have been vocalised before कित् affixes by VI. 1. 15; and before non-कित् affixes the Reduplicate syllable of the Perfect would have been vocalised by VI. 1. 17. Both vocalisations are prohibited here.

ल्पयि च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्पयि, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वेभ हत्यनुवर्तते । ल्पयि च परतो व्येभः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

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

Thus प्रशाय, उपशाय ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of ल्प् only runs.

ज्यश्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यः, च, (संग्रसारणम्, न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्थीरत्वेव । उया वयोहानाविन्यस्य धातोल्प्यं परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

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

Thus प्रज्याय, उपज्याय ॥
व्यश्च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यः, च, (संग्रसारणम्, न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्थीरत्वेव । व्येभ् संवरणइत्यतस्य धातोल्प्यं परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

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

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

विभाषा परेः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, परेः, (संग्रसारणम्, न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्थिरि च व्यभेत्यनुशर्तते । परेहत्तरस्य व्येभित्येतस्य धातोल्प्यं परतो विभाषा संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

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

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

आदेच उपदेशे अशिति ॥ 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 Dhātupāṭha), ends with a diphthong (ए, ओ, औ and औौ), there is the substitution of आ for the diphthong, provided that no affix with an indicatory श् follows it.

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

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

The word भविति is an example of प्रसङ्गप्रतिषेधः a simple prohibition of a contingent case. Therefore, the substitution of आ for एष 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 न्मै and न्मै are presupposed to end in आ when applying this affix: thus सुग्लः, सुम्लः ॥ Similarly by III. 3. 128 we apply श्वर् to न्मै and न्मै by presupposing it as आन्त roots: as सुग्लानः, सुम्लानः ॥

The word आ is understood in all the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 1. 57
 न व्यो लिटि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, व्यः, लिटि, (आत्) ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ व्येष्व 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 संविद्याय, संविद्ययिथ ॥ The reduplicate of the Perfect is vocalised here by VI. 1. 17. The Vriddhi in संविद्याय takes place by VII. 2. 115 before the जित् affix णल् ॥

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्धजि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, घजि, (आत्) ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ आदेष्व इति वर्तते। रक्षुर स्फुल चलनइत्येतयोर्द्वावारेषः स्थाने घजि 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 घजि follows.

Thus विस्कारः instead of विस्कोरः, and विस्कालः instead of विस्कोलः ॥ By VIII. 3. 76, the स is optionally changed to ष after वि, as विष्कारः, and विष्कालः ॥

क्षीड्जीनां णौ ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षी, इड्ज, जीनाम्, णौ, (आत्) ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ इड्कीड्ज इत्याविनिमये, इड्ज अभ्ययने, जी जीय, इत्येतत्वां धातुनामेषः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus कापथसि, अभ्यापयति and जापयति ॥ The augment ष is added by VII. 3. 36, since these roots end in long आ ॥

सिद्ध्यतेरपारलौकिके ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिद्ध्यते:, अपारलौकिके ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ जापितिवर्तते। विषु हिंसासंराद्धपो रित्यस्य धातोरपारलौकिकेये वर्तमानस्यैषः 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 आरलोकैक is derived from परलोक 'the next world' by adding the affix अच् with the force of 'for the sake of' (V. i. 109). The double Vṛidhi takes place by VII. 3. 20. The sense of the word सिध् must refer to अज्ञान or non-intelligent things for the purposes of this substitution. Thus अन्नं साधयति, आमं साधयति ॥ Why do we say when not referring to the next world? See वपस्तापसं सेधयति, स्वान्धेवनं कर्मणि सेधयन्ते ॥ The force of सिध् is here that of knowledge, ताप्सः सिद्धाति = 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, आद्वाणेऽयोदास्यामि '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 पारलोकिक effect, then the substitution does not take place. The verb सिध् here belongs to the Divādi class and not to the Bhvādi, as the form सिध्यति in the sūtra shows it.

मीनातिमिनोतिदीडां ल्यपि च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनाति, मिनोति, दीडाम्, ल्यपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविच्छ उपदेशाशति वर्तते । मीम् हिसायाम्, डुभिभ् प्रक्षेपणे, दीड् क्षय, इस्येतेचां धातूनां स्थापि विषये चकारावेच्च विषये उपदेशएव प्राक् प्रत्ययोत्पन्नरलोन्त्यस्य स्थाने आकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

By force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra, the substitution takes place of the diphthongs also of these verbs before all affixes other than रूपत्, and this substitution takes place, before the occasion for the applying of the affixes arises (उपदेशावस्थायाम् आत्मं 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, प्रमातृध्यम्, प्रमातृम्, प्रमाय, निमाता, निमातृम्; निमातृध्यम्, निमाय, उपसाता, उपसातृध्यम्, उपसातृम्, उपशाय ॥ The substitution of आ being understood to have taken place in the very उपदेश (in the dhātupāṭha) of

these roots, the affixes relating to roots ending in ए or ई do not apply to these at all. Thus उपशाया वर्तते, ईषदुपशान्, formed by धूः and शुः by taking शी=शा 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 ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीति वर्तते, आदेच उपंशदाति च । लीइ श्लेषणहाति दिवादिः ली श्लेषणहाति क्रधादिस्तयोह-भयोरपि यका निर्इशः स्मर्यते । लीयतद्वातोल्याप च एचश्च विषये उपंशदेवालान्यस्य स्थानं विभाषा भाकार-एदेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमीमिलियां खलचोः प्रतिबेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

The final of ली will take guṇa substitution before श्लृष्टि 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, शुर्=शोर् and शों changed to आ &c. Therefore we have employed the anuvritti of एच् 'diphthong' in all sūtras. The words ल्याप and आदेच उपंशद् are understood here. The roots ली belonging to Divādi and Kriyādi are both included here. Thus विलाता, विलातुम्, विलातध्यम्, विलाय, विलेता विलेतुम्, विलेतध्यम् and विलीय ॥

Vart.—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 लीः as, ईषमिमयः, निमयो वर्तते । ईषत्पमयः, प्रमयो वर्तते । ईषद् विलयः, विलयो वर्तते ॥

The ली invariably takes आ substitution when the sense is that of 'showing respect,' 'deceiving' or 'insulting'. As कस्त्वाषुक्षापयते, इयनो वर्त्तिकाषुक्षापयते ॥ The option allowed by this aphorism is a restricted option (vyavasthita-vibhāshā) 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 ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ विभाषति वर्तते । खिद् दैन्यान्यस्य भातोरेचः स्थानेः छन्दसि विषये विभाषा भाकार भादेशो 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 चिखात् or चिखेत् ॥ In secular literature we have चित्तं खेत्यति ॥

अपगुरो णमुलि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप, गुरः, णमुलि, (आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युरी उच्चमनस्यस्य धातोरपपूर्वस्य णमुलि परत एवः 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 णमुलि ॥

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

चिस्फुरोणौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चि, स्फुरोः, औ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चिस्फुर इत्येतयोद्दर्शनोणौ परत एवः 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 ए) so also स्फोरयति or स्फारयति ॥

प्रज्ञने वीयते: ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रज्ञने, वीयते: ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ णारित वर्तते । वी गतिप्रज्ञनकान्त्यसनखानेतु इत्यस्य धातोः प्रज्ञने वर्तनानस्य औ परतो विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ।

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

The root वी Adādi 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 युरो वानो गाः प्रवापयति or प्रवाययति = गर्भं पाहयति ॥ The word प्रज्ञन means the receiving of the embryo which in course of time will lead to the birth of a child.

विभेतहेतुभये ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभेतः, हेतु भये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ णारिति वर्तते विभाषति च । हेतुरिति पारिभाषिकः स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजकस्ततो वद्यम्, स अस्य भयस्य सामाज्ञेतुः, तद्यत्य हेतुभयम् । तत्र वर्तनानस्य विभी भयरत्यस्य धातोणां 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 औ and विभाषा are understood here. The word हेतु in the sūtra is the technical हेतु meaning स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजक (I. 4. 54 and 55.). When the

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

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

नित्यं स्मयते: ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, स्मयते: ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णाविति वर्तते, हेतुभयद्विति च । नित्यप्रहणाद्विभाषेति निवृत्तम् । स्मिद्द्विषज्जसनद्वयस्य धातोहेतु-
भयर्थे औ परतो नित्यमाकरोरशो भवाति ॥

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 औ and हेतुभय are both understood here. The word नित्य shows that the anuvritti of विभाषा ceases. Thus मुण्डोजटिलो या विस्मापयते ॥ Otherwise we have कुञ्चिकवैनं 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 ॥

सुजिहशोर्श्वल्यमकिति ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूजि, दृशोः, झालि, अम्, अकिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सूजि विसर्गे, दृशिर् प्रेक्षणे, इत्येतयोर्द्वात्स्वार्हलाशावाकिति प्रत्यये परतो इमागमो भवाति ॥

58. The augment अम् (अ) comes after the श्व of सूज् 'to create', and हश् 'to see', when an affix beginning with a श्वल् letter (the Mute and the Sibilant) follows: provided that it has no indicatory क् ॥

Thus सूज् + तृन् = सू + अ + श्व + तृ = सूष्व् nom. sing. सूष्वा, सूष्वयम्, हश्वम्, हश्वयम् ॥ This अम् augment prevents the गुण substitute ordained by VII. 3. 86. But in अग्नाशीत् and अद्वाक्षीत् 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, रशनम् with शु ॥ Why do we say not having an indicatory क्? Observe हृष्टः, हृष्टः before the affix क् ॥ The forms of roots being exhibited in the sūtra, the rule applies when affixes relating to verbs come after these, and not when other affixes relating to noun follow. Thus रञ्जुसृष्ट्याम्, देवदृष्ट्याम् ॥ Here the words are used as nouns rather than verbs. For the maxim धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे स्वप्रथये कार्ये applies here.

अनुदात्तस्य चर्दुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, ऋत्, उ पधस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशहति वर्तते, शाल्यमक्रितीति च । उपदेशो इनुशास्य धातोर्ककारोपधस्य शालाशावक्रिति प्रत्येपरतो इन्यतरस्यामभागमो भवति ॥

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

The word उपदेश is understood here, so also शाल्यमक्रिति ॥ Thus ज्ञा or तर्पिता or तप्ता, द्रूपा, दर्पिता or दृप्ता ॥ The roots हृप् 'to satisfy', and हृष् '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 Upadesâ or the system of grammatical instruction"? Observe वर्णा, वर्दुम्, वडव्यम्, from वह उद्यमन which is exhibited as उदात्त, and because it has an indicatory क् it takes इट् optionally. Why do we say 'having a penultimate ऋ letter'? Observe भन्ता, छन्ता ॥ 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 तृप्तः, दृप्तः ॥ Before affixes not beginning with a श्लू consonant this augment will not be inserted, as तर्पणम्, दर्पणम् ॥

शीर्षइच्छन्दसि ॥ 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 शिरः in the Vedas, for both forms are found therein. Thus शीर्णो हि तत्र सोमं क्रीतं हरन्ति, यत्ते शीर्णो हैर्भाग्यम् ॥ In the secular literature there is only one form शिरः ॥

ये च तद्विते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, तद्विते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्निति वर्तते । आपेशोयामिष्यते स कथं तद्वितश्च निमित्तमुपाशीयते स तद्वितुरुपां प्रकृतिं शिरःशब्दमाक्षिपति । यकारादौ तद्विते परतः शिरःशब्दस्य शीर्षन्नादेशो भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ या केशेषु ॥

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

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

शीर्षणः स्वरः || The affix यत् is here added by IV. 3. 55. The word शीर्षण 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 शिरहच्छाति = शिरस्थाति, here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

Vārt :—The substitution is optional when meaning ‘hair’. As शर्ष-
प्याः केशाः or विरस्त्याः केशाः ||

आचि शीर्षः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, शीर्षः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ ताद्यते शिरसः शीर्षशब्द अदेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus हस्तिशिरसोऽपत्व्य = हास्तिशीर्षः formed by adding the Patronymic affix इश् (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 हास्तिशीर्षः by adding व्यह् (IV. 1. 78), arises this difficulty :—व्यह् (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हास्तिशीर्षः, 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, हास्तिशीर्षः + व्यह् = हास्तिशीर्षण + य (VI. 1. 61) = हास्तिशीर्षण्या (VI. 4. 168). But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हास्तिशीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this? Thus हास्तिशीर्ष + व्यह् = हास्तिशीर्ष् + य (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a zero or लोपदेश) ॥ Now this अदेश becomes sthānivat to य, thus the affix य not being directly applied to शीर्ष, because this zero intervenes, शीर्ष is not replaced by शीर्षन् as required by VI. 1. 61, for it is not followed by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthānivat to इ affix.

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

पद्मोमासृष्टिशसन्यूषन्दोषन्यकञ्चकनुदवासञ्जस्प्रभृतिषु ॥६३॥ पदानि ॥
पद्, दत्, नस्, मास्, हृत्, निश्, असर्, यूरन्, दोषन्, यकन्, शकन्, उदन्,
आसन्, शस्, प्रभृतिषु ॥

प्रृत्ति ॥ पाद वन्त नासिका मास हृष्ट निशा असूज् युर रोष यक्त्रन् शक्त्रन् उक्त्र आसन इत्येतेषां शब्दानां स्थानं शस्त्रधृतिप्रत्ययं पुरतः पद इत् नस् मास् हृष्ट् निशा असन् युषन् रोषन् यक्त्रन् शक्त्रन् उदम् आसन् इत्येते भागोदग्धा यथासंभवत्य भवति ॥

वा० ॥ पश्चिम मांस्युत्सुनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ नस् नासिकाया यत्तस्युत्रेषु ॥
वा० ॥ यति वर्णनगरयोनेति वचन्यथ ॥

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, निशा for निशा, असन् for असूज्, यूषन् for यूष, दोषन् for दोस्, यकन् for यकृत्, शकन् for शकृत्, उदन् for उदक् and आसन् for आस्थ ॥

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

Examples :—1. पद्—निपदश्चतुरो जहि, पदावतय गोदुहम् ॥ 2 दत्—या इती धावति तस्यै चावशन् ॥ 3 नस्—सूक्रस्त्वयनन्नसा ॥ 4 मास्—मासित्वा पद्यामि चक्षुषा ॥ 5 हृद्—हृषा पृतेन मनसा जातवेशसम् ॥ 6 निशा—अमावास्यार्थं निशि यजेत् ॥ 7 असन्—असित्को स्नावरोहति ॥ 8 यूषन्—या पात्राणि यूषण आसेचनाति ॥ 9 रोषन्—यजेत् हंष्टो दौर्भाग्यम् ॥ 10 यकन्—यक्तो वद्यति ॥ 11 शकन् शक्तो वद्याते ॥ 12 उदन्—उद्गो इव्यवस्थ नाता ते ॥ 13 आसन्—आसनि किं लमे मधुनि ।

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

ब्यायामक्षुण गावस्य पद्यामुद्दर्तितस्य च ।
व्याधयो नोपसर्पन्ति वैनतेयमिदोरगाः ॥

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

Vart :—The following substitutions also take place : मांस for मांस, पन् for पतना, and स्तु for सानुः as अभीक्षणं मांसपचन्याः for मांसपचन्याः (Yaj. XXV. 36), पृस्तु मर्त्यम् for पृतनासुमर्त्यम्, न ते दिवो न पृथिव्या अधिसनुषु for अधिसानुषु ॥

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

Vart :—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 ॥

घृणि ॥ धातोरादेः षकारस्य स्थाने सकारादेषो भवति ॥

वासिकम् ॥ मुव्यातुष्विष्वष्कतीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य ॥

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

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

ओडशा, षडिकः, षण्डः ॥ Why do we say 'initial'? Observe—कर्षति, कृषति ॥ Why have then roots been exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha 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 सिद्—instead of ईससद् we have ईसषद् ॥ Thus root is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha 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 Dhātupāṭha 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 Dhātupāṭha as beginning with an initial ष, as well as the following roots स्ति, स्वद्, स्तिद्, स्त्रज् and स्वप्, though followed by ष or श ॥ The following roots though followed by a vowel or a dental are not taught with an initial ष viz. सृष्, सृञ्, स्त, स्त्या, सेक, and सृ ॥

Vṛtī:—Prohibition must be stated of the roots derived from nouns, and of छिद् and घट्क ॥ Thus षोडीयते, षण्डायते are roots derived from nouns, and though these roots begin with ष are not changed: so छिद्—छिष्टति, घट्क—घट्कते ॥ The word छिद् contains in it two roots छिद् and छियद्, one with ढ, another with थ, and thus we have two forms in the reduplication:—तेष्टीव्यते, देष्टीव्यतं ॥ The substitution of स for ष takes place in the case of the root that has ष ॥

जो नः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ णः, नः ॥
धृति ॥ धातोरारेत्यनुवर्त्तते । धातोरारेण्कारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति ॥

65. There is the substitution of न् for the initial ष of the root in the Dhātupāṭha.

The phrase धातोरारेण्कारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति, जीभ्—नयति, जम—ममति, जह—महति ॥ But not अण्—अणति ॥ This does not apply to roots derived from nouns. जकारमिच्छति = जकारीयात् ॥ The roots are exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with ष for a similar reason as they are exhibited with ष ॥ By VIII. 4. 14, these roots change their न into ण when preceded by certain prepositions. All roots beginning with a ण should be understood to have been so taught, with the exception of the following:—नृ, नन्दि नर्दि, नक्त, नाटि, नाध् and नाध् ॥

लोपेष्ट्यैर्ष्ट्विलि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, व्योः, वलि ॥
धृति ॥ धातोरिति प्रकृतं यत् तदधात्वाप्तिरिति पुनर्द्वातुपहणामिवृत्तम् । तेन धातोरधातोष्ठ वकारयकारयोर्वलं परतो लोपो भवति ॥

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

The final श or ष of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c, beginning with a बल् consonant i. e. any consonant except ष ॥ Thus दिव्+वस् (III. 2. 107)=दिव्+दिव्+वस्=दिदिवस् nom. singular दिदिवान्, दिदिवांसौ, दिदिवांसः ॥ Thus ऊश्+त=ऊतं, 'spun', क्षुष्+त=क्षुतं 'made a noise'. So also the affix इक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129). Of the affix इक्, इ is replaced by एष (VII. 1. 2). Thus गोधा+एष+र=गौधेरः (the ष of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पचेरन्, यज्ञरन् the ष of लिङ् (III. 4. 102) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105). So also ष is elided in the following:—from जीव्—जीवानुः (by Uṇādi affix जावे रथानुक्) from सिव्—अस्माणम् 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 ऊद् substitution for ष as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except ष?" Observe ऊध्यते, ऊध्यते when ष is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of इ and ल् should take place prior to the elision of the apritika ष taught in the next sūtra. Thus कण्ठूय+विष्ट=कण्ठू ष (VI. 4. 48)=कण्ठू+रु=कण्ठः ॥ So लोत्तुष्ट +विष्ट=लोत्तुष् ॥ Why ष of ब्रह्म is not elided before र which is a बल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of ष been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रष्ट instead of ब्रष्ट ॥ If you say the ष is taught for the sake of forms like वृष्टाति by samprasāraṇa, and ब्रवष्ट by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasāraṇa, and the elision of र् by इलादिशेषः are Bahiranga.

वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वे:, अपृक्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्तते । वेरिति विवारयो विशेषानुबन्धातुस्मृज्यसामान्येन गृह्णन्ते । वेरपृक्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

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

The affix वि includes विष्ट, विष्टन्, विष् &c. In all these, the real affix is ष, which being an apritika (I. 2. 41), is elided. Thus ब्रह्माश, भूष्माश (III. 2. 87). Here the affix विष्ट is elided. So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III. 2. 58). Here the affix विष्टन् is elided. So also अर्धभाक् पाइभाक्, तुरीयभाक् (III. 2. 62). Here the affix विष् is elided.

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

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

हज्जङ्ग्यावृभ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्, डग्यापभ्यः, दीर्घात, सु, ति, सि, अपृक्तम्, हल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्जने । तदिह लौकिकेनार्थवत् कर्मसाधनं द्रष्टव्यम् । लुप्यतइति लोपः । इलन्ताम्
हृष्णताम् द्वयन्ताम् शीर्धास्त्वर् च ति सि इत्येतत्पूर्णं हृलुप्यते ॥

Kúrikú :—संयोगान्तस्य लंपे हि नलोपादिर्व सिद्धपति । यन्त तर्नैव लोपः स्याद्भलस्तस्मादेधीयते ॥

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

The sūtra translated literally means :—After a word ending in a consonant, or ढीं, or आप 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 शु after a consonant :—राजत्+सु=राजात् (VI. 4. 8)+०=राजा, तत्सा, उत्पात्, पर्णधृत् ॥ After a ढीं :—as, कुमारी, गौरी, शार्दूलर्णवी ॥ After आप :—खट्टा, बहुराजा, कारी षगन्म्या ॥ The elision of ति and सि takes place only after consonants :—as, अविभर्भवान् (शु+लङ्घ+तिप्=अ+शु+लु+त्=अ+शु+शु+त् (VI. 1. 10)=अ+भर्+शु+त् (VII. 4. 66 and I. 1. 51)=अ+भ+शु+त् (VII. 4. 60)=अ+ब+शु+त् (VIII. 4. 54)=अ+वि+शु+त् (VII. 4. 76)=अ+वि+भर्+त् (VII. 3. 84)=अविभर्+त्=अविभर् ॥ So also अजागृ भवान् ॥ In both these cases त् of the Imperfect has been elided. The स् is elided in the following :—अभिनोदन्, अच्छिनोदन् ॥ (भिद्+लङ्घ+धिप् ॥ The इ is changed into ई 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 मामणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say "after a long vowelled feminine affix"? Observe निष्कौशाम्बः, अर्तखटः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say "when followed by शु, ति and सि"? Observe अभैस्ति ॥ The सि being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to सिए only. Why do we say 'when reduced to a single letter'? Observe भिनन्ति, छिनन्ति ॥ Why do we say 'the *consonant* is elided'? Observe विभेद, प्रिच्छेद ॥ Here the aprikta affix अ of the Perfect is not elided: though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sūtra.

Why has the elision of स् (सु), त् (तत्) and ए् (तिः) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23, being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राजा, रक्षा could not be evolved. As राजन्+स् = राजन्+त् (VI. 4. 8) = राजन्त् and by eliding स् by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राजात्, and the final त् 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 त्, does not find scope, since VIII. 2. 23 (ordinating elision of स्) is considered as if it had not taken effect. So also in the case of उखास्त् and पर्णधत् ॥ उखा + स्त्रं + विधृ III. 2. 76 = उखा + स्त्रं (the nasal being elided by VI. 4. 24); now add सु, we have उखास्त् + स् = उखास्त्स्; elide the final स् not by this rule, but by VIII. 2. 23, we have उखास्त्स्, here we cannot change the स् into त् 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 अभिनोऽत् ॥ The word अभिनः is 2nd. Pers. sing. of the Imperfect of भिद् of Rudhādi class. Thus भिद् + लङ् + सिद् = अ + भिद् + इन्द्र + स् = अ + भिन्द् + स् = अभिन्द् + स् (स् changed to त् by VIII. 2. 75) = अभिन्त् ॥ If we elide the final स् of the conjunct by VIII. 2. 23, then in अभिन्द् + अत्, the त् would not be changed into त् to form अभिनोऽत् by VI. 1. 113 since the elision of स् is considered as to have not taken effect when applying this rule. So also in अविभट् भवात्, by Rule VIII. 2. 24, there would be no lopa even, for संयोगान्तलोप rule is restricted by रात्स्थ (VIII. 2. 24), i. e. स् only and no other consonant is elided after त्, therefore there will be no elision of त् in अविभट् by VIII. 2. 23.

एङ्गहस्तात्सुबुद्धेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्ग, हस्तात्, सम्बुद्धेः ॥

शृतिः ॥ लोप इति वर्तते, हलिति च । अपृक्तामति न धिकियते । तथा च पूर्वसूचे पुनरपृक्तप्रहणं कृतम् । एङ्गन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् हस्तान्ताच परो हल्लुप्यतंसवेसंबुद्धर्भवति ॥

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

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

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

दैश्चन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ शोः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यि इत्येतस्य बहुलं छन्दसि विषये लंपा भवति ॥

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

Thus या केतका or यानि केत्राणि, या वना or यानि वनानि ॥

हस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्वस्य, पिति, कृति, तुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पिति कृति परता हस्वस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus अग्निः+ष्ठि+विष्ट्=आग्निष्ठित्, so also सोमसूत् ॥ Similarly प्रहृत्य and प्रहृतम् and इपस्तुत्य formed by the affix त्व्यष् ॥ Why do we say "ending in a short vowel"? Observe आलूय, मामणीः ॥ Why do we say "having an indicatory ए"? Observe कृतम्, हतम् ॥ Why do we say "a krit affix"? Observe पद्मतः, पद्मतमः, with the Taddhita-affixes तरष् and तमष् ॥ In the compound मामणिकृलम्, 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 बाहरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ॥ "That which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is Antaranga is to take effect".

संहितायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम् ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारो इयमनुशानं परमेकवर्जिति यावत् । प्रागेतस्मात्सूचादित उत्तर यद्यप्यामः संहितायामित्येवं
 तद्विदितव्यम् ॥

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

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

छे च ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस्वस्य तुग्गिति वर्तते । छक्करे परतः संहितायां विषये इस्वस्य तुग्गागमो भवते ॥

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

Thus इच्छति, गच्छति ॥ The त् is changed to 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 चिच्छित्सुः, 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 हलादेः शेष (VII. 4. 60) rule applying to reduplicates. This follows on the maxim नावयवानवयः समुदायावयवो भवति "the part of a part cannot be considered as a part of the whole". Here त् is a part of the abhyāsa syllable चि which is itself a part of the verbal base, therefore त् is not considered as an abhyāsa: or because त् being an augment of इ is considered as part of इ and not of चि of which इ is the part.

आडमाडोश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आड्, माडोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुग्गित्यनुवर्तते, छहति च । आडो इति इष्वासिषु चतुर्ज्वर्येषु वर्तमानस्य माडश प्रतिषेधवचनस्य
 छक्करे परतस्तुग्गागमो भवति ॥

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

The Particle आ has the four senses of 1. littleness (ईषर्थः) 2. with verbs, as a prefix (क्रियायोगः) 3. the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) and 4. the limit exclusive (मर्बादा). This sūtra ordains तुक् necessarily, where by VI. 1. 76, it would have been optional. Thus ईर्णाया = आच्छाया; 2. With verbs:—as आच्छायात्, 3 and 4. आच्छायायाः, आच्छायम् ॥ So also the negative particle मा, as, माच्छृस्तीत्, माच्छिदत् ॥ The त् in आड्

and माङ् shows that आ when used as a Gati and a Karmapravachanīya and मा when used as a negative particle are meant. Therefore, the त् is not necessary in the following :—आळाया मानयाते, प्रमाळूनः॥ The तुक् may be optionally added in these as आळाया and प्रमाळूनः॥ The आ here has the force of recollection (स्मरण); आळाया “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 दाष्, and the word ending in दाष् has not the indicatory द्॥

दीर्घात् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, तुक् ॥
वृत्ति ॥ छ तुगिति वर्तते । सीर्धात्परो यश्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्येव सीर्धस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus शीर्घति, ल्लेच्छाते, 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 ॥ सीर्धात्तुगिति वर्तते । पदान्तादीर्घात्परो यश्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्येव सीर्धस्य पूर्वेण नित्यं प्राप्तो
वा तुगागमो भवति ॥
वाच्चिकम् ॥ विश्वजनाशीनां छन्दसिवा तुगागमो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

This allows option where by the last it would have been compulsory to add it. The augment is of the long vowel, and not of the word ending in long vowel. Thus कूर्तीच्छाया or कूर्तीताया, कूबलीच्छाया or कूबलीताया ॥ The तुक् augment here is added to the end of a pada, and this is therefore a padānta rule and not a pada-vidhi. Therefore the two words need not be in construction for the application of this rule; (समर्थं पश्चिमि)-not applying. Thus तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छचं इह देवदत्तस्य, “let the girl stay. Take the umbrella of Devadatta”. Here कुमारी and छचं are not in construction, but तुक् is still added optionally.

Vart :—The augment त् is optional in the Chandas, after the words विश्वजन एc. As, विश्वजनच्छचम् or विश्वजनछचम्, नच्छायां कुरवोपराम् or नछायां कुरवोपराम् ॥

इको यणचि ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, यण्, अचि ॥
वृत्ति ॥ अचि परत इको यणदेशो भवति ॥
वाच्चिकम् ॥ इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णीर्धचाधनार्थं यणदेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

77. The semivowels य्, औ, इ, औ are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels ई, उ, अ and औ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

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

the application of this rule. Thus एधि + अव् = इध्यव्, मधु + अव् = मध्यव्, कर्तु + अर्थम् = कर्त्यम्, हर्तु + अर्थम् = हर्त्यर्थम्, स आकृतिः = लाकृतः ॥

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

एचो इयवाश्वावः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, अय् - अव् - आय्-आवः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एचः स्पाने इचि परतो इच् अव् आय् आव् इत्येते आदेशा वथासंख्यं भवति ॥

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

Thus चिं + स्युद् = चे + अन = चयनम्, लो + अन = लवनं; ऐ + अक = जायकः, लौ + अक = जायकः ॥ So also कथेते, व्येते, यावत्वरुणिद्धि, रु + युष् (III. 2. 148) = रे + अन = रवणः ॥

वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वान्तः, यि, प्रत्यये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यायमन्तः स्याने वान्तादेशा ओकारस्य अव् औकारस्याव् स यकाराशी प्रत्यये परतो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोर्थूतौ छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ अध्यपरिमाणे च ॥

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

The वान्तः are those which end in व् viz. अव् and आव् ॥ Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sūtra, 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 एभु + यम् = वाभो + य = वाभव्यः (VI. 4. 146 and IV. I. 105). So also माण्डव्यः, शकव्यशाह, पिचव्यः कापासः, नाम्यो (IV. 4. 91) इदः ॥ Why do we say "अव् and आव्"? Observe रायमिष्ठाति = रैयाति, no change of ऐ before व् ॥ Why do we say "before व्"? Observe गोभ्याम्, नौभ्याम् ॥ Why do we say "an affix"? Observe गोयानम्, नौयानम् ॥

Vart:—The word गो is changed before शूति in the Vedas. As गो + शूति = गद्यूति, as आन्तो मित्रा वरुणा घृतैर्गद्यूतिष्ठृक्षतम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोयूतिः ॥

Vart:—This substitution takes place when referring to the measur of a road: —as, ग-शूति मात्रमध्यानं गतः ॥ This is in the secular literature, गद्यूति meaning कोशशुगम् ॥

धातोस्तमिभित्तस्यैव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, तमिभित्तस्य, एव ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एव इति वन्तते । वान्तो यि प्रत्ययइति च । धातोर्य एव तमिभित्तो यकः । एविप्रत्ययमिभित्तस्तस्य यकाराशी 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 य्, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एवः, वान्तोयि प्रत्येष are understood in this sūtra. The word तनिमित्त means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with अ॒॥ Thus लू forms its Future Passive Participle by अ॒(III. 1. 97), this affix causes the guṇa of अ॒ by VII. 3. 84: Thus लू + अ॒ = लो + अ॒, which according to the present sūtra becomes लभ्यम्॥ So also पू—पो + अ॒ = पद्ध्यम्॥ लू + अ॒(III. 1. 125) = लो + अ॒ = अवश्य लाभ्यम् and अवश्य पाभ्यम्॥ 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 अभु + अ॒ = अभो + अ॒ = अभव्य; it will not apply to cases like गो + अ॒ = गव्य, नौ + अ॒ = नाव्य, where अंता and अंतौ 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 अ॒ with the upasarga आ॒ is आ॒ + अ॒ + अ॒ + ते॒= Here by Samprasāraṇa(VI. 1. 15), अ॒ becomes उ॒, as आ॒ + उ॒ + अ॒ + ते॒; now by sandhi आ॒ + उ॒ = औ॒ VI. 1. 87), we have औ॒ + अ॒ = औवते॒॥ Since औ॒ is not caused by अ॒, there is no अ॒ substitution. So also औवत, लैयमानि॒, पौयमानि॒ (IV. 1. 95). The word एव in the aphorism has the force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, अंता and अंतौ before अ॒ are changed then only to अ॒ and अ॒ when अ॒ has caused the production of अंता and अंतौ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the अ॒ has caused the production of अंता and अंतौ or not.

क्षय्यजस्यो शक्यार्थे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षय्य - जस्यौ , शक्य - अर्थे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कि चिद्यतेऽर्थात्वोर्बति प्रत्येपरतः शक्यार्थे गम्यमाने एकारस्यायावशो निपात्यते ॥

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

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

क्रव्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रव्यः, तदर्थे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीणतेऽर्थात्वोस्तदर्थे क्रव्यार्थे यत्स्मिन्नभिधेये यति प्रत्येपरतो इयावशो निपात्यते ॥

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

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

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

भव्यप्रवच्ये च छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भव्य - प्रवच्ये , च, छन्दसि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विभेदधातोः प्रवृत्यस्य च वी इत्येतस्य यति प्रवच्ये परतम्भुन्नसि विषयेऽयोरेशो निपात्यते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हस्या आप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

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

The word भव्य is derived from भी+यत्, and प्रवच्य from प्र+वी+यत् ॥ The guṇa ए is changed to अ॒ ॥ Thus भव्यं किलासीत् ॥ वस्तरी प्रवच्या ॥ The यत् is added to भी with the force of Ablative by virtue of the diversity allowed by कृत्यलुटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113) ॥ Thus विभेति असाद् = भव्यम् "frightening or fearsome". The word प्रवच्या is always used in the feminine: in other places प्रवच्य is the proper form. Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe भेदम्, प्रभेदम् in secular literature.

Vārtī :—The word हस्या should also be enumerated when referring to water. As ह्वै भवा = हस्या आपः ॥ The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 110 (ह्वै+य=हस्य+य) ॥

एकः पूर्वपरयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकः, पूर्व - परयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आधिकारोयम् । खण्डापरस्येति प्रागेतस्मासूचादित उत्तरं यद्यस्यामस्तत्र पूर्वस्य परस्य ह्वोरपि स्थाने एकादेशो भवतीत्येतद्वृद्धितव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एक इति वर्तते पूर्वपरयोर्गति च । एकः पूर्वपरयोर्गति योथेमकावेशो विधीयते स पूर्वस्यान्तवद्वाति, परस्यादिवश्चति ॥

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

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

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

ekādeśa आ is as the final अ of खद्वा, 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 खद्वा will not end in ऐ; but will be खद्वा-भिः ॥ So also in जुहूव ॥ It is the Perfect 3rd per. sing. of हूः or हा (VI. 1. 45). By VI. 1. 53, the इ is changed to उ, and we have जुहूवामा=जुहूवा 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 जल् (अ) is changed in आं after roots ending in आ ॥ Similarly in अस्यै+अभ्यः=अस्या अभ्यः (the य् being elided by VIII. 3. 19). अस्यै is the Dative singular of इस् 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 sthāni of the single-substitute (ekādeśa) 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 sīhāni: as when भू replaces अस् the whole form अस् is called sthāni, and not अ or स् separately. The parts, may be called sthāni only inferentially, because the whole is made up of parts. The parts not being considered as sthāni, the rule of sthānīvad bhāva will not apply to an ekādeśa with regards to the parts, and no operations dependant on such parts will be effected by such ekādeśa. But it is intended that such operations should take place. Hence this sūtra,

षत्वतुकोरसिद्धः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षत्व - तुकोः, असिद्धः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पत्वे तुकि च कर्तव्ये एकारेशो ऽसिद्धो भवति, सिद्धकार्यं न क्रोतीतर्थः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संप्रसारणडीइसु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. The substitution of a single ādeśa is to be considered as to have not taken effect, when otherwise स् would have to be changed to ए, or when the augment त् (तुक) 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 ādeśa, and gives scope to the operations dependent upon the general rule (असिद्धवश्वनमादेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधशुभूमिसंगलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥) Thus काऽसिद्धत् here स् is not changed to ए ॥ The equation is thus exhibited : कस् + असिद्धत् = कर् + असिद्धत् (the स् changed to र् by VIII. 2.66) = को + असिद्धत् (उ being substituted for ए by VI. 1. 113) = को + असिद्धत् (अ-॑-उ = ओ VI. 1. 87) = कोऽसिद्धत् (ओ-॑-अ = ओ VI. 1. 109). Now applies our sūtra. By VIII. 3. 59, स coming after भो required to be changed into ए, but here the single-substitute आ is con-

sidered to be non-effective for this purpose. Similarly कोऽस्य, योऽस्य, कोऽस्मै, यौऽस्मै ॥ Similarly in अधीति there is the addition of त् by VI. 1. 71, though actually preceded by a long vowel. That long vowel had resulted from the ekādeśa of इ for इ-ए, and this ekādeśa is considered as if non-effective for the purposes of तुक्त् augment. Similarly in प्र-इ-ए-तुक्त्-ए-य=प्रेत्य. Here also अ-ए-ए is considered asiddha,

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of samprasāraṇa, the Locative singular case-ending द्वि (इ), and the 1st per. sing. Atmanepada affix इट् ॥ Of vocalisation we have the following : शकहूषु = शकाहू छयति, then we add क्रिष्ण, before which there is vocalisation of इ, this उ combining with in the following आ becomes ए ekādeśa: as शकाहू-ए-क्रिष्ण = शकहृउआ-ए-० (VI. 1. 15) + शकहु (VI. 1. 108). The Locative plural is formed by सु : शकहु-ए-सु = शकहूषु (the lengthening taking place by VI. 4. 2). Here सु is changed to ए the ekādeśa उ for उ-ए not being considered asiddha. So also परिवीरु (परि+वीर+विवेप् = परि+वृहे+विवेप् = परिवीरु, add सु) ॥ Of the affix द्वि we have:—वृक्ष-ए-इ = वृक्ष, add छत्रम्, then the single substitute ए being considered not asiddha we have वृक्षछत्रम् or वृक्षछत्रम् ॥ Of the affix इट् of 1st Pers. Atmanepada we have अपच्चे-छत्रम् = अपच्चेछत्रम् or अपच्चे-छत्रम् ॥ In both these cases we optionally add तुक्त् by VI. 1. 75-76, by considering the ekādeśa (VI. 1. 87) as to have taken effect, and making the finals शीर्ष or long. Here the ekādeśa is *not* asiddha and therefore तुक्त् is *optimal* and not compulsory.

आदगुणः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद, गुणः ॥

भूतिः ॥ असीत्यनुवर्तते । भवर्णास्पदोयो ऽन् अष्टि च पूर्वो यो उवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णाच्चोः स्थाने एको एुण भावेषो 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 आष्टि 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 + इष्टम् = तवेष्टम्, खद्वा + इन्द्रः = खद्वैन्द्रः, माला + इन्द्रः = मालेन्द्रः, तव + ईहते = तवेहते, खद्वा + ईहते = खद्वैहते, तव + उशकम् = तवाउशकम्, खद्वा + उशकम् = खद्वैउशकम्, तव + एव्यः = तवेव्यः, खद्वा + एव्यः = खद्वैव्यः, तव + लकारः = तवलकारः, खद्वा + लकारः = खद्वैलकारः ॥ By analogy of I. 1. 51, the guṇa substitute of उ being अ is always followed by ल्, as that of उ is followed by इ ॥ This universal rule is limited by the following aphorism.

बृद्धिरेचि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बृद्धिः, एचि ॥

भूतिः ॥ आसिति वर्तते । भवर्णास्पदो य एच् एचि च पूर्वो यो उवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णाच्चोः स्थाने बृद्धिरेचि कावेषो भवति ॥

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

The word आत् is understood here. For the diphthong which follows all अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz., the Vṛiddhi. This debars guṇa taught in the last sūtra. Thus ब्रह्म + एडका = ब्रह्मैडका, खद्वा + एडका = खद्वैडका, ब्रह्म + ऐतिकायनः = ब्रह्मैतिकायनः, खद्वा + ऐति-कायनः = खद्वैतिकायनः ॥ ब्रह्म + ओरनः = ब्रह्मौरनः, खद्वा + ओरनः = खद्वौरनः; ब्रह्म + औपगवः = ब्रह्मौपगवः, खद्वा + औपगवः = खद्वौपगवः ॥

एत्येष्ट्युद्दसु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, एधति, ऊठसु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिरेचीति वर्तते, आविति च । तरेतरेज्ञमहणेमतेरेव विशेषणं न पुनरेधतेरव्यभिचारामृडशासंभ-
पात् । इष्ट गताविवेतस्मिन्धातविचिएथ वृद्धिरित्येतस्मिन् ऊठि च पूर्वं वदवर्णं तत्प्र परो वोच्छ तयोः पूर्वप-
र्योवर्णाचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादिशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभादृहिन्यां वृद्धिर्वन्तक्ष्या ॥ वा० ॥ स्वारीरोर्योर्वृद्धिर्वन्तक्ष्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्राह्लोदादेव्यषेष्येषु वृद्धिर्वन्तक्ष्या ॥ वा० ॥ इते च मुतीयासमासे उर्णादृ वृद्धिर्वन्तक्ष्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रवत्सतरकम्बलवसनानामृणे वृद्धिर्वन्तक्ष्या ॥ वा० ॥ अपादशाभ्यां वृद्धिर्वन्तक्ष्या ॥

89. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-॒-ए of एति (root ए) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-॒-ऊ of ऊठ (the substitute of आ in आठ by VI. 4. 132).

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

Vātī:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अ॒-ति is followed by अ॒हिनी, as अ॒हौहिनी तना ॥

Vārt :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्व is followed by ईर् or ईर्णि, or ईर्णी thus स्वैरम्, स्वैर्णी ॥ The word ईर् is formed by the affix घञ् added to ईरगतौ (Ad. 8) स्वेनाभिप्रायंण ईर्णं = स्वैरम् the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32. Another form is स्वैरी = स्वेनाभिप्रायंणेर ते गच्छति with the affix णानि (III. 2. 78).

Vārt :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by इह, इहि, एष, एष्य; as प्रौहः, प्रौढः, प्रौदिः, प्रैषः, प्रैष्यः ॥ The word एष is derived from the root इषु 'to wish' (Tud. 59), इष् 'to go' (Div. 18), and इष् 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix घञ् ; and the word एष्य is derived from the same roots by adding घञ्यत् ॥ This Vārtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused परस्तः ॥ While the roots इष् 'to glean', and इष् 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh. 115 and 642), form इषः and इष्यः with the above affixes ; and with प्र, their forms will be प्रैषः and प्रैष्यः ॥

Vārt :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in ए is followed by इत् and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound: as सुखेन इतः = सुखार्तः, दुःखेन इतः = दुःखार्तः, but सुखेन इतः = सुखेतः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परम्तः ॥ Why 'Compound'? See सुखेन्तः ॥

Vārt :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word इत् follows the following:—प्र, बस्तर, कम्बल, वसन् ॥ As प्रार्जन् 'principal debt', बस्तरार्जन् 'the debt of a steer', कम्बलार्जन् 'debt of a blanket', वसनार्जन् 'debt of a cloth'.

Vārt—So also when the words इत् and इष् are followed by इत्तः—as, इत्यार्जन् and इत्यार्जन् ॥ The word इत्यार्जन् means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasārṇa is the name of a river and of a country.

आटअ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ आटः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एच्चीति निवृत्तम् । अच्चीत्यनुवर्त्तते । आटः परो योऽच्च अच्चि च पूर्वो च आट तयोः पूर्वपरयोरात्मोः स्थाने वृद्धिरकारेष्यो भवति ।

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

The anuvritti of एच्चि ceases : that of अच्चि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आट, and the आट which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the आट and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute. The augment आट is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्वत, औपीत, औदर्धीत्, औब्रजीत् from roots ईर्षर्वने (Bhu. 641), उभ उम्भ पूर्णे (Tud. 32) and उ इञ्ज आर्जये (Tud. 20). According to Siddhānta Kaumudi the आट is the augment which डित् case-affixes take after *nādī*-words (VII. 3. 112). According to him the following are the examples :—यद्यप्रेयसी-।-आट-।-डे=यद्यप्रेयस्यै (Dative Singular). The आट is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लद् ॥

The अ् 'and' in the sūtra shows that the परस्प rule, taught in VI. 1. 95, 96 when उ॒ ओं and आ॑ङ् follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आ॒। Thus औ॑लीयत्, औ॑कारीयत् ॥ आ॑-। ऊ॒डा = ओडा, तौमै॒छत् = औदीयत् ॥

उपसर्गादृति धातौ ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, अ॒हुति, धातौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आदिलेव । अवर्णन्तादुपसर्गादृक्कारादौ धातौ परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

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

The word आ॒त् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with अ॒, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent अ॒ ॥ This debars the guṇa taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus उ॒प + अ॒च्छति = उपाच्छृति, प्राच्छृति, उपाधृते ॥ Why do we say 'after a preposition'? Observe खद्गच्छृति, मालच्छृति, प्रच्छृतकोइशः = प्रगता अ॒च्छका अस्माद् देशात् ॥ Here the word प्र is not treated as an upasarga, hence this sūtra does not apply. It is a Gati here. Why do we say 'when अ॒ follows'? Observe उ॒प-। इत् = उपेतः ॥ Why have we used त् after अ॒ indicating that short अ॒ is to be taken? Observe उ॒प + अ॒कारी वृत्ति = उपकारांयात् ॥ No option is allowed here by the subsequent sūtra. The त् is used, in fact, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in case of Denominative verbs, no ordinary verb can begin with a long अ॒ ॥ 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 प्रकाशभावः or non-sandhi of अ॒ ॥ The repetition of 'Dhātu' shows that the alternative prakriti bhava taught in VI. 1. 129, would not apply in the case of the अ॒ of a Dhātu.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिलेव । उपसर्गादृति धाताविति च । सुबन्नावयवे धातावृक्कारादौ परतो अवर्णन्तादुपसर्गात्स्यू-
र्बपरयोरापिशलेत्तद्यार्थस्य मतेन वा वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus उपर्षभीयति or उपर्षभीयति, उपस्कारीयति or उपास्कारीयति ॥ The अ॒ and त् are considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word अ॒ in the last sūtra includes त् also. The name of the Grammian Āpisali is mentioned for the sake of respect; the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

औतो ऽभृशसोः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, ओतः, अ॒म् - शसोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ औतो ऽभि शसि च परतः पूर्वपरयोराकार भासेशो भवति ॥

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

The word शोतः is a compound of आ + ओतः ॥ Thus गा - अम् = गाम्, गो-ि-अस् = गा: ॥ Thus गा पश्य, गा: पश्यः ॥ This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. i. 90. So also आं or आः पश्य; as the word आं is also a nominal stem ending in आ ॥ The Sārvā-nāmsthāna affixes are णित् after this word also (see VII. i. 90) which would have caused Vṛiddhi, therefore, this आ debars the Vṛiddhi. The word अष् here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix शस्, and as the word शुष् of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore अम् the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have अचिनवम्, असुनवम् ॥

पद्धि पररूपम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्धि, पररूपम् ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ भासित्येव, उपसर्गाद्वाताविति च। अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादेङातौ धातौ पूर्वपरयोः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शकन्ध्वासिषु पररूपं वन्नव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एवे चानियंगे पररूपं वन्नव्यम् ॥
 वा० ॥ भोत्सोष्टयोः समासे वा पररूपं वन्नव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एमन्नार्वशु छन्नासं पररूपं वन्नव्यम् ॥

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

The words आत्, उपसर्गाद्वातौ 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. i. 88. Thus उपलयति, प्रेलयति, उपाषति, प्रोषति ॥ Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI. i. 92, according to them the para-rūpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus उपेक्षकीयति or उपेक्षकीयति, उपोदनीयति or उपोदनीयति ॥

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

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when एव follows a word, and the sense is not that of 'appointment'. Thus इह-ि-एव = इहव; अथ-ि-एव = अथेव ॥ When the sense is that of नियोग, the Vṛiddhi takes place: as इहव भव, माऽन्यथ गा: ॥

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

Vart:—In the Vedas, the para-rūpa substitution takes place when एमन् &c. follow. Thus अपां त्वा एमन् = अपां त्वेमन् ॥ So also अपां त्वा ओपन् = अपां त्वोपन् ॥

ओमाङ्गोऽथ ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम - आङ्गोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भासित्येव। अवर्णान्ताशोमि आङ्गि च परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

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

The आत् is understood here. Thus का-।-ओम् = कोम् ; या-।-ओम् = योम् ; as कोमित्यश्चन्, योमित्यश्चन् ; या-।-ऊदा = योूदा, then अया-।-अंडा = अयोूदा, कसा-।-ओूदा = कसोूदा, तशा + ऊूदा = तशोूदा ॥ या + अव्यात् = अव्यात्, then अया-।-अव्यात् = अयोूदा ॥ Thus this rule supersedes both the Vṛiddhi and the lengthening (VI. i. 88, and 101).

उस्यपदान्तात् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उसि, अपदान्तात् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ अविशेष । अवर्णास्पदान्तात्सति पूर्वपर्याप्तुणापवाहः परस्परमेकादेशो भवति ॥

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

The आत् is understood here. This debars the guṇa substitution taught in VI. i. 87. Thus भिन्न्या-।-उस् = भिन्न्युः, छिन्न्या-।-उस् = छिन्न्युः ॥ असा-।-उस् = अटुः, (लुइ of दा) अया-।-उस् = अयुः ॥ All these are examples of लिङ् (Potential) and लड् (Imperfect). Thus भिन्न् + यासुद् + द्वि (the यासुद् is added by III. 4. 103) = भिन्न् + य + उस् (जुस् replaced द्वि III. 4. 108) = भिन्न्युस् ॥ असा + सिष्ठ + द्वि = असा + ऋ (II. 4. 77) + जुस् (III. 4. 110) = असा + उस् = अटुः ॥ ग + या + द्वि = ग + या + उस् (VI. 4. 111) = अयुः ॥ The उस् is also the substitute of द्वि in लिङ् (Perfect) see III. 4. 82. When the preceding vowel is not अ or आ, this rule does not apply. Thus the 3rd per. pl. of the Perfect of कृ is :—चक्र-।-उस् = चक्रुः ॥ So also from भी we have अविभेद-।-उस् = अविभयुः ॥ The word अपदान्तात् 'not being final in a pada' does strictly speaking, serve no good purpose in this sūtra. For the affix उस् can never be added to a Pada, it must always be added to a stem, that has not yet risen to the rank of a Pada. If उस्, however, be taken as the syllable उस् (whether an affix or part of an affix or not), then the limitation of अपदान्तात् becomes valid. Thus का + उसा = कोसा, का + उषिता = कोषिता ॥ Most likely this word has been read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra or because उस् syllable is taken here and not merely the affix उस् ॥

अतो गुणे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, गुणे ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तात्सति वर्तते । अकारास्पदान्तात्सुणे परतः पूर्वपर्योः स्थाने परस्परमेकादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus पञ्च-।-शप्त-।-अन्ति = पञ्च-।-अन्ति = पचन्ति so also यजन्ति ॥ This debars lengthening of VI. i. 101. पञ्च + ए = पञ्चे, यज + ए = यजे, here the Vṛiddhi is debarred (VI. i. 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

अपच्च-१-इ = अपचे, अयजे ॥ When final in a Pada, this rule does not apply : as इण्ड-१-अमै = इण्डाप्रम्, यूपाप्रम्, क्षुद्राप्रम् ॥

अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात् इतौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्य, अतः, इतौ ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यन्तमपरिस्कुटवर्णं तदनुकरणं परिस्कुटवर्णमेव केन चित्सादश्येन तदव्यन्तमनुकरणेति तस्य यो-
च्छब्दस्तस्सारितौ पूर्वपर्याः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकाच्च इति वन्तव्यम् ॥

98. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound)-१-इति ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यन्तः; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण् or imitation of that sound. Thus पटन्-१-इति = पटिति, पटत् + इति = पटिति, हटन् + इति = हटिति, छन् + इति = छिति ॥

Why do we say 'imitation of an inarticulate sound'? Observe अगत्-१-इति = अगदिति ॥ Why do we say "of अत्"? Observe मरद् + इति = मरडिति ॥ Why do we say when followed by इति? Observe पटत् + अत् = पटवत् ॥

Vart:—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—अत् + इति = ज्ञाविति ॥ How do you explain the form घटविति in the following:—घटविति गम्भीरमभूर्वैर्नदितम् ॥ Here the word is not घटत्-१-इति but घटद्-१-इति ॥

नाम्ब्रेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आम्ब्रेडितस्य, अन्त्यस्य, तु, वा ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यन्तानुकरणस्याम्ब्रेडितस्य योऽच्छब्द इतौ तस्य पररूपं न भवति तस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य वा भवति ॥

99. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त्-१-इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Thus पटत्पदविति or पटतपटेति करोति (पटत्पटत् + इति = पटत्पट + इ + ति = पटत्पदेति) ॥ The word is doubled by VIII. i. 4. The para-rūpa substitution will take place when the whole word so reduplicated denotes a sound imitation, thus पटत्पदविति करोति ॥ Here we apply the preceding sūtra. The अम्रेडिता is the name of the second member of the doubled word (VIII. i. 2).

नित्यमाम्ब्रेडिते डाचि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, आम्ब्रेडिते, डाचि ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यन्तानुकरणस्यातोऽन्यस्येति आनुवर्ज्ञते । डाच्यरं यशाम्ब्रेडितं तस्मिन्पूर्वस्याव्यन्तानुकरणस्याऽच्छब्दस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य पूर्वस्य परस्य आद्यस्य वर्णस्य नित्यं पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

Thus पटपटा करात् (V. 4. 57), समझा करोते ॥ पटत्पटत्-।-जाच् (V. 4. 57) = पटत्पटा = पटपटा (त् + प् = प्) ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika. When the affix जाच् (V. 4. 57) is added to पटत्, there is doubling of the word by the Vārtika under VIII. I. 12: this doubling takes place before the final अन् is elided.

अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकः, सवर्णे, दीर्घः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकः सवर्णे इच्छ परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने शीर्घ एकादेशो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सवर्णसीर्घत्वे ज्ञाति ज्ञाता वचनम् ॥ वा० ॥ लति स्त्वा वचनम् ॥

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

Thus ईड + अग्नम् = ईण्डाग्नम्, ईष्ठि + ईन्द्रः = ईधीन्द्रः, मधु + उक्ते = मधूउक्ते and होत् + ऋश्य = होतृश्यः ॥ Why do we say 'an अक् or simple vowel ?' Observe अग्ने-।-ए = अग्नये ॥ Why do we say 'by a homogenous vowel?' Observe ईष्ठि-।-आत्र = ईश्यत्र ॥ 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 शोते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I. I. 10: for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अल्पादेसवर्णस्य आप्रत्ययः (I. I. 69) is not brought into operation at the time when नाज् श्लौ (I. I. 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 श्लौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. I. 9) and then comes the महणकवाक्यं (I. I. 68). Therefore in नाज् श्लौ 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. I. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though short ई and श are not सवर्ण by I. I. 10: the long ई and श would be savarṇa.

Vārt :—When अक short is followed by अक short, the long substitution is optional: so also with ल्ल ॥ This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two अक or ल्ल—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is $1\frac{1}{2}$ and so the word शीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (अकाल &c). Thus होतृअकारः = होतृकारः or होतृकारः, so also होतृ-।-ल्लकारः = होल्लकारः or होस्त्वकारः ॥ The शीर्घ of ल्ल is अक ॥

प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमयोः, पूर्व - सवर्णः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अक इति शीर्घ इति वरते । प्रथमाशब्दो विभक्तिविशेषे रूढस्तत्साहचर्यात् द्वितीयापि प्रथमेष्युन्ता ।
तस्यां प्रथमायां द्वितीयायां च विभक्तावचि अकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वसवर्णशीर्घ एकादेशो भवति ॥

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

The words अकः and शासः are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i. e. the 1st case or the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sūtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्वरूप or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. Thus अन्न-१-औ = अन्नी ; वायु-१-औ = वायू ; वृक्ष-१-अस् = वृक्षाः; so also इक्षाः, वृक्षान्, इक्षान् ॥ In the case of these last four examples (वृक्ष-१-अस् &c) the rule VI. I. 97 would have caused para-rūpa substitution i. e. would have given the form वृक्ष-१-अस् = वृक्षाः, and that rule would have debarred the lengthening rule VI. I. 101 on the maxim "apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede those rules that stand nearest to them;" but not this पूर्वस्वर्ण lengthening rule as it does not stand nearest. The word अत्र 'when a vowel follows' is understood here also. Thus वृक्ष-१-स् = वृक्षः, इक्षाः ॥ The word अकः 'the simple vowel' is understood here also. Thus नी-१-औ = नावी ॥ 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 द्वितीय 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 शासः, नः, पुंसि ॥
वृक्तिः ॥ तस्मात्पूर्वावर्णशीर्घाद्वृत्तरस्य शासो इवयवस्थ सकारस्य पुंसि नकारादेशो भवात् ॥

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

Thus वृक्ष-१-शस् = वृक्ष-१-अस् = वृक्षान् ॥ So also अन्नीन्, वायून्, नदीन्, होतैन्, पण्डकान्, स्त्रीन्, अरकान्, परम् &c. All these are masculine nouns. Now the word चंचा formed by the elision of कृत् meaning a figure like a जड्चा (V. 3. 98), may refer to both the males and females. It will however retain its feminine form though referring to a male being (See लुपि युक्तवद् व्याकृति वचने I. 2. 51). In forming the accusative plural of चंचा, the स् will not be changed into न् ॥ Thus चंचाः पूर्य, वधिकाः पूर्य ॥ Why do we say 'after such a long vowel homogenous with the first?' The rule will not apply if the long vowel has resulted by being a single substitute for the antecedent and the subsequent. Thus आ is substituted for औ-१-अ by VI. I. 93. Here स् will not be replaced by न् as गाः पूर्य ॥ Why do we say 'of the Accusative plural?' Observe वृक्षाः, इक्षाः endings in अस् Nom Pl. Why do we say "in the masculine?" Observe, ऐतुः, वहीः, कुमारीः ॥

नादिच्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आत्, इच्चि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णाश्चिं पूर्वस्वर्णशीर्षो 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, लक्ष्मौ, खद्गे, कुण्डे ॥ Here Rules VI. i. 87 &c. apply. Why do we say "after अ or आ?" Observe अग्नी ॥ Why do we say "followed by an इच्चि (a vowel other than अ)"? Observe वृक्षाः here VI. i. 102 applies.

दीर्घाज्जसि च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, जसि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्घाज्जसि इच्चि च परतः पूर्वस्वर्णशीर्षो 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 कुमारीं, कुमार्यं, ब्रह्मवन्नौ, ब्रह्मवन्नः ॥
वा छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्घाच्छन्दसि विषये जसि च इच्चि च परतो वा पूर्वस्वर्णशीर्षो न भवति ॥

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

Thus मास्तीः or मास्त्यः, पिण्डीः or पिण्डसः, वाराही or वाराहौ; उपानही or उपानहौ ॥

अमि पूर्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमि, पूर्वः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अक इत्येव । अमि परतो ऽकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं पूर्वं एकादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

संप्रसारणात् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्प्रसारणात्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व इत्येव । संप्रसारणात्त्वं परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं पूर्वं 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-न्-न्न = इयज्-न्-न्न (VI. i. 15) = इष्टम् (इ-अ = इ); so उमष् (उ-अ-न्न = उ अश्-अ-न्न), मह् + इत् = गृ अह्-इत् = गृहीत् ॥ 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 उप् + त् = उउप् + त्, if the अ did not merge in उ, then it would cause sandhi, and उ would be changed to ओ by इकीयण्ठिं and the word would again assume the form उप् ॥ But this यणादेश would causes samprasaraṇa rule non-effective, hence it follows that but for the present rule, the two vowels would have been heard separately as उ अप् ॥

The rule of option in the Chhandas (VI. i. 106) applies here also. Thus we have यज्यमानौ भित्रावहगौ 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-bhāva we do you form यज्यमान्; it ought to be इज्यमान्”? We have only said that vocalisation rule becomes useless if there was not this rule of merging of the subsequent vowel; but where there is this rule of purva-vad-bhāva, and only an *option* is allowed, then the rule of vocalisation does not become totally useless because it finds its scope in cases like इष्टः &c, therefore when in the *alternative* it is not applied, there यणादेश will take place naturally, and the ordinary rules of sandhi will apply. The merging, moreover, refers to the vowel which is in the same aṅga or base with the samprasaraṇa. Thus शक्तान् ह्यथात् = शक्त्वा + हिष्ट् = शक्त् उ आ = शक्त् ॥ Here आ which is in the same अङ्ग with ह merges in to उ ॥ But in forming the dual, we have शक्त् + औ ॥ Here औ coming after the samprasaraṇa उ does not merge therein, and we have शक्त्वौ ॥ Similarly शक्त् + अर्थे = शक्त्वर्थम् ॥ In fact when *once* the para-purvavatva has taken effect, then subsequent vowels will produce their effect because in the antaranga operation इ अ ए into इष्ट्, the purva-rupa is ordained to save the samprasaraṇa from modification, but there is no such necessity when a Bahiranga operation is to be applied.

एडः पदान्तादति ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एडः, पदान्तात्, आति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एह्यः परान्तरत्समादति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वपरप्रसेकादेशो 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-।-अन् = अग्नेऽन्, वायो-।-अन् = वायोऽन् ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अङ् and अन् ॥ Why do we say 'of ए or ओ'? Observe हयन्, मध्यन् ॥ Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe चे-।-अन् = चयनम्, लो-।-अन् = लबनम् ॥ 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-।-इति = वायविति, भानो-।-इति = भानविति ॥ Why do we say 'short'? Observe वायो भायाहि = वायवायाहि ॥

डसिडसोश्च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ डसिडसोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् इति वर्तते, अतीतिच । एङ् उत्तरयोर्डसिडसोरति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकारेणो भवति ॥

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

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

ऋत उत् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, उत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डसिडसोरित्येव ऋकारान्तादुत्तरयोर्डसिडसोरति पूर्वपरयोरुक्तार एकारेणो भवति ॥

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

Thus होत-।-अम् = होतुम् (The उ must always be followed by १ I. 1. 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋत only, but of ऋत+अ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces *two*, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋतः and ऋकारस्य in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋत or अ) ॥ The final म् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतुर् = होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छाति, होतुः स्वम् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ डसिडसोरिति वर्तते उत्तिं च । ख्यत्यासिति ख्यशब्दस्तीशब्दयोस्तिशब्दस्तीशब्दयोभक्तयणादेश्यांसिंप्रहणं, ताभ्यां परस्य डसिडसोरत उक्तारोद्दो 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 डासिङ्गसोः and उत् are understood here also. The य् means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to य्, and त्थ denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य् ॥ Thus सखि-अस् = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छति, सख्युः स्वप् ॥ So also पस्तुरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वप् ॥ The illustration of खीं is सखीं which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus : सहयेन वर्तते = सखः, सखंमिच्छति = सखि-अस्यच् (III. i. 8) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding क्रिप् 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-अस् = सख्युः also. Of ती we have the following example. लूनमिच्छति = लूनीय, add क्रिप् = लूनीः, the Ablative and Genitive singular of which is also लून्युः, the त् of लूनी being the substitute of त् of Nishṭhā, is considered like त् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of ख्य and त्थ in the sūtra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c : where we have अतिसखेः, सेनापतेः ॥ The word अतिसखि is यि 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 Prātipadika does (contrary to I. i. 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' (सुखंमिच्छति = सुखीय-अ-क्रिप्), and सुतीः 'one who wishes a son' (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय-अ-क्रिप्) : Thus सुख्युः, सुत्युः &c.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अति, उत्तिवर्तते । अकाराप्लुतादुत्तरस्य रोपेकस्य उकारानुबन्धविशिष्टस्य अकारे उप्लुते परत उकारादेशो भवति ॥

113. The उ is the substitute of रु (the इ substitute 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 आतं of VI. i. 109, III. Thus वृभा-सु (1st singular) = वृक्षस् = वृक्षर् (VIII. 2. 66). वृक्षर-अत्र = वृक्षउ-अत्र = वृक्षो-अत्र (VI. i. 87) = वृक्षोऽत्र (VI. i. 109); so also प्लक्षोऽत्र ॥ This ordains उ for त्, whereby VIII. 3. 17, there would have been otherwise य्; 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 अग्निर-अत्र = अग्निरत्र ॥ Why do we say 'a short अ'? Observe वृक्षाः-अत्र = वृक्षाऽत्र ॥ Why do we use रु with its indicatory उ, and not use the इ generally? Observe स्वर-अत्र = स्वरत्र, प्रातर-अत्र प्रातरत्र ॥ Here the final त् is part of the words, and is not produced from स् ॥

The word अति is understood here also from VI. i. 109. The ए must be *followed* by a short अ, therefore, not here: वृक्षर्-इह=वृक्ष इह ॥ The subsequent अ must be short, the rule does not apply here वृक्षर्-भासितः=वृक्ष भासितः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ'? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As, सुन्नोता ३ अन्त स्वमसि (VIII. 2. 84). Why do we say "when followed by an apluta अ"? Observe तिष्ठतु पथ आश्चिनित्त (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 ॥

वृतिः ॥ हशि च परतो ऽत उत्तरस्य रोस्कारादेशो भवति ॥

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

The हशि pratyāhāra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus गुह्यौ वाति or हसति or हवति &c.

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

वृतिः ॥ एडो इतीयेव । एडू हत्यञ्चव्यन्तमनुवर्तते तसर्यादिह प्रथमान्तं भवति । प्रकृतिरिति स्वमात्रः कारणं वा उभिधीयते । अन्तरित्यव्यवधिकरणभूतं मध्यमाच्छटे । पादशब्देन च चक्रपादस्त्रैव प्रवृणमिष्यते न तु श्लोकपादस्व । अवकारयकारपरे उति परत एडू 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 स् or य ॥

The word एड़ू 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 अन्तः is an Indeclinable, used in the Locative case here and means 'in the middle'. The word पादः 'the foot of a verse' refers to the verses of the Vedas, and not to the verses of secular poetry. The word अति is also understood here. Thus से अप्य अभ्यमायुज्जन् ; से अस्मिन् अवमादधुः; उपप्रथन्तो अभ्यरस् ; चिरो अपश्यम् ; सुजाते अभ्यसूनृते (R. Veda. V. 79. 1); अभ्यर्थो अद्विभिः सुतश् (Rig IX. 51. 1); हुक्ते अन्यत् (Rig. VI. 58. 1).

Why do we say 'in the inner half of a foot of a verse?' Observe क्या भती कुत एतास एतेऽचन्ति ॥ Why do we say "when ए or उ does not follow अ?" Observe सेऽवश्य् (Rig X. 109. 1), सेऽयस्यम् ॥ Why do we say ए or ओ? Observe अन्वग्निश्पसामग्रमस्यत् ॥ Some read this sūtra as नान्तः पादमव्यपरे ॥ According to them, this sūtra supersedes the whole rule of juxtaposition or संहिता (VI. i. 72).

अव्यादवद्यादवक्मुरवतायमवन्त्यवस्युषु च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यात्, अव्यात्, अवक्मुः, अव्रत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्युषु, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यात् अव्यात् अवक्मुः अव्रत अयम् अवन्तु अवस्युषु यक्तारवकारपरेष्याति परतोऽन्तः पाइमङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

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

Thus अग्निः प्रथमोवसुभिर्नो अव्यात् ॥ मित्रमहो अव्यात् (Rig IV. 4. 15), मा शिशासो अवक्मुः (Rig VII. 32. 27); ते नो अव्रताः (Not in the Rig Veda). Prof. Bohtlingk gives the following examples from the Rig Veda :— सीक्षन्तो अन्नतम् (VI. 14. 3), संरहन्ता अन्नतान् (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 अवस्थवः (Rig III. 42. 9).

यजुष्युरः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, उरः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्द एवन्तो यजुषि विषये इति पकृत्या भवति ॥

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

Thus उरो अन्तरिक्षम् (Yaj. Veda Vajasan. IV. 7). Some read the sūtra as यजुष्युरोः ॥ They take the word as उरु ending in रु, which in the Vocative case assumes the form उरो ॥ They give the following example उरो अन्तरिक्षं सङ्ग्रहः ॥ But in the Yajur Veda VI. 11, the text reads उरोरन्तरिक्षत् सङ्ग्रहः ॥ In the Yajur Veda, there being no stanzas, the condition of अन्तः पाइ does not apply here.

आपोजुषाणोवृष्णोवर्षिष्ठेष्वेष्वालेष्विकेपूर्वे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, जुषाणः, वृष्णोः, वर्षिष्ठे, अम्बे, अम्बाले, अम्बिके, पूर्वे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्ठे इत्येते शब्दा अम्बे अम्बाले इतेतां च यावम्बिकेशम्भास्पूर्वौ यजुषि पटितौ त भाति परतः पकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

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

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

अङ्गैस्यादौ च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गे, इति-आदौ, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गशब्दे य एङ् तशाशै चाकारं यः पूर्वः स यजुषिं 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 अवाभ्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे इरीभ्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निरीतः, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अशांचिषम् (Yaj. 6. 20).

अनुदात्ते च कुधपरे ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्ते, च, कु-धपरे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीयेव । अनुशास्ते चाति कर्वग्धकारपरे परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

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

Thus अयं सो अनिः (Yaj. 12. 47), अयं सो अवृहः ॥ Why do we say when अ is gravely accented? Observe अयोऽमे, here अये has acute accent on the first syllable. Why do we say "when followed by a Guttural (कु) or a ध"? Observe सोऽयमनिः सहस्रिः ॥

अवपथासि च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवपथासि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीयेव । अनुशान्तिं चशब्देनानुकृत्यते । अवपथाशब्दे इनुशास्ते इकारादौ परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

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

Thus श्री स्त्रेभ्यो अवपथाः ॥ The word अवपथाः is 2nd per. Singular Imperfect of वप् in the Atinanepada. Thus अ-वप्-ा-शण्-ा-यास् ॥ The अ is grave by VIII. 1. 28. When it is not gravely accented, the अ drops. As यत्त्रेभ्यो अवपथाः ॥ 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 गोऽम् or गो अम् ॥ In the Vedas also अपश्यो वा अन्ये गो अस्येभ्यः, पश्यो गोऽध्याः ॥

अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवङ्, स्फोटायनस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ असीति निवृत्यम् । असीत्येतस्वनुयर्ततएव । अस्मि परतो गोः स्फोटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेनावडा-
ऐशो भवति ॥

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

The anuvritti of अति ceases, that of आर्थ manifests itself. Thus गो + अग्नि = गवामृष्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवौदनम्, गवाष्ट्रम्, or in the alternative we have गो-अप्तम्, गोजिनम्, गवोदनम्, गवुष्ट्रम् ॥ The substitute अवङ्ग is accutely accented on the first syllable. This accent will be the original accent in the Bahuvrihi compound (VI. 2. 1). Thus गवा अग्नमत्य = मैवापः ॥ In other places, however, this accent will be superseded by the samāśānta Udātta accent (VI. 1. 223). The mention of Sphoṭāyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvrītti of विभाषा was already understood in it. This is a vyavasthita vibhāshā, hence in गवासः the अवङ्ग substitution is compulsory and not optional.

इन्द्रे च नित्यम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्रे, च, नित्यम् ॥
हृतिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्ये उच्च परतो गोर्नित्यमवडेशो 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 गववङ्ग यतः ॥ The word नित्य is not found in some texts or in Mahābhāshya.

प्लुतप्रगृह्णा आचि ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतप्रगृह्णा आचि, ॥
हृतिः ॥ प्लुताश प्रगृह्णाभाष्मि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

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

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

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

आङ्गो ऽनुनासिकश्छन्दसि ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्गः, अनुनासिकः, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गं ऽपि परतः साहितायां 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 अभ्य आँ अपः (Rig V. 48. 1); गभीर आँ उप्रपुष्टे जियांसतः (Rig VIII. 67. 11). Some read the word बहुलं into this sūtra. Hence there is coalescence here: इन्द्रो वाहुभ्यामातरत्=आ अतरत् ॥

इको ऽस्त्रर्णे शाकल्यस्य हस्तव्य ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, अस्त्रर्णे, शाकल्यस्य,
हस्तव्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इको ऽस्त्रर्णे ऽपि परतः शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रकृत्या भवति, हस्तव्य तस्यकः स्थाने भवति ॥
वार्तांस्त्रकम् ॥ सिन्नित्यसमासयोः शाकल्यप्रतिपेदयो वन्नव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ईषाभक्षादिषु छन्दसि प्रकृतिभावमात्र वन्नव्यम् ॥

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

Thus हथि अन्, मधु अन्, कुमारि अन्, किशोरि अन् ॥ In the alternative we have हथव, मधव, कुमार्यव, किशोर्यव ॥ Why do we say 'the इक् vowels i. e. simple vowels with the exception of अ'? Observe खद्वेन्द्रः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by a non-homogenous vowel'? Observe कुमारीन्द्रः ॥ The name of

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

Vart :—This rule of Sākalya is prohibited in the case of words formed by an affix having an indicatory ए and of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa) :—Thus अयं ते योनिर्दत्त्वियः, प्रजां विदाम इत्वियाम्. The word इत्विय is formed by a सित् affix, namely by इत् (V. I. 106), added to इतु ; and therefore the इ is changed to ए || Before a सित् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16). Of nitya-compounds are वैद्यकरणः, सौवधः, व्याकरण, कुमार्यर्थम् which are so by II. 2. 18 &c.

VArt :—In the Vedas इषा असः &c are found uncombined. As, इषा असा, का इंमिरे पिशांगिला, वथा अङ्गः, पथा अगमन् &c.

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

बृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्दस्य इत्वेष्वेतत्सुवर्चते । इकोर परतः शाकल्यस्यार्थस्य मतेनाकः प्रकृत्या भवान्ति, इत्वेष्व तस्याकः स्थाने भवाते ॥

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

Thus खट्टा इत्यः, कुमारि इत्यः, होतृ इत्यः ॥ Why do we say when followed by इ? Observe, खट्टन्तः ॥ Why do we say “the simple vowels (अकः)” ? Observe वृक्षावृत्यः (वृक्षां + इत्य) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

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

बृत्तिः ॥ उपस्थितं नामानार्थं इतिकरणः समुदायादवच्छिय परं येन स्वरूपे उपस्थाप्यते तस्मिन्परतो उप्लुत-
वदुत्तिः ॥ प्लुतकार्यं प्रकृति भावं न करोति ॥

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

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

the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्नी or वायू, the ई and इ are pragrihya. They may be made plutā also a अग्ना॒ ई or वायू॒ ई॥ Now if before इति, the plutā became apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्नी॒ इति॒ वायू॒ इति॒ formed by अग्नी॑ ई॒ + इति॑ &c. For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihya by VI. 1. 125, and in additon to that they will lose their plutā, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the plutā is heard in अग्नी॑ ई॒ इति॑, वायू॑ ई॒ इति॑॥

ई॒ चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ई॒, चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ई॒ कारः प्लुतो इति॑ परतश्चाक्रवर्मणस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाप्लुतवद्वति ॥

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

Thus अस्तु हीत्यब्दीति or अस्तु ही॒ इत्यब्दीति॑ ॥ चित्तु ही॒ इत्य॑ or चित्तु ही॒ इत्य॑॥ The name of Châkravarmaṇa is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129) as well as to words other than इति ॥ In the case of इति it allows sandhi optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति, it ordains prakriti bhāva optionally, when there would have been always prakriti bhāva by VI. 1. 125. This is a case of उभयविभाषा, prāpta and aprāpta both.

Iṣṭi :—This apluta-vad-bhāva applies to plutā vowels other than ई॒; as वशा॑ ई॒ इयम् or वशेयम् ॥

दिव उत् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, उत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ए॒ः पश्चात्ताइतीत्यतःपदभ्रणमनुवर्तते । दिव इति॑ प्राति॑ परिकं शृणते न धातुः, सानुषन्धकलात् ॥

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 portion पश्च of the word पश्चात्त must be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word दिव् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus दिवि कामो अस्य = शुक्रामः, शुक्रान्, शिश्वलग्नु दिनं, शुभ्याम्, शुभिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prāti-padika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servile letter anuban-dha and should have been read as दित्तु ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for ई by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have अक्षशूभ्याम्, अक्षशूभिः ॥ The उत् with a त् shows that short उ is meant, and debars ऊत् (VI. 4. 19). In the case of ऊत् substitution the forms will be शूभ्याम्, शूभिः ॥ The ऊत् also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe दिवी, दिवः ॥

एतत्तदोः सु लोपो इकोरनश्चस्मासे हलि ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतत् - तदोः-, सु लोपः-, अक्षोः, अ - नश् - स्मासे -, हलि, ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ एतत्तरो वाचककारौ नभ्रसमासे न वर्तते तयोर्यः सुशब्दः कथं तयाः सुशब्दो यस्तद्येन संबद्धस्त-
स्व संहितायां विषये हालि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

132. After एतद् and सद् 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 + इवाति = एष इवाति, स इवाति, एषभुइन्ते, स भुइन्ते ॥ Why do we say of एतद् and सद्? Observe यो इवाति, यो भुइन्ते ॥ Why do we say "the case affix of the Nom. singular?" Observe एती गात्री अरतः ॥ Why do we say 'without क'? Observe एषको इवाति, सको इवाति ॥ The words एतद् and सद् with the affix अदाच्, which falls in the middle, would be considered just like एतत् and सद् without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and सद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is : तन्मध्यपतित-स्तद् महजेन गृह्णते '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 इवाति, असो इवाति ॥ In the compound with the negative particle अभ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant'? Observe एसोऽन्न, सोऽन्न ॥

स्यम्भून्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, छन्दसि, बहुलम्, (सोः, लोपः,) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्य इत्येतस्य छन्दसि हालि परतो बहुलं सोलोपो 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 वाची जिपाणि तुर्ण्याति गीवायां बद्धो भाविकस आसनि (Rig IV. 40. 4), एष स्य ते नभुत्तो इन्द्रं सोमः (Rig IX. 87, 4) ॥ Sometimes it does not take place: as वच स्यो निपतेत् ॥ The स्य means 'he'.

सो इच्चि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, आच्चि, लोपे, चेत्, पाद-
पूरणम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इत्येतस्याच्चि परतः सुलोपो भवति लोपे सति अन्यादः पूर्यते ॥

Kārikā सैष शाश्वती रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः ॥

सैष कर्णो महात्मार्पी सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

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

Thus सेतु राजा भवति अर्पणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीरुरुप्त्वे (Rig VIII. 43. 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say

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

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

वृन्दिः ॥ अधिकारोयं पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायामिति यावत् । इत उत्तरं यद्यथामस्तव मुदिति कात्पूर्व इति चेतश्चिकृतं वेस्तित्यम् ॥

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

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

the *guṇa* in the Perfect 3rd Per. Dual and Plural in संचस्कर्तुः 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 भवेण गृह्णते (See VI. I. 132). The indicatory द् in सुट is for the purpose of differentiating it from शु in the Sūtra VIII. 3. 70.

अडभ्यासव्यवायेपि ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, अभ्यास - व्यवाये, अपि ॥
शृतिः ॥ अडभ्यवाये अभ्यासव्यवाये सुट काम्पूर्वे भवति ॥

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

Thus समस्करात् (= सम् + अकरोत्), समस्कार्ता॑त्, संचस्कार (= सम् + अकार), परिचस्कार ॥ This sūtra is not that of Pānini, but is made out of two Vārtikas: अड् व्यवायउप संख्यानाम्; and अभ्यासव्यवाये च ॥ The augmented root स्क would have given the form चस्कार by VII. 4. 61, if स् be considered an integral part of क्, and no rule of Antaranga and Bahiranga be taken into consideration. It might be said where is the necessity then of this sūtra? The operation relating to a Dhātu and Upasarga is Antaranga, i. e. a root is first joined with the Upasarga, and it undergoes other operations afterwards. Therefore, first the augment सुट 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 सुट is considered as unattached to क; and therefore, the augment अद् may be added after this सुट, 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 sūtra teaching that even after अद् and reduplicate, the सुट must be placed before क and no where else.

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

शृतिः ॥ सम् परि उप इत्येतेष्यो भूषणार्थे करोतौ परतः सुट काम्पूर्वे भवति ॥

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

Thus संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुम्, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The ए of सम् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 5. So also परिष्कर्ता परिष्कर्तुं परिष्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The स is changed to ए by VIII. 3. 70. So also with उप, as उपश्कर्ता, उपश्कर्तुम् उपश्कर्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say

'when meaning to ornament'? Observe उपकरोति ॥ Sometimes सुइ comes after सम् even when the sense is not that of ornaenting : thus संष्कृतमन्तम् ॥

समवाये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवाये, (च सुइ)
वृत्तिः ॥ समवायः सम्प्रशस्तास्मिन्नार्थे करोतौ संपुरुण्यः कार्यवृद्धिः सुडागमो भवति ॥

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

The word समवाय means aggregation. Thus तत्र नः संष्कृतम् तत्र नः परिष्कृतम्, तत्र नः उपष्कृतम्=सम्प्रशितम् that is 'we assembled there'.'

उपात्प्रतियज्जैकृतवाक्याभ्याहारेषु ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रति, यज्जै, वैकृत, वाक्य - अभ्याहारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सतो गुणान्तराधानमाधिक्याय वृद्धस्य वा तादृशस्याय समीक्षा प्रतियज्जैः । विकृतमेव वैकृतम् । प्रज्ञावित्वाइण् । गम्यमानर्थस्य वाक्यस्य स्वरूपेणोपाशानं वाक्यस्याभ्याहारः । एतेष्वयेषु गम्यमानेषु करोतो धातौ परत उपात् सुइ कार्यवृद्धिः भवति ॥

139. The augment सुइ 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 प्रतियज्जैः ॥ That which is prepared or altered is called वैकृतं ॥ The word वैकृतं is the same as विकृतं, the affix अ॒ न् being added without changing the sense, by considering it to belong to प्रज्ञावि 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 एथोऽकस्योपस्कृते (See I. 3. 32); काण्डगुणस्योपस्कृते ॥ In the sense of 'altering by preparing' we have: उपस्कृतं भुइन्ते, 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 ॥

किरतौ लवने ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ किरतौ, लवने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपादित्येव । उपादुन्नरसिम्निकरतौ धातौ लवनविषये सुइ कार्यवृद्धिः भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ णमुलचवत्तव्यः ॥

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

Thus उपस्कारं मद्रका स्फुनन्ति, उपस्कारं काशनीका लुनन्ति = विक्षिप्य लुनन्ति ॥

Vart :—The above augment takes place when ज्ञात् 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 उपकिरति ॥

हिंसायां प्रतेक्ष ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसायाम्, प्रतेः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ किरताविलेव । उपात्प्रतेष्ठोन्नरस्मिन्करतौ हिंसायां विषये सुद काम्पूर्वो भवति ॥

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

Thus उपस्कीणम् or प्रतिस्कीर्णं इत्त ते वृषल भूयात् = तथा ते वृषल विक्षपो भूयात् यथा हिंसामनुबध्यति ॥

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

अपाद्यतुष्पाच्छङ्कुनिष्वालेखने ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, चतुष्पात्, शङ्कुनिषुः, आलेखने (सुद्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरताविलेव । अपादुन्नरस्मिन्करतौ चतुष्पाच्छङ्कुनिषु, यशलेखनं तस्मिन् विषये सुद काम्पूर्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्विति किरतराम्बनेष्वयोपसंख्यानम् ॥

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

Thus अपस्किरते वृषभो हृषः, अपस्किरते झुम्कुटो भक्षयार्थः; अपालेखते भा भाशयार्थः = अलिख्य विक्षिपति ॥ Why do we say 'four-footed animals or birds'? Observe अपकिरति देवदणः ॥

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

कुस्तुम्बुरूणि जातिः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरूणि, जातिः, (सुद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरूणीति सुद निषालते जातिष्वेऽवति ॥

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

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

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

Kārikā लुम्पेश्वश्यमः कृत्ये तुक्रामनसोरपि ।
सतो वा दितततयोर्भांसस्य पञ्चियुद्धयोः ॥

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

Thus अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सन्ततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ When the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परं तक्षं तक्षं गच्छन्ति ॥ The सातत्य comes from सततं, by adding व्यभ् to form the abstract noun, सततस्य भावः (V. I. 123) = सातत्य ॥ How do you explain सततम्, it ought to be सन्ततम्? The म् of सम् is optionally elided before ततं, on the strength of the Kārikā:—"The म् of 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 पचन् ॥ As (1) अवश्य कर्तव्यं = अवश्यकर्तव्यं, (2) भोन्नुम् कामः = भोन्नु कामः, भोतुमनः ॥ (3) सम्हितं = सहितं, सम् ततं = सततं ॥ (4) मांस् पाकः, मांस् पचनम् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ गोष्पशमिति सुद् निपात्यते तस्य च बल्वं सेविते ऽसेविते प्रमाणे च विषये ॥

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

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

आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आस्पदम्, प्रतिष्ठायाम्, (सुद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आस्मयापनाय स्थानं प्रतिष्ठा तस्यामास्पशमिति सुद् निपात्यते ॥

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

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

आश्वर्यमनित्ये ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्वर्यम्, अनित्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्यतया विषयभूतया उत्तर्वामिहलक्ष्यते तस्मिन्नाश्वर्यं निपात्यते । अरेताङ्गि आगुराविति यत्प्रत्यये कृते निपातनास्पुद् ॥

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

The word आश्वर्य is formed by adding the affix वृत् to the verb अह् with the preposition आ, and the augment सुट् ॥ Thus आश्वर्ये यदि स मुजात, आश्वर्ये यदि सो अधीयीत ॥ When not having this sense, we have आश्वर्यं कर्म शोभनम् ॥

वर्चस्के उवस्करः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्चस्के, अवस्करः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्सतं वर्चो, वर्चस्कमन्नमलं, तस्मिन्नभिधये उवस्कर इति निपात्यते । अवपूर्वस्य किरतेः कर्मणि अरेताङ्ग इत्यप् निपातनास्पुद् ॥

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

That which has bad lustre is called उच्चस्क (कुम्हितं) ॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root कृ is added the affix अ॒ (III. 3. 57), the preposition अ॒ 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 वेदवति । अपपूर्वांस्करेतहूँशोरावित्यए, 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 अ॒ (III. 3. 57) and सुट् augment. When not having this meaning, we have अवकरः ॥

विष्करः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्करः, शकुनिः, विकिरः, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विकिर इति किरेतविष्वस्येणुपथज्ञाप्रीकिरः कः इति कप्रस्थये विहृते सुट् निपात्यते शकुनिर्वद्वय-
वति । विकिरशकुनिभिधेयो वा शकुनिर्भेवति ॥

Verse सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या विष्किरः कुकुटादते ।

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

This word is formed by adding the affix क (III. I. 135) to कृ with the preposition वि and the augment सुर्॥ The word विकिर also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase शकुनिर्विकिरा वा is added from the Vartika and is no part of the original sūtra. Thus सर्वे इकुनां भश्या विकिराः कुकुटादत् ॥ Though the sūtra विकिरोवाशकुनौ would have given the optional form विकिर, the specific mention of this form in the sūtra indicates that विकिर always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise विकिर would have referred to some thing other than a bird.

हस्त्वाच्चन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्त्वात्, चन्द्रोत्तरपदे, मन्त्रे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चन्द्रशब्दत्तरपदे इस्त्वात्परः सुदागमो भवति मन्त्रविषयं ॥

151. In a Mantra, the सुर् 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 सूर्याच्चन्द्रमसावित् ॥ Why do we say 'in a Mantra'? Observe, सुचन्द्रा पौर्णमासी ॥ The उत्तरपद् can only be in a compound (samāsa) as it is well-known to all. and it does not mean, 'the second word', as the literal meaning might convey: Therefore the rule does not apply here शुक्रमसि चन्द्रमसि ॥

पतिष्कशश्च फरोः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतिष्कशः, च, कशः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कश गतिशासनयोरित्येतत्य धातोः प्रतिष्ठूर्वत्य पचायाचि कृते सुर निपात्यते, तस्यैव पत्तम् ॥
Verse पाममय प्रवृश्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः ।

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

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

प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्कण्व हरिश्चन्द्रौ, अ॒षी ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्कण्वो हरिश्चन्द्र इति सुर निपात्यते अ॒षी चेतभिषेदौ भवतः ॥

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

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

मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्कर मस्करिणौ, वेणु
परिव्राजकयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मस्कर मस्करिण् इत्येतौ यथासंख्ये वेणौ परिव्राजके च निपात्यते ॥

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

When not having these meanings, the form is मक्रः ॥ This is an un-derived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which छृ॒ 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 मस्करिण् ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a bamboo or a mendicant". Observe मकरोमाहः: "an alligator", मकरा समूह "an ocean". Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix अच्, the long आ being shortened. Thus मा कियत यन प्राताशध्यते=मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of ताच्छाल्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिण् ॥ Thus मा करणशाला=मस्करी "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "मा कुरुतः कर्माणि शान्तिर्द्वयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्तीर, अजस्तुन्दे, नगरे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कास्तीर अजस्तुन्द इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्यते नगरे उभिधेये ॥

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

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

कारस्करो वृक्षः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारस्करः, वृक्षः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कारस्कर इति चुरु निपात्यते वृक्षभेदवति ॥

156. The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'.

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च शब्दस्त्वपापि निपात्यते संज्ञायां विषये ॥

157. The words पारस्कर &c are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding चुरु ॥ Thus पारस्करः 'a country called Pāraskara'. कारस्करः 'N. of a tree', रथस्य 'N. of a river', किञ्चक्षुः 'N. of a measure', किञ्चिक्षुः 'N. of a cave', तस्कर 'a thief', formed by inserting चुरु in the compound of तत्+कर, and eliding त् ॥ वृहस्पति 'N. of a Diety', formed similarly by inserting चुरु 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 Ganapātha 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 सुद् to प्र, when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रस्तुम्पति वनस्पतिः ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुद् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated :—प्रस्तुम्पति गौः, प्रस्तुम्पती गानौ, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गावः ॥ This is an ākriti-gaṇa. Thus ग्रायांश्चनम्, ग्रायथिष्ठति ॥

1 पारस्करो देशः, 2 कारस्करो वृक्षः, 3 रथस्था नवी, 4 किष्कुः प्रमाणम्, 5 किष्किन्धा युहा, 6 तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चोरवेतयोः सुद् तलापथ (तस्करः चोरः, बृहस्पतिः = देवता), 7 प्रात् तुम्पतौ गवि कर्त्तरि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः) ॥ आकृतिगणः ॥

अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, पदम्, एक-वर्जम् ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयं स्वरविधिविषया । यच्चाच्यः स्वर उदात्तः स्वरितो वा विधीयते तचानुदात्तं पदमेकं वर्जयित्वा भवतीत्येतदुपरिष्यते इष्टव्यम् ॥

Kārikā शागमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्यवस्थ च ।
पृथक्स्वरानिवृत्यर्थमेकवर्जं परस्वरः ॥

वाच्चिकम् ॥ विभन्निस्वरान्त्रभ्रस्वरो बलीयानिति वन्नव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ विभन्निनिमिन्नस्वराच्चनश्चरो बलीयानिति वन्नव्यम् ॥

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

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

शागमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्यवस्थ च, पृथक् स्वरनिवृत्यर्थं 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. i. 98 teaches "आम् acutely accented is the augment of चतुर् and अनञ्च च when a sarvanāmsthāna affix follows". Thus चत्वारः, अनञ्चः, here the augment-accent

supersedes the accent of the stem, for चतुर् was acutely accented on the first syllable, so also अनङ्गृह्, these being formed by the affixes उर् and असुन् respectively. Thus चत् + उरन् = चतुर् (चतेस्त्रन् Un V. 58, accent VI. I. 197) ; अनङ्गृह् is thus derived : अने वहति = अनस् + वह् + क्लिष्ट्, the स् is replaced by द्, and there is vocalisation of व् of वह् VI. I. 15 = अनङ्गृह् ॥ This word is formed by a Kṛit affix with a kārāka upapada, therefore, the second term will retain its original accent, namely the final acute of a root. (VI. I. 162 and VI. 2. 139) अनस् itself is derived by adding the affix (Un IV. 189) असुन् which makes the word acutely accented on the first syllable. (2). Similarly as to विकार (Vikarana) :—VII. I. 75 teaches “instead of अस्थि, सथि, सकिथि, and भक्षि, there shall be अनङ्ग् acutely accented when दा follows or any of the subsequent terminations beginning with a vowel”. This अन् will supersede the acute accent of the first अ of the stem : as अस्थैनि ॥ The word अस्थि is derived from अस् by adding the affix क्लिष्ट् (Un III. 154) which makes the word acutely accented on the first (VI. I. 197). This is an example of विकार ॥ (3) Similarly in गोपायति the accent of the stem taught in VI. I. 162 ‘a root has an accent on its final’, supersedes the accent of the vikaraṇa आय (III. I. 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 इत्यव्यम्, which are formed by the affix तव्यन् (III. I. 96) here VI. I. 185 debars the accent of the root (VI. I. 162).

The determination of the proper accent of a word depends upon considering the various rules that have gone to form it, and the sequence of those rules, e. g. a latter rule (पूर्व) 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 गृह् root, which as a root has accent on the syllable गृ (VI. i. 162). When the affix आय् is added to it by III. i. 28, the word becomes गोपाय् and it takes the accent of the affix (III. i. 3), i. e. the accent now falls on पा ; but now comes rule III. i. 32 which says that a word taking the affix आय् is a root. Thus गोपाय् gets the designation of root (धातु), and thus takes the accent of a dhâtu (VI. i. 162), and the accent falls on य ॥

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

does remain and must last in spite of the presence of another, debars such other". Thus in गोपायति; here the प्रस्तुत्यस्वरः "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 derivative verbs formed with affixes, by the rule of सतिशिष्ट, because even after the addition of the affix, these words *retain* the designation of dhâtu. Similarly in काषणैत्तरासङ्कुपुवः; "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 Bahuvrihi-accent is in its turn debarred by the rule of सतिशिष्ट when a further compound is formed and the final word is a compound only and not a Bahuvrihi. Though the accent of the Vikarana is a सतिशिष्ट, yet it does not debar the Sârvadhâtuka accent (VI. 1. 186). Thus in लुनीतः, the accent of the vikarana नी does not debar the accent of तम् ॥

Vart:—The नभ्-accent is stronger than the case-affix accent. Thus in अतिसः; here the accent of जन् vibhakti after तिस् (VI. 1. 166) though सतिशिष्ट is debarred by नभ् accent taught in VI. 2. 2, for Negative compounds are Tat-purusha.

Vart:—The accent of नभ् is stronger than the accent of that which is caused or occasioned by a vibhakti. Thus अप्तस्वारः ॥ Here the augment आम् in अप्तस्वार is occasioned because of the case-affix, for it is added only then when a Sarvanâma case-affix follows (VII. 1. 98). This आम् 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 वैदेह ! गाम्यथा ज शुक्लौम् "O Devadatta, drive away the white cow". The word पह is in fact used in this sûtra in its secondary sense, namely that which will get the designation of पह when completed ; had it meant the full ready made pada, this word would not have been repeated in पशापिकार 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 आमादि class (Phit II. 15), adding the feminine affix डीष् to it by its belonging to गौरादि class, we get कुवली, which will retain its acute on the first because it is not technically a पह ॥ But it is not so, the word कुवली has anudâtta accent on the first syllable (Phit II. 15), and hence we can apply the अभ् affix to it by IV. 2. 44, thus कुवस्या विकारः = कौवलम् ॥ Similarly the word गर्भिणी formed from गर्भ (belonging to Grâmâdi class Phit II. 15), with, the affix इनि (V. 2. 115) and the feminine डीष् ॥ 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 गर्भिणी being anudâttaadi would have taken अभ्, and therefore its exception is proper in the भिक्षादि class

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

कर्षत्वतो घओ ऽन्त उदाच्चः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ष, अत्वतः, घओः, अन्तः, उदाच्चः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्षतेर्धातेराकारवस्थं पग्नतस्थान्त उदाच्चो भवति ॥

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

Thus कर्षः, पार्कः, व्याहः, राहः, साहः, धाहः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 197 by which affixes having an indicatory ऽ have acute accent on the first syllable. The word कर्ष is used in the aphorism instead of कृष्, to indicate that कृष् of Bhvādi gana is affected by this rule, and not कृष्—कृषति of Tūdādigāṇa. The word कैर्षः derived from Tūdādi कृष् has acute accent on the first syllable.

उच्छादनिं च ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्छादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छ इत्यवमासीनामन्त उदाच्चो भवति ॥

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

Thus 1. उच्छुः, 2. उच्छुः, 3. उच्छुः, 4. उच्छुः ॥ These are formed by घ्, and would have taken acute-accent on the first. 5. उच्छुः, 6. उच्छुः are formed by अप् affix (III. 3. 61) which being grave (III. 1. 4), these words would have taken the accent of the dhātu (VI. 1. 162), i. e. acute on the first syllable. Some read व्यधुः also here. 7. उच्छुः is derived from युञ्ज् by घ् 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 व्यधः ॥ 8. उच्छुः = (युञ्ज्); is formed by घ्, and has this accent when it means 'poison', in other senses, the acute is on the first syllable. 9. उच्छुः, उच्छुः, उच्छुः (चेष्टा), and उच्छुः, करणे ॥ These words are formed by घ् by III. 3. 121. When denoting instrument (करण) they take the above accent, when denoting भाव the accent falls on the first syllable. 10. स्त्रुयुद्धश्छन्दसि, e. g. परिद्वृत्, परिद्वृत्, संस्त्रुत् ॥ 11. उर्त्तनिः स्तोत्रे, the stotra means Sāma Veda, the word उर्त्तनिः occurring in the Sāma Veda has acute on the last: in other places, it has the accent on the middle. 12. उच्छ्रे उरः, the उरः has end-acute when meaning 'a cave', otherwise when formed by घ् affix it has acute on the first. 13. साम्बतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, thus साम्बः, गर्हः; in other senses, the acute is on the first. 14. उच्छमश्छत्तमौ सर्वत्र, e. g. उच्छुः, शुद्धुःत्तमैः ॥ Some read the limitation of भावगर्हा into this also. 15. उक्षमन्यभोगमन्याः (भोगेश्वा) ॥ These are formed by घ्, उक्ष though a ण्यन्त root is here घग्नतं ॥

1 उज्जु, 2 म्लेष्ठु, 3 जट्ज, 4 जन्म, 5 जप, 6 वथ (व्यध), 7 युग, 8 गरो दृष्ट्ये, 9 वेद-
वेगवेष्टवन्धा:, (चेष्ट वेष्ट) करणे, 10 स्त्रयुद्धुवभृत्यसि (परिभृत, संयुत, परिद्वृत), 11 वर्तनिः स्तोत्रे
12 श्वर्षे दरः, 13 साम्बतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, 14 उत्तमशश्वत्तमौ (उत्तमशश्वत्तमशश्वी) सर्वत्र, 15 भक्षमन्य-,
भोगमन्याः (भक्षमन्यभोगदेहाः) ॥

अनुदात्तस्य च यशोदात्तलोपः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, यश, उदात्त-
लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदाहरण इति वर्तते । यस्मिन्ननुशास्त्रे परत उदाहरणो लक्ष्यते तस्यानुशास्त्रादिरुपानां भवति ॥

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

The word *udātta* is understood here. Thus कुमार॑+ई॒=कुमारी॑ ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the last, when the unaccented (anudātta) ई॒ is added to it, the ई॒ is elided (VI. i. 148), the anudātta ई॒ becomes *udātta*. So also प्रथिन॑+श्व॒=प्रथ॑ः (VII. i. 88), प्रथिन॑+ए॒=प्रथे॑, प्रथिन॑+आ॒=प्रथ॑ा॒ ॥ The प्रथिन॑ has acute on the last. So also कुषुर॑+इमतुण॒=कुषुर॑न॒ (IV. 2. 87), नृद्व॑न॒, वृत्तस्व॑न॒ ॥ The words कुमार॑ &c, are end-acute, and the affix मन॑ (मन॒) is anudātta (III. i. 4).

Why 'an *anudātta* vowel gets &c'. Observe प्रासङ्गः + अन् = प्रासङ्गः ॥ (प्रासङ्ग वहत IV. 4. 76). Here though प्रसङ्गः is end-acute (VI. 2. 144 formed by घट् with gati) it is followed by अ॒ which is svarita. (VI. 1. 185), this svarita causes the lopa of अ॑ udātta: but it does not itself become uदात्ता. 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 udātta or svarita, all the other syllables of that word become anudatta. Therefore when अ॒ is taught to be svarita, all the other syllables (like अ॑) will become anudatta. So there is no *lopa* of udātta when अ॒ comes. The word अनुशास्त्र is used to indicate that the *initial* anudatta becomes udātta. Had anudatta not been used, the sūtra would have been यत्तोऽवाजलोपम्, which would mean यस्मिन् प्रत्यये परतः उदात्तालुप्यते तस्यान्ते उदात्तां भवतः, for the anuvritti of अन्त् would then be read from the last. There would then be anomaly in the case of मा हि धुक्षाताम्, and मा हि धुक्षायाम् ॥ From the root दु॒ह we have formed धुक्षाताम् and धुक्षायाम् in the Aorist Atmanepada, dual. दु॒ह + अ॒त् + भाताम् = दु॒ह + स् (VII. 3. 72) + भाताम् ॥ Here भाताम् causes the elision of the udātta अ॒ of स् ॥ Therefore the *final* of भातीम् would be udātta, which is not desired. The augment अ॒ is not added because of मा, had it been added, the अ॑ would have been udātta (VI. 4. 71). Had हि not been given, then also the whole of धुक्षाताम् would have become anudatta in माधुक्षाताम् because of तिहङ्करिणः (VIII. 1. 28). See VIII. 1. 34 (हि च). Why have we used the word अन् in the sūtra? If it was not employed, then the subsequent anudatta may be such which would not have caused the elision of the previous udātta; such udātta being elided by some other operator, and still such anudatta would have become udātta. Thus in भार्गवः, भार्गवौ, भृगवः ॥ Here भृगवः is plural of भार्गवः ॥ The word भार्गव is end-acute and this acute (अ॒) was elided in the plural, before the affix जस् was added.

The elision here is not *caused* by जस्, but is a subject of जस् (not निमित्त but विषय). Therefore जस् does not become *udātta*, which would have been the case, had यच् not been used. प्राक् सुखुत्पत्ते गोचप्रत्यस्य लुक् ॥ The gotra affix was elided prior to the adding of the case-ending. Why do we say "when an *udātta* is elided"? Observe वैश्व+अन्त् (IV. 1. 104) = वैश् ॥ The feminine of this will be वैश्+डीन् (IV. 1. 73) = वैशी ॥ Here ई causes the elision of au^ñdātta अ of ई, and hence remains unchanged. So also झौं शी ॥

धातोः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्येव । धातोरन्त उवाचो भवति ॥

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

The word अन्त् is understood here. Thus पैचति, पैठति, ऊर्जाति, गोपार्थति, याति ॥

चितः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चितः, (अन्तः उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चितो इत उवाचो भवति ॥

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

Thus भरुर्ष, भासुर्ष, मेहुर्ष. These are formed by शुर्ष III. 2. 161. So also कुण्डिनः by II. 4. 70 where the substitute कुण्डिनच् is employed. To कुण्डि is added द्वान् in the sense of महुप्, then is added the feminine affix डांष, thus कुण्डिनी has middle-acute. The descendants of Kuṇḍinī will be कौण्डिन्यः (by यम् of Gargādi). The plural of Kuṇḍinya will be formed by eliding यम् and substituting कौण्डिनच् 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 बहुपदः ॥ The affix बहुच् is one of those few affixes which are really prefixes. (V. 3. 68). The accent will not, therefore, fall on हु, but on the last syllable of the whole word compounded of the prefix + the base. So also with the affix अक्षच्. It is added in the *middle* of the word, but the accent will fall on the *end*; as उच्चुक्षः (V. 3. 71).

तद्वितस्य ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्वितस्य, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चित इत्येव । चितस्तद्वितस्यान्त उवाचो भवति ॥

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

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

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

कितः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वितस्येव । तद्वितस्य कितोन्त उदाच्चो भवति ॥

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

Thus नाड्यायनः: formed by फक् (IV. 1. 99), so also आरायनः: ॥ Similarly आसुक्रः, शुलाक्रिकः: formed by उक् (IV. 4. 1).

तिसूभ्यो जसः ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिसूभ्यः, जसः, (अन्तः, उदाच्चः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसूभ्य उच्चरस्य जसोन्त उदाच्चो भवति ॥

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

Thus तिसूस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥ This debars the Svarita accent ordained by VIII. 2. 4. The word तिसू (feminine of त्री 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 udatta. 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 तिसूभ्यः would have sufficed to make the rule applicable to जस् only, why has then it been employed in the sūtra? This is done, in order that in compounds, where तिसू may come as a subordinate member, and where singular and dual endings will also be added, this rule will not apply. Had जस् been not used in this sūtra, then in the case of simple तिसू there would be no harm, but when it is seconded member in a compound there would be anomaly. Thus अतितिसौ would have become end-acute. But that is not desired. It is svarita on the final by VIII. 2. 4.

चतुरः शसि ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुरः, शसि (अन्तउदाच्चः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुरः शसि परते उत्त उदाच्चो 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 चतसू (VII. 2. 99), which has acute accent on the first (VII. 2. 99 Vārt), and its accusative plural will not have accent on the last syllable. This is so, because चतुर् has acute on the first, as formed by उत्त affix. Its substitute चतसू will also be so, by the rule of स्थानिवत् ॥ The special enunciation of आशुवाच्च with regard to चतसू in the Vārtika चतसर्याशुवाच्चनिपातनं कर्तव्यं (VII. 2. 99) indicates that the

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

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

बृतिः ॥ साविति सप्तमीबहुवचनस्य मुशास्य प्रहणम् । तत्र सौ य एकाच् तस्मात्परा तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरुपाता 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 आत्मा, ब्राह्मीष्म, ब्रह्मिः, ब्राह्मीः, शार्ता, आद्यैष्म, आद्यिः ॥ Why do we say 'in the Locative plural'? Observe रौप्ता, रौप्ते ॥ Why do we say 'monosyllabic'? Observe हैरणा, गिरिणा, रौप्तसु ॥ Why do we say 'the Instrumentals and the rest'? Observe वान्करा, वान्कना ॥ The plural of the Locative being taken in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to स्वेष्या and स्वेष्यि, as in the *plural* of the Locative they have more than one syllable, though in *singular* locative their stem has one syllable.

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

बृतिः ॥ एकाच इति वर्तते, तृतीयांशर्विभक्तिरिति च । नित्यशब्दः स्वर्थते । तेन नित्याधिकारविहितः स-
मासः पर्युद्दित्यते । नित्यसमासादन्यत्रानित्यसमासे यदुत्तरपदमन्तोवात्मेकाच तस्मात्परा तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरन्य-
तरस्यामुदात्ता भवति ॥

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

The phrases "एकाचः" and तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः are understood here also. The nitya or *invariable* compounds are excluded by this rule. Thus प्रस्त्रवान्चा or प्रस्त्रवान्चैः, परमवान्च or वान्चैः; प्रस्त्रवान्चः or °वान्चैः ॥ So also परमत्वेचा or °त्वेचैः &c. According to VI. i. 223, the compounds have acute accent on the final : that rule applies in the alternative when the case-affixes are not acute and gives us

the alternative forms. Why do we say 'is acutely accented on the final'? Observe अवाचा, सुवाचा, सुत्वचा ॥ These are Tatpurusha compounds and by VI. 2. 2. the first term of the compound retains its original accent. Why have we used the word 'standing at the end of a compound' when the word नित्यसमासे indicated that the compound was meant? Had we not used the word इतरपश्च, the aphorism would have stood as, अन्तोशात्तादन्यसरस्थामनित्यसमासे 'In a loose-compound having acute on the final, the above affixes are acute, if the compound consists of a monosyllable'. The word एकाचः will thus qualify the compound and not the second member of the compound, which is intended. And thus the rule will apply to श्वोङ्क (शून ऊङ्क) Ins. श्वोङ्कः, श्वोङ्कैः &c, and not to compounds having more than one syllable. Why do we say 'in loose compounds'? Observe अग्निरुचिता, सौमधुता ॥ These words form invariable (nitya) compounds by II. 2. 19, and by VI. 2. 139, the second member retains its original accent, which makes चि udatta.

अञ्जेश्छन्दस्यसर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चेः, छन्दसि, असर्वनामस्थानम् ॥

यृतिः ॥ अञ्चेः परा उसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुक्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

170. In the Chandas, the case-endings other than the sarvanāmsthāna, 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 इधीर्चै अस्थभिः (Rig I. 84. 13). Here the word इधीङ्ग had accent on धी by VI. 1. 222, but by the present sūtra, the accent falls on the case-affix अस् ॥ Though the anuvritti of "Instrumentals and the rest" was understood here, the word asarvanāmsthāna has been used here to include the ending शस् also. As प्रनोचै बाहून् प्रतिभङ्गेषाम् ॥

ऊडिद्वपदादाप्युत्तेयुभ्यः ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊह, इदम्, पदादि, अप्, पुम्, रै, श्युभ्यः ॥
यृतिः ॥ ऊह इदम् पारि जरु पुम् रै दिश् इत्येतेभ्यो उसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुक्ता भवति ॥

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

The ऊह is the substitute of the वा of वाह् (VI. 4. 132) and not the ऊह taught in VI. 4. 19 &c. Thus प्रष्टेहः, प्रष्टौहै, but not in अप्त्युगा (Ins. sing of अप्त्युगः derived by ऊह substitution of व् in अप्त्युग् VI. 4. 19 &c). इदम्—आभ्याह्, एमि: The anuvritti of "अन्तोशात्तात्" is understood here, therefore, when the word

इत् 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 अथैः और्ध्वं निषुणमर्थीत् ॥ The पठादि words are पद्, इत् &c upto निश् in VI. 1. 63. Thus निषुद्वेष्टतुरो अहि, या तु तौधावति, भैःः पश्यः, भद्रैःः, भद्रभ्यैःः, पुंसैः, पुम्यैः, पुंसैः, रथैःः पश्य, रम्यैः, रार्भैः, रिर्भैः, रिर्भौ, रिर्भैः ॥ As regards the other cases of विश् 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 एकाचः 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 भीषावां बद्धो अपि कक्ष भासैनि, मस्यं न तीन उर्ध्वे निश्चयन्तं ॥

अष्टनो दीर्घात् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो शीर्घान्तारसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरशान्ता 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 अष्टुभैःः opposed to अष्टैभिः, अष्टुभ्यः con. अष्टैभ्यः, अष्टुसै con. अष्टैसु ॥ The word अष्टन् has acute on the last syllable, as it belongs to the class of घटादि 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 शीर्घात् indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long अ caught in VII. 2. 84, thus becomes *optional*, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word शीर्घात् 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 शीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अष्टान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of षट् ॥ For if अष्टान् was not to be called a षट्, like अष्टन्, then there would be scope to the present sûtra in the case of अष्टन् while it would be debarred in the case of अष्टन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to षट् word, and hence the employment of the word शीर्घात् would become useless.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोशान्ताविति वर्तते । अनुम् यः शतुभ्रत्यस्तरन्ताशन्तात्परा नशी अजारिर्विभक्तिरसर्वनामस्थानशुशान्ता भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ शृहन्महत्तिरसंख्यानम् ॥

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 अन्तोशाचात् 'after an oxytoned word' is understood here. Thus तु॒इती॑, तु॒दती॑, लु॒नती॑, पु॒नती॑, तु॒तां, लु॒नतां, पु॒नतां from तु॒इत्, तु॒र्वत् लु॒नेत् and पु॒नेत् ॥

Why do we say "not having the augment नु॒म्?" Observe तु॒पन्ती॑, तु॒र्व-
न्ती॑ ॥ Here also by VI. i. 186, after the root तु॒इ which has an indicatory अ, in the Dhātupāṭha, being written तु॒इ, the sārvadhātuka affix श॒त् (अन्त्) is anudātta. This anudātta अन्त्, coalescing with the udātta अ of तु॒इ (VI. i. 162), becomes udātta (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 मसी (feminine in §) word and before vowel-endings?" Observe तु॒र्व॒धा॒म्, तु॒र्व॒धा॒म् &c. If the participle is not an oxytone, the rule does not apply. As ई॒र्षी॑, ई॒र्षती॑ ॥ Here the accent is on the first syllable by VI. i. 189.

Vart:—The words इ॒हती॑ and महती॑ should also be included : as इ॒हती॑
महती॑, इ॒हतां॑, महतां॑ ॥

उदात्तयणे॑ हल॒पूर्वात् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ उदात्त, यणः॑, हल्, पूर्वात् ॥
वृत्तिः॑ ॥ उशाच्चस्थाने॑ यो यण॑ हल॒पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा नसी॑ अजासिर्या॑ इसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिशशाचा॑ भवति॑ ॥
वार्तिकम्॑ ॥ नकारभृणं॑ च कर्तव्यम्॑ ॥

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 कृत॑+ई॑=कृथी॑ ; कृत॑, हृथी॑, हृथ॑, प्रलविही॑, प्रलविह॑ ॥ प्रसुविह॑, प्रसुविह॑ ॥ All these are सूच ending words and have consequently acute accent on the final (VI. i. 163). Why 'acutely accented final vowel is replaced &c'? Observe कैरी॑, कैरा॑, हैरी॑, हैरा॑, formed by त् न् having acute on the first syllable. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe बहुतित्र॑—बहुतित्र॑ ब्राह्मणा॑ (VIII. 2. 4) बहूनि॑ तितज्जनि॑ अस्या॑ इति॑ बहव्रीहिः॑ ॥ This compound with बहू॑ gets udātta on the final by VI. 2. 175. In making the Instrumental singular of बहुतित्र॑, the त् is replaced by त्, but as this त् is preceded by a vowel, the affix gets the svarita accent.

Vart:—The rule applies when the stem ends in त् though not in a semi-vowel, as वाक्यपक्षी॑, चित्पुर्णी॑ ॥

नोऽ॒धात्वोः॑ ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ न, ऊऽ॒, धात्वोः॑ ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ ऊऽ॒ धात्वोः॑ च उशात्तयण॑ हल॒पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा॑ इजायसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिर्नोशाचा॑ भवति॑ ॥

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

After the semi-vowel substitutes of the udātta ऊ॑ (IV. 1. 66) or of the udātta 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 ब्रह्मानन्दा, ब्रह्मानन्दे, धीरबन्धा, धीर बन्धेव from धीरबन्धू, which has acute accent on न्, because न् is udātta (III. 1. 3), and the ekadeśa of it, when it combines with the preceding vowel is also udātta (VIII. 2. 5). The व substituted for ऊ before the ending आ, is a semi-vowel substitute of an udātta (उशत्तयण्) the affix after it would have become udātta by the last sūtra, but not being so, the general rule VIII. 2. 4 applies and makes it svarita. Let us take an example of a semi-vowel substitute of the vowel of a root (धातु-यण्):—सकृल्ला, सकृल्लेष्ट; खल्पेव from सकृल्लू, खल्पू formed by क्रिप् 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.

हस्यनुडभ्यां मतुप् ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्य, नुडभ्याम्, मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोशत्तादित्वे । हस्यनान्तावन्तोशत्तानुटभपरोमतुव् उशत्तो भवति ॥

प्रार्त्तिकृष् ॥ रेश्वद्वाष् मतुप् उशत्तस्यं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ वेश् प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

176. The otherwise unaccented सूत्र (वृत्) 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 अन्तोशत्तात् is understood here also. Thus अग्निमौन्, वायुमौन्, कर्तुमौन्, हर्तुमौन् ॥ So also when मतुप् takes नुद्, as अक्षुण्वैता, शीर्षण्वैता ॥ Here by VII. 1. 76, the word असि takes अनङ् and becomes अक्षन्, then is added नुद् by VIII. 2. 16, and we have अक्षन् न् मतुप् ॥ The preceding न् is elided. When the stem is not oxytone (antodātta) 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 व् (Uṇ I. 10) which is नित् (Uṇ I. 9) so the मतुप् retains its anudātta here. So also in the case of महत्त्वान्, the affix does not become acute, though the word महत् has acute on the final as the intervening त् makes the त् of त् heavy when the affix is added: the general maxim हर्तविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् does not apply here, because the very fact that न् is only taken as an exception, shows this.

Vart:—The affix मतुप् becomes acute after the heavy vowel of रे: as ग्नारेवैन = एविरस्यास्ति ॥ There is vocalisation of व् of रथि, as र इ इ then substitution of one, as र इ, then गुणा, रे ॥

Vart:—The prohibition should be stated after चिः: as त्रिवतीर्याज्यानु-
शास्या भवन्ति ॥

नामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्यमहणमनुवन्ते मतुद्वपहणं च । तेन मतुपा हस्यो विशेष्यते । मतुपि यो हस्यस्तवन्तोश-
त्तान्यतरस्यां नाम् उशत्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus अग्नीनाम् or अग्नीनाम्, वाशूनाम् or वाशूनाम्, कर्तृणाम् or कर्तृणाम् (see VII. 1. 54). It might be objected, that नाम् is not preceded by a short vowel, as is shown in the above examples, then how can the anuvritti of इत्वं 'short or light vowel' be read into this sūtra? The reply is that the anuvritti of मतुर् should also be read into this sūtra, the meaning being "a stem which has a light vowel when followed by मतुर्, 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 सिसुणाम्, चतसुणाम् having light vowels before नाम् and not to the forms above given. Why do we read नाम् with the शूर् augment (VII. 1. 54) and not नाम्? The rule will not apply to अन्वाम् शकवाम् which get the acute on the final by VI. 1. 174. Why do we say 'after a stem ending in a light vowel'? Observe कुमारीणाम् (the word कुमारी is end-acute by Up III. 138 and so is कुमारी by VI. 1. 161). Why do we say after an oxytoned word? Observe वैपूणाम्, वैसूनाम् the words वैपु and वैसु have acute on the first syllable.

द्युश्चन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चाः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपन्ताच्छन्दसि विषये नामुशात्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

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

Thus देवसंज्ञनाम् अभिभञ्जतीनाम्, वह्नीनाम् पिता ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as नैशीनाम् पारे ; जयन्तीनाम् मरहतः ॥

षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हलादिः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, त्रि, चतुर्भ्यः, हलादिः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोशासाविलेतनिवृत्तम् । षट्संज्ञकं यस्तिव चतुर् इत्यताभ्यां च परा इलाविर्विभक्तिरुशात्ता 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 अन्तोशात्ताद् ceases, for the present rule applies even to words like वैचन् and नैश् which are acute on the initial by Phit II. 5. Thus एषाम्, षट्मैः, षट्यैः, पंचानाम्, सप्तानाम्, विन्दैः, त्रिभैः, चतुर्भैः, चतुर्णाम् (See VII. 1. 55). Why do we say 'before case-affixes beginning with consonants'? Observe वैतत्तः पदय (VI. 1. 167 and VII. 2. 99).

श्ल्युपोत्तमम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ शलि, उपोत्तमम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पद्विचतुर्भ्यो या श्लाविर्विभक्तिस्तन्ते पदे यदुपोत्तमशुशानं भवति । विप्रभृतीनामन्त्यमुक्तम् तत्त्वात् पैषे च यन्तदुपोत्तमम् ॥

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

The numerals षट्, त्रि and चतुर् when ending in a case-affix beginning with a क्षम् 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 पंचैभिः, सप्तैभिः, तिनैभिः, चतुरैभिः ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with षट् and सप्तैभिः' ? Observe, पंचानोन्, सप्तानाम् ॥ Why do we say 'the penultimate syllable' ? Observe षड्भिःः, षड्भैःः ॥

विभाषा भाषायाम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाषायाम् ॥
कृतिः ॥ षट्बिचतुर्भ्यो वा क्षलारिदिवभक्तिस्तस्ते पदे उपांत्समुदात्तं भवति विभाषा भाषायां विषये ॥

181. In the Secular language this is optional.

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

न गोश्वन्त्साववर्णराड्कुड्कृदश्यः ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गो, श्वन्, सौ अवर्ण, राद्, अरू, कुरू, कृदश्यः ॥

कृतिः ॥ गो श्वन् साववर्ण सौ प्रथमैकवचने थदवर्णान्तं राद् अहु कुड्कृदश्ये अहुन्तं तत्र भवति ॥

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

Thus गौवा, गौवे, गोभ्याम् ॥ Here by VI. I. 168, the case-endings would have got otherwise the accent, which is however prohibited. So also सुरुणा, सुरुणे and सुरुण्याम् ॥ Here VI. I. 169 is prohibited. So also हुना, हुने, श्वेयाम्, परमहुना, परमहुन and परमहेयाम् ॥ The word साववर्णः (सौ अवर्णः) means 'what has अ or आ before श्व (1st. sing.)' Thus श्वेषुः, तेषुः, कोषुः ॥ रजः—रौजा, रौजे, परमरौजा ॥ (The word रजः is formed by क्रिप् affix) : अहु = अञ्च् + क्रिप् ; the prohibition applies to that form of this word wherein the nasal is not elided (VI. 4. 30). Thus प्रौञ्चा, प्राहुण्याम् ॥ Where the nasal is elided, there the case-ending must take the accent; as प्राचा, प्राञ्चै श्वाण्याम् ॥ कृहु is also a क्रिप् formed word. Thus कृञ्चा, कृञ्चे, परमकृञ्चा ॥ कृत् is derived from कृ 'to do' or from कृत् 'to cut' by क्रिप्; as कृता कृते and परमकृता ॥ Why has the word श्वन् been especially mentioned in this सूत्रा, 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 न् and पितृ which in Nom. Sing. end in आ, as ना and पिता after the elision of न् of अनन् (VII. 3. 94). Thus the Locative Singular of न् will

be नरि by VI. I. 168, this prohibition not applying, and the affix मत् will get udātta after पिता by VI. I. 176 as पितृमात् ॥ But rule VI. I. 176 will be debarred by the present in the case of वृक्षवान् because वृक्ष is a साधवर्ण ॥

दिवो श्ल् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, श्ल् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः परा श्लासिर्विभक्तिनोनात्ता भवति ॥

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

Thus शुंयाम्, शुंभिः ॥ This debars VI. I. 168, 171. Why do we say 'beginning with a श्ल् consonant'? Observe श्ल्, श्ले ॥

नृ चान्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येत्सात्परा श्लासिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यां नोनात्ता भवति ॥

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

Thus शैभिः or नृभैः, शैभः, नृभैः, शैयाम्, नृयाम्, शैषु, नृषु ॥ But not so भौ, भै ॥
तित्स्वरितम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्, स्वरितम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तित्स्वरितं भवति ॥

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

Thus विक्रीर्यम्, जिक्रीर्यम्, formed by अत् (III. I. 97). कार्यम्, हार्यम् with अत् (III. I. 124). This is an exception to III. I. 3 which makes all affixes adyudātta. For exception to this rule see VI. I. 213 &c.

तास्यनुदात्तेन्दिदुपदेशाल्पसावधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विडोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥
तासि, अनुदात्तेत्, डिद्, अदुपदेशात्, ल्, सावधातुकम्, अनुदात्तम्, अ-हु, इडो, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तासेन्दुशात्तेतोडितोऽकारान्तोपदेशात् शब्दशत्वं लसार्वधातुकमनुशात् च भवति हुइ इह इत्य-
ताम्यां परं वर्जयित्वा ॥

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

Thus तासि :—कर्ता, कर्त्तौ, कर्त्तारः, this debars the affix accent (III. I. 3). Anudāttet :—as, आस्—आस्ते, वस्—वैस्ते ॥ डित् :—षूइ—सूते, शीइ—शैते ॥ अत् उप-
देशः :—as तुइतः, तुइतः, पैचतः, पैठतः ॥ A root taking शप् (अ) is considered as

taught (upadeśa) as if ending with an अ, as the indicatory letters श and ष are disregarded on the maxim अनुबन्धस्यानैकान्तिकत्वं (= अनवयवत्वं) || Thus पैचमानः, षच्चमानः: || 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 (आनश्च &c) follows; or *secondly*, the the augment मुक् is added to the base (anga) which ends in अ, when आन follows. In the first case मुक् becomes part and parcel of अ and will be taken and included by the enunciation of अ, and therefore अद्युपरेश will mean and include an अ having such मुक्, on the maxim अद्यागमास्तमुणीश्वास्तद्यमहेण गुणान्ते "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 अद्युपरेश || But if secondly मुक् be taken as part of the base which ends in अ, then the लसार्वधातुक does not follow an अद्युपरेश, because अ 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 शानश् has an indicatory ष, yet षित् accent (VI. 1. 163) is debarred by this rule, as it is *subsequent*.

Why do we say after तासि &c. Observe षितुतः चिन्मित्तः: || The vi-karaṇa षु is द्वित् (I. 2. 4) with regard to operations affecting the prior term, and not those which affect the subsequent. Therefore though षु is considered as द्वित् for the purposes of preventing the guṇa of the prior term षि, it will not be considered so for the purposes of subsequent accent. Or the word द्वित् in this sūtra may be taken as equal to द्विद्युपरेश and not the आतिशेषिक द्वित् like द्वु ||

Why do we use the word upadeśa ? So that the rule may apply to पैचावः, पैचमानः, but not to हतः, हथः the dual of हन् which ends in न् in upadesa. though before तस् and घस् it has assumed the form ह् || Therefore हृत्तः: हृयः: || Why do we use the word ल (Personal endings)? Observe कतीह पैचमाना formed by शानन् added to पू (III.2.128),which not being a substitute of ल, is not a personal ending like शानश् || Why do we use the word Sārvadhātuka ? Observe शिद्यै, शिद्यैते, शिद्यैते || Why do we say with the exception of हृतुङ् and हृङ् ? Observe हृत्तैते, यद् अपीते ||

आदिः सिचो अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, सिचः, अन्यतरस्याम्, बृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्तते । सिज्जन्तस्यान्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ सिच आन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तः पितः पक्षे उदात्तस्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

Vart:—An affix having an indicatory ए (पित्) when coming after an Aorist formed by सिच् without the augment इ॒ (अनिद् सिच्) is in one alternative udātta (in the other, it is non-acute). This वार्तिका restricts the scope of the सूत्रा with regard to पित् affixes. Thus we get the following two forms, which otherwise would have one form only by dhātu-accent, namely, acute on the first, for पित् is anudātta. Thus माहि कौर्षम् or मा हि कौर्षम् ॥ But when it takes the इ॒ augment, there are two forms (1st.) मा हि लैविचम् as a तिङ्गन्त, (2nd.) मा हि लाविचैम् accent on वि (VI. 1. 163), but never मा हि लाविचैम् ॥ When however the augment अ is added, the accent falls on this augment (VI. 4. 71).

स्वपादिहिसामन्यनिटि ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपादि, हिसाम्, आचि, अनिटि ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ लसार्वधातुकभृणं यश्चनुवर्तते तश्च्यनिटीति सम्बन्धारिह सप्तम्यन्तं भवति स्वपादिनां हिसेश्चाजाशाश्वनिटि लसार्वधातुके परतो उत्तरस्थानाशिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

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

The phrase लसार्वधातुके in the locative case is understood here. Thus स्वैपन्ति or स्वैन्ति, श्वसन्ति or श्वसैन्ति, हिसन्ति or हिसैन्ति ॥ The accent on the middle falls by the accent of the affix III. 1. 3. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe स्वप्यैत्, हिस्यैत् ॥ Why do we say 'not taking the augment इ॒'? Observe स्वपितैः and श्वसितैः ॥ This rule applies to those vowel-beginning affixes which are डिन्; it does not apply to स्वपानि, हिसानि ॥

अभ्यस्तानामादि: ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तानाम्, आदि: ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तानामजाशाश्वनिटि लसार्वधातुके परत आशिरुदात्तो 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 इ॒) and being a sārvadhātuka personal ending.

Thus हैसति, हैवतु, हैधति, हैधतु, जैक्षति, जैक्षतुः, जैमति, जैमतुः ॥ Before consonant affixes: इयात् ॥ Before सेद् affixes:—जक्षितैः ॥ Though the word भावि 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.

अनुदाते च ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदाते, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यमानोदाते च लसार्वधातुके परतो भविष्यतानामाविश्वातो 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 तिष् सिष् and मिष् are anudātta (III. i. 4). This sūtra applies to those personal endings which do not begin with a vowel. Thus ईशाति, ईधाति, जिहैते, मिहैते ॥ The word अनुदात् is to be construed here as a Bahuvrīhi i. e. an affix in which there is no udātta vowel, so that the rule may apply when a portion of the affix is elided or a semivowel is substituted : as मा हि मा ईधात्, and ईधात्यश्च ॥

सर्वस्य सुषिः ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, सुषिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दस्य सुषिः परत भाविष्यतानां भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वस्तरो धनकच्छक्ष्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

Thus सर्वः, सर्वाः सर्वैः ॥ Why do we say when the *case-endings* follow ? Observe सर्वतरः, सर्वतेनः the acute is on रः ॥ The word सर्व has acute on the final, as it is so taught in the Uṇādi list by निपातन् ॥ It thus being anudāttādī takes the affix अभ् and forms सार्वः (सर्वस्य विकारः) This rule applies even when the case affix is elided in spite of the prohibition of न लुमताङ्गस्य (I. i. 63) : as सर्वस्तोमः ॥

Vāst :—The rule does not apply when the affix अभ् is put in : as सर्वक्तः ॥ Here the accent is on the final by किर् accent (VI. i. 163).

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

वृत्तिः ॥ भी ही भृ हु जन धन दरिद्रा जागृ इत्येतेषामभ्यस्तानां लसार्वधातुके पिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुशात् भवति ॥

192. In भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, and जागृ, in their reduplicates, the acute accent is, before the sārvadhātuka unaccented endings of the three persons in singular, (पित), on the syllable which precedes the affix.

This debars the accent on the beginning. Thus बिहैति, जिहैति, विभैर्णि, शुहैति, मर्मैन्तु नः परिज्ञा ॥ Here the root मह् has diversely taken in the Chandas the vikaraṇa श्लु, though it belongs to Divādi class. जज्जनत्, हन्तम् ॥ The verb is here लेत् or the Vedic Subjunctive, so also is the next example. एधनत् from धन धान्ते,

the इ of ति being elided by III. 4. 97, and the augment अ॒द् being added by III. 4. 94. वर्धन्ते, सर्विंति, जागैति ॥ In the case of other verbs we have लिति ॥ Before affixes which have not the indicatory ए (i. e. all endings other than the three singular endings), the accent will be on the first syllable : as सर्विति ॥

लिति ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लिति प्रत्ययापूर्वमुशात् भवति ।

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

Thus चिकीर्षकः, जिहैर्षकः with the affix ष्वल् (III. 1. 133), गौरिकैविधम् and ऐशुकार्मैक्तम् with the affixes षिथल् and भक्तल् (IV. 2. 54) accent on the कि and ति ॥

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

वृत्तिः । णमुलि परतो अन्यतरस्यामाविशान्तो भवति ।

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

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

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

वृत्तिः । उपरेशाइति वर्तते । अजन्ता ये उपरेशे धातवस्तेषां कर्तृयकि अन्यतरस्यामाविशान्तो भवति ।

195. The roots which are exhibited in Dhātu-pāṭha with a final vowel, may optionally have the acute on the first syllable, before the affixes of the Passive (यक्), when the sense of the verb is Reflexive.

The word उपरेश is understood here. Thus लूयते or लूयते केशरः स्वयमेव ॥ सौंयते or सौंयते केशरः स्वयमेव ॥ When the accent does not fall on the first syllable, it falls on य (VI. 1. 186). This rule applies to जन्, खन्, and सन् when they get the form जायते, सायते and खायते ; the long आ (VI. 4. 43) substitute is considered as if these verbs were taught in the Dhātu-pāṭha with long आ ॥ Thus जायते or जायैते स्वयमेव सौयते or सौयते स्वयमेव ; खायते or खायैते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in a vowel'? Observe भिसौयते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say "when the sense is Reflexive (कर्तृ)"? Observe लूयते केशरो देवदन्तेन ॥

थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, इडन्तः, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सेटि थलि इट वा उशान्तो भवति अन्तो वा भास्त्रिंश्च अन्यतरस्याम् ।

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

Thus लुलविध, लुलविधि, लुलविद्यै, and लुलविद्यैः. As थ़ has an 'indicatory थ़,' the syllable preceding the affix may have also the accent (VI. I. 193). Thus we get the four forms given above. In short, with थ़ termination, the accent may fall on any syllable. When the थ़ is not सेत्, the accent falls on the root and we have one form only by लिप्त accent (VI. I. 193) :—शय्याथ़ ॥

अनित्यादिनैत्यम् ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञिति, आदि:, नित्यम् ॥

श्रान्तिः ॥ अति निति च निष्यमादिरुदानो भवति ।

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

Thus गौर्य् with यस् (IV. 1. 105), वैष्णवकः, अर्जुनकः with इन् (IV. 3. 98). This is an exception to III. 1. 3. When the affixes are, however, elided, the word loses this accent, i. e., the affix does not leave its mark behind, as it generally does by I. 1. 62. Therefore गर्भः, विर्जः, चज्चाः having lost प्रस्, अप् and कर्, have lost their accent also.

आमन्दितस्य च ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्दितस्य, च ॥

षत्तिः ॥ भामन्वितस्यादिश्वान्तो भवति ।

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

Thus वेदन्त !, वेदन्तौ !, वेदन्ताः ! This debars the final accent ordained by VI. 2. 148. Though the affix may be elided by a लुप्तान् word (लुक्, लुप् or लु), yet the effect of the affix remains behind in spite of I. 1. 63. As संपर्पा-
गच्छ ! संप्रा गच्छत ! ||

पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथोः, सर्वनामस्थाने ॥
**वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमथिशब्दारौणादिकाविनिपत्ययान्तौ प्रत्ययहरेणान्तोशत्तौ तथा: सर्वनामस्थाने परत भासि-
 ह्यत्तो भवति ।**

199. The acute accent is on the first syllable of पाठ्यन् and साध्यन् when followed by a strong case-ending.

The words पथिन् and मथिन् are derived by the Uṇādi affix इनि, (IV. 12, and 13) and are oxytone by III. 1. 3. They become अद्युदात्ता before strong cases. Thus धैर्यः, धैर्यनौ, पैर्यनानि, मैर्याः, मैर्यनौ, मैर्यनानः ॥ Before other cases we have:—पर्यः पश्य, मर्यः पश्य ॥ The accent is on the final by VI. 1. 162, there being elision of the udātta इन् ॥ The rule I. 1. 62, about the remaining effect of the affix, does not apply here. As पर्येष्याः, has acute on the final of the first

word, by retaining its original accent.

अन्तश्च तवै युगपत् ॥ २०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च, तवै, युगपत्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तैैप्रत्ययान्तस्यान्तश्चशब्दादिभ्युगपदुवात्तो भवतः ।

200. The Infinitive in तवै has the acute on the first syllable and on the last syllable at one and the same time.

Thus कैतवै, हैतवै॒ ॥ 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 ॥ क्षयशब्दं निवासे अभिप्रये आयुशात्तो भवति ।

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

Thus क्षेय जागृहि प्रपश्यत् ॥ The word is formed by ष affix (III. 1. 118) and would have had accent on the affix (III. 1. 3). When not meaning a house we have: क्षयौ॑ वर्तते इस्थूनाम् ॥ The word is formed by अच् (III. 2. 31).

जयः करणम् ॥ २०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जयः, करणम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जयशब्दः करणवाची आयुशात्तो भवति ॥

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

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

वृषादीनां च ॥ २०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषादीनाम्, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृष इत्यवमाशीनामादिशब्दात्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus 1. वृषः, 2. जैनः, 3. जैरुः, 4. चैरुः, 5. हैरुः, 6. गैरुः ॥ These are formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). The word गय is from गै-गावते, irregularly it is treated as गं ॥ 7. नयुः, 8. तायुः, 9. तयुः, 10. चयुः, 11. अयुः, 12. वेतुः, 13. सूतुः, 14. वतुः (formed by अच् numbers 8 to 11 are not in Kāśika). सूतुः is formed by क (III. 1. 135) 15. अंशः, 16. युता (formed by अड् III. 3. 104), 17. शमरणा संतायां संस्तौ भावकर्मणोः:— शानः and रणः, 18. मन्त्रः (formed by अच् III. 1. 134), 19. शान्तिः formed by स्किंच, 20. कामः, 21. यामः, both formed by घट्, 22. आरा, 23. धारा, 24. कारा, (all three formed by अड् III. 3. 104), 25. वहः = गोचरादियु formed by घट्, 26. कल्पः, 27. पातः formed by घच्, which may either take the accent indicated by the affix or by VI. 1. 159, 28. पयः, 29. रवः ॥ It is आकृतिगणः ॥ All words which are acutely accented on the first, should be considered as belonging to this class, if their accent cannot be accounted for by any other rule.

1 वृषः, 2 जनः, 3 उत्तर 4 पथः 5 हथः, 6 गथः, 7 नथः, 8 ताथः, 9 तथः, 10 अथः, 11 अमः, 12 वेदः, 13 मूढः, 14 अंदा:, 15 शुहा, 16 शमरणौ संज्ञायां संमतौ भावकमणो:, 17 मन्त्रः, 18 शान्तिः, 19 कामः, 20 आमः, 21 आरा, 22 धारा, 23 कारा, 24 वहः, 25 कल्पः, 26 पावः 27 पथः, 28 इवः, 29 आकृतिगण ॥

संज्ञायामुपमानम् ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, उपमानम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानशब्दः संज्ञायामाशुश्रान्ती 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 वृज्ञा, वैश्विका, वैरकूटी, शासी ॥ All these are उपमान words used as names of the उपमेत् (the thing compared). The affix कन् (V. 3, 96) is elided here by V. 3. 98. It might be asked when कन् is elided, its mark, namely causing the first syllable to be acute (VI. 1. 197), will remain behind by virtue of I. 1. 62, where is then the necessity of this sūtra. The formation of this sūtra indicates that the प्रत्ययलक्षण rule is not of universal application in the rules relating to accent.

When the word is not a Name, we have अभिनीणवकः ॥ When it is not an upamāna we have देवदत्तः (VI. 2. 148).

निष्ठा च द्वयजनात् ॥ २०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, च, द्वयच्च, अनात् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च द्वय संज्ञायां विषये आशुश्रान्तं भवति वैश्वादिकारो न भवति ॥

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

Thus शुद्धः, शुद्धः, ईसः ॥ This debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). In non-participles we have देवः, भीमः ॥ In polysyllabic Participles we have अधिनितः, रक्षितः ॥ In Participles having long आ in the first syllable, we have, आत्मः, आत्मः ॥ When the Participle is not a Name we have, कृतम्, इतम् ॥

शुष्कशुष्टौ ॥ २०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क, धृष्टौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आदिश्रान्त इति वर्तते । शुष्क धृष्ट इत्येतावाशुश्रान्ती भवतः ॥

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

These are non-Names. Thus शुष्कः and धृष्टः ॥

आश्रितः कर्ता ॥ २०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्रितः, कर्ता ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आश्रितशब्दः कर्तृवाची आशुश्रान्ती भवति ॥

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

Thus आशितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta, having eaten'. Here it is used as an active participle. The न् is added to अ॒ 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 आशित॑म देवदत्ते॒न 'eaten by Devadatta'. आशित॑मन्त्रम् 'the eaten food'. The former is आवे न्, the second is कर्मणि न् ॥

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

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

Thus रिक्तः or रिक्त॑ः ॥ This debars VI. 1. 204 and 205.
जुष्टार्पिते च छन्दसि ॥ २०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुष्टा, अर्पिते, च, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे छन्दसि विषये विभाषा आशुशास्त्रे भवतः ॥

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

Thus शुष्टः or शुष्ट॑ः; अर्पितः or अर्पित॑ः ॥ In the secular literature the accent is always on the last syllable (III. 1. 3).

नित्यं मन्त्रे ॥ २१० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, मन्त्रे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे मन्त्रविषये नित्यमाशुशास्त्रे भवतः ॥

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

Thus शुष्ट॑ देवानामैर्पितं पितृणाम् ॥ Some say that this rule applies only to शुष्ट and not to अर्पित; in which option is allowed even in the Mantra: so that it has acute on the last in the Mantra even: e. g. तस्मिन्साकं निश्चाता न शंकरोर्पित॑ ॥

युष्मदस्मद्वोर्डसि ॥ २११ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोऽः, उडसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदी मरिक्षप्रथयान्ते इत्योर्डसि परत आदिशास्त्रो 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 मैम स्वम्, तैव स्वम् ॥ The word युष्मद् and अस्मद् are derived from युष्म and अस्म by adding the affix मरिक् (Un I. 139) युष्मद् + उड्त् = युष्मद् + अ॒ (VII. 1. 27) = तव अ॒द् + अ॒श् (VI. 2. 96) = तव॑ + अ॒श् (VII. 2. 90) = तव (VI. 1. 97). Here by VIII. 2. 5, व would have been udātta, the present sūtra makes त् udātta. So also with मम ॥

उडयि च ॥ २१२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उडयि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोरिति वर्तते, आदिशास्त्रा इति च । इत्येतस्मिन्ब परतो युष्मदस्मदोरादिशास्त्रो भवति ॥

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

Thus तुम्हम् and मैस्मै, the forms त् and मै are not governed by this rule. The making of two separate sūtras is for the sake of preventing the application of यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). Had the sūtra been युष्मस्मरो ईङ्गराः, then yushmad in the Dative, and asmad in the Genitive alone would have taken this accent.

यतोऽनावः ॥ २१३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, अनावः ॥

वृत्तिः । निषा च द्वजनार्दित्यतो द्वज्ज्ञमहणमनुवर्त्तते । यत्प्रस्यान्तस्य द्वच आश्रिशान्तो भवति न चेत्रौ-
शास्त्रस्तरो 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 नावः from नौ ॥

The word द्वच् is understood here from VI. 1. 205. Thus चैयम्, जैयम् (III. 1. 97); कैण्यम्, झौञ्चम् (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 :—चिकीर्षम्, ललाच्यम् ॥

ईडवन्द्वृशंसदुहां प्यतः ॥ २१४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड, वन्द्, वृ, शंस्, दुहाम्, प्यतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईड वन्द् वृ शंस दुह इत्यतेषां या प्यत् तदस्त्यार्थिरुपां भवति ।

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

Thus ईड्यम्, वैन्यम्, वैर्यम्, वैस्यम्, वैह्या धेनुः ॥ The two letters ण् and त् being indicatory, the 'nyat' is not included in 'yat' of the last sūtra. The accent would be regulated by त् ॥ The accent of त् however is debarred by this rule. The वृ in the sūtra is वृहू संभन्नौ of Kriyadi class : the वृम् of स्वादि class takes kyap affix. See III. 1. 109.

विभाषा वेष्पिवन्यानयोः ॥ २१५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेणु, इन्यानयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेणु इन्यानेऽत्यन्तयोः विभाषा आश्रिशान्तो भवति ।

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

Thus वैणुः or वेणुः; इन्यानः or इन्यानः or इन्यानेः ॥ The word वेणु is derived by the Uṇḍadi affix ण् (III. 38), which being a नित् would *always* have acute on the first. This allows an option. The word इन्यान, if it is formed by आनश् it will have the accent on the final. If it is considered to be formed by शानश्, the affix being a sārvadhātuka is anudātta, and as it replaces udātta final of the root, it becomes udātta (VI. 1. 161), and thus इन्यान gets acute on the middle. It would never have acute on the first syllable, the present rule ordains that also. When वेणु is used as an upamāna वैणुरिव वेणुः, then it is *invariably* acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 204).

त्यागरागहासकुहश्वठकथानाम् ॥ २१६ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, कथानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः । त्याग राग हास कुह श्वठ कथ इत्येतेषां विभाषा भासिरसात्तो भवति ।

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

Thus त्यागः or त्याग॑ः, रागः, राग॑ः, हासः, हास॑ः ॥ These are formed by अ॒ अ॒ affix and by VI. 1. 159 would take acute on the final, this ordains acute on the first syllable also. कुहः or कुह॑ः, श्वठः or श्वठ॑ः, कथः or कथ॑ः formed by अ॒ (III. 1. 13).

उपोत्तमं रिति ॥ २१७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपोत्तमम्, रिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिनतस्योपोत्तममुशात्तं भवति । विप्रधतिनामन्त्यमुत्तमं तस्य समीपे यत्तदुपोत्तम् ।

217. What is formed by an affix having an indicatory अ॒, 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 कर्णीयम् and हर्णीयम् formed by अनीय॒ (III. 1. 96); वदुज्ञातीयः, वृदुज्ञातीयः by ज्ञातीय॒ (V. 3. 19). This debars III. 1. 3.

चञ्चन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चण्डि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चञ्चन्ते च च तस्यामुरोत्तममुशात्तं भवति ।

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

Thus मा हि चीकर्ताम् or चीकर्ताम् ॥ The augment अ॒ 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 चह् ॥ The augmented form with अ॒ 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 इष्टं ॥

मतोः पूर्वमात्संशायां लियाम् ॥ २१९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः, पूर्वम्, आत्, संशायाम्, लियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतोः पूर्व आकार उपात्तो भवति तदेन्मत्तत्ते र्णीलिङ्गं संज्ञा भवति ।

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

Thus वदुम्बरीवती, पुष्करीवती, शरीवती (IV. 2. 85). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 120. वीर्णीवती ॥ Why do we say 'the आ'? Observe इमुमैती, वृमैती ॥ The words इक्षु Un. III. 157 and वृक्ष (V. 2. 108) are end-acute, so accent is on मतुष् by VI. 1. 176. Why do we say when a name? Observe खड्गवती ॥ खड्ग is formed by द्वृक् and has acute on the first (Un. I. 151). Why do we say in

the Feminine Gender? Observe शारावान् ॥ Why do we say when followed by मत्? Observe गृष्णिनी ॥

अन्तो इवत्याः ॥ २२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, अवत्याः ॥
शृणिः ॥ संज्ञायामिस्येव । अवतीशाङ्कान्तस्थान्त उदात्तो भवति ।

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

Thus अजिवतीः, खरिवतीः, हंसवतीः, कारण्डवतीः ॥ These words being formed by द्वीप would have been unaccented on the final (III. 1. 4). Why do we use अवती and not वती? Then the rule would apply to राजवती also, for this word is really राजन्वती ending in अन्वती, the subsequent elision of न् is held to be non-valid for the purposes of the application of this rule (VIII. 2. 2). But the change of न into ष (मत्-वत्) is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

ईवत्याः ॥ २२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईवत्याः, (उदात्तः) ॥
शृणिः ॥ ईवतीशाङ्कान्तस्थान्त उदात्तो भवति विद्यां संज्ञायां विद्ये ।

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

Thus अहीवतीः, कृषीवतीः, शुनीवतीः ॥
चौ ॥ २२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ ॥
शृणिः ॥ आविद्यञ्चतिरुप्रकारो गृह्णते । तस्मिन्प्रतः पूर्वस्थान्त उदात्तो भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ आवतीद्वितद्विति 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 दृष्टाच्चः पश्य; दृष्टाच्चा, दृष्टीच्चेः मधूच्चः पश्य, मधूच्चा, मधूच्चेः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 161, 170 and VI. 2. 52.

Vārt—This rule does not apply before a Taddhita affix. As शारीरैः शारूपैः ॥ Here the accent is regulated by the affix (III. 1. 3).

समासस्य ॥ २२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासस्य, (उदात्तः) ॥
शृणिः ॥ समासस्थान्त उदात्तो भवति ।

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

Thus राजपुरुषः ब्राह्मणकम्बलः, कन्यालनैः, पटहशब्दैः, नरीघोरैः, राजदृष्टैः, ब्राह्मणतामैः ॥ The consonants being held to be non-existent for the purposes of accent, the उदात्ता will fall on the vowel though it may not be final, the final being a consonant. The exceptions to this rule will be mentioned in the next chapter.

ओ३म् ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, प्रकृत्या, पूर्वपदम् ॥
शृङ्गः ॥ पूर्वपदमण्म शृङ्गपदस्ये स्वरे उत्तरे स्वरिते वा वर्तते । बहुव्रीहौ समासे पूर्वपदस्य वः स्वरः स
प्रकृत्या भवति, स्वभावेनावतिष्ठते, न विकारमनुवाच्यत्वमापद्यते ॥

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

The word पूर्वपदप् means here the accent—whether udātta or swarita—which is in the first member: प्रकृत्या means, retains its own nature, does not become modified into an anudātta accent. By the rule VI. 1. 223, the final of a compound gets the accent, so that all the preceding members lose their accent and become anudātta, as in one word all syllables are unaccented except one. VI. 1. 158. Thus the first member of a Bahuvrīhi would have lost its accent and become anudātta; with the present sūtra commences the exceptions to the rule that the final of a compound is always udātta. Thus काण्डोस्तरासङ्गः ॥ The word काण्ड is derived by the Taddhita affix अङ् (IV. 3. 154) from कृष्ण 'a kind of antelope;' and has the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. on the first syllable: which the word preserves in the compound also. So also शृङ्गपश्चलज्जः; the word शृङ्ग is derived from शृङ् by the Uṇādi affix ष (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 ब्रह्मचारीपरिस्कन्दः; the word ब्रह्मचारिन् has a Kṛit-formed word as its second part, and gets the acute on the final (VI. 2. 139). So also स्नातकपुञ्चः; the word स्नातक is derived by कन् (V. 4. 29) affix and has नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. udātta on the first syllable. So also अर्द्धापकपुञ्चः; the word अर्द्धापक is accented on the middle as it is formed by a लित् affix (III. 1, 133, VI. 1. 193). शोत्रियपुञ्चः; the शोत्रिय being enounced with an indicatory ए in Sūtra V. 2. 84 is acutely accented on the first. मनुष्येनाथः; the word मनुष्य being formed by यन् (IV. 1. 161) a लित् affix is svarita (VI. 1. 185).

The words *udātta* and *svarita* are understood in this aphorism. Therefore if *all* the syllables of the *pūrvapada* are *anudātta*, the present rule has no scope there, and such a compound will get *udātta* on the final by the universal rule enunciated in VI. i. 223. Thus समभागः, here सम being *all* *anudātta*, the accent falls on गः ॥

तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयाससम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-
पुरुषे, तुल्यार्थ, तृतीया, ससमी, उपमान, अव्यय, द्वितीया, कृत्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समाते तुल्यार्थं तृतीयातं ससम्युपमानवाचि अव्ययं द्वितीयातं कृत्यातं च अत्यूपर्यन्तं तत्पुरुषतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अव्यये न भ्रूकुनिपातानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

2. In a Tatpurusha, the first member preserves its original accent, when it is a word (1) meaning "a resemblance", or (2) an Instrumental or (3) a Locative or (4) a word with which the second member is compared, (5) or an Indeclinable, or (6) an Accusative, or (7) a Future Passive Participle.

Thus (1) तुल्यधेतः, तुल्यलोहित, तुल्यमहान्, सदैकच्छेतः, सदैग्लोहितः, सदैग्नमहान् ॥ These are Karmadhāraya compounds formed under II. i. 68 : and तुल्य being formed by अत् is acutely accented on the first (VI. i. 216). The word सदैश्च is formed by क्रित् (III. 2. 60 Vārt), and has acute on the final (VI. i. 197 and VI. 2. 139). So also सदैशाधेतः सदैशलोहितः, सदैशमहान् ॥ The word सदैश्च is formed by कश्च added to ईश्, and by VI. i. 197 the accent falls on ई (VI. 2. 139). (2) When the first member is in the Instrumental case, as :—शकुलया लण्डः = शकुला-लण्डः; so also क्रिरिकाणः (II. i. 30) शकुला is derived from शकु + ला ॥ To the root ला is added the affix क with the force of घश्, and thus the noun ला is *udātta*; or the whole word शकुलः is a word formed by अ॒ affix and hence VI. i. 165 applies and is final-acute. क्रिरिः is formed by the *Uṇādi* affix इ॒ ता कृ (Uṇ. IV. 143), and it being treated as a क्रित् (Uṇ. IV. 142) has *udātta* on the final,

(3) When the first member is a word in the Locative case, as :—असेषु शौण्डः = असैशौण्डः, so also शैनशौण्डः ॥ The word असैश् is formed by the affix अ॒ added to शौण्ड् (Uṇ III. 65), and is final acute (III. i. 3). The word पान is formed by ल्लूट affix added to पा, and is acute on the first (VI. i. 193) owing to the लित् accent. (4) When the first member is a word with which the second member is compared, as :—सूखीश्वामा, कुमुदश्वेती, हस्तगद्वा, न्यग्रोधपरिमण्डला, शूर्य-कौण्डलश्यामा, शूरकलप्पदगौरी ॥ These compounds are formed by II. i. 55. शूखी is formed by ढी॒श् and is final-acute ; कुमुद is formed by क॒ affix (कौ मोश्वते = कुमुद) see III. 2. 5. Vārt : and is acutely accented on the first, or by Phit sītra II. 3 it has acute on the first. इ॒स् is formed by the *Uṇādi* affix स॒ added to ल्लूट.

(Uṇ III. 62), and is finally accented (III. 1. 3). न्यमोहति = न्ययोऽः formed by अ॒ (III. 1. 134), and इ is irregularly changed into य as Pānini himself uses this form (VII. 3. 5) : and it is accented in the middle. The words दूर्वाकाण्ड, दूरकाण्ड 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, धैवाद्याणः, धैवृषला, धैवाद्याणः, धैवृषलः ॥ निर्विकोशाम्बिः, निर्विराणस्ति, धैतिलद्वः, धैतिमालः ॥ All these Indeclinable compounds have udātta on the first. they are formed by II. 2. 5 &c.

Vart :—In cases of Indeclinable compounds. the rule applies only to those which are formed by the negative Particle अ, by कृ, and by Particles (nipāta). Though नभ् is one of the Nipātas, its separate mention indicates that नभ्-accent debars even the subsequent कृ-accent as अकरणः ॥ Therefore, it does not apply here स्नास्याकालकः which has acute on the final and belongs to Mayuravyānsakādi class.

(6) When the first member as in the accusative case, as :—मुहूर्तेष्वुखन्, मुहूर्तेष्वमणीयम्, सर्वरात्रैकल्याणी, सर्वरात्रैशोभना ॥ They are formed by II. 1. 29. मुहूर्त belongs to पृष्ठोदरादि class and is acutely accented on the last. सर्वरात्रै is formed by the samāsanta affix अ॒ and is finally accented.

(7) When the first member is a Kritya-formed word, as, भोज्यलवणम्, भोज्योर्णवम्, पानीयशीतम्, हर्जीयचूर्णम् (II. 1. 68). भोज्य is formed by अ॒ and has svarita on the final : पानीय and हर्जीय are formed by अनीय् and are accented on the penultimate (VI. 1. 185 and 217) i. e. on र् ॥

वर्णोवर्णेऽवनेते ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः, वर्णेषु, अनेते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पक्षत्वा पूर्वपदं, सत्पुरुषइति च वत्तेते । वर्णे वर्णवाच्यं पूर्वपदं वर्णवाच्यवेत्तरपदेषु एतद्वद्वाच्ये-
तिषु परतस्तप्तुरुषे 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, कृष्णकल्माशः, लोहितकल्माशः ॥ कृष्ण is formed by अ॒ affix (Uṇ. III. 4) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). लोहित is formed by the affix तन् added to लह् (Uṇ. III. 94) and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 197).

Why do we say 'color-denoting word' ? Observe परमकृष्णः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'with another color denoting word' ? Observe कृष्णतिलौः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'but not when it is एत' ? Observe कृष्णतः, लोहतैः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 69.

गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाध, लवणयोः, प्रमाणे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमा यवाच्याने तप्तुरुषे समासे गाध लवण इत्यत्योरुपरपदयोः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

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

Thus शम्बगाधमुरकम्, अरिष्माधमुरकम् 'water as low or fordable as a Samba or an Arita i. e. of the depth of an oar or a pestle'. गौलवणम्, गौभलवणम् 'so much salt as may be given to a cow or a horse'. These are Genitive Tatpurusha compounds. शम्ब is formed by adding वन् to शम् (Uṇ. IV. 94), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). अरिष्म is formed by the affix इष्म added to अरि (III. 2. 184), and has acute on the middle (III. 1. 3); गौ is formed by गो (Uṇ. II. 68) and has acute on the final ओ; गौभ is formed by गौवन् affix added to भश् (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 ॥

दायाद्य दायादे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दायाद्यम्, दायादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्युपर्य समासे दायादशब्दउत्तरपै 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 विष्णुशायादः, वैनशायादः ॥ The word विष्णु is formed by the affix विष्ण् (III. 3. 99) which is udātta (III. 3. 96). The word धन् is derived by adding धन् to धश् (Uṇ. II. 81). Though the Uṇādi Sūtra II. 81 ordains क्षु 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 धन् has acute on the first (III. 1. 3).

In the forms विष्णुशायादः &c, what Genitive case has been taken? If it is the Genitive case which the word शायाद requires by Rule II. 3. 39, then by the Vārtika प्रतिपत्तिविधाना एष उष्टी न उपस्थिते (II. 2. 10 Vart), there can be no compounding. The Genitive case there is the ordinary Genitive case of II. 3. 50. i. e. a शैषिक Genitive case, and not a प्रतिपद Genitive. If it is a शेषलक्षण Genitive case, then why the other Geintive case is taught in II. 3. 39 with regard to शायाद &c. That sūtra 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 sūtra, this particular case would have prevented the Genitive on the maxim that a particular rule debars the general. But the employment of both terms Genitive and Locative in that sūtra indicates the alternative nature of the rule and shows that the Genitive case so taught is not a प्रतिपद Genitive, but a general Genitive. In short the Genitive taught in II.

3. 39, is not an 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 परमवाचाईः (VI. I. 223) taking the final acute of a compound.

प्रतिबन्धि चिरकृच्छ्रयोः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिबन्धि, चिर, कृच्छ्रयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे चिरकृच्छ्रयोरुत्तरपदयोः प्रतिबन्धवाचि 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, व्याहैरणचिरम् or व्याहैरणकृच्छ्रम् ॥ The words गमन and व्याहैरण are formed by त्युद् affix, and have लित् accent (VI. I. 193). This compound belongs either to the class of Mayûra-vyaãsakâdi (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 गमनचिर or गमनकृच्छ्र ॥ Why do we say 'which experiences a hinderance'? Observe शुचकृच्छ्रम् ॥

पदे पदेदो ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदे, अपदेदो ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपदेशो व्याजत्तशाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पदशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

7. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word पद denoting 'a pretext'.

The word अपदेश means 'a pretext', 'a contrivance'. Thus मूचपरेन प्रस्थितः, उच्चारैरपदेन प्रस्थितः ॥ Gone on pretext of voiding urine or excreta.

The word मूच् is derived by adding the affix इ॒॒॒ to the root मू॒॒॒, the क being substituted for उ॒॒॒ of मू॒॒॒, (Un. IV. 163), and has acute on the first (VI. I. 197) or it may be a word formed by घ॒॒॒ to the root मू॒॒॒यति ॥ The word उच्चार is also formed by घ॒॒॒ 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=विष्णुपर्वम् ॥

निवाते वातत्राणे ॥ < ॥ पदानि ॥ निवाते, वात-त्राणे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निवातशब्दउत्तरपदे वातत्राणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वे 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 कुञ्जोर्ण निवातं = कुञ्जीनिवातम् 'a hut as the only shelter from the wind'. So also शौमीनिवातम्, कुञ्जनिवातम् or कुञ्ज्ञनिवातम् ॥ The word निवात is an Avyayi-

bhāva compound—वातस्य अभावः (II. 1. 6) : or a Bahuvrihi=निरुद्धो वातोऽस्मिन् ॥ The words कुटीनिवातम् &c, are examples of compounds of two words in apposition. कुटी and शमी are formed by ढीष् (IV. 1. 41) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). Some say that कुच्छ is derived from कुं by adding यत् with the augment उक् and treating it as कित्, it has the acute on the first; others hold that it is derived by the affix उच्छ् to कु and the affix has the accent.

Why do we say when meaning 'a shelter from wind'? Observe राजनिश्चित् वसति, मुखं नौशुनिवातैँ—'he lives under the shelter of the king'; 'pleasant is the shelter or the protection of the mother'. Here निवात = पर्यः or vicinity.

शारदे अनात्मे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शारदे, अनात्मे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतौ भवमात्मवम् । अनात्मवाचिनि शारदशब्दउत्तरपदं तत्पुरुषे 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 'autumnal'.

The word आत्मव means appertaining to season (ऋतु) i. e. when the word शारद does not refer to the season of शत्रु or autumn. Thus रेत्तुशारदशुकम् 'fresh drawn water'. So also दृष्टैः शारदः सक्तैः 'the saktu flour fresh from the mill'. The word शारद means here 'fresh' 'new': and it forms an invariable compound. The word ऋतु is formed by उ affix added to शृज् (Uṇ. I. 15), the श 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 दृष्टैः is formed by the augment उ and shortening of the vowel of the root दृ 'to tear' (द्राणति), 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 परमशारदैः, उत्तमशारदैः 'the best autumnal grass &c'. (VI. 1. 223).

अध्वर्युकषाययोर्जातौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्यु, कषाययोः, जातौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युकषाय इत्यतयोर्जातवाचिनि 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, कठोध्वर्युः, कालापाध्वर्युः ॥ These are Appositional compounds 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 णिति (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 कलापिता + अज् (IV. 3. 108) in the sense of कलापिता प्रोक्तं (IV. 3.

101), and it would have preserved its form without change before this affix (VI. 4. 164) but for a *vārtika* which declares that the इन् of कलापिन् will be elided (See VI. 1. 144 *vart*). Thus कालाप gets accent on the final (III. 1. 3). So also सर्विंगेकषायम्, उमापुष्टेकषायम्, शैवारिकेकषायम्॥ These are Genitive compounds. The words सर्विंग and उमापुष्ट are Genitive compounds and have accent on the final (VI. 1. 223). The word शैवारिक is formed by इक् affix added to शैव and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 165). Why do we say when meaning a 'genus'? Observe, परमाष्ट्रयः, परमक्षायः (VI. 1. 223).

सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदृश, प्रतिरूपयोः, सादृश्ये ॥
वृक्षिः ॥ सदृश प्रतिरूप इत्येत्योहत्तरप्रथयोः सादृश्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

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

Thus पितृसदृशः, मातृसदृशः ॥ The words पितृ and मातृ are formed by *Uṇādi* affix तृश् (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 शस्तीः सदृशो, वृषस्तीः सदृशः ॥ Here शस्ती and वृषस्ती are finally acute, and the case-affix gets the accent when semivowel is substituted (VI. 1. 174). So also पितृप्रतिरूपः, मातृप्रतिरूपः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning resemblance'? Observe परमसदृशः, उत्तमसदृशः (VI. 1. 223): here the sense of the compound is that of 'honor' and not 'resemblance'.

द्विगौ प्रमाणे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, प्रमाणे ॥
वृक्षिः ॥ द्विगादुत्तरपदे प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

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

Thus मात्यसप्तसप्तः and गान्धारिसप्तसप्तः ॥ The word सप्तसप्तः—सप्तसप्तः: प्रमाण-मत्त्वा, the affix मात्य- denoting 'measure' (V. 2. 37) is elided (See V. 2. 37 *Vart*) प्राच्यभासो सप्तसप्तम् = मात्यसप्तसप्तः: "an Eastern seven-years old". So also गान्धारि-सप्तसप्तः or 'षट्सप्तः' ॥ प्राच्य has acute on the first; while गान्धारि is either accented on the first or on the middle; as it belongs to the Kardamādi class (Phit III. 10). Why do we say 'before a Dvigu'? Observe ब्रीहिप्रस्त्यः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting measure'? Observe परमसप्तसप्तः ॥

गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गन्तव्य, पण्यम्, वाणिजे ॥
वृक्षिः ॥ वाणिजप्रस्त्रहत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे गन्तव्यवाचि पण्यवाचि च पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

13. Before the word व्याणिज '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 मद्रव्याणिजः, काशीरव्याणिजः, गान्धारिव्याणिजः = मद्रारेषु 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). काशमार 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: गोव्याणिजः 'a dealer in cows', अभ्यव्याणिजः &c. गौ is finally accented (Un II. 67) : and अभ्य has acute on the first (Un I. 151) the affix being कृत् ॥

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

मात्रोपज्ञोपक्रमच्छाये नर्पुसके ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम, छाया, नर्पुसके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रा उपज्ञा उपक्रम छाया एतेष्वत्परेषु नर्पुसकव्याणिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं पक्षतिस्तरं 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 दशति व्याचितः, सहुद्वामात्रं न सरोऽस्ति किञ्चन ॥ The word मात्रा is here synonymous with त्रुत्य, the phrase being = भिक्षायास्तुत्यप्रमाण, and is a Genitive compound. The word भिक्षा is derived from भिक्ष, by the feminine affix ा (III. 3. 103), and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सहुद्वा has also acute on the final as it is a word denoting 'a sea', (Phit sūtra I. 2). So also with उपज्ञा, as पाणिनोपज्ञमकालकौ व्याकरणम् ; व्याङुपपतं दुष्करणम् आपिशास्तुपज्ञ गुरुलाघव (see II. 4. 21). All these are Genitive compounds. The word पाणिन is derived by अ॒ affix from पणिन् (पणिनोउपत्यम् = पाणिन्), and has acute on the final, (III. 1. 3). The word व्यादि being formed by इ॒ affix has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), so also आपिशलि ॥ So also with उपक्रम, as आङ्गोपक्रमं प्राप्तादः, इर्षानीबोपक्रमम्, द्वुकुमरोपक्रमम्, भन्दोपक्रमाणि माननि ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. The word आङ्गे (तथैवैनं व्यायान्ति) is derived from आ + अ॒ + क् affix added with the force of घट्ट, the ख being changed to ङ् the word belonging to पृष्ठोदरादि class (VI. 3. 109), and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. The word इर्षानीव is formed by अनीव॑ and has acute on the penultimate नी owing to the indicatory ए (VI. 1. 217). The word द्वुकुमर has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172. The word भन्द is formed by अ॒ (III. 1. 134). The Tatpurusha compounds ending in उपज्ञा and उपक्रम are neuter by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, as इषुष्ठावम्,

३८ ईशुच्छावद् ॥ The word ईशु is derived from ईश् by श affix (Un I. 13), and it being treated as नित् (Un I. 9) the acute falls on ई the first syllable (VI. I. 197). The word धनुस् has also acute on the first by Phit sūtra II. 3. The compound is a Genitive Tatpurusha—ईशूणं छावा; and it is Neuter by II. 4. 22. When the compound is not a Neuter we have कुड्चछावा (II. 4. 25).

सुखप्रिययोहिते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुखः, प्रिययोः, हिते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपश्योहितवाचिनि तस्युरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

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

Thus ईचनसुखम् 'the pleasure of going'. So also ईचनसुखम्, व्याहरणसुखम्, ईमनप्रियम्, ईचनप्रियम्, व्याहरणप्रियम् ॥ These are appositional compounds. All the above words are formed by ल्प्युद affix and have acute on the syllable preceding the affix (VI. I. 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 इत्येतयोरुत्तरपश्योस्तस्युरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

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

Thus ब्राह्मणसुखं पावसं "the sweetmilk desired by or agreeable to the Brāhmaṇas", छात्रप्रियोऽनध्यायः ॥ कन्याप्रियो मृद्गः ॥ &c. The words ब्राह्मण and छात्र have acute on the final being formed by the affixes अण् and ज (V. 4. 62) respectively (III. I. 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 तस्युरुषे समासे स्वामिति 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 ईत्यस्वामी, ईध्यस्वामी, ईनस्वामी ॥ The accents of गौ, ध्य and ईन have already been mentioned before in VI. 2. 14. When the first member is not a word denoting possession, we have परमस्वामी ॥

पत्याकैश्वर्ये ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्यौ, एश्वर्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे एश्वर्यवाचिनि तस्युरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

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

Thus शृङ्गपतिः, सेनापतिः, नैरपतिः, धान्वपतिः ॥ The word शृङ्ग is formed by क (III. 1. 144) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सेना is a Bahuvrihi (सह इतेन वर्तते = सेना), and by VI. 2. 1 the first member retains its accent. The word नैर is derived from नै 'to lead' by the affix अै (III. 3. 57) and has acute on the first (III. 1. 4), the word धान्व has svarita on the final (See Phit II. 23?) Why do we say when meaning 'lord'? Observe ब्राह्मणो वृपलीपतिः "a Brahmana, husband of a Sūdrā".

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

शृङ्गिः ॥ पतिशब्दवर्तपरे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भू वाक् चित् दिधिषु इत्येतानि पूर्वपतानि प्रकृतिस्वराणि न भवन्ति ॥

19. The words भू, वाक्, चित् and दिधिषु, however, do not preserve their original accent in a Tatpurusha when coming before the word पति denoting 'lord'.

This debars the accent taught by the last aphorism. Thus भूपतिः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पतिः, दिधिषुपतिः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds and are finally accented by VI. 1. 223.

या भुवनम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भुवनम् ॥

शृङ्गिः ॥ पतिशब्दवर्तपरे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भुवनशब्दः पूर्वपरं 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 भुवन् (Uṇ. II. 80), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Though Sūtra II. 80 (Unadi) ordains भुवन् after भू in the Vedas only, yet on the theory of वह्नि (III. 1. 3), it comes in the secular literature also, as भुवनपात्रादेत्यः ॥

आशङ्कावाधनेदीयस्तु संभावने ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशङ्क, वा वाध, नेदीयस्तु, संभावने ॥

शृङ्गिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपरं तत्पुरुषद्विति वर्तते । आशङ्क वावाध नेदीयस् इत्येतेषुत्तरपरेषु संभावनवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपरं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

21. Before आशङ्क, वावाध and नेदीयस्, the first member in a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when it treats about a supposition.

The word संभावनम् = अस्तित्वाध्यवसादः "the hesitation about the existence of a thing". Thus गौमनाशङ्क वर्तते 'one fears the journey'; so also दैत्यमाशङ्क, व्याहरणाशङ्क, &c. Similarly गौमनावावाध वर्तते = गमनं वावाधते इति संभावते "it has stepped in as

an obstacle to journey". So also वैचनावाधम्, व्याईरजावाधम् ॥ Similarly गौवनेशीयो वर्तते, वैचनेशीयः व्याईरजनेशीयः – गमनमिति निकटतमिति संभाषते "the journey stands directly before".

Why do we say when a supposition is meant? Observe परमनेशीयः ॥ All the above words are formed by मुहूर् affix and have लित् accent. (VI. I. 193).

पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, भूतपूर्वे ॥
कृतिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दस्तरपेत् भूतपूर्ववाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्तरं 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 आङ्गो मृतपूर्वः – आङ्गपूर्वः: "formely had been rich". The compound must be analysed in the above way. The compounding takes place by II. I. 57 or it belongs to Mayura-vvahsakādi class. So also रुर्मीष्पूर्वः, छुक्नारैपूर्वः ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'had been lately'. Observe परमपूर्वः, उत्तमपूर्वः, which should be analysed as परमात्मा॒ पूर्वे॑ अति॒ ॥ 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 ॥

कृतिः ॥ सविध सनीड समर्याद सवेश इत्येतेष्टत्तरपेत् सामीप्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्तरं 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 मद्वासविधम्, गान्धारिसविधम्, काश्मीरसविधम् ॥ So also मद्वासनीडम्, मद्वासमर्यादम्, मद्वासवेशम् and मद्वासदेशम्. So also with गान्धारि and काश्मीर ॥ The accents of these words have been taught before in Sūtra VI. 2. 12, 13. The words सविध &c, are derived from सह विधया &c, but they all mean 'in the vicinity': मद्वासविध = मद्वाजां सामिप्यम् ॥ Why do we say when meaning in the vicinity thereof? Observe सह मयांद्वया वर्तते = समर्यादैं क्षेत्रम् 'a field having boundary'. देवदत्तस्य समर्यादैं = देवदत्तसमर्यादैं "the bounded field of D'. Why do we say सविध &c? Observe इवहन्तसमयो ॥

विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवच्चनेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विस्पष्ट, आदीनि-गुणवच्चनेषु ॥
कृतिः ॥ विस्पष्टादीनि पूर्वपदानि गुणवच्चनेष्टत्तरपेत् प्रकृतिस्तराणि भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus विस्पष्ट कटुकम्, विचित्रकटुकम् व्यन्तकटुकम्, विस्पष्टलवणम्, विचित्रलवणम्, व्यन्तलवणम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. I. 4, and it should be analysed thus विस्पष्ट कटुकम् &c.

The words विस्पष्ट &c, are indeed here adjectives, and in conjunction with कटु &c, they denote an object possessing those qualities; and therefore not being in apposition, the compound is not a Karmadhāraya.

The word विस्पष्ट has acute on the first by VI. 2. 49. The word विचित्र is also acute on the first as it gets the accent of the Indeclinable. Some read the word as विचित्रः, which being a Bahuvrīhi has also first acute. The word व्यन्त has svarita on the first by VIII. 2. 4. The remaining words of this class are संपर्णः, पैदु or कटु, पण्डतः, कुशलः, अपलः and निषुणः. Of these, the word संपर्णः has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144; पैदु is formed by उ (Uṇ I. 18), which being considered as लित् (Uṇ I. 9), it has acute on the first. पण्डतः is formed by न्त् to the root पैद्, and is finally acute (VI. 2. 144). कुशल has accent on the final being formed by a कृत् affix (कुशान् लाति = कुशलः, ला भावाने, or Uṇ I. 106), अपल being formed by a चित् affix (Uṇ I. 111), has acute on the final (VI. I. 163), for चित् is understood in the Uṇadi sūtra Uṇ. I. 111 from sūtra Uṇ. I. 106. The word निषुण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, being formed by क affix added to षुण् &c.

Why do we say 'of विस्पष्ट &c' Observe परमलवर्णम् उत्तमलवर्णम्, both having acute on the final. Why do we say "when followed by a word expressing a quality"? Observe विस्पष्टब्राह्मणः ॥

अन्याद्यमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, ज्य, अवम, कन्, पापवत्सु, भावे, कर्मधारये ॥

हृतिः ॥ अ ज्य अवम कन् इत्येतेषु पापशब्दवति चोचरपरे कर्मधारये समासे भाववाचि पूर्वपरं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

25. In a Karmadhāraya compound, the first member consisting of a Verbal noun (भाव), preserves its original accent before adjective forms built from अ (V. 3. 60), ज्य (V. 3. 61) अवम and कन् (V. 3. 64), and before a form built from the word पाप ॥

Thus गैमनप्रेष्ठम्, or गैमनप्रेष्ठः, वैचनञ्जेष्ठम् or वचनञ्जयायः; गैमनावमम्, वैचनावमम्, गैम-मकनिष्ठम् or गमनकनीयः ॥ So also गैमनपापिष्ठम्, गैमनपापीयः ॥ All the first members are ल्युट् formed words and have लित् accent i. e. on the first syllable. (VI. I. 193). The words अ, ज्य and कन् are substitutes which certain adjectives take in the comparative and superlative degree, and the employment of these forms in the sūtra indicates that the comparative and superlative words having these ele-

ments should be taken as second members, and so also of पाप, the comparative and superlative are taken, for this is the meaning here of the word प्रपञ्च II

Why do we say “श्च &c”? Observe गमनशेषभवनम्॥ Why do we say ‘a verbal Noun? Observe गमनशेषः, where the word गमन is = गम्यते इनेन ‘a carriage’. Why do we say ‘a Karmadhāraya compound’? Observe गमनशेषः = गमनशेषः॥

कुमारञ्ज ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, च ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

26. The word कुमार preserves its original accent when standing as a first member in a Karmadhāraya compound.

Thus कुमारकुलदा, कुमारभग्ना, कुमारतापसी ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the final as it is derived from the root कुमार कीडायाष् with the affix अभ् of एचादि ॥ By II. 1. 70, it is ordained that कुमार is compounded with अभग्न &c. Some commentators hold that the word कुमार must be followed by अभग्न &c. (II. 1. 70) to make this rule applicable. They refer to the maxim लक्षणप्रति-परोक्तबोः प्रतिपरोक्तस्वैव भहणश् "whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar, or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule, such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed." Other Grammarians, however do not make any such limitation, but apply the rule to all Kāimadhlāraya compounds of कुमार ॥.

आदिः प्रत्येनसि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, प्रत्येनसि ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयहति वर्णते । प्रतिगत एनसा प्रतिगतमेनो वा यस्त्व सः प्रत्येनाः । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपेत्रे कर्म-धारस्यादिशुश्रान्तो भवति ॥

27. In a Karmadhārya compound of Kumāra followed by प्रत्येनस्, the acute falls on the first syllable of Kumāra.

The word प्रत्येनस् = प्रतिगत एनसा or प्रतिगतमेनो वस्तु ॥ Thus कुमारप्रत्येनः ॥ The word udātta is required to be read into the sūtra to complete the sense: for the construction of the sūtra requires it, and the anuvṛtti of the 'first member preserves its accent' would be inappropriate because the word भासि is employed here.

पुरोष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरोष, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

उत्तिः ॥ पुणा गणास्त्वा चिन्त्यतरपैर्वे कर्मधारये समासे कुमारस्यान्यतरस्यामदिश्वातो 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 कुम means 'a multitude, a collection &c'. See V. 3. 112 also. Thus कुमारचातकः or कुमारैचातका (VI. 2. 26), or कुमारचातकौः ॥ So also कुमारलोहधज्ञः or कुमारैलोहधज्ञः or कुमारलोहधज्ञौः ॥ So also with कुमारेवलाहकौः, कुमारैचीडुतकौः ॥ Here चातक &c, are horde-names; and the affix ज्ञ 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 प्रतिपदोन्न द्वय 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 ॥

पृष्ठिः ॥ इगन्तउत्तरपृष्ठि कालवाचिनि कपाल भगाल शराव इत्येतेषु च द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपं फलतिस्तरं 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 (इक्ष), before a word denoting time, as well as before कपाल, भगाल and शराव ॥

Thus पैञ्चारत्तिः, ईशारत्तिः ॥ The above are examples of Taddhitártha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), equal to पंचारत्तयः प्रमाणमस्त्व, the प्रमाण denoting-affix नामक् is always elided in Dvigu (V. 2. 3 Vart). So also पैञ्चमास्त्वः, ईशमास्त्वः = पञ्च मासाम् इत्यो भूतो भावी था. This is also a Taddhitártha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), formed by the affix चण् (V. 1. 80—82). So also पैञ्चवर्षः ईशवर्षः: the affix चण् being elided (V. 1. 88). So also पैञ्चकपालः, ईशकपालः, पैञ्चभगालः, ईशभगालः, पैञ्चशरावः, ईशशरावः ॥ These are also Taddhitártha Dvigu formed by IV. 2. 16, the affix अक् being elided by IV. 1. 88.

Why do we say "before an इगन्त stem &c"? Observe पंचमिरप्तैःक्लितः = पञ्चार्थैः, ईशार्थैः ॥ Why do we say "in a Dvigu Compound"? Observe परमार्थिः, परमशरावैश् ॥

When these Dvigu compounds, by case-modifications do not end in इक्ष vowel, but the vowel is replaced by a semi vowel or Guṇa, the rule will still apply. Thus पैञ्चारल्प्यः or पैञ्चारल्पः ॥ This is done on the strength of the maxim असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरणे. "That which is bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect or as not existing, when that which is antaranga is to take effect :" because the substitution of semivowel or guṇa is a bahiranga opera-

tion in relation to accent. Or the substitutes may be considered as sthānivat to the short-vowel which they replace.

बहून्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुशब्दः पूर्वपश्चिमगन्तारिष्टूत्तरपरेषु दिग्गौ समासे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

30. In a Dvigu compound, the word बहु may optionally preserve its accent when followed by an ik-ending stem, or by a time-word, or by kapāla, bhagāla and sarāva.

This allows option where the last rule required the accent necessarily. Thus बहूरत्निः or बहूरत्ने:, बहूमास्यः or बहूमास्यैः, बहूकपालः or बहूकपालैः, बहूभगालः or बहूभगालैः, बहूशारावः or बहूशारावैः ॥ The word बहू has acute on the final being formed by the affix कु (Uṇ I. 29). When the उ is changed to श्, as in the first example, the anudatta अ is changed into svara by VIII. 2. 4 : when the first member preserves its accent. In the other alternative, the accent falls on the last syllable.

दिष्टिवितस्योश्च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिष्टि, वितस्योः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दिष्टि वितस्ति इत्यत्थेऽत्तरपश्चयोर्द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपश्चिमन्यतरस्यां 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 ऐङ्गविष्टि: or पञ्चविष्टि:, ऐङ्गवितस्ति: or पञ्चवितस्ति: ॥ The affix मात्र् 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 पूर्वपरं सिद्ध शुष्क पक्व बन्ध इत्येतेषुत्तरपरेषुप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति सा वैत्पत्तमी कालान्त्र 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 सांकाश्येसिद्धः or सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिल्येसिद्धः or काम्पिल्यसिद्धः ॥ The words sāṃkāśya and kāmpilya have acute on the final, and by Phiṭ Sūtra (III. 16) in the alternative the accent falls on the middle also. So also निधैनशुष्कः, ऊर्क्षेशुष्कः ॥ The word निधन is derived by कु �affix added to नि-धा भ् and has acute on the middle; the word ऊर्क्ष is formed from अ॒ भ् root by the affix कृ, and has acute on the final. So also भैष्टपङ्कः, कुम्भीपङ्कः, कलशीपङ्कः ॥ The words Kumbhī and Kalaśī are formed by डी भ् affix and have acute on the final; the word भाष् is formed by षट् affix, and has acute on the beginning. So also चक्रबन्धः औरकबन्धः ॥ The word chakra has acute on the final, and chāraka being formed by षुट् 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 sūtra 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 ॥

बृन्तिः ॥ परि प्रति उप इत्येते पूर्वपदभूता वर्ज्यमानवाचिनि अहोरात्रावयव वाचिनि रात्र्यवयवाचिनि चोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरा भवन्ति ।

33. The particles परि, प्रति, उप and अप preserve their accent before that word, which specifies an exclusion, or a portion of day and night, (in an Avyayībhāva compound also).

Thus पैतिकिगते वृष्टो देवः "It rained all round (but not in) Trigarta". (See II. 1. 11 and 12). So also पैरिसौदीरम्, पैरिसार्वसनि, पैरिपूर्वरात्रम् ॥ So also पैति-पूर्वाह्णम्, पैत्यपराह्णम्, पैत्यपररात्रम्, उैपपूर्वाह्णम्, उैपपूर्वरात्रम् ॥ उैप-विगते वृष्टो देवः, अैपसौदीरम्, अैपसार्वसनी (II. 1. 11 and 12).

By Phiṭ Sūtras IV. 12, and 13 all Particles (Nipāta) have acute on the first syllable. So also upasargas with the exception of अभि ॥ Therefore परि &c, have acute on the first. In a Tatpurusha and Bahuvrīhi compounds, these words 'pari', 'prati' &c, as first members would have retained their accent by the rules already gone before; the present sūtra, therefore, extends the principle of the preservation of the accent to Avyayībhāva compounds also. The prepositions अप and परि alone denote the limit exclusive or वर्जन, and it is therefore with these two prepositions only that the second member can denote the thing excluded, and not with प्रति and उप ॥ With these prepositions अप and परि, the second term if denoting a member of day or night, are also taken even as *excluded*, therefore no separate illustrations of those are given.

Why do we say 'before a word which is excluded, or is a part of a day and night'? Observe प्रत्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति ॥ In प्रत्यवनम् "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.

राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेन्द्रकवृष्णिषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्य, बहु वचन, द्वन्द्वे, अन्द्रक, वृष्णिषु, (पूर्वपदप्रकृत्यवंतम्)

बृन्तिः ॥ राजन्यवाचिनां बहुवचनान्तानां यो इन्द्रो द्वन्द्वेन्द्रकवृष्णिषु वर्तते तत्र पूर्वपदे 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 शाफल्कैचैत्रकाः, चैत्रकैरोधिका, शिनिवासुदेवाः ॥ The words Svāphalka 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 द्वैष्यहैमायनाः ॥ Here द्वैष्य is derived from द्वीप by the affix थम् (IV. 3. 10) = द्वीपे भवाः; हैमायनः = हैमेरपर्यं युवा ॥ These names belong to Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans, but are not the warrior-names. The word राजन्य here means those Kshatriyas who belong to the family of anointed kings and warriors (अभिषित्तदंश्याः); these (Dvaipyas and Haimāyana) do not belong to any such family. Why do we say 'in the Plural number'? Observe संकर्षणवासुदेवौ ॥ Why do we say 'in a Dvandva compound'? Observe वृष्णीनां कुमाराः = वृष्णिकुमाराः ॥ Why do we say 'of Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans'? Observe कुरुपञ्चालाः ॥

संख्या ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रसमासे संख्यावाचि पूर्वपरं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

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

Thus एकादश, द्वैतदश, त्रैयोदश or चतुर्वैदश ॥ The word एक is derived from इत् by कन् affix (Uṇ III. 43) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The चयस् is the substitute of त्रि (VI. 3. 48) and has acute on the final.

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि । आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्तेवा-सी, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिनां यो इन्द्रस्तत्रपूर्वपरं 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 आपिशालै-पाणिनीयाः, पाणि मैथीय-रौढीयाः, सौ द्वैयकाशकृस्त्नाः ॥ The son of Apiśala is आपिशालि the name of a Teacher or founder of a school—an āchārya : formed by इत् affix (IV. 1. 95). The science taught by him is called आपिशालम्, formed by adding अण् affix to आपिशालाः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 11). The scholars who study the Apiśalam are also called आपिशालाः: the affix denoting 'to study' is elided by (IV. 2. 59 and 64). Or the pupils of Apiśali will be also called Apiśalāḥ. Thus in both ways Apiśalāḥ 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-देवदत्तो where though the first is a teacher-derived name, the second is not. Why do we say "names derived from the teacher's"? Observe आन्सवैशाकरणः ॥ Why do we say "a Scholar"? Observe आपिशलपाणिनीये शास्त्रे ॥

कार्तकौजपाद्यश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्तकौजप, आद्यः, च ॥
शृतिः ॥ कार्तकौजपाद्या ये हन्दारेतु 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. कार्तं-कोजपो (formed by अ॒ ण् IV. 1. 114 in the sense of Patronymic, from कृत and कुजप these being Rishi names) ॥ 2. सावर्णिमाण्डूक्यौ (sāvarni is formed by इ॒श् Patron. affix and माण्डूक्ये by इ॒क् IV. 1. 119). 3. आवन्त्यइमकाः The word Avanti is end-acute, to which is added the Patron affix न्यान by IV. 1. 171, which being a Tadrāj is elided in the plural; अवन्तीनां निवासो जनपद = गवन्ति the quadruple significant अ॒ण् being elided.

4. पैलश्वापर्णेया: (Paila is derived from Pila the son of Pila is Paila, the yuvan descendant of Paila will be formed by adding फिश् IV. 1. 156, which is, however, elided by II. 4. 59.) The word Śyāparna belongs to Bidādi class IV. 1. 104, the female descendant will be Śyāparnī, the yuvan descendant of her will be Śyāparneya. It is not necessary that the compound should be plural always. We have पैलश्वापर्णेयौ also.

5. कपिश्वापर्णेया: (Kapi has acute on the final. The son of Kapi will be formed by अ॒श् IV. 1. 107, which is however elided by II. 4. 64. This compound must, therefore, be always in the plural.

6. शैतिकाक्षपांचालेया: (Śitikāksha is the name of a Rishi, his son will be Śaitikāksha by अ॒ण् IV. 1. 114, the yuvan descendant of the latter will be formed by इ॒श् which is elided by II. 4. 58. Pāñchāla's female descendant is Pāñchālī, her yuvan descendant is Pāñchāleya. The plural number here is not compulsory. We have शैतिकाक्षपांचालेयौ also.)

7. कटुकवाधूलेया: or कटुकवार्चलेया: (The son of Kaṭuka will be formed by इ॒श् IV. 1. 59, which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 66. The son of Varchalā is Vārchalāya).

8. शाकलशुनकाः (The son of Śākala is Śākalya, his pupils are Śākalāḥ by अ॒ण् IV. 2. 111. The son of Śunak will be Śunaka by अ॒श् IV. 1. 104, which will be elided in the Plural by II. 4. 64). Some read it as शकलसणकाः, where the इ॒श् affix after Saṇaka is elided by II. 4. 66. So also शुनकपाञ्चेयः ॥

9. शणकवाभ्रवा: (the son of Babhru is Bābhṛava). 10. आर्चाभिमोहलाः (Archāvināḥ are those who study the work produced by Ṛichāva, the affix

णिति being added by IV. 3. 104. Mudgala belongs to Kañvādi class IV. 2. 111; Maudgalāḥ are pupils of the son of Mudgala). 11. कृन्तिसुराप्तः: This a Dvandva of Kunti and Surāshṭra in the plural or of the country-names derived from them like Avanti. Kunti and Chinti have acute on the final. 12. चिन्तिसुराष्ट्रः as the last. 13. तण्डवतण्डाः: (Both belong to Pachādi class formed by अच् III. 1. 134, from तडि ताढेन Bhvādi 300, वत्णङ्ग is formed from the same root with the prefix अव्, the अ being elided, and both have acute on the final: and are enumerated in the Gargādi list IV. 1. 105. In the plural the patronymic affix यस् is elided by II. 4. 64. 14. गर्गवत्साः: Here also यस् affix is elided II. 4. 64. 15. आविमत्तकामवधाः: or विद्धाः: II. Avimatta has acute on the first being formed by the नभ् particle. Both the words lose इन् patronymic by II. 4. 66.

16. बाभ्रवशालङ्कायना: The son of Babhru is Bābhṛava, and the son of Śalaṅku or Śalaṅka of नडादि IV. 1. 99 is Śalaṅkāyana.

17. बाभ्रवशानच्युताः: Dānchyuta takes इन् in the patronymic which is elided by II. 4. 66.

18. कठकालापाः: Kaṭhāḥ are those who read the work of Kaṭha, the affix णिति (IV. 3. 104) being elided by IV. 3. 107. Those who study the work of Kalāpiṇ are Kalāpāḥ, the अण् being added by IV. 3. 108, which required the इन् of kalāpiṇ to be retained by VI. 4. 164 but by a Vārtika under VI. 4. 144 the इन् portion is elided before अण् ॥

19. कठकोशुमाः: Those who study the work of Kuthumin are कौशुमाः: formed by अण् IV. 1. 83 the इन् being elided before अण् by VI. 4. 144 Vārt already referred to above.

20. कौथुमलैकाक्षाः: Those who study the work of Lokāksha are Laukākshāḥ. Or the son of Lokāksha is Laukākshi, the pupils of latter are Laukākshāḥ.

21. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥ Strī has accent on the final.

22. मौद्यपैप्पलाशाः: the son of Muda is Maudi, the pupils of latter are Maudāḥ. So also Paippalādāḥ.

23. मौद्यपैप्पलाशौः: The double reading of this word indicates that Rule VI. 1. 223 also applies.

24. वत्सजरत् or वत्सजरन्तः = वस्त + जरत् ॥ Vatsa has acute on the final.

25. So also सौश्रुतपार्थाः: The pupils of Suśruta and Pṛithu are so called they take अण् IV. 1. 83. 26. जरामृत्यु, 27. याऽयातुवाक्ये Yājya is formed by अन् added to यज्, the ज् is not changed to a Guttural by VII. 3. 66. It has svarita on the final by तित् accent (VI. 1. 185). Anuvākyā is derived from anu+ vach + अन् ॥

महान् ब्रीह्यपराङ्गृष्टीष्वासजावालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु ॥ ३८ ॥ प-
दानि ॥ महान्, ब्रीहि, अपराङ्ग, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जावाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव,
प्रवृद्धेषु, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदभिति वर्तते, इन्द्रियति निवृत्तम् । महानिश्चेतस्पूर्वपदं त्रीहि अपराह्ण, गृष्टि इष्वास जाबाल भार भारत हैलिलि रौरव प्रवृद्ध इत्येतेषूनरपेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

38. The word महत् (महा) retains its accent before the following : त्रीहि, अपराह्ण, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जाबाल, भार, भारत, हैलिलि, रौरव, and प्रवृद्ध ॥

Thus महैत्रीहिः, महैपराहणः, महैगृष्टिः, महैज्वासः, महैजाबालः, महैभारः, महैभारतः, महै-हैलिलः, महैरौरवः, महैप्रवृद्धः ॥ The महत् has acute on the final. (Uṇ II. 84) On the पतिपदोन्न �maxim already mentioned under VI. 2. 26, this accent will apply to that compound of महत् which it forms under rule II. 1. 61, for that is the particular rule of Karmadhāraya compounding relating to mahat (pratipadokta). This rule therefore, will not apply to Genitive Tatpurusha. Thus महतो त्रीहिः = महद्वीहिः which has accent on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Q. The word प्रवृद्ध is a Participle formed by क्त affix, and by rule VI. 2. 46, in a Karmadhāraya compound, the first member will retain its original accent. What is then the necessity of reading this word in this sūtra ? Ans. That sūtra VI. 2. 46 applies, on the maxim of pradipadokta, to the special participles and nouns mentioned in II. 1. 59 and not to every participle and noun.

क्षुलकश्च वैश्वदेवे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुलकः, च, वैश्वदेवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुलक इत्येतस्पूर्वपदं महांश्च वैश्वदेवउत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

39. The words mahat and kshullaka retain their accent before the word Vaiśvadeva.

Thus महैवैश्वदेवम्, and क्षुलकैवैश्वदेवम् ॥ The word kshullaka is derived thus क्षुङ्ख लाति = क्षुङ्खः to which the Diminutive क (V. 3. 73 &c) is added : and the word has udātta on the final.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रशब्दः पूर्वपदं सादिवाम्याहन्तरपदयोःप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

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

Thus उष्ट्रसादि and उष्ट्रवामि ॥ The word उष्ट्र is derived from उष् by श्वर affix (Uṇ IV. 162) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is either a Karmadhāraya or a Genitive compound. In some texts the above examples are given with a visarga in the masculine, and not Neuter.

गौः सादसादिसारथिषु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गौः, साद, सादि, सारथिषु, प्रकृति स्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दः पूर्वपदं साद सादि सारथि इत्येतेषूनरपेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

41. The word 'गो' retains its accent before 'सादा', 'सादि', and 'सारथी'.

Thus गोःसादः or गां साद्यति = गो॑सादः, गोः सादिः = गो॑सादिः, and गो॑सारथिः ॥ साद is formed from सद् with the affix घर् and forms a Genitive compound (गोः सादः). Or from the causative verb साद्यति, we get गोसादः by adding अण् (III. 9. 1) गोसारी is formed by णिनि from the same causative root. The Krit-accent is debarred in the case of साद and सादिन्, the Samasa-accent VI. I. 223 in the case of सारथि ॥

कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगुरुव्यसूतजरत्यश्लीलहृप्तपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रूः पण्यकम्बलो
दासीभाराणां च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरुगार्हपत, रिक्तगुरु, असूतजरती, अश्लीलहृ-
प्तपा, पारेवडबा, तैतिलकद्रूः, पण्यकम्बलः, दासीभाराणाम्, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरुगार्हपत रिक्तगुरु असूतजरती अश्लीलहृप्तपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रू पण्यकम्बल इत्येते समा-
सारंतपां दासीभाराणां च पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुरुवृत्योगार्हपतश्च वक्तव्यम् ॥ २० ॥ संक्षयानिति उन्नत्यम् ॥

42. The first member retains its accent in the following :—‘Kuru-gârhapata’, ‘Rikta-guru’, ‘Asûta-jarati’, ‘Aslîla-dridha-rûpâ’, ‘Pâre-vadabâ’, ‘Taitila-kadrûh’, ‘Panya-kambalah’ and ‘Dâsî-bhâra &c’.

The first seven words are compounds, the first two of these are exhibited without any case-ending, the remaining five are in nom. Singular. Thus कुरुगार्हपतम् (कुरुणां गार्हपत, Kuru is formed by कु affix added to उ उ I. 24,) and has acute on the final.

Vṛtī :—So also वृजिगार्हपतम्, the word Vṛiji has acute accent on the first.

So also रिक्तो युरुः = रि॑क्तयुरुः or रिक्तयुरुः for rikta has acute either on the first or on the second (VI. I. 208). So also असूता जरती = अ॑सूतजरती, अश्लीलहृप्तपा = अ॑श्लील हृप्तपा ॥ Asûta and aslîla being formed by नम् particle have acute on the first : (VI. 2. 2). That which has श्री is called इलील, the affix लच् being added by its belonging to Sidhmâdi class, and र changed to ल by its belonging to kapilakâdi class. So also परेवडबा, 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 Ghritâdi class, and has acute on the final. तैतिलानां कद्रूः = तैतिल॑कद्रूः, the son or pupil of Titilin is Taitila formed by अण् affix. पण्यकम्बलः, panya ends in यत् and has acute on the first (VI. I. 213).

Vartī :—पण्यकम्बलः has acute on the first only when it is a name. Otherwise in पण्यत्वे कम्बले compound, the accent will be on the final by the general rule VI. I. 223. The word पण्य being formed by यत् affix (III. I. 101) is acutely accented on the first (VI. I. 213). The word पण्यकम्बलः is as Name when it means the market-blanket i. e. a blanket of a well known determinate size

and fixed price, which is generally kept for sale by the blanket-sellers. But when the compound means a saleable blanket, it takes the samasa accent (VI. 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 कृत्यतुल्यास्त्वा अजात्या II. I. 68, while here the compound is by विशेषणं विशेष्येण II. I. 51 and is a general compound. So also शस्याभारः = शस्यीभारः ॥ The words belonging to Dasi bhārādi class are all those Tatpurusha compound words, not governed by any of the rules of accent, in which it is desired that the first member should retain its accent. Some of them are देवैजूतिः, देवैसूतिः, देववीतिः, शैमुनीतिः ॥ Vasu has acute on the first being formed by a नित् affix (Uṇ. I. 9 10). ओषधिः = ओषोधीयतेऽस्याम्, formed by कि affix (III. 3. 93), ओष being formed by धम् has acute on the first (VI. I. 197). चन्द्रेमाः is formed by असि affix added to the root माऽ माने preceded by the upapada चन्द्र as, चन्द्र + मा + अस् = चन्द्र-मस्, the affix being treated as दित् (Uṇ. IV. 228), and चन्द्र is formed by एक affix (Uṇ. II. 13) and has acute on the final.

चतुर्थी तदर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थीं, तदर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थन्तं पूर्वपं तदर्थउत्तरपे तदनिधेयार्थं चत्तशाचिन्युत्तरपे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । तदिति चतुर्थन्तस्यार्थः 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 शूपसारु, कुण्डलैहिण्यम् ॥ The word शूप has accent on the first syllable, as it is formed by प (Uṇ. III. 27) treated as a नित् (Uṇ. III. 26). The word कुण्डल is formed by कल affix which is treated as चित् (Uṇ. I. 108) and has acute on the final. So also रैथदारु, वलीहिण्यम् ॥ Ratha is first-acute formed by kthan affix (Uṇ. II. 2). Vallī has acute on the final formed by दीष affix. (IV. I. 41) Why do we say 'it being suited to the first'? Observe कुवेरबलिः ॥ This accent applies when the second member denoting the material is modified into the first by workmanship. The composition takes place by II. I. 36.

अर्थे ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थीति वर्तते । अर्थशब्दउत्तरपे चतुर्थन्तं पूर्वपं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

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

Thus मात्रे हर्त् = मात्रार्थम्, देवैतार्थम्, अतिर्थर्थम् ॥ The words मातृ and पितृ are finally acute as taught so in Uṇādi sūtra (Uṇ. II. 95) : देवता being formed by a लित् affix (V. 4. 27) has acute on the middle ; अतिर्थ is formed by इथिन् affix and has acute on the first.

The difference between सर्व and अर्थ is that the former, like शब्द 'word', हिरण्य 'gold', has not inherent in it the sense of adaptability, while अर्थ means 'adapted'. Some say that the making of two sūtras, one with सर्व and the other with अर्थ indicates, that the former rule is applicable only to that compound where the material itself is changed into the substance of the first. Therefore the rule does not apply to अश्वासौ, अश्वसुरम् &c, though 'grass be suited for the horse' &c.

केच ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञान्ते चोचरपदे चतुर्थन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

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

Thus गौहितम्, मनुष्यहितम्, अश्वहितम्, गोरक्षितम्, अश्वरक्षितम्, तापर्तीरक्षितम् बनम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. I. 36. The compound गोरक्षितं means गो-भ्यासीबते and is a sampradana Dative.

कर्मधारये ऽनिष्टा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारये, अनिष्टा, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे ज्ञान्तउच्चरपदे ऽनिष्टान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

46. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', the first member, when it itself is not a Past Participle, retains its original accent in a Karmadhāraya compound.

This rule is confined to the Past Participles and the Nouns specifically mentioned in II. I. 59; on the maxim of pratipadokta &c. Thus श्रेणिकृताः, पूर्वकृताः, ऊकृताः, निधेनकृताः ॥ 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 पूर्व is end-acute as it is formed by the affix ग्रङ् (Uṇ I. 124). The word ऊकृता is also end-acute (VI. 2. 32). The word निधेन has acute on the middle. Why do we say in a Karmadhāraya compound? Observe श्रेण्या कृतं = श्रेणिकृतम् ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a non-nishṭhā word?' Observe कृताकृतम् ॥ Here the compounding is by II. I. 60.

अहीने द्वितीया ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहीने, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहीनवाचिनि समासे ज्ञान्तउच्चरपदे द्वितीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ द्वितीयानुपर्याति 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 कर्तृभितः, त्रिशकलपतितः, भौमगतः ॥ Kashṭa has acute on the end, triśakala is a Bahuvrīhi compound (triśi śakalāni asya), and consequently acute on the first: grāma has acute on the first as it is formed by the नित् affix

मन् added to अस्, the final being replaced by आ (Uṇ I. 143) ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning separation'? Observe कान्तारामतिः, योजनातिः, because one has taken himself beyond kāntāra and yojana.

Vart :—This rule does not apply when the Past Participle has an upasarga attached ; as शुखपापैः, दुःखपापैः शुखापत्रैः, दुःखापत्रैः (VI. 4. 144). This is an exception to rule VI. 2. 144.

तृतीया कर्मणि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, कर्मणि, (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मवाचित्ति ज्ञान्तरपे तृतीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

48. A word ending in an Instrumental case retains its accent before the Past Participle in 'kta', when it has a Passive meaning.

Thus अहिहतः or अहि॒हतः रुद्र॑हतः, वैज्ञहतः, महाराज॑हतः, नर॑निर्भिन्ना, सौभलूना ॥ The word 'ahi' is derived from हन् with the proposition आ which is shortened, and the affix इ॒ण् (Uṇ IV. 138), and has acute on the final, according to others the acute is on the first : Rudra is formed by रु॒क् affix (Uṇ II. 22) added to the causative रो॒दि ; Mahārāja is formed by the Samāsanta affix राज् ; nakha is formed by न् affix added to नह् (Uṇ V. 23) or it may be a Bahuvrīhi नास्य लभेत्ति = नलः, formed by अ॒ल् (V. 4. 121), and has acute on the final : Dâtra is formed by दृ॒त् (III. 2. 182). Why do we say when having a Passive significance? Observe रथेन यातः = रथयातः, the 'kta' is added to a verb of motion with an Active significance.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ नेत्रं कर्मणीति वर्तते । कर्मवाचित्ति ज्ञान्तरपे गतिरनन्तरः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवते ॥

49. A word called Gati (I. 4. 60) when standing immediately before a Participle in 'kta' having a Passive significance, retains its accent.

Thus प्रै॒हतः, प्रै॒हतः ॥ Here one of the following rules would have applied otherwise, namely, either (1) the Samasa end-acute IV. 1. 223 (2) or the Indeclinable first member to retain its accent VI. 2. 2, (3) or the end acute by VI. 2. 139 and 144. The present sūtra debars all these. Why do we say 'immediately'? Observe अभ्यै॒दृधृतः, सहै॒दृधृतः, सहृष्टै॒हतः ॥ 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 दूरात् + आैगतः (āgata being governed by this rule) we have दूराशगतैः, (II. 1. 39 and VI. 3. 2) where VI. 2. 144 has its scope, though it had not its scope in अभि + दृ॒धृतः = अभ्यै॒दृधृतः ॥ In the former case this maxim applies कृ॒भ्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्थापि यहणे ॥ "A Kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed, a word-form which begins with that to which that

Kṛit affix has been added, and which ends with the Kṛit affix, but moreover should a Gati or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the Kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it". In the second example, this maxim is not applied, because scope should be given to the word अनन्तर in this aphorism. When the Participle has not a Passive significance, the rule does not apply because the word कर्मणि is understood here also ; as, प्रकृतः कर्तं देवहस्तः ॥ This sūtra debars VI. 2. 144.

तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तादौ, च, निति, कृति, अ-तौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकारासै च तुशब्दवर्जिते निति कृति परतो गतिरनन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवति ॥

50. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before (a word formed by) a Kṛit-affix beginning with त्, which has an indicatory न्, but not before तु ॥

Thus प्रकर्ता (with तून्) प्रैकर्तुम् (with तुमुन्), प्रैकृतिः (with क्तिन्) ॥ This sūtra debars the Kṛit-affix accent (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say "before an affix beginning with त्"? Observe प्रज्ञल्पाकः formed with the affix आकन् (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 तृष्ण् affix. When a Kṛit-affix takes the augment इट्, it does not lose its character of beginning with त् on the Vartika कृदुपदेशो वा साध्यर्थभिडर्थम् ॥ Thus प्रैलपिता, प्रैलपितुम् ॥ Why do we say "but not before तु"? Observe आगन्तुः with the Uṇādi affix तुन् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ तवैप्रत्ययस्यान्त उत्तो भवति गतिशानन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वर इति एतदुभयं युगपदवति ॥

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 अन्वेत्तवै॒, पैरिस्तरित्तवै॒, पैरिपात्तवै॒, अभिष्चरित्तवै॒ ॥ All upasargas have acute on the first except 'abhi': which therefore has acute on the final. (Phit Su IV. 13) which declares उपसर्गा आशुशक्ता अभिवर्जनम् ॥ 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.

अनिगन्तोऽचतौ वप्रत्यये ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनिगन्तः, अऽचतौ, वप्रत्यये, (प्रकृतिस्वरः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिगन्तो गतिः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवत्यऽचतौ वप्रत्यये वरतः ॥

52. An immediately preceding Gati not ending in इ or उ, retains its original accent before अञ्च when an affix having a च follows.

Thus प्राह्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः; or प्राह्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥ The accent is acute and optionally svarita by VIII. 2. 6. So also पैराह्, पैराञ्चौ, पैराञ्चः, पैराचः, पैराचा ॥ But with प्रति which ends in इ, we have प्रत्यह्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चः here by VI. 2. 139 the second member retains its original accent. Why do we say 'before an affix च'? Observe उदञ्चनः ॥ When the nasal of 'aṅch' is elided, then rule VI. 1. 222 presents itself; but that rule is superseded when a Gati not ending in इ or उ precedes, because the present rule is subsequent. Thus पैराचः and पैराचा ॥ In some texts, the reading is अञ्चतापप्रत्यये ॥ The affix च is like क्रिष्ण &c., (VI. 1. 67).

न्यधी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, अधी, च, (प्रकृतिस्वरौ) ॥
शृणिः ॥ नि अधि इत्येतौ चाञ्चतौ वपत्यये परतः प्रकृतिस्वरौ भवतः ॥

53. The Gatis नि and अधि, however, retain their original accent before 'aṅch' followed by a च affix.

Thus न्यह्, न्यञ्चौ, न्यञ्चः ॥ The न्य becomes svarita by VIII. 2. 4. So also अंधयह्, अंधञ्चौ, अंधञ्चः, अंधीचः, अंधीचा, अंधीचा ॥

ईषदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्, अन्यतरस्या, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
शृणिः ॥ ईषित्यतस्यूपशम्यतरस्यां 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 ईषदभेदः &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) ॥
शृणिः ॥ हिरण्यपरिमाणवाचि पूर्वपदं धनशब्दउत्तरपदे इन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

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

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

प्रथमो अचिरोपसंपत्तौ ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमः, अचिरः, उपसम्पत्तौ (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमशब्दः पूर्वप्रथमचिरोपसंपत्तौ गम्यमानायामन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । अचिरापसंपत्तिर-
चिरोपसंलेपोऽभिनवत्वम् ॥

56. The word **प्रथम** when standing first in a compound, retains optionally its original accent when meaning 'a novice'.

The word अचिरोपसंपत्ति = अचिरोपसंलेप or अभिनवत्वम् ॥ Thus प्रथमैव्याकरणः or प्रथमैव्याकरणैः = संप्रतिष्ठाकरणमध्येतुं प्रवृत्तः 'one who has recently commenced to study Grammar'. The word प्रथम is derived from प्रथ by अम् (Un V. 68) and by चित् accent the acute falls on the last. Why do we say when meaning 'a Novice?' Observe प्रथमैव्याकरणैः (वैयाकरणानामायो 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 कतरशब्दम् पूर्वपरं कर्मधारये समासे उन्यतरस्यां 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 कतरकडः or कतरकडः, कतमकडः or कतमकडः ॥ 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 पूर्वपरं ब्राह्मणकुमारशब्दयोहत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासे उन्यतरस्यां 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 आर्यसंचियः ॥ Why 'Karmadhâraya'? Observe आर्यस्य ब्राह्मणः = आर्यब्राह्मणैः ॥ According to the Accented Text the accent is हैर्यै (Pro. Bohtlingk).

राजा च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ राजा च पूर्वपरं ब्राह्मणकुमारयोहत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासे उन्यतरस्यां 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 राजकुमारः ॥ The word राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् added to राज् (Un I. 156). But राजो ब्राह्मण = राजब्राह्मणः where the compound is not Karmadhāraya. The making of this a separate aphorism is for the purpose of preventing the yathāsankhya rule and also for the sake of the subsequent sūtra into which the anuvritti of राजन् runs and not of आयं ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ राजेति वर्तते, अन्यतरस्याभिति च । षष्ठधन्ते राजशब्दः पूर्वपद प्रत्येनस्युच्चरे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

60. The word 'rājan' ending in the Genitive case optionally retains its accent before the word प्रत्येनस् ॥

The words राजन् and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. Thus राजः ग्रत्येनाः or राजः प्रत्येनौ ॥ The sign of the Genitive is not elided by VI.3. 21. When आकोश is not meant we have, राजप्रत्येनाः or राजप्रत्येनौः ॥ Why do we say 'ending in the Genitive'? Observe राजा आसौ प्रत्येनाश = राजप्रत्येनाः no option.

के नित्यार्थे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, नित्यार्थे (पूर्वपदम् अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न्यान्तदञ्चरप्ये नित्यार्थे समाप्ते पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

61. A word having the sense of 'always', retains optionally its accent before a Past Participle in के ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दः पूर्वपद शिल्पिवाचिन्युच्चरप्ये अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

62. The word ग्राम when first member of a compound, optionally retains its accent before a word denoting "a professional man or artisan".

Thus भामनापितः or भामनापितैः, भामकुलालः or भामकुलालैः ॥ The word भाम has acute on the first. Why do we say "भाम"? Observe परमनापितैः ॥ Why do we say 'a śilpi a professional workman'? Observe भामरथ्या; where there is no option.

राजा च प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च, प्रशंसायाम्, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजशब्दः पूर्वपदे शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे प्रशंसायां गम्यमानाया मन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

63. The word राजन् followed by a profession-denoting noun, optionally retains its accent, when praise is to be expressed.

Thus राजनापितः or राजनापितैः, राजकुलालः or राजकुलालैः: "A royal barber i. e. a skillful barber or one fit to serve the king even" &c. It may be either a Karmadhāraya or a Genitive compound. Why do we say 'राजन्'? Observe परमनापितैः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting praise'? Observe राजनापितैः: 'king's barber'. Why do we say "a professional man"? Observe राजहस्ती 'a royal elephant'.

आदिरुदात्तः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि:, उदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरुदात्तं इत्येतत्पिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्यस्थामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यादिरुदात्तात्रो भवतीत्येत तदेवितप्यम् ॥

64. In the following up to VI. 2. 91 inclusive the phrase "the first syllable in—(the word standing in the Nominative) has the acute", is to be always supplied.

This is an adhikāra aphorism. The first syllable of the शुद्धपद will get the acute in the following aphorisms. In short, the phrase 'ādir udātta' should be supplied to complete the sense of the subsequent sūtras. The very next sūtra illustrates it. That sūtra literally means "a word in the Locative case or a word denoting the name of the receiver of a tax or tribute, standing before a word denoting that which is lawful, but not before हरण". To complete the sense we must supply the words "has acute on the first syllable". Thus स्तपेशाणः, मुकुटे कार्षपणम्, वैज्ञिकाभ्यः, 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 द्वरणे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, हारिणौ, धर्म्ये, अहरणे, (आदुदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं हारिवाचि च पूर्वपदे धर्म्यशाचिनि हरणशब्दादन्यासिन्दुत्तरपदे आशुवात्तं 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 धर्मवृत् 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 धर्मवृत् is formed by अत् under IV. 4. 91 and 92 and has the sense of both. Of Locative words we have the following examples: —स्तुपे-शाणः ईकुटे-कार्यपणम्, ईले-दिपसिका, ईले-विपसिका, ईष्वि-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:—शारिकाभः 'the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer'. So also वैयाकरणहस्ती, मौतुलाभः, पितृवृत्तग्रन्थः ॥ 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 स्तुपेवरमैः, कर्मकर वर्द्धितकैः वर्द्धितको नाम मूले स्थूलोमें सूक्ष्म धारन पिण्डः, स कर्मकराय शीघ्रते, अन्यथा कर्मन कुर्यात्सिति, न स्वयं धर्मः ॥ Why do we say "but not before इरण"? Observe वाडबहरणम् 'that which is given to a mare'. इरण is that customary food which is given to a mare after she has been covored, in order to strengthen her. The word इरण 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 sūtra supersedes the Kṛit accent enjoined by VI. 2. 139, so far. Thus वाडबहाशः has acute on the first by this rule, the subsequent VI. 2. 139 not applying.

युक्ते च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्ते, च, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तवाच्चिन च समासे पूर्वपदमाशुशास्तं भवति ।

66. The first member of a compound has acute on the first syllable, when the second member denotes that by whom the things denoted by the first are regulated or kept in order.

The word युक्तः means 'he who is prompt in the discharge of his appointed duty' i. e. the person appointed to look after. Thus गोवद्धवः 'a cowherd looking after cow': ईशबलवः, गोमणिन्दः, ईशमणिन्दः, गोसंख्यः, ईशसंख्यः ॥ All these word बलवः, मणिन्दः, संख्यः &c mean पालकः 'the protector &c.'

विभाषा अध्यक्षे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अध्यक्षे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यक्षशास्त्रउत्तरपदे विभाषा पूर्वपदमाशुशास्तं भवति ॥

67. The acute is optionally on the first syllable when the word अध्यक्ष follows.

Thus गैवाध्यक्षः or गवाध्यक्षः 'a superintendent of cows': ईश्वाध्यक्षः or अश्वाध्यक्षः ॥

पापं च शिलिपनि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पापम्, च, शिलिपनि, (विभाषा)(आद्युदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पापशास्तः शिलिपवाच्चिन्युत्तरपदे विभाषा अशुशास्तो भवति ॥

68. The word पाप has optionally acute on the first syllable when followed by a word denoting a professional man.

Thus पौपनापितः or पापनापितः, पौपकुलालः or पापकुलालः ॥ This rule applies to the pratipadokta samāsa of पाप in the sense of censure as taught in II. I. 54, when it is an appositional compound ; and not when it forms a Genitive compound. Thus पापस्थ्यनापितः = 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 जंघावास्त्वः = यो जंघावानं ददान्यहमिति वास्त्वः, संपद्यते सः; यथा श्राद्धार्है वास्त्वान्मेव पापप्रकाशनं क्रियते, तत्रावास्त्वः सन् वास्त्वाऽहमिति द्वाते तत्काभाय सः ॥ भार्यासौभ्रतः 'a descendant of Suśruta under the petticoat government of his wife'. The compounding takes place by the analogy of शाकपार्थिवः ॥ वैशाब्राह्मकुतेयः (Brahmakrita belongs to Subhrādi class). The above are examples of Gotra words. Now with scholar names. हुमारीवासा : '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, धृतराष्ट्रीयाः, and हौमेनपाणिनीयाः &c. भिक्षामाणवः = भिक्षांलस्येऽहमिति माणवो भवति ॥ हौसीब्राह्मणः, धृष्टली ब्राह्मणः, धैवतब्राह्मणः = यो भयेन ब्राह्मणः संपद्यते ॥ Compounding by II. I. 4 where no other rule applies. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gotra word ?' Observe शासीश्रोचिद्यः ॥ Why do we say 'when reproach is meant ?' Observe महाब्राह्मणः ॥

अङ्गानि भैरेये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गानि, भैरेये, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भैरेयशब्दउत्तरपदे तद्वाचाचीनि पूर्वपदान्याद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

70. The first syllable of the word preceding भैरेय, gets the acute, when it denotes the ingredient of the same.

Thus हुड्डभैरेयः 'the wine maireya prepared from treacle or molasses'. खेड्डभैरेयः 'the maireya prepared from honey'. Why do we say when denoting 'an ingredient ?' Observe परमभैरेयः ॥ Why do we say "before भैरेय ?" Observe तुष्पासवः ॥ Every sort of spirituous liquor except सुरा is called भैरेय ॥

भक्तास्त्वास्तदर्थेषु ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तास्त्वाः, तदर्थेषु, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तमन्त्रं तदास्त्वास्तदाचिनः शब्दास्तार्थेषुत्तरपदेषु भाद्युदात्ता 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 भिक्षाबासः, भैक्तकंसः, श्राणाकंसः, भौजीकंसः ॥ The words like भिक्षा, भैक्त &c, are names of food. Why do we say 'when denoting the name of food'? Observe समाशाशालवैः (the word समाश = समशन is the name of an 'action' and not of a 'substance'). Why do we say 'tadarthesu 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, सैन्धवेषु, उपमाने, (आदयुदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवाशिषूपमानवाचिष्ठूत्तरपरेषु पूर्वपरमाशुशानं 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 धौत्यगवः = धान्यं गौरिव ॥ The compounding takes place by II. I. 56, the words गो &c, being considered to belong to Vyāghrādi class, which is an Akṛitigana. The meaning of the compound must be given according to usage and appropriateness. Thus धान्यगवः means गवाकृत्याऽवस्थितं धान्यं ॥ So also हैरण्यगवः, भिक्षाबिडालः, श्राणविडालः, हृष्णसिंहः, कौष्ठिंसिंहः, सैन्धुसैन्धवः, पौनसैन्धवः ॥ Why do we say "when denoting the object of comparision"? Observe परमसिंहः ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अकप्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपरे जीविकार्थवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपरमाशुशानं 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 इन्तलेखकः, नैखलेखकः, अवस्करणोधकः, ऐमणीयकारकः = इन्तलेखनादिभिर्वैषां जीविका ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say when meaning 'means of living'? Observe इक्षुभिकाँ मे धारयति ॥ All affixes which ultimately become अक by taking substitutes, are called अक affixes. Thus प्युल्, शूल् &c are अक affixes (VII. I. 1). Why do we say "ending in the affix अक"? Observe रमणीयकर्ता ॥ Here the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17, and the affix शूल् is added in the sense of sport and not of livelihood.

प्राचां क्रीडायाम ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम, क्रीडायाम, (आदयुदात्तम्) वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्देशवर्तिनां या क्रीडा तद्वाचिनि समासे उकप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपरे पूर्वपरमाशुशानं 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 acute accent on the first syllable.

Thus दैत्याकुष्णभज्जिका, दीरणपुष्पप्रचाविका, शौलभज्जिका ॥ These are formed by पुष्ल् affix (III. 3. 109), and the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say 'of the Eastern Folk'? Observe जीवपुष्पप्रचाविका, which is a sport of the Western People. Why do we say 'when denoting a sport'? Observe तवपुष्पप्रचाविका 'thy turn for &c,' which is formed by पुष्च् (III. 3. 111) and denotes 'rotation or turn'.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्तरतरपेष नियुक्तवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाशुशात्तं भवति ॥

75. A compound, the second member of which is a word ending in the Krit-affix अण्, and which denotes a functionary, gets the acute on the first syllable.

Thus छेत्वधारः, शूष्णीधारः, कैमण्डलुप्राहः, दैत्याधारः ॥ Why do we say when meaning 'a functionary'? Observe काण्डलावः, शरलावः ॥

शिलिपनि चाकृतः ॥ ७६ ॥ शिलिपनि, च, अकृतः, (पूर्वपदम् आशुदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिलिपिवाचिनि समासे अनन्तरतरपेष पूर्वपदमाशुशात्तं भवति स अवश्य कृतो 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 कृत्), the acute is on the first syllable of the first word.

Here also the second term ends in अण् affix. Thus सन्तुवायः, हुम्बायः, वैलवायः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a work-man or professional person'? Observe काण्डलावः, शरलावः ॥ Why do we say 'but not when the affix अण् comes after कृ'? Observe कुम्भकारः, अवस्कारः ॥

संज्ञायां च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, च, (पूर्वपदम् आशुदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये अनन्तरतरपेष कृतः पूर्वपदमाशुशात्तं 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 सन्तुवायः 'a kind of insect, spider'. वैलवायः 'the hill Vālavāya'. But not so अण् with कृ; as एकारः 'the name of a Brāhmaṇa caste'.

गोतान्तियवं पाले ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, तन्ति, यवम्, पाले, (आशुदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो सन्ति यव इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पालशब्दउत्तरपेष आशुशानि भवति ॥

78. The words गो, तन्ति and यव get the acute on the first syllable when followed by पाल ॥

Thus गोपालः, तैन्तिपालः, यवपालः ॥ The word तान्ति is the rope with which calves are tied. (ततु विस्तरे + न्तिच्). This applies to words not denoting a functionary, which would be governed by VI. 2. 75. Why do we say गो &c ? Observe वस्तपालः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by पाल'? Observe गोरक्षः ॥

णिनि ॥ ७९ ॥ पठानि ॥ णिनि, (पूर्वपदम् आशुद्धात्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनन्तउत्तरपेत् पूर्वपदमाशुद्धात्म भवति ॥

79. A compound ending in the Kṛit-affix णिनि (इन्) has the acute on the first syllable of the first member.

Thus तुष्ट्यहारिन्, कैलहारिन्, पैर्णहारिन् ॥

उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव ॥ ८० ॥ पठानि ॥ उपमानम्, शब्दार्थ, प्रकृतौ, पथ, (आशुद्धात्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचि पूर्वपदं शब्दार्थं प्रकृतावेव णिनन्तउत्तरपदमाशुद्धात्म भवति ॥

80. When the first member of a compound expresses that with which resemblance is denoted, then it has acute on the first syllable, before a word formed by णिनि affix, only then, when such latter word is a radical without any preposition, and means 'giving out a definite sound like so and so'.

The word उपमान means the object with which something is likened : शब्दार्थ means 'expressing a sound'; प्रकृति means 'root, without any preposition'. Thus उष्ट्रक्लेशिन्, धौङ्कराविन्, खैरनादिन् ॥ The word उपमान shows the scope of this sūtra as distinguished from the last. So that, when the first term is an उपमान word, the preceding sūtra will not apply, though the second member may be a णिनि formed word. When the second term is not a word denoting sound, the rule will not apply. As वृक्षजिह्वैन्, वृक्षप्रेष्ठैन् which retain kṛit accent (VI. 2. 139) Why do we say 'a radical word without any preposition'? Observe गर्वभोवारिन्, कोकिलभिष्याहारिन् ॥ Here the second terms radically (i. e. chārin and hārin) do not denote sounds, but it is with the help of the Prepositions उत् and अभि, वि and आ that they mean sound. The force of एव is that the उपमान words are restricted. Such words get acute on the first syllable only then, when the second member is a radical sound name. According to Patanjali, the first syllable gets acute, whether it denotes उपमान or not, when the second word is a radical denoting sound. (शब्दार्थं प्रकृतौ शुपमानं चातुर्पमानं चाशु-शात्तमिष्यते) ॥ As पुष्कलज्ञिपद्, for had एव not been used, the sūtra would have run

thus: उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतौ and would mean:—"If the second member is a sound denoting radical word, then the upamāna first member and no other will get the acute". But this is not what is intended : because when the second member is a sound-denoting radical, the first member will get the acute, whether it is upamāna word or not. The word एव therefore restricts upamāna; i. e. a first member denoting उपमान will get the accent then only, when the second term is a sound-denoting radical. If the second term is not a sound denoting radical, the first term denoting upamāna will not get the accent. The compounding takes place by III. 2. 79.

युक्तारोहादयश्च ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्तारोहादयः, च (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तारोहादयः समासा आद्युदात्ता भवति ॥

81. The compounds युक्तारोहित् &c, have acute on the first syllable.

Thus १ युक्तारोही, २ आगतरोही, ३ आगतयोधी, ४ आगतवज्ची, ५ आगतनरी, ६ आगतनन्वी, ७ आगतप्रहारी ॥ These are formed by जिनि affix, and are illustrations of Rule VI. 2. 79. Some say, these declare a restrictive rule with regard to the first and second member of these terms. Thus रोहित् &c must be preceded by युक्त्, &c and युक्त् &c followed by रोहित् &c to make this rule VI. 2. 79 applicable. Thus वृक्षारोहित् though ending in जिनि does not take acute on the first, so युक्ताध्यायिन् ॥ ८ आगतमस्त्या or °स्त्य, ९ क्षीरहोता, १० भैरिनीभर्ता ॥ The last two are Genitive compounds under Rule II. 2. 9. ११ भामगोधुक्, १२ अभित्रिरात्रः, १३ गर्भत्रिरात्रः, १४ व्युट्रिरात्रः, १५ शनपादः (गणपादः), १६ समपादः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. १७ एकशितिपात्=एकःशितिःपातोऽस्त्य ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi of three terms. The word एकशितिः is a Taddhitārtha Samāsa (II. 1. 51), and being a Tatpurusha, required acute on the final, as the Tatpurusha accent is stronger. This declares acute on the first. Moreover by VI. 2. 29, this word 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 द्विशितिःपाद् has acute on ति ॥ The enumeration of the एकशितिपात् further proves by implication that the (एकशितिपात् स्वरवचने हीनक निमित्तस्वरबलीयस्त्वस्य) accent for the application of which a case is present is stronger. (See Mahābhāshya II. 1. 1.) The class of compounds known as पौत्रेतमित &c, (II. 1. 48) also belong to this class.

१ युक्तारोही, २ आगतरोही, ३ आगतयोधी, ४ आगतवज्ची, ५ आगतनरी (आगतनरी), ६ आगतप्रहारी, ७ आगतमस्त्या: (आगतमस्त्या), ८ क्षीरहोता, ९ भैरिनीभर्ता, १० भामगोधुक्, ११ अभित्रिरात्रः १२ गर्भत्रिरात्रः, १३ व्युट्रिरात्रः, १४ गणपादः (गणपादः), १५ एकशितिपात्, १६ पात्रेतमितादयश्च (पात्रेतमितादयश्च), १७ समपादः ॥

दीर्घकाशतुष्प्राणवर्तं जे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घ, काश, तुष, भ्राण्ड, घटम, जे, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्घान्तं पूर्वपरं काश तुष भ्राण्ड वट इत्येतानि च जडन्तरपरे आद्युदात्तानि भवति ॥

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

Thus कुंटीजः, हौमीजः, कौशजः, तुषजः, झाष्जः, घटजः: These are formed by the affix ज् added to अन् (III. 2. 97).

अन्त्यात्पूर्वे बहुचः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, बहुचः (उदात्तम् जे) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ जात्यात्पैषे बहुचः पूर्वपदस्यात्पूर्वबुधात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus उपसूरजः, मन्त्रुरजः, आमलेकीजः, and वृद्धाजः: (though the last two words have upapadas ending in long vowel, the accent is governed by this sūtra and not the last). Why do we say "a Polysyllabic first member"? Observe दग्धजानि तुणानि ॥

ग्रामेऽनिवसन्तः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामे, अनिवसन्तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दउत्तरपैषे पूर्वपदमायुशात्तं भवति न चेन्निवसद्वाचिभवति ॥

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

Thus मैक्षयामः, वैगिग्रामः ॥ Here याम is equal to समूह 'an assembly'. देव-यामः = देवस्याभिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning inhabitants'. Observe शासियामः: 'a village inhabited by the descendants of Daksha', माहिक्यामः: 'a village inhabited by Māhikas'.

घोषादिषु च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ घोषादिषु, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घोषादिषु चात्यात्पैषु पूर्वपदमायुशात्तं भवति ॥

85. The first member has acute on the first syllable when followed by घोष &c.

Thus शासियोषः, शासिकटः, शासिपत्थलः, शासिवशी, शासिवलभः, शासिङ्गः, शासिपितूलः, शासिपितृष्ठः, शासिमाला, शासिरसा, शासिशाला, or (रसः or °शालः), शासिशिल्पी, शैश्वर्यः, शासि-शास्त्रमली, कुम्भतृष्णम्, झाशमशुनिः, शासिरुंसा, शासिकूटः ॥

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 (षट), 3 वशम (पत्थल), 4 इङ्ग, 5 वशी (वशी), 6 पितूल, 7 पितृष्ठ, 8 माला, 9 रसा (रसः), 10 शाला (शालः), 11 कूट, 12 शास्त्रमली, 13 अश्वर्य, 14 हृष, 15 शिल्पी, 16 झुनि, 17 प्रेसा (प्रेसाङ्ग ; उंसा) ॥

छान्त्यादयः शालायाम् ॥८६॥ पदानि ॥ छान्त्यादयः, शालायाम्, (आद्युदात्तः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ शालायामुत्तरपैषे छान्त्यादय भायुशात्ता भवति ॥

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

Thus शाचिशाला, देविशाला, भौषिणशाला ॥

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 शाचिशालम्, देविशालम् ॥

1 शाचि, 2 पेलि (ऐलि), 3 भाष्टि, 4 व्याचि, 5 आत्मचिति, 6 भाटि, 7 गामि (गौमि) ॥

प्रस्थे अवृद्धमकर्यादीनाम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थे, अवृद्धम्, अकर्यादीनाम्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्यात्माम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थशब्दउत्तरपदे कर्म्यादिवर्जितमवृद्धं पूर्वपदमायुशास्त्रं भवति ॥

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

Thus ईन्द्रप्रस्थः, कुण्डप्रस्थः, ईशप्रस्थः, ईवणप्रस्थः ॥ But not in शक्षिप्रस्थः, माहिकप्रस्थः which have Vṛiddhi in the first syllable ; nor also in कर्कीप्रस्थः, मधीप्रस्थः &c.

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

मालादीनां च ॥ << ॥ पदानि ॥ मालादीनाम्, च, (आदिः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थश्च वर्तते । प्रस्थउत्तरपदे मालादीनामादिशास्त्रो भवति ॥

88. The first syllable of माला &c, gets the acute when प्रस्थ follows.

Thus शालाप्रस्थः, शालाप्रस्थः ॥ This sūtra applies even though the first syllables are Vṛiddhi vowel. In the words एक and शोणा the letters ए and ओ are treated as Vṛiddhi (I. 1. 75).

1 माला, 2 शाला, 3 शोणा (शोण), 4 द्राक्षा, 5 भाक्षा, 6 भामा, 7 काञ्ची, 8 एक, 9 काम, 10 खौमा ॥

अमहश्च नगरे अनुदीचाम् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, महत, नवम्, नगरे, अनुदीचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरशब्दउत्तरपदे महत्वशब्दवर्जितं पूर्वपदमायुशास्त्रं भवति तदेदुर्लिङ्गं न भवति ॥

89. The first member has acute on the first syllable before the word नगर, but not when it is the word महत् or नव, nor when it refers to a city in the lands of the Northern People.

Thus सुद्धनगरम्, शुण्डनगरम्, विश्वनगरम् ॥ But not in महानगरम् and नवनगरम्. Why do we say "but not of Northern People"? Observe नान्दीनगरम् कान्तीनगरम् ॥

अर्मे चावणे दूव्यच्छ्यच् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्मे, च, अवर्णम्, दूव्यच्, श्यच्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्मशब्दउत्तरपदे द्व्यच् श्यच् पूर्वपदमवर्णन्तमाशुशानं 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 इन्तार्मम्, शैसार्मम्, कुँकुटार्मम्, वौशसार्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in अ (long or short)'? Observe भूहर्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'consisting of two or three syllables'? Observe कापिञ्जलार्मम् ॥ The words महा and नव are to be read here also. The rule therefore does not apply to महार्मम् and नवार्मम् ॥

नं भूताधिकसंजीवमद्राश्मकञ्जलम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अश्म, कञ्जलम्, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत अधिक संजीव मद्र अश्मन् कञ्जल इयेतानि पूर्वपदानि अर्मशब्दउत्तरपदे नाशुशानानि भवन्ति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आशुशान्तप्रकरणे विवोशासानां छन्वस्तुपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The following words do not get acute on the first syllable, when standing before 'arma', viz : भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अश्मन् and कञ्जल ॥

Thus भूतार्मम्, अधिकार्मम्, संजीवार्मम्, मद्रार्मम्, अश्मार्मम्, मद्राश्मार्मम् (because the sūtra shows the compounding of those words in madrāśmam) कञ्जलार्मम् ॥ All these compounds have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Vart :—In the Vedas the words विवोशासाय गायत, वद्गृष्णाय शशुषे ॥

अन्तः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्गृष्णामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्थानं उदात्तो भवतीयेवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

92. In the following sūtras upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive, is to be supplied the phrase "the last syllable in a word standing in the Nominative case has the acute".

This is an adhikāra aphorism. In the succeeding sūtras, the last syllable of the first member of a compound gets the acute accent. Thus in the next sūtra the word सर्वं gets acute on the final. This adhikāra extends upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive.

सर्वं गुणकात्स्म्ये ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वम्, गुण, कात्स्म्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं गुणकात्स्म्ये वर्तमानमत्तोशानं भवति ॥

93. The acute is on the final of the word सर्वं standing as first member before an attributive word, in the sense of 'whole, through and through'.

Thus सर्वैषेतः, सर्वैक्षणः, सर्वैमहाम् ॥ Why do we say सर्वै? Observe परमधेतः, here the attribute of धेत 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 गुणकास्त्रिय here at all, but a विकारकास्त्रिय ॥ Why do we use the word 'Kārtsnya or complete pervasion". Observe सर्वैषां धेततरः = सर्वैषेतः here the compounding takes place by the elision of the affix तत् denoting comparison, and as it shows only comparative, not absolute, whiteness, the rule does not apply. Moreover, in this example, the "kārtsnya" is not that of "guṇa" but of "guṇ!", not of the 'attribute', but of the 'substance'. *Objection*:—How do you form such a compound सर्वैषां धेततरः = सर्वैषेतः, for it is prohibited by II. 2. 11.? *Ans.* We do it on the strength of the following Vārtika शुणात्तरेण समासो वन्नव्यः, सलोपम् ॥

संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, गिरि, निकाययोः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गिरि निकाय इत्येतयोहन्तरपश्योः पूर्वपदमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus अज्जनैगिरिः, भज्जनैगिरिः, The finals of अज्जना and भज्जना are lengthened by VI. 3. 117. शापिष्ठिनिकायः, मौषिष्ठिनिकायः, चिलिष्ठिनिकायः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe परमगिरिः, ब्राह्मणनिकायैः ॥

कुमार्यै वयसि ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार्याम्, वयसि, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्)॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार्याद्वन्नरप्ये वयसि गम्यमाने पूर्वपदमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

95. The last syllable of the first member gets the acute when the word कुमारी follows, the compound denoting age.

Thus वृद्धकुमारी 'an old maid'. The compounding is by II. 1. 57. अर्तकुमारी ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 49 with अर्ती ॥ The words become masculine by VI. 3. 42 in both examples. Q. The word कुमारी was formed by डीप् by IV. 1. 20 in denoting the prime of youth, how can this word be now applied to denote old age by being coupled with वृद्धा or अर्ती; 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 अर्ती is applied. Why do we say "when the compound denotes age"? Observe परमकुमारी ॥

उदके उकेवले ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदके, अ, केवले, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्)॥ वृभिः ॥ अकेवलं भिश्च तद्वच्चिनि समासे उदकशब्दवन्नरप्ये पूर्वपदमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

96. Before the word उदक, when the compound denotes a mixture, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गुडोऽकम् or गुडो॒कम्, तिलोऽकम् or तिलो॒कम् ॥ When we have already made the गु and ल acute by this rule, then the svarita accent may result optionally, by the combination of the acute अ of गुडा and तिला and the subsequent grave उ of ऽकम्, by Rule VIII. 2. 6. The word अङ्केवल means mixture. When mixture is not meant, this rule does not apply. As शीतोश्चकम्, उर्ज्ञोश्चकम् ॥

द्विगौ क्रतौ ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, क्रतौ, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगाद्बुद्धरप्ते क्रतुवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमन्तोशासं भवति ॥

97. Before a Dvigu, when the compound denotes a sacrifice, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गर्भंचिराचः, चारक्तंचिराचः, कुसुश्चिराचः—गर्भाणं चिराचः &c. Why do we say ‘before a Dvigu compound’? Observe अतिरात्रैः (रात्रिमस्तिकान्त इति प्रादिसमाप्तः) which being formed by the Samasānta affix अच् (V. 4. 87) has acute on the final (VI. 1, 163). Why do we say ‘when denoting a sacrifice’? Observe विल्वसप्तराचः—विल्वशतस्य विल्वहोमस्य वा सप्तराचः ॥

सभायां नपुंसके ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाम्, नपुंसके, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दउत्तरप्ते नपुंसकलिङ्गसमासे पूर्वपदमन्तोशासं 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 गोपालंसभम्, पशुपालंसभम्, शीर्षासभम्, गावडालंसभम् ॥ 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, रमणीयसंभं, here the word सभा is neuter not by the force of any particular rules, but because the thing designated (अभिधम्) is neuter.

पुरे प्राचाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरे, प्राचाम्, (पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरशब्दउत्तरप्ते प्राचां देशे पूर्वपदमन्तोशासं 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 कलार्पुरम्, कार्णीपुरम्, शिवर्ज्ञपुरम्, कार्णपुरम्, नामपुरम् ॥ Why do we say ‘of the Eastern people’? Observe शिवपुरम् ॥

अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अरिष्ट, गौड, पूर्वे, च, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अरिष्ट गौड इत्यन्पूर्वे समासे पुरशब्दउत्तरप्ते पूर्वपदमन्तोशासं भवति ॥

100. When the words अरिष्ट and गौड stand first, the first member has the acute on the final before the word पुर ॥

Thus अरिष्टपुरम्, गौडपुरम् ॥ By the force of the word पुर् in the aphorism, we can apply the rule to अरिष्टभ्रित्पुरम्, गौडभ्रित्पुरम् ॥

न हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, हास्तिन, फलक, मार्देयाः, (अन्तोदातानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हास्तिन फलक मार्देय इथेतानि पूर्वपशानि पुरशब्द उत्तरपेत्रे नान्तोदातानि 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 शृङ्ग is मार्देय formed by ड्क्, the word belonging to Subhrādi class. The उ is elided by VI. 4. 147.

कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ, शालम्, बिले ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कुसूल कूप कुम्भ शाला इथेतानि पूर्वपशानि बिलशब्दउत्तरपेत्रे अन्तोदातानि भवन्ति ॥

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

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

दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्शब्दाः, ग्रामज-नपदाख्यान, चानराटेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्शब्दाः पूर्वपशानि अन्तोदातानि भवन्ति ग्रामजनपदाख्यानवाचिष्ठूत्तरपेत्रु चानराटशब्दे च ॥

103. Words expressing direction (in space or time) have acute on the last syllable, when followed by a word denoting a village, or a country or a narrative, and before the word चानराट ॥

Thus पूर्वैपुकामशामी, अपरैपुकामशामी or पूर्वै and अपरै' (VIII. 2. 6). The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. पूर्वैकृष्णशृत्तिका, अपरैकृष्णशृत्तिका ॥ Country name—पूर्वैपञ्चालाः, अपरैपञ्चालाः ॥ These are Karmadharā compounds (II. 1. 58). Story name—पूर्वांधिरामम् or पूर्वा, पूर्वायातम्, पूर्वांधिरामकम्, अपरायातम् ॥ So also पूर्वायानराटम्, अपरायानराटम् ॥ The employment of the term शब्द in the aphorism shows that time-denoting दिक् words as in पूर्वशयात् should also be included. The word अधिरामम् is derived from अधिराममधिकृत्य कृतो गन्थः (IV. 3. 87).

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिनि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्ते-वासिनि, (अन्तोदाताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिवाचिन्युत्तरपेत्रे दिक्शब्दा अन्तोदाता भवन्ति ॥

104. The direction denoting words have acute on the final, before the names of scholars, when such names are derived from those of their teachers.

Thus पूर्वपाणिनीयाः, अपरैपाणिनीयाः, पूर्वकाशकृस्नाः, अपरैकाशकृस्नाः ॥ Compare VI. 2. 36 Why do we say 'when derived from the names of their Teachers'? Observe पूर्वशिष्याः ॥ Why do we say 'Scholar-names'? Observe पूर्वपाणिनीयं शास्त्रम् ॥ (पाणिनीयं शास्त्रं पूर्वं चिरन्तनम्) ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर-पद-वृद्धौ, सर्वम् च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्यधिकृत्य या विहिता वृद्धिस्तद्युत्तरपदे सर्वशब्दोऽविक्षस्त्रभान्तोशत्ता भवन्ति ॥

105. Words denoting direction and the word सर्व have acute on the final, before a word which takes Vṛiddhi in the first syllable of the second term by VII. 3. 12 and 13.

By the sūtra उत्तरपदस्य VII. 3. 10. 12, the Vṛiddhi of the Uttarapada is ordained when the Taddhita affixes having श्, ष् or क् follow, the Purvapada being शु, सर्व and अर्ध ॥ The word उत्तरपदवृद्धिः therefore, means that word which takes Vṛiddhi, under the rule relating to uttarapada, i. e. under rule VII. 3. 12 and 13. Thus पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरैपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः ॥ These are formed by द्वृश् affix (IV. 2. 125). Why do we say "which takes Vṛiddhi in the second term?" Had the word उत्तरपद not been used, then the sūtra would have run thus वृद्धौ सर्वं च, and would have applied to cases like सर्वमासः, सर्वकारकः where मासः and कारकः are Vṛiddha words not by virtue of VII. 3. 12.

बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, विश्वम्, संज्ञायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे विश्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं संज्ञायां विश्वे इन्द्रोशत्ता भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus विश्वेवः, विश्वेयशाः, विश्वेमहान् ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first member in a Bahuvrīhi would have retained its original accent. Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi compound? Observe विश्वे च देवाः = विश्व-देवाः ॥ Why do we say 'when a name'? Observe विश्वेदेवा अस्य = विश्वेदः ॥ But विश्वामित्रः and विश्वाजिनः have acute on the final, as they are governed by the subsequent rule VI. 2. 165 which supersedes this. The word Bahuvrīhi governs the succeeding sūtras upto VI. 2. 120 inclusive. The word विश्व is originally acute on the first, as it is formed by the affix व्यन् added to विश् ॥ This rule has unrestricted scope in विश्वेवः, विश्वेयशाः 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 vpratishedha, VI. 2. 165 supersedes this.

उदराभेषुषु ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदर, अश्व, इषु षु ।
वृत्तिः ॥ उदर अश्व इषु इत्यतेषून्तरपरेषु बहुवीक्षी समासे संज्ञाया विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus वृक्षेशः, शोर्मैशः, हर्षेभः, यौवनाभः, सुवर्णपुरुषेषुः and मैर्षुः ॥ This sūtra is also an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first term would have retained its original accent. The word वृक्ष has acute on the first by Phit II. 7. The word शैश्व is formed by मनिन् affix (Uṇ IV. 145) and is first acute; हर्षि 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 अ॒॒ then it is already end-acute and would retain its accent even by VI. 2. 1. The first Bahuvrīhi word सुवर्ण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, the second Bahuvrīhi compound सुवर्णपुरुषः has acute on र्ण by VI. 2. 1, the third Bahuvrīhi with इषु gets accent on ष्य ॥ The word महत् is end-acute by V. 2. 38. Its mention here appears redundant.

क्षेपे ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने उदराविषून्तरपरेषु बहुवीक्षी समासे संज्ञायां विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus कुण्डोशः, घटोशः, कट्टकाभः, स्थनिताभः, अनिधातेषुः, 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 Bahuvrīhi by VI. 2. 1. but for this sūtra. The word घट is formed by अ॒॒ (III. 1. 134) and has acute on the final, and so it would have retained this accent by VI. 2. 1. even with out this sūtra. The word कट्टक being formed by कन् (V. 3. 75) has acute on the first. स्थानित is formed by the Nishṭā affix न्तः ॥ The word अनिधात being an avyayibhāva, the first member would have retained its original accent. In this and the last sūtra, all the acutes may optionally be changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 6. But अनुशः and शूरैः have acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, which being a subsequent sūtra, supersedes this present, so far as अन् and शु are concerned.

नदी वन्धुनि ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नदी, वन्धुनि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवीक्षी समासे वन्धुन्तरपरेषे नद्यन्तं पूर्वपदमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

109. In a Bahuvrīhi compound having the word वन्धु as its second member, the first member ending in the Feminine affix ई (नदी word) has the acute on its final syllable.

Thus गौर्णीवन्धुः, वास्तीवन्धुः ॥ The words गौर्णी and वास्ती are formed by adding दीर्घ (IV. 1. 16) to गार्य and वास्य ending in अ (IV. 1. 105), and therefore, they are first acute. By VI. 2. 1 this accent would have been retained, but for the present sūtra. Why do we say "a Nadi (Feminine in ि) word"? Observe ब्रैद्यवन्धुः, the word ब्रैद्य has acute on the first syllable as it is formed by मनिक् (Uṇ IV. 146) and it retains that accent (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say "before बन्धु"? Observe गौर्णीप्रियः ॥

निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपसर्ग-पूर्वम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

यन्मः ॥ बहुव्रीही समासे निष्ठान्तमुपसर्गपूर्वे पूर्वपश्चन्यतरस्यामन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus प्रधौतेत्तुलः or प्रधौतेत्तुलैः (VI. 2. 169), or प्रधौतेत्तुलः (VI. 2. 49 and 1) प्रधालितेपादः or प्रधालितेपादः ॥ When the word तुल means (mouth) then by VI. 2. 167 which is an optional rule, the accent falls on the last syllable लः ॥ When the other alternative is taken or when it does not mean (mouth) then by VI. 2. 49 the acute falls on प्र, which accent is retained (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say "a Nishṭha"? Observe प्रसक्तत्तुलः which is acute in the middle by the कृत accent being retained after प्र (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'preceded by a preposition'? Observe शुष्कत्तुलश् which has acute on the first by VI. 1. 206.

उत्तरपदादिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर, पदादिः, (उदात्तः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपशादिरत्येतत्तदिक्ततम् । यदित उद्धमनुक्रमिष्याम उत्तरपश्चादिस्तानो मवतीत्येवं तद्वित्तव्यम् ॥

111. In the following sūtras, upto VI. 2. 136 inclusive, should always be supplied the phrase "the first syllable of the second member has the acute".

This is an adhikāra aphorism and the word उत्तर � exerts its influence upto the end of the chapter, while the word आदि has scope upto VI. 2. 187 exclusive.

कर्णो वर्णलक्षणात् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णः, वर्ण, लक्षणात्, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीही समासे वर्णवाचिनो लक्षणवाचिन वर्णशब्दउत्तरपश्चात्युशात्तं भवति ॥

112. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, the word कर्ण standing as second member, has acute on the first syllable, when it is preceded by a word denoting color or mark.

Thus with color we have शुक्रकर्णः, कृष्णकर्णः, and with mark-name, we have शाकर्ण शहकर्णः, the lengthening of शक and शंक takes place by VI. 3. 115.

The marks of 'scythe', 'arrow' &c, are made on the ears of cattle to mark and distinguish them. It is such a 'mark' which is meant here, therefore, the rule does not apply to स्थूलकर्णः ॥ Why do we say कर्ण ? Observe भृतपाशः, कूटशृङ्खः here भृत being formed by अच् (II. 1. 134) is end-acute, and कूट being formed by क (III. 1. 135) is also end-acute and these accents are retained in the compound. Why do we say "when preceded by a word denoting color or mark"? Observe शोभनपाशः where शोभन being formed by शुच् (III. 2. 149) is end-acute and this accent is retained (VI. 2. 1).

संज्ञौपम्ययोच्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, औपम्ययौः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामौपम्ये च वा बहुत्रीहिर्वर्तते तत्र कर्णशब्द उत्तरपश्चात्युशान्तं भवति संज्ञावाप् ॥

113. In a Bahuvrīhi the second member कर्ण has acute on the first syllable, when the compound denotes a Name or a Resemblance.

Thus कुडिकर्णः, मणिकर्णः, are Names: गोकर्णः, खरकर्ण denote resemblance i. e. "persons having ears like a cow or an ass".

कण्ठपृष्ठश्रीवाजङ्घं च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, श्रीवा, जङ्घम्, च, (आशु-
दात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्ठ पृष्ठ श्रीवा जङ्घा इत्येतानि उत्तरपश्चाति बहुत्रीही समासे संज्ञौपम्ययोराशुशास्ति भवति ॥

114. In a Bahuvrīhi expressing a Name or comparison, the second members कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, श्रीवा and जङ्घा have acute on the first syllable.

Thus Name: चितिकण्ठः, नीलकण्ठः ॥ Comparison खरकण्ठः, उष्ट्रकण्ठः ॥ Name काण्डपृष्ठः, नाकपृष्ठः ॥ Resemblance गोपृष्ठ, अजपृष्ठः ॥ Name सुमीवः, नीलमीवः, दशमीवः ॥ Resemblance गोमीवः, अद्वमीवः ॥ Name नारीजङ्घः, लालजङ्घः ॥ Resemblance गोजङ्घः, अद्वजङ्घः, एणीजङ्घः ॥

The sūtra कण्ठपृष्ठश्रीवाजङ्घ is in Neuter gender, and जङ्घा is shortened as it is a Samāhāra Dvandva. In the case of सुमीव, the accent would have fallen on the final व by VI. 2. 172, this ordains acute on श्री ॥

शृङ्खमवस्थायां च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृङ्खम्, अवस्थाम्, च (आशुदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शृङ्खशब्द उत्तरपश्चात्युश्ययां संज्ञौपम्ययोच्च बहुत्रीही आशुशान्तं भवति ॥

115. In a Bahuvrīhi denoting age, (as well as a Name or a Resemblance), the second member शृङ्ख gets acute on the first syllable.

Thus उदगतशृङ्खः, द्विगुलशृङ्खः, धन्युलशृङ्खः ॥ Here the word शृङ्ख denotes the particular age of the cattle at which the horns come out, or become one or two inches long. Name:—कन्यशृङ्खः: comparison: गोशृङ्खः, भेषशृङ्खः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'age &c'. Observe स्थूलशृङ्खः ॥

नभो जरमरमित्रमृताः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नभः, जर, मर, मित्र, मृताः, (आ-
घुटाताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न कु उत्तरे जरमरमित्रमृता बहुवीहो समासे आशुशात्ता भवति ॥

116. After a Negative Particle, in a Bahuvrīhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of जर, मर, मित्र and मृत ॥

Thus अज्ञैः, अमैरः, अमित्रः and अमृतः ॥ Why do we say after a Negative Particle? Observe ब्राह्मणमित्रः ॥ Why do we say "जर &c". Observe अग्नैः when the final gets the acute by VI. 2. 172.

सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, मन्-असी, अ लोम, उषसी ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सोहस्तरमनन्तमसन्तं च बहुवीहो समासे आशुशात्ता भवति लोमोषसीवर्जयित्वा ॥

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

Thus सुर्कर्मन्, सुर्षमन्, सुर्पियमन्, सुर्वेष्ट, सुर्येष्ट, सुर्जोतस् so also सुर्कृत् and सुर्षत् from the root संस् and घंस् with the affix किंप् ॥ The final स् is changed to त् 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, कृतयश्च ॥ 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 श् and त्, but with सु, the accent is thrown on the final by VI. 2. 172. Why do we say with the exception of लोमन् and उषस्? Observe सुलोमैन् and सुर्वैस् (VI. 2. 172). The following maxim applies here : अनिमस्त्र ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चान्यर्थेन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोजयन्ति "whenever अन्, or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in Grammar, denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there (अन्, इन्, अस् and मन्) represent these combinations of letters, both in so far as they possess and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning". Therefore the मन् and अस् void of meaning are also included here. Thus धर्मन् is formed by मन् (Uṇ. I. 140), but कर्मन् is formed by मनिन् (Uṇ. IV. 145), and प्रथिमन् is formed by इमनिष्ट् affix (V. 1. 122) in which मन् is only a part. Similarly यशस् is formed by असुन् (Uṇ. IV. 191), and so also सोतस् (Uṇ. IV. 202); but in सुधर्वैस् (सुधस् from धंस् with the affix किंप् III. 2. 76) the rule applies also, though अस् is here part of the root. But when the samāsānta affix कप् is added (V. 4. 154), then the accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding कप्, for there the subsequent Rule VI. 2. 173 supersedes the present rule: thus सुर्कर्मैकः, सुर्जोतस्कः ॥

कृत्वादयम् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्वादयः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्वादयः सोहस्तरे बहुवीहो समासे आशुशात्ता भवति ।

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

Thus सुक्रतुः, सुहृष्टीकः, सुरैपूर्तिः, सुरैव्यः, सुरैगः, सुरैतकिः ॥

आशुदात्तं द्वयच्छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशुदात्तम्, दृच्च, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशुदात्तं इत्युत्तरपरे बहुव्रीही समासे सोरुत्तरं तशशुशत्तमेष्व भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

119. In a Bahuvrīhi compound in the Chhandas, a word of two syllables with acute on the first syllable, when preceded by सु, gets acute on the first syllable.

In other words, such a word retains its accent. Thus:—स्वशुस्तिन्धुः सुरथा सुवासा (Rig Veda X. 76. 8). Here हृष्टः and सुरथः have acute on अ and र, which they had originally also, for अथ and रथ are formed by क्रत् (Uṇ I. 151) and कथत् (Uṇ II. 2) respectively and have the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'having acute on the first syllable'? Observe वा सुब्राह्मः संइयुरिः (Rig II. 32. 7). Here वाह् has acute on the final (Uṇ I. 27 formed by उ affix and has the accent of the affix III. 1. 3). Why do we say 'having two syllables'? Observe सुगुरसत्, सुहृष्टः ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 173.

वीरवीर्योच ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ वीर, वीर्यो, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वीर वीर्य इत्येतौ अ शब्दौ सोरुत्तरै बहुव्रीही समासे छन्दसि विषये आशुदात्तौ भवतः ।

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

Thus सुवीरेण वे, सुवीरस्ते जनिता (Rig IV. 17. 4) सुवीर्येत्वद्व्यथः (Rig VIII. 13 36) where सुवीर्य has acute on वी ॥ So also सुवीर्यस्य 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 sūtra shows that Rule VI. 1. 213 does not apply to वीर्य ॥ The word वीर्य has svarita on the final in the Chhandas, by Phit IV. 9. In the secular literature it is Adyudātta.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल तीर तूल मूल शाला अक्ष सम इत्येतानि उत्तरपशानि अव्ययीभावसंगमासभाशुशत्तानि भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus परिकूलम्, उपकूलम्, परितीरम्, उपतीरम्, परितूलम्, परिमूलम्, उपमूलम्, परिशालम्, उपशालम्, उपाक्षम्, पर्यक्षम्, सुरैमम्, विरैमम्, निरैमम् and हुरैमम् ॥ These last four are to be found in Tishṭhadgu class of compounds (II. 1. 17). Why do we say 'कूल &c'? Observe उपकूलम् ॥ Why do we say "in an Avyayībhāva

compound?" Observe परमकूलम्, उत्तमकूलम् ॥ After the prepositions परि, प्रति, उप and अप, the words कूल &c would have become accentless by VI. 2. 33, the present sūtra supersedes VI. 2. 33, and we have accent on कूल &c and not on the Prepositions.

कंसमन्थशूर्पपात्यकाण्डं द्रिवगौ ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पात्य, काण्डम्, द्रिवगौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कंस मन्थ शूर्प पात्य काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि द्विगौ समासभाष्यशास्त्रानि भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus द्विकंसः, (शाखां कंसाखां कीतः the affix द्विक् V. 1. 25 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिकंसः, द्विमन्थः, (the affix त्रक् V. 1. 19 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिमन्थः, द्विशूर्पः, (the affix अश् V. 1. 26 is elided) त्रिशूर्पः, द्विपात्यः, त्रिपात्यः, द्विकाण्डः, त्रिकाण्डः ॥ Why do we say in a Dvigu? Observe परमकंसः, उत्तमकंसः ॥

तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, शालायाम्, नपुंसके ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शालायान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे उत्तरपदमाष्युत्तरान्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus ब्राह्मणसालम्, क्षविद्वासालम् ॥ The compound becomes Neuter by II. 4. 25. Why do we say "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe द्वैशालं ब्राह्मणकूलम् which is a Bahuvrihi compound and therefore first member retains its accent VI. 2. 1, and as the first member is a Nishṭhā word, it has acute on the final. Why do we say "the word शाला"? Observe ब्राह्मसेनम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Neuter'? Observe ब्राह्मशालम् ॥ Compare VI. 2. 86.

कन्था च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे कथाशब्द उत्तरपदमाष्युत्तरान्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus सौसमिकन्थम्, आहूरकन्थम्, चप्तकन्थम् ॥ The word सौसमिः denotes the descendant of शुष्मनः (शुष्मनः शुष्मा अस्त्व) आहूर is formed by the preposition आ with the verb हूर् and the affix क् (III. 1. 136) The compound is Neuter by II. 4. 20. These are Genitive compounds. When the word is not Neuter we have सौसिकन्था ॥

आदिविहारादीनाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, चिह्नादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे चिह्नादीनामादिस्त्रान्तो भवति ॥

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

As चिह्नकन्यम्, मैडरकन्यम्, मैडुरकन्यम् ॥ The repetition of the word आदि in this sâtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the first syllable of the *first member* gets the acute. The word चिह्न is derived from the root चिनाति with किरण् which gives चित् and हन् is formed by adding अच् (III. I. 134) to शृङ् ॥ चित् + हन् = चिह्न the elision of त् is irregular.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ चेल खेट कटुक काण्ड इत्येतान्युच्चरपशानि तत्पुरुषे समासे गर्हायां गम्यमानायामाद्युशात्तानि 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, भार्यचेलम्, उपानत्खेटम्, नगरखेटम्, (खेट इसि हृणनाम, सद्वद् दुर्बला उपानत्) सधिकैटुकम् (कटुकमस्वादु) उत्थित्कैटुकम्, भूतकौण्डम् (काण्डमिति शरनाम, तथाया सत्पी-डाकर मेर्व भूतमपि) प्रजाकौण्डम् ॥ The reproach is denoted of the sons &c by comparing them to चेल &c. The analysis will be पुत्रभेलमिति i. e. चेलत् तुच्छम् and the compounding takes place under II. I. 56 : the Vyaghîrâdi class being an akrti-gaṇa. When reproach is not meant, we have परमचेलम् ॥

चीरमुपमानम् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चीरम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चीरमुच्चरपरमानवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे आशुशात्ति भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus वस्त्रम् चीरमिति = वस्त्रचीरम्, पटचीरम्, कम्बलचीरम् ॥ Why do we say 'when comparison is meant ?' Observe परमचीरम् ॥

पललसूपशाकं मिश्रे ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलल, सूप, शाकम्, मिश्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलल सूप शाक इत्येतान्युच्चरपशानि मिश्रवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे आशुशात्तानि 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 शुडपललम्, घृतपैललम्, घृतसूपः, मूलकसूपः, घृतशाकम्, मुहशाकम् = शुडेन मिश्रं पललं &c. The compounding takes place by II. I. 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 इत्येतान्युच्चरपशानि तत्पुरुषे समासे संज्ञायां विषये आशुशात्तानि 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 शास्त्रिकूलम्, भावकिर्णीलम्, वेवैसूदस्, भाजीसूदस्, शाण्डायनस्थैली, माहकिर्णीली, शास्त्रिकर्षः ॥ All these are names of villages. The feminine of स्थल is taken here, formed by ढीष् (IV. I. 42). When not a name we have परमकूलम् ॥

अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, कर्मधारये, राज्यम् (आद्युदाच्चत) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयवर्जिते तत्पुरुषे समासे राज्यमित्येतदुत्तरप्रशमाद्युशानं भवति ॥

130. The word राज्यम् has acute on the first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, which is not a Karmadhāraya.

Thus ब्राह्मणराज्यम्, भक्तिराज्यम् ॥ In a Karmadhāraya we have परमराज्यम् ॥ The accent taught in VI. 2. 126 to 130 is superseded by the accent of the Indeclinable taught in VI. 2. 2, though that rule stands first and this subsequent. As कृचेलम्, कुण्डज्यम् ॥

घर्ण्यादयश्च ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ घर्ण्यादयः, च, (आद्युदातानि)
वृत्तिः ॥ वर्य इत्येवमारीन्युन्नरप्रशनि अकर्मधारये तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युशान्नानि भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus वादुरेवर्णग्न्यः, वासुरेवर्णग्न्यः, अर्जुनपैश्यः, अर्जुनपैश्यः ॥ In a Karmadhāraya we have परमवर्णः ॥ The words वर्ण &c are no where exhibited as such; the primitive words वर्ग, पूर्ण, गण &c sub-divisiones of शिगारि (IV. 3. 54) are here referred to, as ending with अत् affix.

पुञ्चः पुम्भ्यः ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुञ्चः, पुभ्यः (आद्युदाच्चः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुञ्चश्चरः पुञ्चश्चरेभ्य उच्चरस्तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युशानो भवति ॥

132. The word पुञ्च coming after a Masculine noun in a Tatpurusha has acute on the first syllable.

Thus कौनटिपुञ्चः, शमकपुञ्चः, माहिषपुञ्चः ॥ Why do we say 'a पुञ्च'? Observe कौनटिमातुलः ॥ Why do we say 'after a masculine word'? Observe गार्गीपुञ्चः, वासीपुञ्चः ॥

नाचार्यराजतिर्विक्संयुक्तात्याख्येभ्यः ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आचार्य, राज, अ-
त्विक, संयुक्त, ज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः, (आद्युदाच्चः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्य उपाध्यायः । राजा ईश्वरः । क्षमिजो याजकाः । संयुक्ताः छीसंबन्धिनः । इयालादयः । ज्ञात्यो
नाश्चपितृसंबन्धिनो वात्पवाः । आचार्याध्याख्येभ्यः परः पुञ्चश्चरो नाश्चुशानो 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', वक्तिकृ 'a sacrificing priest', संयुक्तः 'relations through the wife's side' as स्वाला 'brother-in-law' &c; जाति 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 आचार्यपुत्रः, दण्ड्याच्यपुत्रः, शाकदावनकपुत्रः, राजपुत्रः, ईश्वरपुत्रः, नन्दपुत्रः, वक्तिकपुत्रः, याजकपुत्रः, हेतुपुत्रः, (VI. 3. 23) संयुक्तपुत्रः, संवनिधिपुत्रः, श्यालकपुत्रः, जातिपुत्रः, भातुष्पुत्रः (VI. 3. 23). Here the special accent of पुत्र taught in the last sūtra being prohibited, the accent falls on the last syllable by the general rule VI. I. 2 23.

चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णादीनि, अ, प्राणि, षष्ठ्याः, (आ-
द्युदातानि) ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ उत्तरपशादिरिति वर्तते तत्पुरुषस्ति च । चूर्णादीन्यत्तरपशानि अप्राणिवाचिनः षष्ठ्यन्तान्यप्राणि
तत्पुरुषे समासे आयुशसानि 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 कुरुचूर्णम्, मसूरचूर्णम्, but मस्त्वचूर्णम् where the first term is a living being, and परमचूर्णम् where it is not Genitive. Another reading of the sūtra is चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिष्युपग्रहात्, the word उपग्रह being the ancient name of षष्ठी given by old Grammarians.

1 चूर्ण, 2 करिष, 3 करिष, 4 शक्तिन, 5 शाकट, 6 द्राक्षा, 7 तूस्त, 8 कुन्दुम (कुन्दम), 9 इलप, 10 चमसी, 11 चक्कन (चक्कन चक्कन), 12 चौल ॥

The word चूर्ण is derived from the root चूरी शहे (Div 50) with the affix क ; करिष and करिष are formed with the upapada करि and the verbs शा 'to go' and पा 'to protect' respectively, and the affix क (करिणंशाति = करिष) (III. 2. 3); शक with the affix इनश added diversely (Uṇ II. 56); शक with अटच (Uṇ IV. 81) gives शाकट ; this with अ॒ (तद्वाति) gives शाकट ; द्राक्ष शराति = द्राक्षा (Prishodarādi) ; तूस (शब्दे) with त्त gives तूस्त the penultimate being lengthened; the word कुन्दु is formed by the affix दिवष added to the root दु with the upapada कु (कुन्दुतोति कुत्सितं वा दुनोति) the angment मु॒ शु॒ being added to कु ॥ कुन्दु मिमीते = कुन्दुमः ॥ इल with the affix चपन gives इलप ; चम with असच॑ forms चमस, then is added डी॒श ; चक्कन is formed by अ॒च॑ (III. I. 134) added to कन् and reduplication. चोलस्यापत्तं = चौलः ॥

षट् च काण्डादीनि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, च, काण्डादीनि, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥ शृतिः ॥ षट् पूर्वोक्तानि काण्डादीन्युच्चरपशानं अप्राप्निषष्ठेष्व आद्युदात्तानि भवति ॥

135. The six words काण्ड, चीर, पलल, सूप, शाक and कूल of Sūtras VI. 2. 126–129, preceded by a non-living genitive word, have acute on the first syllable.

As इर्भकौण्डम्, शरकौण्डम्; इर्भचीरम्, कुशचीरम् ॥ In the last two examples शीर is not used as a comparision, that case being governed by VI. 2. 127, तिलपललम्, मूलकशाकैः, शुद्धसूपैः ॥ Here पलल, सूप and शाक do not denote mixing, which is governed by VI. 2. 128. नन्दीकूलम्, समुद्रकूलम्, here the compound does not denote a Name, which would be the case under VI. 2. 129. Why these 'six' only? Observe राजसूदः ॥

कुण्डं वनम् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुण्डम्, वनम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

शृतिः ॥ कुण्डशब्देष्व कुण्डसाद्येन वने वर्तते । कुण्डमित्येतदुच्चरपरं वनवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे भाद्युदात्तं अवाति ॥

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 इर्भकूण्डम्, शरकूण्डम् ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a wood'? Observe शृतकूण्डम् ॥ The word कुण्ड means (1) a basin (2) a caste called kunda. Some say it means 'forest' also primarily and metaphorically. The force here is that of समुद्राय, i. e. शरवणसमुद्रायः = शरकूण्डम् ॥

प्रकृत्या भगालम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, भगालम्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

शृतिः ॥ भगालवाच्युत्तरपरे 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, कुम्भीकौलम्, कुम्भीनर्हालम् ॥ The words भगाल &c, have acute on the middle. Phit II. 9. The word प्रकृत्य governs the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 2. 143.

शितेन्त्याबहूज् बहुवीहावभसत् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शितेः, नित्य, अबहूच्, ब-
हुवीहौ, अभसत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

शृतिः ॥ शितेन्त्यरपरं नित्ये यस्त्वहूज् भस्युत्तद्वर्जितं बहुवीहौ समासे तत्प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

138. After शिति, a word retains in a Bahuvrīhi its original accent, when it is always of not more than two syllables, with the exception of भसद् ॥

Thus शितिपादः, शित्यसः, शित्यैषः ॥ The word पाद belongs to वृषभि class (VI. 1. 203) and has acute on the first, and असः and षोऽः being formed by सन् (Uṇ V. 21) and यत् (Uṇ II. 4) affixes, have acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'after शिति'? Observe इर्षनीवपादः which being formed by the affix अनीय् has acute on the penultimate syllable नी by VI. 1. 217 ॥ Why do we say 'always'? Observe शितिकक्तुत्, for though कक्तुत् is here of two syllables, it is an abbreviated form of कक्तुत्, the final अ being elided in denoting condition of life (V. 4. 146), in compounds other than those denoting 'age', we have शितिकक्तुत्; hence this word is not such which is *always* of two syllables. The word शिति has acute on the first syllable, by Phit II. 10, and retains this accent in the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say 'abahvach or not many-syllable'? Observe शितिलालः ॥ Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi? Observe शिसः पादः = शितिपादः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of भस्तु'? Observe शितिभस्तु ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 1.

ग्रतिकारकोपपदात्कृत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, कारक, उपपदात्, कृत, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

शृणिः ॥ सत्युरुषद्विति वर्तते न बहुवीशविति । गतेः कारकादुपपदात् कृतत्पुरापरं तस्युरुपे द्वयां शमासि प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

139. In a Tatpurushā, a word ending in a Krit-affix preserves its original accent, when preceded by an Indeclinable called Gati (I. 4. 60), or a noun standing in intimate relation to a verb (Kāraka), or any word which gives occasion for compounding (Upapada see III. 1. 92).

The above is according to Professor Bohtlingk. Thus प्रकौरकः, प्रकौरणम्, प्रहृतकः, प्रहृणम् ॥ The compounding is here by II. 2. 18. With kāraka-word we have :—इध्यत्रैश्वनः, पलाशाशैतनः, इमशुक्लपनः (III. 3. 117). With upapada words, we have :—इपत्करः, दुष्करः, सुकरः ॥ All these are formed by लित् affixes and the accent is governed by VI. 1. 193. i. e. the word लभन् is formed by ल्युद् (इज्जं प्रवृ-म्यते येन); so also with शातन् (पलाशानि शात्यन्ते येन स इण्डः); so also with कल्पन् (अमशुक्लपते येन स क्षुरादिः) Why do we say "after a Gati, Kāraka, or an Upapada word?" Observe देवदत्तस्थकारकः = देवदत्तकारकः ॥ Here the Genitive in देवदत्त does not express a kāraka relation. The genitive is here a शेष लक्षणा वस्त्री denoting a possessor and not a कर्मलक्षणा one: for had it been latter, there would have been no compounding at all, by II. 2. 16. see also II. 3. 65. The word कृत् is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness; for a gati, 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 (dhātu) namely तिङ् and कृत् ॥ A samāsa can take place with kṛit-formed words, but

not with तिन्ता words. So that without employing कृत् in the sūtra, we could have inferred that कृत् was meant. Therefore, it is said the 'Kṛit' is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness. According to this view we explain the accent in प्रपचतितराम्, प्रगचतितमाम्, by saying that first compounding takes place with ष and the words पचतितर and पचतितम ending in तर् and तम् and then आम्, is added and the accent of the whole word is regulated by आम् by the rule of सतिशिष्ट (see V. 3. 56. and V. 4. 11). According to others, the कृत् is taken in this sūtra, in order to prevent the gati accent applying to verbal compounds in words like प्रैपचति देवः, or प्रैपचति देवीयं (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.

उभे घनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, घनस्पत्यादिषु, युगपत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्योति वर्तते । वैनस्पत्यादिषु समासेषु उभे पूर्वोच्चरपदे युगपत् प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

140. In घनस्पति &c, both members of the compound preserve their original accent simultaneously.

Thus वैनस्पतिः, both वैन and स्पति have acute on the first syllable, and शुद्ध augment comes by VI. 1. 157. (2) शृहस्तिः: or शृहस्तिः = शृहतं पतिः (VI. 1. 157) The word शृहत् is acutely accented on the final, some say it has acute on the first. (3) साचीपैतिः: (Sachi being formed by छीष्), some make Sachi acute on the first साचीपैतिः, by including it in Sarangrava class (IV. 1. 73). (4) तनुनीपात् (tanū being formed by ऊ Un I. 80 has acute on the final, according to others it has acute on the first and napāt = na pāti or na palayati with क्रिप् and has acute on the first). (5) मैरासः: नरा अस्मिन्नासीनः: संसन्ति or नरा एव संसन्ति (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) हृनः: हृपः: = हृन इव हृपोऽस्य is a Bahuvrihi : the Genitive is not elided by (VI. 3. 21. Vārt.), and both have acute on the first. (7) शृण्डामैकौ both 'Sanda' and 'Marka' being formed by शृष् have acute on the first: the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. (8) त्रिष्णावर्लैःी ॥ Trīṣṇā has acute on the first, वर्लैःी 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) मैरूत्युः ॥ मर् is formed by विच् affix and शृत्यु has acute on the final. The words governed by this sūtra are those which would not be included in the next two sūtras.

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता, द्वन्द्वे, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो इन्द्रस्तत्र युगपदुभे पूर्वोच्चरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

141. In a Dvandva compound of names of Divinities, the both members retain their original accent.

Thus, इन्द्रासींमी, इन्द्रारूपो, 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), वृश्ण is formed by वन् (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 क्लशन्यमोधौ ॥ Why do we say 'a Dvandva'? Observe अग्निदोषः ॥

नोन्तरपदे उनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उत्तरपदे, अनुदात्तादौ, अ पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूष, मन्थिषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदे उनुदात्तादौ पृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिवाऽज्ञते देवताइन्द्रे नोभे शुभपत्यकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

142. In a Dvandva compound of the names of divinities, both members of the compound simultaneously do not retain their accent, when the first syllable of the second word is anudātta, with the exception of पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूर्ण, and मन्थिन् ॥

Thus इन्द्राग्नी, इन्द्रवायू, the words Agni and Vāyu have acute on the final. The word uttarapada is repeated in the sūtra, in order that it should be qualified by the word 'anudāttādau', 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 औदापृथिव्यौ or औं dvyāvā has acute on the first, 'prithivi' being formed by 'nīsh', has acute on the final. सौमाहृत्रौ, Rudra is formed by 'rak' affix (Uṇ II. 22.), and has acute on the final. इन्द्रापूषज्ञौ, Pūshan has acute on the end. (Uṇ I. 159) शुक्रामन्थिनैः, the words Śukra and manthin have acute on the final.

अन्तः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकारो यस्ति ऋर्धमनुक्रियामस्तत्र समाप्त्योन्तरपदस्थानं उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं सदृशितव्यम् ॥

143. In the following sūtrās up to the end of the chapter, should always be supplied the phrase "the last syllable of the second member has the acute".

The application is given in the next sūtra.

थाथधर्क्ताजवित्रकाणाम् ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ थ, अथ, घञ्, क्त, अच्, अप्, इत्र,
काणाम्, (अन्त उदात्तः,) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ थ अथ घञ् क्त अच् अप् इत्र क इत्यमन्तानामुन्तरपदानां गतिकारकोपपश्यरेपामन्त 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 Kāraka or an Upapada (VI. 2. 139).

Thus सुनीर्थः, भवश्यः formed by कृथक् affix (Uṇ II. 2 and 3), and but for this sūtra, by VI. 2. 139 these words would have retained their original accent which was acute on the first. भयः—भावस्यः, उपवस्यः formed by भयन् affix (Uṇ III. 116). घम्—प्रभेदः, काष्ठभेदः, रज्जुभेदः ॥ नकः—दूराशगतैः; Here नक् has the force of कर्म, and the gati आ would retain its accent (VI. 2. 49) therefore, आगत् is first acute: this accent would have been retained when compounded with the kāraka word dūra, but for this sūtra. विशुद्धःः आतपशुद्धःः ॥ अच् (III. 3. 56) :—प्रसवः, प्रजयः, the words क्षय 'dwelling', and जय 'victory' are acute otherwise on the first (VI. 1. 201, 202). अप्—प्रलङ्घः, प्रसवैः ॥ इच्—प्रलवित्तैच्, प्रसवित्तैच् ॥ क—खरीवृष्टैः: गोवृष्टैः:—गां वर्षति, खरी वर्षति (III. 2. 5 Vārt) : प्रवृष्टैः, प्रहृष्टैः, (क being added by III. 1. 135). The word वृष् has acute on the first as it belongs to वृशालि class (VI. 1. 203). When the preceding words are not Gati, Kāraka or Upapada, this rule does not apply : as सुस्तुतं भवता, अतिस्तुतं भवता, where सु and अति being Kar-
mapravachaniya, the words "get the accent of the Indeclinable.

सुपमानात् कः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, उपमानात्, कः, ॥
धृतिः ॥ सु इत्येतम्भादुपमानाथ परं कान्तभृतरपरमन्तोरात्मं भवनि ॥

145. The Participle in क has acute on the final, when it is preceded by सु or by a word with which the second member is compared.

Thus सुरूत्तेम्, सुभुक्तेश्, सुपीत्तेश् ॥ With Upamāna words we have—वृकाव-
लुप्तेश्, शशलुत्तेम्, सिहविनर्दित्तेश् ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49 and 48. When सु is not
a Gati, the rule does not apply, as सुस्तर्त्तेम् भवता ॥

संज्ञायामनाचितादीनाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, अनाचितादीनाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गतिक्राकोपपश्चात् क्षान्तप्रश्नरप्तमन्तोदात्तं भवति भास्त्रितीन्वर्जयित्वा ॥

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 आचित् &c.

Thus संदूर्ते रामायणः, उपहूतः शाकल्यः, परिजन्धः कौण्डिन्यः ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49, खनुशस्यात्तां नरी, कुत्सलस्यात्तेष्व नगरम्, हस्तिशृष्टितां भ्रमिः ॥ Here VI. 2. 48 is debarred. Why do we say "when it is not आधित &c" Observe आधितम् &c.

१ आचित्, २ पर्याचित्, ३ भास्यापित्, ४ पेरिगृहीत्, ५ निरुक्त्, ६ प्रतिपन्न, ७ अपभिरूप*, ८ प्रश्लिष्ट, ९ उपहित (उपहत) १० उपस्थित, ११ संहितागवि (संहिताशब्दां यदा गारन्वस्य संज्ञा तशन्तांशत्तो न भवति । यदा तु गोः संज्ञा तशन्तोशत् एव ॥)

The word सहिता 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) ॥
मुत्तिः ॥ प्रवृद्धादीनां च न्तान्तमुत्तरप्रस्त्रमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

147. The words प्रवृद्धः &c. ending in 'kta' have acute on the final.

Thus प्रवृद्धं यानम्, प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, प्रयुक्ताः सन्ततः, आकर्षेऽवहितैः, अवहितैः भोगेषु, खद्वार्कैः, कविशस्तैः ॥ It is an Akritigaṇa. The words have acute on the final, even when not followed by यान &c, though in the Ganapāṭha they are read along with these words. Some hold it is only in connection with यान &c that these words have acute on the final. This being an Akritigaṇa we have उनस्सूतं चासोरेण, पुनर्निष्कृतो रथः &c.

1 प्रवृद्धं यामम्, 2 प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, 3 प्रयुक्तासूष्णवः or प्रयुक्ताः सन्ततः 4 आकर्षेऽवहितः, 5 अवहितो भोगेषु, 6 खद्वार्कः 7 कविशस्तः, आकृतिगण.

कारकादुच्चश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारकात्, दत्ता, श्रुतयोः, एव, आशिषि ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामेनि वर्तते, नक्त इति च । संज्ञायां विषये आशिषि गम्यमानायां कारकादुच्चश्रुतयोरेव कान्तयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

148. The final of Part Participles दत्त and श्रुत alone has acute, in a compound denoting a Name and a benediction, the preceding word being a word standing in close relation to an action (kāraka).

Thus देवा एनरेयासुः = देवरत्तैः, विष्णुरेव शूभ्राद् = विष्णुभूतैः ॥

Why do we say "of इत्त and श्रूत"? Observe देवैपालितः (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 न्त is preceded by a kāraka, and the compound denotes a benediction and a Name, the accent is not on the final, as required by VI. 2. 146, but such a word is governed by VI. 2. 48, unless the Participle be Datta and Sruta, when the present rule applies. The word कारक indicates that the rule will not apply when a gati or upapada precedes. Why do we use 'एव (alone)'? So that the restriction should apply to 'kāraka', and not to 'Datta' and 'Sruta'. For the words 'Datta' and 'Sruta' will have acute on the final even after a nonkāraka word. As संशूतैः, विशूतैः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'? The rule will not apply where benediction is not meant. As देवैः खाता = देवदत्ता ॥ This rule applies to Datta and Sruta after a kāraka-word, only when benediction is meant. It therefore does not apply to देवैश्च 'the name of Arjuna's conch', as आहतोनश्चि देवैश्चः, which is governed by VI. 2. 48.

इत्थंभूतेन कृतमिति च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूतेन, कृतम्, इति, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ इमं प्रकारमापन्न इत्थंभूतः । इत्थंभूतेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे चः समासो वर्तते तत्र कान्तमुच्चरपदमन्तोशत्तं भवति ॥

149. The Participle in न्त 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 सुप्रलिपिम्, उन्मत्तप्रलिपिम्, प्रमत्तगतिम्, विप्रभूतेम् as Adjectives and Abstract verbal nouns. This is an exception to VI. 2. 48. When the words प्रलिपित &c are used to denote Noun of Action (भाव, then by VI. 2. 144 they get of course acute on the final.

अनो भावकर्मवचनः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, भाव, कर्मवचनः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥ शृणिः ॥ अन प्रत्ययात्तपुत्रपदं 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 भोजनभोजनैः सुखम्, पथपानैः सुखम्, अन्वनप्रियकुलेष्वैः सुखम् ॥ All these are examples of भाव or Abstract Verbal Nouns. राजभोजनैः शालयः, राजाच्छादननिर्णयसांसि, are examples of कर्मवचन or Passive Adjectives. These are formed by स्थृट under III. 3. 116. For the Sâtra III. 3. 116 may be explained by saying that (1) स्थृट is applied when the Upapada is in the objective case and bhâva is meant, (2) as well as when object is to be expressed. When the first explanation is taken, the above are examples of Bhâva; when the second explanation is taken, they are examples of Karma. Why do we say "ending in अन"? Observe, इत्तद्वार्थसुशीलित ॥ Why do we say "when expressing an action in the abstract (bhâva), or an Object (karma)"? Observe इत्पार्वैनम्, here स्थृट is added after an Instrumental kâraka (III. 3. 117). Why do we say "after a kâraka"? Observe निर्वर्णनम्, भवलेष्वैनम् ॥ In all the counter-examples, the second members retain their original accent.

मनूक्तिन्द्रियाख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनू, क्तिम्, व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान, याजकादि, क्रीताः ॥

शृणिः ॥ मन्वन्तं निन्वन्तं व्याख्यानं शयनं आसनं स्थानं इत्येतानि याजकादात्रः व्रीतशङ्कदशोगरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

151. The words ending in मन् or क्तिन् affixes, and the words व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान and क्रीत as well as याजका &c, have acute on the final, when at the end of a compound, preceded by a kâraka word.

Thus मन्—रथवर्त्मन्, शक्तिवर्त्मन् ॥ क्तिन्—पाणिनिकृतिः, भाषितालिकृतिः ॥ व्याख्यान—व्याख्यानव्याख्यानम्, उन्वेष्याख्यानम् ॥ शयन—राजशयनम्, भ्रातृशयनम् ॥ आसन—राजासनम्, भ्रातृ-स्त्रासनम् ॥ स्थान—गोत्यानम्, अश्वस्थानम् ॥ याजकादि words are those which form Genitive compounds under II. 2. 9, and those compounds only are to be taken here; as भ्रातृणयाजकैः, भ्रातृष्ययाजकैः, भ्रातृणपूजकैः, भ्रातृष्यपूजकैः ॥ क्रीत—गोक्रीतः, भ्रातृक्रीतः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 139. and in the case of क्रीत, rule VI. 2. 48 is superseded. The words व्याख्यान &c do not denote here भाव or कर्म, had they done so, rule

VI. 2. 149 would have covered them. When the first member is not a kāraka, we have प्रकृतिः and प्रहरिः ॥

1 वाजक, 2 पूजक, 3 परिचारक, 4 परिषेचक परिवेषक 5 लापक लातक 6 अध्यापक, 7 उत्साहक (उत्साक) 8 उद्दरक, 9 हानु, 10 भर्तु, 11 रथगणक, 12 पत्तिगणक, 13 पोनु, 14 होनु, 15 वर्तक,

**सप्तम्याः पुण्यम् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्याः, पुण्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तात्परं पुण्यमित्येतदुत्तरप्रश्नन्तोशानं भवति ॥**

152. The word पुण्य has acute on the final when preceded by a noun in the Locative case.

Thus अध्ययने पुण्यम् = अध्ययनपुण्यम्, वेदपुण्यम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 40 by the process of splitting the sūtra (yoga-vibhāga), taking सप्तमी there as a full sūtra, and शौण्डः another. Here by VI. 2. 2, the first member would have preserved its accent, the present sūtra supersedes that and ordains acute on the final. The word पुण्य is derived by the Uṇadi affix अ॒ (Uṇ V. 15) and would have retained its natural accent (VI. 1. 213) and thus get acute on the first syllable by कृत-accent. (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'a locative case'? Observe वेदेन पुण्यं = वेदपुण्यम् ॥

**ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊनार्थ, कलहम्, तृतीयायाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऊनार्थान्युत्तरपशानि कलहशब्दभ तृतीयान्तात्पराण्यन्तोशानानि भवति ॥**

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 मार्षोनैष्, कार्षोपणोनैष्, मासविकलैष्, कार्षोपणविकलैष्, असिकलैषः, वाक्कलैषः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 31. This is an exception to VI. 2. 2 by which the first member being in the third case, would have retained its original accent. Some say that the word अर्थ in the sūtra means the word-form अर्थ, so that the aphorism would mean—"after an Instrumental case, the words ऊन, अर्थ, and कलह get acute on the final". The examples will be in addition to the above:—धान्वेनार्थः = धान्वर्थः ॥ If this be so, then the word-form ऊन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like शिक्कल .&c. To this we reply, that ऊन will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word अर्थ ॥ By sūtra II. 1. 31, ऊनर्थ and कलह always take the Instrumental case, so we could have omitted the word तृतीयायाः; from this sūtra, for by the maxim of pratipadokta &c, ऊनार्थकलहं would have referred to the compound ordained by II. 1. 31. The mention of तृतीया here is only for the sake of clearness.

**मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसंधौ ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिश्रम्, च, अनुपसर्गम्, असंधौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयेति वर्तते । मिश्र इत्येतदुत्तरप्रश्ननुपसर्गं तृतीयान्तात्परमन्तोशानं भवत्यसंधौ गम्भमाने ॥**

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, सर्वमिश्राः ॥ Why do we say मिश्र? Observe गुडधानाः ॥ Why do we say 'not having a Preposition'? Observe गुडसंमिश्राः ॥ The employment in this sūtra of the phrase 'anupasargam' implies, that wherever else, the word मिश्र is used, it includes मिश्र 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 ऐकार्थ्यमापनः ॥ The word संब्ध here means a contract formed by reciprocal promises, if you do this thing for me, I will do this for you. Others say, it means close proximity, without losing identity, and thus differs from मिश्र in which two things blend together into one. Therefore though the King and the Brāhmaṇa may be in close proximity as regards space, they both retain their several individualities: hence the counter-example ब्राह्मणमिश्रोराजा ॥ While in the examples गुडमिश्राः &c there is no possibility of separating the two.

नजो गुणप्रतिषेधे संपाद्यर्हहितालमर्थास्तद्विताः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नजः, गुण, प्रतिषेधे, संपादि, अर्ह, हित, अलम, अर्थाः, तद्विताः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संपादि अर्ह हित अलम इत्येवर्था वे तद्वितास्तस्त्वनुत्तरपशनि नजो गुणप्रतिषेधे वर्तमानात्य-गण्यन्तोराचानि भवन्ति ॥

155. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes denoting 'fitted for that' (V. I. 99), 'deserving that' (V. I. 63), 'good for that' (V. I. 5), 'capable to effect that' (V. I. 101), have acute on the final, when preceded by the Negative Particle नज्, when it makes a negation with regard to the above mentioned attributes.

Thus संपादि 'suited for that' (V. I. 99):—अकार्णवेष्टकिं च मुखम् = न कार्ण वेष्ट-किं (कर्ण वेष्टकाभ्यां सम्पादि) ॥ The affix is उम् ॥ अर्ह 'deserving that' (V. I. 63):—अवर्तेश्वरः = न छौंद कः (छौमहति). The affix is उक् (V. I. 64 and V. I. 19). हित 'good for that' (V. I. 5):—अवस्तीयः = न वस्ती यः ॥ The affix is उ V. I. 1. अलमर्थः 'capable to effect that' (V. I. 101):—असंतापिकः = न संतापिकः ॥ The affix is उम् (V. I. 18) Why do we say 'after नज्'? Observe गार्दभरथमहर्वति = गार्दभरथिकः, विगार्दभरथिकः, 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 गार्दभरथिकासन्यः = अगार्दभरथिकः ॥ The word गुण here means the attribute denoted by the Taddhita affix, and not any attribute in general. Thus अकार्णवेष्टकिं मुखं =

कर्जवेदकाभास् 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 कन्वा वोदुमहोत = कन्वावोदा, न वोदा = अवोदा ॥ Here त् a kṛit affix is added in the sense of 'deserving' (III. 3. 169).

ययतोश्चातदर्थे ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ य, यतो, च, अतदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ य यत् इत्येती वौ तद्वितावतदर्थे वर्तेते तदन्तस्योत्तरप्रत्यय नभो गुणप्रतिषेधविषयावस्था उत्तरात् भवति ॥

156. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes य and यत् when not denoting 'useful for that', have acute on the last syllable, after the particle नञ् negating the attribute.

Thus पाशानां समूहः = पाशाः, न पाश्याः = अपाश्यैः, So also. अतृष्ण्वैः (IV. 2. 49); इन्तेषु भवं = इन्त्यस्, न इन्त्यं = अविन्त्यस्, अकर्ण्येष् (V. 1. 6). Why do we say 'atadartha'—not useful for that'. Observe पाशर्थमुदक्रम् = पाश्य, न पाश्य = अपाश्य (V. 4. 25). This rule does not apply when the affixes are not Taddhita, as अवेषम् formed with the kṛit affix यत् ॥ There must be negation of the attribute, otherwise इन्त्यादिन्यत् = अविन्त्यस् ॥ 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 उष &c. (IV. 2. 9), thus न वामदेव्यं = अवामेदेव्यम् ॥ See IV. 2. 9.

अच्चाकावशक्तौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच, कौ, अ शक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच् क इत्येवमन्तमशक्तौ गम्यमानायामुत्तरपदं नभः परमन्तोशात्तं 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 अपचैः = य पन्तु न शक्नोति, so also अज्ञैः, अपठैः, अविक्षिपैः, अविलिखैः (III. 1. 134 &c). Why do we say when meaning 'not capable'? Observe अपचो शीक्षितः, अपचः परित्राजकः ॥ A शीक्षित and a परित्राजक 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 ॥ भाक्रोशे च गम्यमानं नभ उत्तरमच्छान्तमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

158. A word formed by the kṛit-affixes अच् or क, preceded by the Negative particle, has acute on the final when one abuses somebody by that word.

Thus अपचोऽयं जात्मः '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 अपंडौऽयं जात्मः, so also अविक्षिपैः, अविलिखैः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (अन्तो दात्मम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाक्रोशे गम्यमाने नभः परमुत्तरपदं संज्ञायां वर्तमानमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

159. When abuse is meant, a word preceded by नम्, has acute on the final, in denoting a Name.

Thus अदेवदत्तः 'No Devadatta, not deserving of this name' अवज्ञदत्तः, अविष्णुमित्यः ॥

कृत्पोकेष्णुचार्दयभ्य ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, उक, इष्णुच्, चार्दयः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य उक इष्णुच् इत्येवमन्ताशार्दयभ्य नम् उत्तरेन्तोशासा भवन्ति ॥

160. After the Negative particle, the words formed by the kritya affixes (III. 1. 95), by उक, and इष्णुच्, and the words चारु &c. have acute on the final.

Thus kritya:—अकर्त्तव्यैष्, अकर्णीयैष्, उकः—अनागामुकैष्, अनपलामुकैष् ॥ इष्णुच्-अनलंकरिष्णुः, अनिराकरिष्णुः ॥ The affix इष्णुच् includes इत्येषु च also: अनाद्यंभविष्णुः, असु-भगवाविष्णुः ॥ चारु &c.—अचारुः, असारुः, अवौधिक्रैः, अवशान्वः, अनन्तमेजर्यः (double negation). अनकल्पात् (double negation). The words वर्तमान, वर्धमान स्वरमाण, धीरमाण, रोचमाण, क्रीयमाण, and शोभमाण preceded by अ (नम्) when denoting names have acute on the final. अविकारैः, असदृष्टैः and अविकारसदृष्टैः (विकार and सदृष्ट taken jointly & separately). अगृहपति, अगृहपतिकैः ॥ अराज्ञा and अनहैः in the Vedas only. In the Vernacular they have the accent of नम्, i. e. udātta on the first.

1 चारु, 2 सारु, 3 यौधकि (यौधिक) 4 अनन्तमेजय, 5 वदान्य 6 अकल्पात्, 7 वर्तमानवर्धमा-नस्वरमाणधियमाणक्रोयमाणरोचमाणशोभमाणाः (क्रियमाण क्रोयमाण) संज्ञायाश्, 8 विकारसदृष्टे व्यस्ते सप्तते (अविकार, असदृष्ट अविकारसदृष्ट), 9 गृहपति, 10 गृहपतिक, 11 राजाङ्गोऽच्छन्दसि.

विभाषा तृष्णतीक्ष्णशुचिषु ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृन्, अन्न, तीक्ष्ण,
शुचिषु, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सून्नत अन्न तीक्ष्ण शुचि इत्येतेषु नम् उत्तरेषु विभाषा इत्थ उदात्तो भवति ॥

161. After the Negative particle, the final of the following is optionally acute:—a word formed with the affix तृन्, and the words अन्न, तीक्ष्ण, and शुचि ॥

Thus तृन्—अकर्त्ता or अँकर्त्ता ; अन्न &c.—अनन्तम् or अँनन्तम्, अतीक्ष्णम्, or अँती-क्ष्णम्, अशुचिः or अँशुचिः ॥ The alternative accent is that of the Indeclinable. (VI. 2. 2)

बहुवीहाविद्यमेतत्तद्दशः प्रथमपूरयोः क्रियागणने ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवीहौ,
इदम्, एतत्, तद्दशः, प्रथम, पूरयोः, क्रिया-गणने, (अन्तउडात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवीहौ समासे इदम् एतद् तद्दिलेतेभ्य उत्तरस्य प्रथमशब्दस्य पूरणप्रत्ययान्तस्य च क्रियागणने वर्तमानस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. In a Bahuvrīhi, after the words इदम्, एतद् and तद्, the last syllable of प्रथम and of a proper Ordinal Numeral, has the acute, when the number of times of an action is meant.

Thus इवं प्रथमं गमनं भोजनं वा=स इत्प्रथमैः 'this is the first time of going or eating'. इवं द्वितीयैः, इवं तृतीयैः, एतप्रथमैः, एतद्वितीयैः, एततृतीयैः तथ्यमैः, तद्वितीयैः तत् तृतीयैः ॥ Why do we say 'in a Bahuvrīhi?' Observe अनेन प्रथमः=इत्प्रथमः ॥ Here the first member being in the third case retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say "after idam &c". Observe अथप्रथमः=यःप्रथम एषाऽ, here the first term retains its accent by VI. 2. 1. Why do we say 'of prathama and the Ordinals'? Observe ताति बहून्यस्य=तद्वाहुः ॥ Why do we say 'in counting an action'? Observe अवे प्रथम एषां=स इवं प्रथमाः ॥ Here substances are counted and not action. Why do we say 'in counting'? Observe अवे प्रथम एषां=इवं प्रथमाः i. e. इवं प्रथानाः ॥ and the word प्रथम means here 'foremost', and is not a numeral. When the कण् affix is added, the acute falls on the last syllable preceding कण् ॥ As इवं प्रथमकाः ॥ The Bahuvrīhi governs the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 2. 178.

संख्यायाः स्तनः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, स्तनः ॥
धृतिः ॥ संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दो बहुव्रीहौ समासेत्तोऽशातो भवति ॥

163. In a Bahuvrīhi, after a Numeral, the word स्तन has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ, त्रिस्तनौ, चतुःस्तनौः ॥ Why do we say after a Numeral? Observe इश्वनायस्तना ॥ Why do we say 'स्तन'? Observe द्विशिराः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥
धृतिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दो विभाषा इत्तोशातो भवति ॥

164. Optionally so, in the Vedas, the stana after a Numeral has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ or द्विस्तना, चतुःस्तनौ or चैतुःस्तना ॥

संक्षायां मित्राजिनयोः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संक्षायाम्, मित्र, अजिनयोः (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥
धृतिः ॥ संक्षायां विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे मित्र अजिन इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोरत्त उशातो भवति ॥
षार्णिकम् ॥ अष्टशिप्रतिषेधो मित्रे ॥

165. In a Bahuvrīhi, ending in मित्र and अजिन, the acute falls on the last syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

As देवमित्रैः, ऋग्मित्रैः, वृक्षाजिनैः, कूलाजिनैः कृष्णाजिनैः ॥ Why do we say 'a Name'? Observe प्रियमित्रैः, महाजिनैः ॥

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 इन्तरम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवायिनः, अन्तरम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
धृतिः ॥ व्यवायी व्यवधाता । तद्वाचिनः परमन्तरं बहुव्रीहौ समासे इत्तोशातं भवति ॥

166. In a Bahuvrīhi ending in अन्तर्, the acute falls on the final, after a word which denotes 'that which lies between'.

Thus कस्त्रान्तरैः 'through an intervened cloth or drapery', पटान्तरैः, कम्बलान्तरैः = वस्त्रान्तरं व्यवधायकं यस्य &c. Why do we say 'when meaning lying between'? Observe आत्मान्तरैः = आत्मा स्वभावोऽन्तरोऽन्यायस्य ॥

मुखं स्वाङ्गम् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुखम्, स्वाङ्गम्, (अन्तोदाक्षम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यहनप्य द्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौः समासे उत्तोशान्तं भवति ॥

167. In a Bahuvrīhi the acute is on the final, when the second member is मुख meaning mouth i. e. the actual bodily part of an animal and not used metaphorically.

Thus गोरमुखः, 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.

नाव्ययदिक्शब्दगोमहतस्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्यय,
दिक्शब्द, गो, महत, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु, वत्सेभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय दिक्शब्द गो महत् स्थूल मुष्टि पृथु वत्स इत्येतेभ्यः परं मुखं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहै समासे नात्माशान्तं भवति ॥

168. In a Bahuvrīhi, the acute does not fall on such मुख denoting a real mouth, when it comes after an Indeclinable, and a name of a direction, or after गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु and वत्स ॥

Thus: अव्ययः—उर्ध्वमुखः, नीचमुखः ॥ The words उर्ध्वः and नीचः are finally acute and retain their accent. दिक्—प्रौढमुखः, प्रत्यङ्गमुखः ॥ The word प्राढ़ has acute on the first by VI. 2, 52, and प्रत्यङ्ग is finally acute by VI. 3. 139. गो &c :—गोमुखः, महामुखः, स्थूलमुखः, मुष्टिमुखः पृथुमुखः and वत्समुखः ॥ In these the first members of the Bahuvrīhi preserve their respective accents under Rule VI. 2. 1 and in the case of compounds preceded by गो, मुष्टि and वत्स, the optional rule taught in the next sūtra is also superseded by anticipation, though the words may denote comparison.

निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपमानात्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तादुपमानवाचिनश्च मुखं स्वाङ्गमुत्तरपदमन्यतरस्यां बहुव्रीहौ समासन्तोशान्तं भवति ॥

169. In a Bahuvrīhi, the word मुख denoting 'an actual mouth', has optionally the acute on the final, when preceded by a participle in त, or by that wherewith something is compared.

Thus इकालितमुखः or प्रकालितमुखः or प्रेक्षालितमुखः ॥ 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:—सिंहमुखः or सिंहमुखः, व्याघ्रमुखः or व्याघ्रमुखः ॥

जातिकालसुखादिभ्यो ज्ञाच्छादनात् कोऽकृतमितप्रतिपञ्चाः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिकाल, सुखादिभ्यः, अनाश्रदनात्, कः, अकृतमितप्रतिपञ्चाः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिन आच्छादनवर्जितात् कालवाचिनः सुखाक्षिण्यं परं नानं कृतमितप्रतिपञ्चान्वर्जयित्वा बहुव्रीही समासेन्दोशात् भवति ॥

170. After a word denoting a species (with the exception of a word for 'garment or covering'), and after a time-denoting word as well as after सुख &c. the Participle in क्त has acute on the final, in a Bahuvrīhi, but not so when the participles are कृत, मित and प्रतिपञ्च ॥

Thus सारङ्गजग्धः; पलाण्डुभक्तिः; सुरापीतः ॥ कालः—मासजातः; संवस्तरजातः; व्याहारातः; उयहजातः ॥ 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 वेष्टचक्षुनः, वैसनचक्षुनः from the root वस with the affixes छृष्ट and स्युष्ट respectively. Why do we say "when not कृत &c."? Observe कुण्डकृतः, कुण्डमितः; कुण्डप्रातपञ्चः; कुण्ड is first acute by Phit II. 3 being neuter. These three participles do not stand first in a compound (contrary to II. 2. 36), as this sūtra implies. In the counter-examples, above given, the first members retain their original accent (VI. 2. 1). The words सुख &c are given under III. 1. 18.

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 तृप्त (तृप्त तोत्र) 4 कृच्छ्र, 5 भृत, 6 भास*, 7 भलीक 8 प्रतीप, 9 करुण, 10 कृपण, 11 सांढ. 12 गहन.

वा जाते ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जाते, (अन्तोदातः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ जातशब्दउत्तरपेव वा इत्त उत्तराते बहुव्रीही समासे जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः ॥

171. After a species (with the exception of garment) or a time denoting word, or after सुख &c. in a Bahuvrīhi, the word जात has optionally acute on the final.

Thus इन्तजातः; or इन्तजातः, स्तनजातः; or स्तनजातः, मासजातः; or मासजातः, संवस्तरजातः; or संवस्तरजातः; सुखजातः; दुःखजातः; or दुःखजातः; &c. The words दम्भ and स्तन are first-acute by Phit II. 6; मास is first-acute by Phit II. 15, संवस्तर is finally-acute by Phit I. 7. बहिष्ठवत्सरते शत्पान्ताम् "words ending in बहिष्ठ, वस्त, ति, शत् and थ are finally acute", as वहिष्ठः; संवस्तरः; सप्ततिः; पितौत्, शूर्येष् ॥ The words सुख and दुःख are end-acute by Phit I. 6.

नभ्सुभ्याम् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नभ्सुभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नभ्सुभ्यां परस्परपरं बहुत्रीहौ समासेन्तोशान्तं भवति ॥

172. A Bahuvrīhi formed by the Negative particle नभ्सु or by सु has acute on the last syllable of the compound.

Thus अयवैःैशः, अत्रीहैः, अमारैः, सुयैः, सुत्रीहैः, सुमारैः ॥ The acute here rests on the last syllable of the completed compound; so that the rule applies to the compounds which have fully developed themselves by taking the samāsānta affixes. Thus अनृष्टः (formed by the samāsānta affix अ V. 4.74). Though the word समास and उत्तरपद are both present here by context, yet the operation is performed on samāsa. This is to be inferred, because of the next sūtra. For had the present sūtra meant that the final of the second member (उत्तरपद) preceded by नभ्सु and सु gets the acute, then there would have been no necessity of the next sūtra, for the present would have covered the case of सुकुमारीक &c because कप् is not a part of the *second term* (uttarapada) कुमारी but of the *compound* (Samasa) सुकुमारी; and therefore, if we translated the present sūtra, by saying that the end of second term gets acute, the accent would have fallen on ई in सुकुमारीकः even by this sūtra. But this is not intended, because of the accent of the samasanta words अनृष्टः and बहृष्टः ॥ There is necessity of the next sūtra, because a samāsa includes not only the simple samāsa, but one ending with a samāsānta affix. Therefore, had not the next sūtra been made, the accent would have fallen on क and not on ई, for the affix कप् is considered part of the samasa and not of the uttarapada समासान्तः समासस्थवाक्यवा नोत्तरपदस्य ॥

कपि पूर्वम् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, पूर्वम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नभ्सुभ्यां कपि परतः पूर्वमन्तोशान्तं भवति ॥

173. A Bahuvrīhi formed by नभ्सु or सु and ending in the affix कप्, (V. 4.153) has acute on the syllable preceding the affix.

By the last sūtra the accent would have fallen on कप्, this makes it fall on the vowel preceding it. Thus अकुमारीकोरेशः, अवृष्टलीकः, अब्रह्मवन्धूकः, सुकुमारीकः, सुवृष्टलीकः, सुब्रह्मवन्धूकः ॥

हस्तान्ते इन्त्यात्पूर्वम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्तान्ते, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, (उदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तो इत्य तस्मिं हस्तान्तुत्तरपरं समासो वा, तत्रान्त्यात्पूर्वमन्तः भवति कपि परतो नभ्सुभ्यां परं बहुत्रीहौ समासे ॥

174. When the compound ends in a light vowel, the acute falls on the syllable before such last, in a Bahuvrīhi preceded by नभ्सु and सु to which कप् is added.

Thus अयवकोरेशः, अत्रीहिकः, अमारपकः, सुयैवकः, सुत्रीहिकः, सुमारपकः ॥ The repetition of पूर्व in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present from the last,

shows, that in the last aphorism, the syllable preceding कृ takes the acute, while here the syllable preceding the short-vowel-ending final syllable has the acute and not the syllable preceding कृ. This is possible with a word which is, at least, of two syllables (not counting, of course, सु and क or कृ). Therefore, in अज्ञैकः and सुरैकः, the acute is on the syllable preceding कृ by VI. 2. 173, because it has here no antyāt-purvam.

बहोर्नभवदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, नभवदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदार्थबहुल्लेयो बहुशब्दो वर्तते तस्मान्प्रयत्नस्त्रयो भवति । नज्जुभ्यामित्युत्क्षम् । वहोरपि
तथा भवति ॥

175. A Bahuvrīhi with बहु, has the same accent as नभ, when it denotes muchness of the object expressed by the second member.

In other words a Bahuvrīhi with the word बहु in the first member, is governed by all those rules which apply to a Bahuvrīhi with a Negative Particle such as Rules VI. 2. 172 &c. when this gives the sense of multieity of the objects denoted by the second member. Thus बहुयत्वौ ऐशः, बहुत्रीहिँः, बहु-
तिलः: the same as VI. 2. 172. बहुयैकः, बहुत्रीहिकः, बहुमैषकः: by VI. 2. 174. बहुजैरः,
बहुमैरः, बहुमित्रः, बहुसैतः: by VI. 2. 116: these examples of VI. 2. 116 are not given by Dr. Bohtlingk.

Why do we say 'uttara-pada-bhumni—when multicity of the objects denoted by the second member is meant'? Observe बहुषु मनोऽस्य = बहुमना अयम् (VI. 2. 1).

न गुणादयोऽवयवाः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गुणादयः, अवयवाः (अन्तोदात्ताः)
वृत्तिः ॥ गुणादयोऽवयववाचिनोबहास्त्रनरे बहुत्रीहौ नान्तोदात्ता भवति ॥

176. In a Bahuvrīhi, after बहु, the acute does not fall on the final of गुण &c. when they appear in the compound as ingredient of something else.

Thus बहुगुणः रज्जुः, बहुक्षरं परम, बहुच्छन्नोमानम्, बहुध्यायः (VI. 2. I). गुणादि is an Akrtigana. Why do we say "when it denotes an avayava or ingredient"? As बहुगुणैत्राद्याणः = अध्ययनश्रुतसत्त्वाशारादयोऽत्रगुणः ॥

1 गुण, 2 अक्षर, 3 अध्याय, 4 सूक्त, 5 छन्दोमान. आकृतिगण.

उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपर्यु ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, स्वाङ्गम्, ध्रुवम्,
अपर्यु, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवं पर्शुर्शर्जितमन्तोदात्तं भवति बहुत्रीहौ समाप्ते ॥

177. A word denoting a part of the body, which is constant (and indispensable), with the exception of पर्शु, has, after a Preposition in a Bahuvrīhi compound, the acute on the last syllable.

Thus पृष्ठःः, प्रोर्हःः, प्रलाटःः; सततं वस्य प्रगतं पृष्ठं भवति स पृष्ठः ॥ Why do we say 'after a Preposition'? Observe दर्शनीयलाटः ॥ Why do we say 'part of the body'? Observe प्रशास्त्रो वृक्षः ॥ Why do we say 'dhruva—constant and indispensable'? Observe उद्धारःः कोशाति ॥ Here the hand is raised up only at the time of cursing and not *always*, so the state of उद्धारःः is temporary and not permanent. Why do we say with the exception of पर्ह? Observe दैत्यर्हः, विषर्हः (VI. 2. 1).

वनं समासे ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, समासे, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृक्षः ॥ समासामेव वनांमयेतदुत्तरप्रसूपसर्गात्परमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

178. After a preposition, वन has acute on the final in compounds of every kind.

Thus प्रवणं वट्यव, निर्देषं प्रजिधीयते, the न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 5. The word 'samāsa' is used in the sūtra to indicate that all sorts of compounds are meant, otherwise only Bahuvrīhi would have been meant.

अन्तः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥
वृक्षः ॥ अन्तदशब्दादुत्तरं वनमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

179. After अन्तर् the acute falls on the final of वन ॥

Thus अन्तर्वंणो देशः ॥ This sūtra is made in order to make वन oxytoned, when a preposition (upasarga) does not precede.

अन्तश्च ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च ॥
वृक्षः ॥ अन्तदशब्दाद्योत्तरप्रसूपसर्गात्परमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

180. The word अन्तर् has acute on the final when preceded by a Preposition.

Thus प्रान्तःः, पर्वन्तःः ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi or a प्राणि compound.
न निविभ्याम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, नि, विभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥
वृक्षः ॥ नि वि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरेन्तदशब्दे नान्तोशात्तो 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 ॥ परे:, अभितः-भावि, मण्डलम् ॥
वृक्षः ॥ परेरुत्तरभितोभाविवचनं मण्डलं आन्तोशात्तं 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, परितीर्तम्, परिमण्डलम् ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi or प्राणि compound or an Avyayibhāva. If it is an Avyayibhāva, then rule VI. 2, 33 is superseded,

and the first member does not retain its original accent. अभितः = सम्बन्धः 'on both sides, अभितोभावोऽस्यास्ति = अभितोभावाच् '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 ॥ प्रादुर्भावप्रस्तावाचिं संज्ञायां विषये उन्नोशान्तं 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 प्रकोऽन्, प्रगृह्णन्, प्रहारेन् ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting a body part'? Observe प्रैहस्तम्, प्रैपदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe प्रपीडम् ॥
निरुद्कादीनि च ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरुद्कादीनि, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निरुद्कादीनि च शब्दरूपाण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

184. The words निरुद्क &c, have acute on the final.
Thus निरुद्कम्, निरुलपैम्, निरुपलैम् &c.

1 निरुद्क, 2 निरुपल निरुलप 3 निर्भक्षिक, 4 निर्मशक, 5 निष्कालक, 6 निष्कालिक, 7 निष्वेष, 8 हुत्तरीप, 9 निस्तरीप, 10 निस्तरीक, 11 निरजिन, 12 उत्तरिन, 13 उपाजिन, 14 पर्वत्तपादकेशकर्त्ता भाकृतिगण.

These may be considered either as शाहि समास or Bahuvrihi. If they be considered as avyayi bhāva compounds then they are end acute already by VI. I. 223. The word निष्कालकः = निष्कालः कालकाम्, is a Prādi-samāsa with the word काल ending in the affix काम् ॥ The word हुत्तरीपः is thus formed: to the root हुत् is added the affix त् and we have तरी (Uṇ III. 158) तरीप् ताति = तरीषः; छृस्तित स्तरीपः = हुत्तरीपः ॥ The word निस्तरीकः is formed by adding the affix काप् to the Bahuvrihi निस्तरी ॥ The words, पात्, कश् anb कर्ष् have acute on the final after परि, as, परिहस्तौः, परिषार्हः, परिकेशः, and परिकर्षः ॥

अभेमुखम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, मुखम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभेहन्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

185. The word मुख has acute on the final when preceded by अभि ॥

As, अभिमुखैम् ॥ It is a Bahuvrihi or a प्रादि samāsa. If it is an Avyayi-bhāva, then it would have acute on the final by VI. I. 223 also. By VI. 2. 177, even मुख would have oxytone after an upasarga, the present sūtra makes the additional declaration that मुख is oxytone even when the compound is not a Bahuvrihi, when it does not denote an indispensable part of body, or a part of body even, as was the case in VI. 2. 177. Thus अभिमुखा शाला ॥

अपाश ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपाचोत्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

186. The word मुख has acute on the final, after the preposition अप ॥

Thus अपमुखैम्, अपमुखः ॥ The compound is in one case Avyayibhāva also, when rule VI. 2. 33 will be superseded. The separation of this from the last sūtra, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism, in which the anuvritti of अप only goes.

स्फिगपूतवीणाञ्चोद्धकुक्षिसरिनाम नाम च १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फिग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जः, उद्धम् कुक्षि, सीर नाम, नाम, च,
वृत्तिः ॥ स्फिग पूत वीणा अञ्जस् अध्वम् कुक्षि इत्येतान्युत्तरवानि सीरनामानि नामशब्दशापादुत्तराण्यन्तो-
शानानि भवन्ति ।

187. The words स्फिग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जस्, अध्वम्, कुक्षि, नामन् and a word denoting 'a plough', have acute on the final when preceded by अप ॥

Thus अपस्फिगैम्, अपपूतैम्, अपवीणैम्, अपाञ्जैः, अपाञ्जी (This ordains acute on the final where the compound apādhwa does not take the samāsanta affix अच् by V. 4. 85, when it takes that affix, the acute will also fall on the final because अच् is a चित् affix.) This further shows that the samāsanta affixes are not compulsory. (अनित्यश समासान्तः), अपकुक्षिः, अपसीरैः अगहलैः, अपलाङ्गलैम्, अपनार्मै ॥ These are प्रारि compounds or Bahuvrihi or Avyayibhavas. Some of these viz. स्फिग, पूत and कुक्षि: 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 ॥ अथैः, 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 = इन्तस्योपरि योऽन्योरन्ते जायते 'a tooth that grows over another tooth'. अधिकर्णैः, अधिकर्णैः ॥ These are प्रारि samāsa or an appositional compound in which the second member has been dropped. Why do we say when meaning 'standing upon'? Observe अधिकर्णम्. Here the acute is on क, the krit-formed second member retaining its accent (VI. 2. 139).

अनोरग्रधानकनीयसी ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनोः, अग्रधान, कनीयसी,
(अन्तोदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरमग्रधानवाचि कनीयशान्तोदात्तं भवति ।

189. After अनु, a word which is not the Principal, as well as कनीयस्, has acute on the final.

The word अग्रधान means a word which stands in a dependant relation in a compound. Thus अनुगतां उद्येष्ठम् = अनुउद्येष्ठः, अनुमध्यमैः ॥ These are प्रारि samāsa

in which the first member is the principal or Pradhâna. अनुगतः कर्तीयान् = अनुक-भीर्वान्, here the second member is the Principal: the word कर्तीयस् is taken as प्रधान ॥ Had it been non-pradhâna, it would be covered by the first portion of the sâtra, and there would have been no necessity of its separate enumeration. Why do we say "अप्रधान"? Observe अनुगतो उद्येषः = अनुउद्येषः, where उद्येष is the Principal.

पुरुषभान्वादिष्टः ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषः, च, अन्वादिष्टः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषस्त्वा इन्वास्त्राची चानोहत्तरोन्ताशान्तो भवति ।

190. After अनु, the acute falls on the final of पुरुष, when it means a man of whom mention was already made.

The word अन्वास्त्रि means 'of a secondary importance, inferior', or 'mentioned again after having already been mentioned'. Thus अन्वास्त्रिः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः; but अनुगतः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः ॥

अतेरकृत्पदे ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतेः, अकृत्पदे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अतेः परमकृत्पदं पश्चात्प्रभान्तोशान्तो भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ अतेर्द्वातुलोपदाति बन्तव्यम् ॥

191. After अति, a word not formed by a krit-affix, and the word पद, have acute on the last syllable.

Thus अत्यङ्गुणी नामः, अतिक्रौडधः, अतिपूर्णशकुरी ॥ Why do we say 'non-krit-word and पद'? Observe अतिक्रारकः ॥

Vārtī :—The rule is restricted to those compounds in which a root has been elided. That is, when in analysing the compound a verb like कृत् is to be employed to complete the sense. Therefore it does not apply to शोभनी गार्दः = अतिगार्दः ॥ But it would apply to अतिक्रारकः, which when analysed becomes equal to अतिक्रान्तः कारणम् ॥

नेरनिधाने ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, अनिधाने, (अन्तोदाताम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परमुत्तरपदमन्तोशान्तं भवति ।

192. After नि, the second member has the acute on the last syllable, when the sense is of 'not laying down'.

The word निधानं = अप्रकाशता 'not making manifest'. Thus निमूलम्, न्य-सैम्, नितृणम् ॥ These are either Bahuvrîhi or prâdisamâsa. In the case of their being Avyayibhâva, they would have acute on the final by VI. I. 223. Why do we say when meaning 'not laying down'? Observe निशाक् = निहितवाक् as निशाग्वृष्टः; निश्चः = निहितश्चः ॥ The force of नि is that of निधान here.

प्रतेरंश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, अंश्वादयः, तत्पुरुषः, (अन्तोदाताः)
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतेरंश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे समासेन्तोशान्ता भवति ।

193. In a Tatpurusha compound, the words अंशु &c have acute on the final when preceded by प्रति ॥

Thus प्रत्यंशुः, प्रतिजनैः, प्रतिरात्रैः ॥ In the case of राज् this rule applies when the Samāstānta 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 चिन्त् affix.

1 भंशु, 2 अन्, 3 राज्, 4 उष्, 5 खेटक (खेटक), 6 अजिर, 7 आद्रा॒, 8 अवण, 9 कृत्तिका, 10 अर्ध, 11 पुर (आर्धपुर आर्धपुर) ॥

The word भंशु is formed by the affix भु under the general class मृगभुः (Uṇ I. 37), राज् is formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156), उष् by adding ष्टुत् to उष् 'to burn'. (Uṇ IV. 162), खिद् + पूल् = खेटक ; अजिर is formed by किरच् (Uṇ I. 53) आ + द्रा + अइ (III. 3. 106), with the augment एक् added to आ = आद्रा॒ ॥ भृ + स्वृद् = अवण, कृत + तिकन् = कृत्तिका (Uṇ III. 147) ष्टप् + अष् (III. 1. 134) = अर्ध ; पुर + क = पुर ॥

Why do we say 'in the Tatpurusha'? Observe प्रतिगता अंशोऽस्य = प्रत्यं-शुरयमुष्टः ॥

उपादू द्वयजजिनमगौरादयः ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपादू, द्वयच् अजिनम्, अ-गौरादयः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरं द्वयजजिनं चान्तोदात्तं भवति तस्मुरुषे समासे गौरादीन्वञ्चित्यस्ता ॥

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 इवः = उपेदैः, उपेन्द्रैः, उपसोमैः, उपहोरैः, उपाजिनैच् ॥ But not so in उपगौरः, उपनैषः &c.

1 गौर, 2 नैष (नैष) 3 तैल, 4 लेट, 5 लोट, 6 जिहा, 7 कृष्ण (कृष्णा) 8 कन्या, 9 गुध (गुड) 10 कल्प, 11 पाठ

Why "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe उपगतः सोमोऽस्य = उपसोमः ॥

सोरवक्षेपणे ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, अवक्षेपणे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सुशब्दात्परमुत्तरपरं तस्मुरुषे 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 खल्पिशार्नी, सुस्थण्डिले सुस्फिताभ्यां सुप्रस्थवसितैः ॥ 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 कुब्राद्वाणः ॥ Why 'when reproach is meant'? Observe शोभनेषु तृष्णेषु = सुतृष्णेषु ॥

विभाषोत्पुच्छे ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उत्पुच्छे, (अन्तउदातः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पुच्छेत्परं तस्मुरुषे विभाषा उत्त उत्तात्तो भवति ॥

196. In a Tatpurusha, the word उत्पुच्छ may optionally have acute on the final.

Thus उरकान्तः पुच्छान् = उरपुच्छः or हिंपुच्छः (VI. 2. 2) || When this word is derived by the affix अ॒च् from पुच्छभुवस्यति = उरपुच्छयति, then it would always have taken acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, the present sūtra ordains option there also. The rule does not apply to a non-Tatpurusha : as, उरस्तं पुच्छमस्य = उरपुच्छः ॥

द्वित्रिभ्यां पादन्मूर्धं सु बहुवीहा॒हौ ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, त्रिभ्याम्, पात, दत्, मूर्धे सु, बहुवीहा॒हौ, ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ द्वि त्रि इत्यताम्याद्युरेष पाद श्व मूर्धन् इत्येतेषु भारपेतु यो बहुवीहिस्तम् विभाषा इत्त उरान्तो भवति ॥

197. In a Bahuvrīhi, the words पाद्, दत् and मूर्धन् have optionally acute on the final after द्वि and त्रि ॥

Thus ही पादावस्य = द्विपात् or त्रिपात्, चिर्पाद् or त्रिर्पाद्, चिर्दत् or त्रिर्दत्, द्विमूर्धं or त्रिमूर्धं ॥ The word पाद् is पाद with its अ elided, (V. 4. 140) इत् is the substitute of इत्त (V. 4. 141) and मूर्धन् retains its त् not allowing samāsanta affix. This also indicates that the samāsanta rule is not universal. When the samāsanta affix is added, then also the acute is on the final, for the कार्यी is here the Bahuvrīhi compound, and this is only a part of it. Thus हिमूर्धः, चिमूर्धः ॥ Why after द्वि and त्रि? Observe कल्प्येणमूर्धा here the first member is middle acute by Phit II. 19 and this accent is retained VI. 2. 1. Why 'पाद् &c'? Observe द्विहस्तम्, त्रिहस्तम् ॥ Why 'Bahuvrīhi'? Observe द्वोमूर्धा = हिमूर्धा ॥

सक्थं चाक्रान्तात् ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सक्थम्, च, अ क्रान्तात्, (अन्तोदात्तः) (विभाषा) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ सक्थयिति क्रतसमासान्तः सक्थिशब्दो गृह्यते सोक्रान्तात्परो विभाषान्तोशत्तो भवति ॥

198. The word सक्थ has acute on the final optionally, when preceded by any word other than what ends in क् ॥

The word सक्थ is the samāsānta form of सक्थि� (V. 4. 113,). Thus गौरसक्थ्यः or गौरैसक्थः, श्लश्जसक्थ्यः or श्लश्जैसक्थः: The word गौर being formed by प्रज्ञादि अण् and श्लश्ज by क्लन् (Uṇ III. 19) are both end-acute. Why 'not after a word ending in क्'? Observe चक्रसक्थ्यः which is *always* oxytone as it is formed by पञ्च् (V. 4. 113) a चित् affix.

परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परादिः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये परादिश्वशत्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

Karika—परादिश्व परान्तश्च पूर्वान्तश्चापि दृश्यते ।

पूर्वादिश्व दृश्यते व्यत्ययो बहुलं ततः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोशान्तप्रकरणे विचक्राशीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपशान्तोशान्तप्रकरणे महद्वृद्धाशीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपशान्तोशान्तप्रकरणे विचोशासारीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

199. The first syllable of the second member is diversely acute, in the Veda.

The word अ॒र् “the second member” refers to सङ्कृत्, as well as to any other word in general. Thus अ॒क्षित्सक्त्यैमालभेत्, but लोमशैसक्त्यः so also अ॒क्षुष्माहः, वा॒क्षपति, चित्पूपति ॥ In the non-Vedic literature these last two compounds will be final acute by VI. 1. 223, rule VI. 2. 18 not applying because of the prohibition contained in VI. 2. 19.

The rule is rather too restricted. It ought to be : “In the Veda, the *first* syllable and the *final* syllable of the *second* member, as well as the *final* syllable and the *first* syllable of the *preceding* member are seen to have the acute accent, in supersession of all the foregoing rules”.

As to where the final of the second terms takes the acute, we have this *Vārtika*—In the Veda, विचक &c have acute on the final of the second term. As विचकेण, विचन्द्रेण, विवृतारयेन, ॥ नियेन मुष्टिष्ठयाऽ ॥

As to where the final of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vārtika*—The words मर्दवृद्ध &c in the Vedas have acute on the final of the first term. As मर्दवृद्धः and विश्वामुः ॥

As to where the first syllable of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vārtika*—In the Veda, the words दिवेशास &c have acute on the first syllable of the first member. As दिवेशासाय सामग्राय ते ॥

आपृ३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER THIRD

अलुगुत्तरपदे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलुक्, उत्तरपदे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अलुगिते च उत्तरपदे इति च एतशधिकतं वेदितव्यम् । वरित ईर्ष्मनुक्रमिष्यामो इलुगुत्तरपदे ।
तेवं तदेवितव्यम् ॥

1. In the following upto VI. 3. 24 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "the elision does not take place before the second member of the compound".

The words अलुक् 'there is no elision', and उत्तरपदे "before the second member" are to be supplied in the subsequent sūtras. Both these words govern the sūtras upto VI. 3. 24, jointly ; while उत्तरपदे extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अलु (VI.4. 1). Thus sūtra VI. 3. 2 says "the affixes of the Ablative after 'stoka' &c". The present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. "the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c are not elided before the second member of the compound". Thus स्तोकात् मुक्तः = स्तोकाम्भुक्तः, अल्पाम्भुक्तः ॥ Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्क्रातः स्तोकात् = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadakta does not apply here.

पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, स्तोकादिभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकुच्छाणि स्तोकार्थिनि सेव्यः परस्याः पञ्चम्या उत्तरपदे इलुगम्भति ॥,

2. The Ablative-ending after स्तोक &c is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकाम्भुक्तः, अल्पाम्भुक्तः, अन्तिकाशगतः, अभ्याशाशगतः, कूरशगतः, विप्रकूरशगतः, कुच्छाम्भुक्तः ॥ By I. 2. 46, a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called prātipadika, and by II. 4. 71 the endings of a Prātipadika are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् मुक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sūtra prevents that. The words स्तोक &c in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकाम्भाम्भुक्तः, 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 स्तोकानुरूपः being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI. 1. 158, VI. 2. 144), the word स्तोकाभ्यां मुन्तः being treated as *two* words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39.

Vart :—The word ब्राह्मणाच्छतिसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणाशशब्दं शंसाति = ब्राह्मणाच्छतिसिन् “a kind of Ritvik priest”.

ओजः सहोम्भस्तमस्तृतीयायाः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् तमसः, तृतीयायाः (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् तमस् इयेतेभ्य उच्चरस्थास्तृतीयाया अलुभवति उच्चरपदे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अज्जस उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पुंसानुजो जनुषान्ध इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् and तमस् are not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus ओजसाकृतम्, सहसाकृतम्, अम्भसाकृतम्, तमसाकृतम् ॥

Vart —अज्जस् also should be enumerated. Thus अज्जसाकृतम् ॥

Vart :—The compounds पुंसानुजः and जनुषान्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसा हेतुनानुजः = पुंसानुजः ॥ जनुषा हेतुनान्धः = जनुषान्धः ॥ The word जनु is another name of जन्मन् ‘birth’.

मनसः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनसः, संज्ञायाम्, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मनस उच्चरस्थास्तृतीयाया संज्ञायामलुभवति ॥

4. After मनस when the compound is a Name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसादन्ना, मनसागुप्ता, मनसासंगता ॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe मनोदन्ना, मनोगुप्ता ॥

आशायिनि च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशायिनि, च, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आशायिन्युभरपदे मनस उच्चरस्थास्तृतीयाया अलुभवति ॥

5. Also before आशायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन् = मनसाऽज्ञातुं शीलमस्य ॥

आत्मनश्च पूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनः, च, पूरणे, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन उच्चरस्थास्तृतीयाया पूरणप्रत्ययान्तउच्चरपदे लुभवति ॥

6. The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided when an Ordinal Numeral follows.

Thus आस्मनापञ्चमः, आस्मनाषष्ठिः ॥ The Instrumental case here takes place under the Vārtika तृतीयाविधाने प्रकृत्यार्थीनामुपसरण्यान् (II. 3. 18 Vārt). And compounding takes place by II. 1. 30, by separating तृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sūtra or in this way :—आस्मना कृतः पञ्चमः = आस्मनापञ्चमः ॥ How do you explain the form आस्मचतुर्थ in जनर्दनस्वास्मचतुर्थ एव? It is a Bahuvrīhi compound = आस्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य ॥ The word पूर्णे is a later addition of the Vārtikakāra.

वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वैयाकरणाख्यायाम्, चतुर्थ्याः, (अल्पक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैयाकरणस्वाख्या वैयाकरणाख्या । आख्या संज्ञा । अथा संज्ञया वैयाकरणा एव व्यवहरन्ति तस्यामास्मन् उत्तरस्वाश्चतुर्थ्या अल्पगमवति ॥

7. The Dative case ending is not elided after आत्मन् when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आस्मनेपश्य, आस्मनेभाषा ॥ The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 36, and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha.

परस्य च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्य, च, (अल्पक्) ॥

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 परस्मैपश्य, परस्मभाषा ॥

हलदन्तात्सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् अदन्तात्, सप्तम्याः, संज्ञा-याम्, (अल्पक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तादृशन्ताद्बोत्तरस्याः सप्तम्याः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ हृष्टशुभ्यां डेः ॥

9. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name.

Thus युधिष्ठिरः, लक्ष्मिसारः, गविष्ठिरः ॥ Though गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of VIII. 3. 95 (गविश्वधिर्यां स्थिरः) which shows by implication that गवि is governed by this rule. So also अ ending words: as अरण्यतिलकाः, अरण्यभाषकाः, वनेर्किशुकाः, वनेहरिद्रिकाः, पुर्वाह्नेस्फोटकाः, क्लूपेपिशाचकाः ॥ Why do we say “after a word ending in a consonant or अ”? Observe नवां कुक्कुटिका = नवीकुक्कुटिका, भूम्यां पाशाः = भूमिपाशाः ॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe शक्षाण्डः ॥

Vārt :—The Locative ending is not elided after हृद and विद्; as : हृदिस्पृक्, विदिस्पृक् ॥

कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हृलादौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारनाम्नि, च, प्राचाम्, हृलादौ, (अल्पक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देश अस्त्वोरनाम तच इलासादुन्नरपदे इलदन्तादुन्नरस्याः सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

10. The Locative-case affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus सूपेशाणः, रूपेशाषकः, इलेहिपदिका, इलेनिपदिका ॥ 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 अश्वाईतपशुः = अश्वाईतपशुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues', but not of a 'tax'. Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe शूयेपशुः = शूथपशुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe अविकटे उरणः = अविकटीरणः ॥ So also नथां शोहनी = नशीशोहनी ॥ For accent of these words see VI. 2. 65.

मध्यादुगुरौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्, गुरौ, अलुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यादुन्नरस्याः सप्तम्या शुरादुन्नरपदे इलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तादेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

11. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows.

As, मध्येगुरः ॥

Vdrt :—So also after अन्त ; as अन्तेगुरः ॥

अमूर्द्धमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ मूर्द्धं, मस्तकात्, स्वाङ्गात्, अकामे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्द्धमस्तकविभितास्वाङ्गादुन्नरस्याः सप्तम्या अकामदुन्नरपदे इलुग्भवति ॥

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, मस्तकशिखः, मुखे कामोऽस्य = मुखकामः ॥ When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply: as अक्षशौण्डः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अंशुलिप्ताणः, अहृषावालः ॥

बन्धे च विभाषा ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धे, च, विभाषा, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बन्ध इति षमन्तो वृद्धते । तस्मन्दुन्नरपदे इलदन्तादुन्नरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा इलुग्भवति ॥

13. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before अन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्धः or हस्तबन्धः, चक्रबन्धः or चक्रबन्धः ॥ This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvihi when the first member is a स्वाकृ word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19, when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्वांग or not. The word बन्धः is षष्ठ् formed word. When the first member ends in a vowel (other than अ), the rule does not apply. As गुप्तिबन्धः ॥

तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत् पुरुषे, कृति, बहुलम्, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे कृत्यन्तरपरे सम्भवा बहुलमसुगम्भवति ॥

14. In a Tatpurusha compound, when the second member is a word formed with a krit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved.

As स्तम्भरेतः, कर्मेजपः, but also कुश्चरः, मध्यचरः ॥

प्रावृद्धशरत्कालदिवां जे ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृद्ध, शरत्, काल, दिवाम्, जे, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृद्ध शरत् काल विश्वैतेषां जे उत्तरपरे सम्भवा अलुगम्भवति ॥

15. The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृद्ध, शरत्, काल and विश्वै when जे follows.

Thus प्रावृद्धिजः, शरस्त्रजः, कालेजः, विद्यजः ॥ This sūtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sūtra.

विभाषा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वर्ष, क्षर, शर, वरात्,
(अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ष क्षर शर वर इतेषेभ्य उत्तरस्वाः सम्भवा जे उत्तरपरे विभाषा अलुगम्भवति ॥

16. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्ष, क्षर, शर, and वर when जे 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 ॥ घसंक्षके प्रत्यये कालशब्दे तनप्रत्यये च परतः कालनाम्न उत्तरस्वाः सम्भवा विभाषा अलुगम्भवति ॥

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 तम् are called घ (I. 1. 22). Thus घ:—पूर्वाहुतरे or पूर्वाहुते, पूर्वाहुतमे or पूर्वाहुतमे ॥ काल:—पूर्वाहुकाले or पूर्वाहुकाले ॥ तन:—पूर्वाहुतने or पूर्वाहुतने ॥ 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 रात्रितरात्याम् ॥

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 (प्रत्ययपूर्णे यस्मात् स विहितं स्तवदेव स्तवन्तस्य अहणम्) ॥ Thus the word य, अय् &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in य affix &c. But in this chapter, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपंच goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the following maxim : उत्तरपत्राधिकारे प्रत्ययपूर्णे न स्तवन्तं अहणम् ; on the contrary the affix denotes its own-form. Thus तट्, तम् and तन् here do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in sūtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares "हट् is the substitute of हृष्ट् when the word लेख, and the affixes अट्, अण्, and लास follow". Had the affix अण् here meant the word-form ending in अण्, then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sūtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix. The word काल in the aphorism means the word-form काल ॥ See Sūtra IV. 3. 23 for the affix तन् ॥

शयवासवासिष्वकालात् ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥ शय, वास, वासिषु, अकालात्, (अलुक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ शय वास वासिन् इत्येषैपूत्तरपत्रेष्वकालवाचिन उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा अलुभवति ॥

18. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन् when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus खेशयः, or खशयः, धारेवासः or धामवासः, धारेवासिन् or धामवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have उर्ध्वशयः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिशयः ॥

Vart :—The Locative case-affix is retained after अप् when योनि, or the affix अट् or मतुप् follows. Thus अप्स्योनि:, अप्स्यः, अप्सुमन्तौ ॥ The affix अट् is added by treating अप् as belonging to the विग्राहि class (अप्सु भवः, IV. 3. 54).

नेन्निसद्वधातिषु च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इम्, सिद्ध, वधातिषु, च, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यन्ते सिद्धशब्दं बध्नातौ च परतः सप्तम्या अलुग्न भवति ॥

19. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इम्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from बन्ध् ॥

Thus स्थिरिलशाचिन्, सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काञ्चित्स्थिरसिद्धः, अक्रवन्धकः, अरकवन्धकः ॥ The compounding takes place by *yoga-vibhāga* of sūtra II. 1. 40. Some use the word अक्रवन्धः as an illustration under this rule : बन्ध then is derived by अप् of III. 1. 134. The बन्ध ending in घम् is governed by VI. 3. 13. This sūtra is an exception to VI. 3. 14.

स्थे च भाषायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थे, च, भाषायाम्, (न) (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्थे चोत्तरपै भाषायां सप्तम्या अलुग्न भवति ॥

20. The Locative ending is not preserved before स्थ in the spoken language.

Thus विषमस्थः, कूटस्थः, पर्वतस्थः ॥ But आखरेष्टः in the Veda, as in कृष्णोस्याखरेष्टः ॥ स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106.

षष्ठ्यचा आकोशो ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्यचाः, आकोशो, (अलुक्) ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ आकोशे गन्धमाने उत्तरपरे षष्ठ्यचा अलुग्भवति ॥
 वास्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठीप्रकरणे वाग् विक्षपस्यद्देषु युक्तिपृष्ठेषु वयासंख्यमलुग्भवत्यः ॥
 वा० ॥ आमुष्यावयवामुष्यपुष्टिकामुष्यकुलकेसि आलुग्भवत्यः ॥
 वा० ॥ देवानां ग्रिय इत्यच षष्ठ्यचा अलुग्भवत्यः ॥
 वा० ॥ देवपुष्ट्यलाङ्गूलेषु शुनः भसंतायां षष्ठ्यचा अलुग्भवत्यः ॥
 वा० ॥ दिवम् रासे षष्ठ्यचा अलुग्भवत्यः ॥

21. The Genitive case affix is retained when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult'.

Thus औरस्कुलम्, वृषलस्यकुलम् ॥ Why do we say when insult is meant? Observe आम्बाणकुलम् ॥

Vart :—The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्ति, after दिश् before इष्ट, and after पद्मत् before इर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्तिः, दिशोपृष्ठः, पद्मतोहरः ॥

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आमुष्यायणः, आमुष्यपुष्टिका and आमुष्यकुलिका ॥ अमुष्य is the Genitive Singular of the Pronoun अस्त्, and is enumerated in the नजारि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes फक् in forming the Patronymic, अमुष्यापत्यम् = आमुष्यायणः, अमुष्यपुष्ट्य भावः = आमुष्यपुष्टिका formed by दुश् (V. 1. 133) ॥ So also आमुष्यकुलिका ॥

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानामियः ॥ 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 Kâsikâ. This was the title of the famous Buddhist 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 Brahmanical spite.

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided after भव् when देप, पुष्टि and लांशुल follow it :—शुनः देपः, शुनः पुष्टिः, शुनोलांशुलः ॥

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided after दिश् when रास follows : as दिवोरासः ॥

पुष्टे इन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुष्टे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अलुक्) ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ पुष्टशब्दउत्तरपरे आकोशे गन्धमाने इन्यतरस्यां षष्ठ्यचा अलुग्भवति ।

22. The genitive affix is optionally retained when insult is meant, when पुष्टि follows.

Thus रास्याः पुष्टः or रासपुष्टः, वृषस्याः पुष्टः, or वृषलीपुष्टः ॥ But when insult is not meant we have आम्बाणपुष्टः ॥

ऋतो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, विद्या, योनि, सम्बन्धेभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारान्तेभ्यो विद्यासम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो वोनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्योभासरत्वा: वष्ट्या अलुग्भवति ॥

23. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in श्व and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus हेतुरजेवासिन्, हेतुः उच्चः, मितुरजेवासिन् or पितृः उच्चः ॥ Why do we say "a word ending in श्व"? Observe मात्रावर्जुः, मातुलुच्चः ॥ 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 हेतुवनश्, पितृवनश्, हेतु गृहम्, पितृगृहम् ॥

विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, स्वसृ, पत्योः, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसृ पति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपत्योर्कारान्तेभ्यो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो विभाषा अलुग्भवति ॥

24. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in श्व when स्वसृ and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Thus मातुःस्वसा or मातुःप्वसा or मातृप्वसा, पितृःस्वसा or पितृःप्वसा or पितृप्वसा ॥ 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 ननान्दपतिः ॥

आनङ्ग श्रूतो द्वन्द्वे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनङ्ग, श्रूतः, द्वन्द्वे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकारान्तानां विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धवाचिनां यो इन्द्रस्तचोत्तरपते पूर्वपतस्यानडारेषो भवति ॥

25. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short श्व and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ्ग is the substitute of the श्व of the first member.

Thus हेतापोतारौ, नेटीहातारौ, प्रशास्ताप्रतिहर्तारौ आतापितारौ, आताननाम्बरौ ॥ The substitute is really आ, the श्व is useful only to prevent the application of I. 1. 51, by which a ए comes after every simple vowel substitute of श्व ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in श्व'? Observe पितृपितामहै ॥ The anuvritti of उच्च is understood here, so that the श्व of the first member is changed to आ before उच्च also, though it does not end in श्व. As पितामुनौ, मातामुनौ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता द्वन्द्वे, च, (आनङ्ग) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो इन्द्रस्तचोत्तरपते पूर्वपतस्यानडारेषो भवति ॥
प्रार्थिक्य ॥ इभवच वायोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The आनङ्ग is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devtas.

Thus इन्द्रावरुणौ, इन्द्रासीनौ, इन्द्रावृहस्ती, निवावरुणौ ॥ The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sūtra, in spite of its anuvritti from the last, shows that

the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like वायुप्रजापति, शिवैश्वरणी ॥ In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as आग्निवायु or वायवनी ॥

ईदग्नेः सोमवरण्योः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, अग्नेः, सोम, वरण्योः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सोम वरण इत्येत्यारेष्वतादन्ते इन्ने शिकारारेषो भवति ॥

27. For the final of अग्नि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वरण follow in a Dvandva.

Thus अग्नीषोमौ, अग्नीवरणी ॥ The स is changed to ई by VIII. 3. 82.

इदूर्जौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, वृत्तौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृतवृद्धाङ्गतरप्येत्यतादन्ते उग्नेतिकारारेषो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इहूर्जो विष्णोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

28. The short ई is the substitute of the final of अग्नि in such a Dvandva in which both members take the Vṛiddhi.

Thus आग्निवारुणी, which would have required long ई by the last rule: आग्निमास्तम्, which would have required आग्नः by VI. 3. 26. Thus आग्निवारुणी-मन्त्रार्थीमालमेत, आग्निमास्तं कर्म क्रियेत ॥ आग्नीमरुणौ देवताऽस्य (IV. 2. 24), takes the Taddhita affix, and by VII. 3. 21, both members of the compound take Vṛiddhi. When both members do not take Vṛiddhi, the rule does not apply: as आग्नेन्द्रः (आग्न इन्द्र), because इन्द्र does not take Vṛiddhi, by VII. 3. 22.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when the word विष्णु follows: as आग्नावैष्णवं चरं निर्विष्णु ॥

दिवो धावा ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, धावा, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विविस्तस्य धावा इत्यथमारेषो भवति देवतादन्ते उत्तरप्ये ॥

29. For दिव् is substituted धावा in a Dvandva of the names, of the Devatās.

Thus धावाक्षामा, धावाभूमी ॥

दिवसम्भ पृथिव्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवसः, च, पृथिव्याम्, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पृथिव्याङ्गतरप्येत्यतादन्ते दिवो विविस्तयमारेषो भवति चकाराद् धावा च ॥

30. For दिव् is also substituted दिवस् (as well as धावा) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatas.

Thus दिवसपृथिव्यो, धावापृथिव्यो ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the aphorism as दिवस ending in ः, in order to indicate that the स of दिवस् is not changed to ई or a visarga or upadhmaniya when followed by पृथिवी ॥ Following is an

anomalous use there being no Dvandva compounding here. वाचा चिदस्मै पृथिवी
मंत्रे ॥

उषसोषसः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उषसा, उषसः, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

शृङ्खः ॥ उषस उषसा इत्यथमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

31. For उषस् is substituted उषसा in a devatâ-dvandva.

Thus :—उषसासूर्यम्, उषसानन्ता ॥

मातरपितराद्बुदीचाम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातर, पितरौ, उदीचाम्, ॥

शृङ्खः ॥ मातरपितराविस्तुर्शीचामाचायाणां मतेनारकादेशो मातृषाद्वस्य निपात्यते ॥

32. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by अरड् substitution of the अ of मात् ॥ The other form is मातापितरौ ॥

पितरामातरा च छुन्डसि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितरा, मातरा, च, छुन्डसि, ॥
शृङ्खः ॥ पितरामातरा इति छुन्डसि 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 अरड् to the first member, and आ is added to the second by VII. 1. 39 : and then Guṇa by VII. 3. 110. Thus आ मा गन्तां पितरा-मातरा च ॥

स्त्रियाः पुंबद्धाषितपुंस्कावनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीपियादिषु ॥ ३४ ॥
पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, पुम्बत्, भाषितपुंस्कात्, अनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियाम्, अपूरणी,
प्रियादिषु, ॥

शृङ्खः ॥ भाषितपुंस्कावनूङः स्त्रीशब्दस्य पुंशब्दस्येव रूपं भवति समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे स्त्रीलिङ्गे पूरणीपिया-
दिवर्जिते ॥

34. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ्, and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it; but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral, nor प्रिय &c.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis ; स्त्रियाः 'for a semi-feminine word', पुंबद् "like the masculine", i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्वयेन, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspond-

ence must be in the *form* (भाक्ति) and the *connotation* (भावाम्) 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 इह् is called अनूह् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in इह् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुस्कारनूह् शीघ्रदः ॥ The word भाषितपुस्कारनूह् is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously. Of such a भाषितपुस्कारनूह् 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 (स्थिताम्) of the feminine gender : with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूर्ण) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus इर्षनीयमार्यः (= इर्षनीयाभार्या वस्त्व). Here इर्षनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, इर्षनीयः; moreover this feminine does not end in the affix इह्, 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 इर्षनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word इर्षनीयः ॥ So also इलशृणचूडः, रीर्घजङ्घः ॥ Why do we say स्थित्याः 'for a feminine word'? Observe आमणि ब्राह्मणकुलं दृष्टिरस्य = प्रामणिद्वाटिः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine (भाषितपुस्कः) ? Observe खद्वाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of खद्वा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानायामाकृतौ " ? Observe ब्रोणीमार्यः; the masculine word ब्रोण has not the same significance as ब्रोणी ॥ The words गर्भमार्यः, प्रसूतमार्यः, and प्रजातमार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in इह् ? Observe ब्रृद्धबन्धुमार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यामाता = कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyāṇī". Why do we say स्थिताम् 'followed by a feminine word' ? Observe कल्याणीप्रधानमेषां = कल्याणीप्रधानाः (इमे) ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral' ? Observe कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां ताः = कल्याणी पञ्चमारब्धाः, so also कल्याणीदशमाः ॥ The Ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पशः ॥ The samāsānta affix अप् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as a secondary word : and therefore the above compound does not take अप् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c. Observe कल्याणीप्रियः ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोजा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुमगा, 5 हुर्मगा, 6 भन्ति, 7 सचिवा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 क्षान्ता, 11 समा, 12 अपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वामा) 15 तनया, 16 अव्या ॥ The compound दृढभन्ति: is anomalous.

तसिलादिप्राकृत्वसुचः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिलादिषु, आकृत्वसुचः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यास्तसिलित्यसः प्रधति संख्यायाः क्रियाद्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्यसुचिति प्रांगतस्माद् ये प्रत्यया-
स्तोषु भाषितपुस्कारनूहस्थित्याः पुंवद्वति ॥

शास्त्रिकम् ॥ शसि बहूस्पार्यस्वं पुंवद्गामो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ स्वतलोर्णुणवचनस्य पुंवद्गामो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ भस्यादे तद्विते पुंवद्गामो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ उक्तुल्लिङ्गाद्या पुंवद्गामो 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 तसिक् &c (V. 3. 7) and ending with कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17)

Thus तस्याः शालामाः = ततः, तस्यां = तत्, वस्यां = वत्, यस्यां = यतः ॥ The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: ए and तत्, तरप् and तमप्, चरद, आसीवर, कल्पप्, देवय, देवीवर, कृपप्, पाशप्, यम्, धाम्, शा and हिंल तिल् लातिल् ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender. Thus तरप् तमप् &c इर्षनीवतरा, इर्षनीवतमा, पट्टचरी, पट्टजातीया, इर्षनीयवेशीया, इर्षनीयरूपा, इर्षनीवपाशा ॥ कथा प्रकृत्वा = कथम्, वया प्रकृत्वा = वया, तस्यां वेलामा = तदा, तहि &c.

Vart:—The feminine of बहु and अल्प is changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शास्:—as बहुगीयो हेहि = बहुशो हेहि; अल्पाभ्यो हेहि = अल्पशो हेहि ॥

Vart:—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine before the affixes त्व and तद् ॥ As पद्म्या भावः = पद्मस्म् or पद्मता ॥ Why do we say 'an adjective'? Observe कथ्या भावः = कण्ठीत्वं or कठीता ॥

Vart: The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except ए, when the word gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus इस्तिनीनां समूहः = इस्तिकम् ॥ Had the word not become masculine, then इस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI. 4. 148), the word ए of इस्तिल् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being sthānivat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144, ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like इस्तिनीकम् instead of इस्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of ए'? Observe इयैनेयः, रौहिनेयः the masculine being इयेत and रौहित ॥ The word भाग्नेयः (= भग्नायी देवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य) is an exception to this rule.

Vart:—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes उक् and लम् ॥ As भवत्या श्वामा = भावस्का:, भवसीयाः ॥

क्यङ्गमनिनोश्च ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यङ्ग, मानिनोः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्यङ्गि परतो मानिनि च लिया भाषितपुंस्कावग्नूङ् पुंवद्गतिः ॥

36. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed into masculine before the Denominative क्यङ्ग, and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, इयेनी—इयेतायते ॥ मानिन् :—इर्षनीवमानी अव्यमस्याः “He esteems her as handsome”. इर्षनीवमानिनीयमस्याः (इवम् 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:—इर्षनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तो यहदत्तां =

इर्षानीयमानी अथमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, इर्षानीयां मन्यते ऐव एतां अह-
दत्ता=इर्षानीयमानिनी इथमस्याः ॥

न कोपधायाः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क, उपधायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोपधायाः स्थियाः पुंशावो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कोपधप्रतिषेधे तु तद्वित्तप्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

37. A Feminine word having a penultimate क्, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाञ्चिकाभार्यः, कारिकाभार्यः, वृजिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाकल्पा, मद्रिकायते ॥ वृजिकायते, मद्रिकामानिनी, वृजिकामानिनी, वैलेपिक (वैलेपिकाया धर्मे). This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36 : and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vidit :—The rule applies to the क of the affix तु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्यः, भेकभार्यः ॥ The word पाका means “young”; and भेकी means ‘action’.

संज्ञापूरण्योद्ध ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, पूरण्योः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाः पूरण्याव स्थियाः पुंशावो न भवति ॥

38. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । गुप्ताभार्यः । इमापाशा । गुप्तापाशा । इत्यायते । गुप्तायते । इत्यामानिनी । गुप्तामानिनी । पूरण्याः । पञ्चमीभार्यः । इशमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा । इशमीपाशा । पञ्चमीयते । इशमीयते । पञ्चमीमानिनी । इशमीमानिनी ॥

वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्वित्तस्यारक्तविकारे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य, च, तद्वित्तस्य, अरक्तविकारे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्तद्वितः स यदि रक्तेयं विकारे च न विहितः, तद्वित्तस्य खीचमस्य न पुंशद्वयति ॥

39. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix, which causes the Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning ‘colored therewith’, and ‘made there of’.

Thus सौभीभार्यः, माशुरीभार्यः, सौष्णीपाशा, माशुरीपाशा, सौभीयते, माशुरीयते, सौभीमानिनी and माशुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say ‘which causes Vṛiddhi’? Observe मध्यमभार्यः (मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8 which does not cause Vṛiddhi). Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe काण्डलावभार्यः (काण्डं लुनाति = काण्डलावी with अण् (कर्मण्) and लृण्). Why do we say when not meaning ‘colored there with’ or ‘made thereof’? Observe काषायेण रक्ता = काषायी, काषायी वृहतिका यस्य = काषायवृहतिकः, लौहस्य विकारोलौही लौही ईशा 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 ण or ण् or क् &c which causes

Vridhhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to सावज्ञार्थः यावज्ञार्थः (तावती भार्या यस्य &c). Here the affix शतुष् V. 2. 39 added to तद् does not cause Vridhhi by its own force, but by VI. 3. 91.

स्वाङ्गाद्येतो अमानिनि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गत्, च, इतः, अमानिनि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गादुत्तरो व ईकारस्तदन्तायाः छिया न उंवज्जवति 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 शीर्धकेशीभार्यः, शुक्रकेशीभार्यः, शीर्धकेशीपाशा, श्लश्णकेशीपाशा, शीर्धकेशीयते, श्लश्णकेशीयते, but पट्टभार्यः (पट्ट not denoting any bodily member), अकेशभार्यः (अकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई), and शीर्धकेशमानिनी ॥ The exception अमानिनि has been added from the Vārtika and is no part of the original sūtra.

जातेश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, च, (न) (अमानिनि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जातेश छिया न उंवज्जवति अमानिनि परतः ॥

41. A feminine noun expressing a class or kind does not become masculine.

Thus कठीभार्यः, बहूच्छीभार्यः कठीपाशा, बहूच्छीपाशा, कठीयते, बहूच्छीयते ॥ But not so when मानिन् follows, as कठमानिनी, बहूच्छमानिनी ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हस्तिकम् ॥
पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुम्बत्, कर्मधारय, जातीय,
देशीयेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे जातीय देशीय इत्येतयोऽथ प्रत्ययोर्भाषितपुंस्कादनूनहस्तियाः पुंवज्जवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कुबुकुल्यासीनामण्डादिषु पुंवदावो वक्तव्यः ॥

42. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhāraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras. Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37). Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. Thus इत्तवृन्दारिका, इत्तजातीया, इत्तदेशीया, पंचमवृन्दारिका, पंचमजातीया, पंचमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : स्त्रीबृन्दारिका, स्त्रीजातीया, स्त्रीदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, as श्लश्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लश्णमुखजातीया and श्लश्णमुखदेशीया ॥ 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 खट्टवृन्दारिका, as खट्टा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ ; as ब्रह्मवृन्दारिका ॥

Vart :—The words कुकुटी &c become masculine before शण्ड &c : as, कुकुटी शण्ड = कुकुटाण्डन् ॥ मृग्याः पदं = मृगपदम्, मृग्याः क्षीरं = मृगक्षीरम्, काव्याः शावः = काक-

पात्रः || This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

Vart :—When a word formed by an affix having an indicatory य, or the affixes तर and तम &c (VI. 3. 43) follow, the final long vowel of the first term becomes short instead of its becoming masculine. As कालीमात्मानं मन्यते काल्येवाहम्—कालिमन्या (compare VI. 3. 66) हरिणिमन्या, पद्मिनरा, पद्मिनया, पद्मिकल्पा, पद्मिका, मृदिका || We have said that the rule does not apply to the feminines in ऊ || The words इडविद्, शरद्, पृथ य and उचिज् arc names of countries denoting Kshatriya clans. The tadrāja affix (VI. 1. 168 and 170), is elided in forming the feminine of these (IV. 1. 177). Thus we have the compound of इडविद् वृन्धारिका || When the first words become masculine, we have ऐडविड्, शरद्, &c. Thus ऐडविडवृन्धारिका, औषिज्वृन्धारिका ||

घरुपकल्पचेलड्बुवगोत्रमतहतेषु डुचोऽनेकाचो हस्वः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, रूप, कल्प, चेलड्, बुव, गोत्र, मत, हतेषु, डुचः, अनेकाचः, हस्वः, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घ रूप कल्प चेलड् बुव गोत्र मत हत इत्येषु परतो भाषितपुस्कात्परो यो ढीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्थानेकाचो हस्वो भवति ॥

43. Before the affixes तर, तम, रूप, कल्प, before चेल (with the feminine in ई), बुव, गोत्र, मत and हत, a word ending in the feminine affix ऊ becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus घ—ब्राह्मणितरा, ब्राह्मणितपा ब्राह्मणिरूपा, ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणिबुवा ब्राह्मणिगेत्रा, ब्राह्मणिमता and ब्राह्मणिहता || घ, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलड् &c are words as second members; बुवः is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to शु, guṇa and वच् substitution being prevented anomalously. Why do we say ending in ई (डी)? Observe इत्तातरा, युमातरा || Why do we say consisting of more than one syllable? Because words of one syllable *optionally* become shortened by the next rule. Why do we say having a corresponding masculine? Observe आमलकीतरा कुवलीतरा, where आमलकी and कुवली have no equivalent masculine forms.

नद्याः शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याः, शेषस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ नद्याः शेषस्य घासिषु परतो इस्वो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् । कश्च शेषः । अडों च या नक्षी उपत्त च यदेकाच् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुत्रियाः प्रातिषेधो वनक्षयः ॥

44. In all the remaining feminine words called Nadi (I. 4. 3 and 4), the substitution of short vowel under the preceding circumstances is optional.

What are the शेष or the remnants? Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (डी), and are called Nadi; and those feminines which end in long ई but consist of one syllable. Thus ब्रह्मन्धूतरा or ब्रह्मवन्धुतरा वीरवधूतरा or वीरवन्धुतरा, लितरा or लीतरा, लितमा or लीतमा ॥

Vart:—Nadi words formed by कृत् affixes are excepted: as लक्ष्मीतरा, तन्त्रीतरा formed by the Uṇadi affix ई (Uṇ III. 158, 160)

उगितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (हस्तः) (अन्यतरस्यां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उगितश्च परस्या नया घाविषु अन्यतरस्यां हस्तो भवति ॥

45. The feminine ई (डी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicator उ or औ, is optionally shortened before the ए &c (VI. 3. 43).

Thus अथसितरा or अथसीतरा, or अथस्तरा, विदुषितरा or विदुषीतरा or विद्वन्तरा ॥ The first is formed by the Taddhita affix ईसुन्, and the second by कृसु ॥ In one alternative, there is masculisation also when we get the forms अथस्तरा &c. Or this latter form may be considered to have been evolved from अथस्, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, महतः, समानाधिकरण, जातीययोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे जातीये च प्रत्यये परतो महत भाकारादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ महसात्ये घासकराविशिष्टेषुपसंख्यानं उंवद्वच्छनं चासमानाधिकरणार्थम् ॥
वा० ॥ अष्टनः कपाले हविष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ गवि च युनेऽष्टन 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 महारेवः, महाब्राह्मणः, महाबाहुः, महाबलः, महाजातीयः ॥ But महतः पुत्रः = महत्पुत्रः: "the son of the great man": the two words are not in apposition. The compounding with महत् takes place under II. I. 61. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrihis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहः ॥ In fact this is the object of using the word samānādhikarana in this sūtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipad-dokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurasha compounds of mahat taught under II. I. 61 but not to Bahuvrihis. In महद्भूतश्रन्द्रमा = धमहान् महान् संपत्रः, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महत् is here secondary.

Vart :—जा is substituted for the final of गहत् before घास, कर and विशिष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या घासः = महाघासः, महत्या करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Vart :—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अष्टाकपालं चहं निर्वपेत ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अष्टकपालं ब्रह्मणस्य ॥

Vart :—जा is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गौ, when the meaning is that of 'yoked'. As, अष्टगतेन शक्तेन ॥ But अष्टगते वाह्याणस्त्, where 'yoking' is not meant. The त् in आत् is for the sake of distinctness.

द्वचष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीहीश्चाशीत्योः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वचष्टनः, संख्यायाम्, अबहुव्रीहि, अशीत्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अष्टन् इत्येतयोराकारारेषो भवति संख्यायामुपरपे अबहुव्रीहीश्चाशीत्योः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राक् शातादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टन् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वादशा, द्वादशति, द्वादशम्, अष्टादशा, अष्टादशति, अष्टादशम् ॥ Why do we say द्वि and अष्टन्? Observe पञ्चदश ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Numeral'? Observe द्वै मातुरः, अष्टमातुरः ॥ Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्विराः, विश्वाः, व्यशीतिः ॥

Vart :—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, द्विशतम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम्, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

अभ्यन्तः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अः, अयस्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च इत्येतस्य चयनियमारेषो भवति संख्यायामबहुव्रीहीश्चाशीत्योः ॥

48. For अः is substituted अयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति: ॥

As, चयोदशा, चयोर्वशति, चयश्चाशत् ॥ But not in द्वेमातुरः (the second word not being a Numeral), nor in विश्वाः which is a Bahuvrīhi, (II. 2. 25) उच्चीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, विशतम्, विसहस्रम् ॥

विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभूतौ सर्वेषाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चत्वारिंशाशत्, प्रभूतौ, सर्वेषाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चत्वारिंशत्प्रभूतौ संख्यायामुपरपे अबहुव्रीहीश्चाशीत्योः सर्वेषां अष्टन् च इत्येतेषां यदुन्तं तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

49. The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, अः and अष्टन्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत् or द्वाचत्वारिंशत्, विपञ्चाशत् or अयःपञ्चाशत्, अष्टपञ्चाशत् or अष्टापञ्चाशत् ॥ This also before hundred : as, द्विशतम् and अष्टशतम्, विशतम् ॥

हृदयस्य हृलेखयदणलासेषु ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य, हृत्, लेख, यत्, अण्, लासे षु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्य हृवित्यमारेषो भवति लेख यत् अ ज् लास इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

50. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख, and the affixes यत् and अण् and before लास ॥

Thus हृदय लिखति = हृदेखः, हृदयस्य प्रियं = हृदयम्, हृदयस्येदम् = हृदयम्, हृदयस्य लासो = हृदयलासः ॥ The word लेख is derived by अण् affix from लिख् ॥ Before the word लेख formed by अण् affix, this substitution does not take place, as हृदयलेखः ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sūtra proves the existence of this maxim “उच्चरपश्चिकारे प्रत्ययमहणे न तदन्तमहणम्” ॥ See VI. 3. 17.

वा शोकध्यज्ञरोगेषु ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शोक, ध्यज्ञ, रोगेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शोक ध्यज्ञ रोग इत्येतेषु परतो हृदयस्य वा हृदित्यमारेशो भवति ॥

51. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix ध्यज्ञ follows.

Thus हृष्णोकः or हृदयशोकः, सौहार्द्यम् or सौहृदयम् ॥ Here ध्यज्ञ is added as हृदय belongs to Brahmanāḍī class V. 1. 124. When हृद् is substituted there is Vṛiddhi of both the members शु 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 sūtra is rather unnecessary.

पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादस्य, पद, आजि, आति, ग,
उपहतेषु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पादस्य पद हृदयमारेशो भवति आजि आति ग उपहत इत्येतेष्वृत्तरपेषु ॥

52. पद् is substituted for पाद, before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पशाजिः = पाशभ्यामज्जितिं ; पशातिः = पाशभ्यामतिति ॥ आजिः and आतिः are formed by हृज् from अज् and अत् (Uṇ IV. 131), and irregularly अज् is not changed to शी though required by II. 4. 56 ; before this affix. So also पशः = पाशभ्यां गच्छति ; पशेपहतः = पाशेनोपहतः ॥ पाद belongs to Vṛishāḍī class (VI. 1. 203) and has therefore acute on the first syllable, the पद् substitute however has acute on the final, only in the उपवेश (VI. 1. 171), therefore in पशेपहतः, पद् retains its accent (VI. 2. 48), and it becomes acute on the final. While पशाजिः, पशातिः and पशः have acute on the final (VI. 1. 223 and kṛit-accent).

पद्यत्यतदर्थे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, यति, अतदर्थे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यत्प्रत्यये परतः पादस्य पदित्यमारेशो भवत्यतदर्थे ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ पशावे इके अरताषुपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. पद् is substituted for पाद before the affix यत् used in any sense other than that of “suited there to.”

Thus पाशौविध्यन्ति = पशाः शर्करा, पशाः कण्टकाः ॥ When यत् has the force of “suited there to” we have पाशम् = पाशार्थसुदकं ॥ (sec IV. 4. 83 and V. 4. 25).

Vart:—Before the affix इक्, in the sense of 'he walks there by', पद् is substituted for पाद्; as पादाभ्यां चरति = पाकिः (IV. 4. 10) by उन् affix. The word पाद् in this sūtra means 'the actual foot', a part of animal organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यत् of V. I. 34, as हिपाद्यम्, विपाद्यम् because पाद् here denotes 'a measure'.

हिमकाषिहतिषु च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिम, काषि, हतिषु, च, (पद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हिम काषिन् हति इत्येतेषु पादशब्दस्य पदित्यमाइशो भवति ॥

54. पद् is substituted for पाद् before हिम, काषिन् and हति ॥

Thus पद्धिमम्, (=पादस्य शीतं) पत्काषिन् (=पादचारिणः) as in भथ पत्काषिणा यान्ति, and पद्धतिः (पादभ्यां हन्यते) ॥

ऋचः शो ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचः, शो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋक्संबन्धिनः पादशब्दस्य शो परतः पदित्यमाइशो भवति ॥

55. पद् is the substitute for पाद् before the affix शस्त्र, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पद्धो गायर्षी शंसति — पादं पादं शंसति, the affix शस्त्र being added by V. 4. 43. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादशः काषापिणं इताति ॥

षा घोषमिथशश्छेषु ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षा, घोष, मिथ, शश्छेषु, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोष मिथ शश्छेषु ओत्तरप्रेषु पादस्य षा पदित्यमाइशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्क्रेत्येति वन्तव्यम् ॥

56. This substitution of पद् for पाद् is optional before घोष, मिथ and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोषः or पादघोषः, पद्मिथः or पादमिथः, पद्धश्छेषः or पादश्छेषः ॥

Vart:—So also before निष्क्रेत्येति as पन्निष्क्रेत्येति or पादनिष्क्रेत्येति ॥

उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदकस्य, उदः, संज्ञायाम् (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदकशब्दस्य संज्ञायां विषये उद इत्ययमाइशो भवति उत्तरपदं परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संज्ञायामुत्तरपदस्य उदकशब्दस्य उदशेषो भवतीति वन्तव्यम् ॥

57. उद् 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 औदमेघः and औदवाहः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe उदकगिरिः ॥

Vart—उद् is the substitute for उदक when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name: as, लोहितोदः, नीलोदः, शीरोदः ॥

पेषंवासवाहनधिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पेषम्, वास, वाहन, धिषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पेषं वास वाहन धि इत्येतेषु ओस्त्रेप्रेषु उदकस्य उद इत्ययमाइशो भवति ॥

58. उद् is substituted for उदक before पेषं, वास, वाहन, and धि ॥

Thus उदपेष्ठ पिनष्टि formed by जपुल् by III. 4. 38; उदवासः—उदकस्थवासः, so also उदवाहनः ॥ उदकं भीयतेऽस्मिन् = उदधिः 'a water jar'.

एकहलादौ पूरयितव्ये अन्यतरस्याम् ॥५९॥ पदानि ॥ एक, हलादौ, पूरयितव्ये, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल् आर्थिकस्योन्नरपदस्य तदेकहलाविस्तरिस्मेकहलादौ पूरयितव्यवाचिन्यन्यतरस्यामुदकस्य उद इत्यमावेशो भवति ॥

59. उद् is optionally substituted for उदक, before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उदकुम्भः, or उदककुम्भः, उदपात्रम् or उदकपात्रम् ॥ The word एकहलादि means 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'. The rule does not apply to उदकस्थालम् as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant : nor to उदकपदर्शः, as the पर्वतः is not a vessel which is to be filled.

मन्थोदनसकुविन्दुवज्ञभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च ॥६०॥ पदानि ॥ मन्थ, ओदन, सकु, विन्दु, वज्ञ, भार, हार, वीवध, गाहेषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्थ ओदन सकु विन्दु वज्ञ भार हार वीवध गाह इत्येषूत्तरपवेषूत्कस्य उद इत्यमावेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

60. उद् is optionally substituted for उदक, before मन्थ, ओदन, सकु, विन्दु, वज्ञ, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उदकेन मन्थः—उदमन्थ or उदकमन्थः । उदकेनौदन, उदौदनः or उदकोदनः । सकु । उदकेन सकुतुः, उदत्तकतु or उदकसकतुः । विन्दु । उदकस्य विन्दुः, उदविन्दुः or उदकविन्दुः । वज्ञ । उदकस्य वज्ञः, उदवज्ञः or उदकवज्ञः । भार । उदकं विभर्तीति उदभारः or उदकभारः । हार । उदकं हरतीति, उदहारः or उदकहारः । वीवध । उदकस्य वीवध, उदवीवधः or उदकवीवधः । गाह । उदकं गाहत इति, उदगाहः or उदकगाहः ॥

इको हस्तोऽङ्ग्यो गालवस्य ॥६१॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, हस्तः, अङ्गः, गालवस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगतस्याढ्यपत्तस्योन्नरपदे हस्तो भवति गालवस्याचार्यस्य मतेनान्यतरस्याम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भूकुंसाशीनामकारो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. According to the opinion of Gālava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second member, for the long ई vowels (ई, ऊ, औ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (ঢী).

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (ঢী) and for ऊ, a short ई and उ are substituted in a compound before the second member. Thus आमणिपुञ्चः or आमणीपुञ्चः, ब्रह्मबन्धुपुञ्चः or ब्रह्मबन्धूपुञ्चः ॥ Why do we say ई vowels? Observe खट्टापादः, मालापादः ॥ Why do we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix ई'? Observe गार्गीपुञ्चः, वास्तीपुञ्चः ॥ The name of Gālava is mentioned pujārtha for the anuvritti of 'optionally' was present in this sūtra. It is a limited option

pujārtha, (vyavasthita vibhāsha), and does not apply to कारीषगन्धीपाति &c which are governed by VI. 3. 139.

Vārt:—It does not apply to Avyayibhāva compounds, nor to those words which take इयङ् or उयङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीकुलम्, भृकुलम्, काण्डीभूतम्, कुडीभूतम्, वृषलीभूतम् ॥

Vart :—It does however apply to भुकुंस &c, as भुकुंसः, भुकुटिः ॥ Others say अ is substituted for भ &c as भकुंसः and भकुटिः

एक तद्विते च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक तद्विते, च, (हस्वः) (उच्चरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकशब्दस्य तद्विते उच्चरपदे हस्तो भवति ॥

62. The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकस्या आगतं = एकरूप्यम्, एकमयम्, एकस्या भावः = एकस्मम्, एकता ॥ So also एकस्याः शीरं = एकशीरम्, एकदुर्घम् ॥ The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका, having the affix आ ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculination, such as VI. 3. 35, i. e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-affix as a Chandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the *final* letter, and not to a vowel situated in the body of a word.

ङ्घापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङ्घापोः, संज्ञा, छन्दसोः, बहुलम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपनत्स्यावनत्स्य च संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलं हस्तो भवति ॥

63. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (झी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As रेतिपुत्रः, रोहिणिपुत्रः, भरणितुत्रः ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकरः, नान्दीघोषः, नान्दीविशालः ॥ So also in the Vedas, as कुमारिशारा, प्रवर्षिश; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as फालगुनीपौर्णमासी, जगतीछन्दः ॥ आप् ending words in Name: शिलवहम्, शिलप्रस्थम्; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकाशृहम्, लोमकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas:—अञ्जनीरेण जुहोति, ऊर्णमत्रा पूथिर्विश्वधायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णसूचेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

त्वे च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वे, च, (हस्वः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्वप्रलये परतो उघापोर्बहुलं हस्तो भवति ॥

64. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्वे ॥

Thus अजाया भावः = अजात्वं or अजात्यं, रोहिणित्वं or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥ These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्वे ॥

इष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्ट का, इषी का, माला-
नाम, चित, तूल, भारिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित तूल भारिद् इत्यतेषून्तरपदेषु व्यासंख्य हस्तो भवति ॥

65. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in इष्टका before चित, in इषीका before तूल, and in माला before भारिद् ॥

Thus इष्टकचितम्, इषीकतूलम् and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta applies to इष्टका &c, so that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed by this rule : as पक्षेष्टकचितम्, शुज्जेषीकतूलम्, उत्पलभारिणी कन्या ॥

स्थित्यनव्ययस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थिति, अनव्ययस्य, (हस्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विवृत्तउत्तरपदे उत्तरपदे हस्तो 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 शोषा-मन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः, where शोषा and दिवा are Indeclinables there is no shortening. The above words are formed by खश् (III. 2. 83). The phrase अनव्ययस्य indicates by implication that the word स्थित् here means स्थित्यन्तः, contrary to the maxim enunciated in VI. 3. 17 उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययमहणे तस्मत्विधिर्नेष्यते ॥ For an Avyaya can never take a स्थित् affix which are ordained only after dhātus.

अर्हस्त्रिष्टद्वजन्तस्य मुम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हस्, द्विष्टत्, अजन्तस्य, मुम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हस् द्विष्टत् इत्यत्योरजन्तानां च विवृत्तउत्तरपदे मुमगमो भवति अनव्ययस्य ॥

67. मुम् is the augment added immediately after the final vowel, of अर्हस्, द्विष्टत्, and of a stem ending in a vowel, unless it is an Indeclinable, when a word formed by a स्थित् affix follows.

Thus अर्हन्तुदः, द्विष्टन्तपः, कालिमन्या &c. See III. 2. 35, 39, 83. The श् of अर्हस् and the त् of द्विष्टत् are dropped by VIII. 2. 23.

Why do we say 'of अर्हस् &c'? Observe विवृत्यमन्या ॥ Why do we say 'not an Indeclinable'? Observe शोषामन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः ॥ Why do we use the word अन्त in अजन्त, when merely saying अन्तः would have sufficed by the rule of tadanta-vidhi? This indicates that the shortening taught in the preceding sūtra does not debar the मुम् augment, nor does मुम् debar the shortening. So that मुम् is added after the shortening has taken place.

इच्च एकाच्चोप्रत्ययवच्छ ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्चः, एकाच्चः, अम्, प्रत्ययवत्, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तस्य एकाच्चः विवृत्तउत्तरपदे उत्तरपदे भवति शम्प्रत्ययवच्छहितीयैकवचनवच्छ स भवति ॥

68. A monosyllabic word, ending in any vowel other than अ, when followed by a word formed by a वित् affix, receives the augment अम्, which is added in the same way as the affix अम् of the Accusative singular.

The word अम् is to be repeated here thus, इच्छ एकाचोऽम्, अमप्रत्ययवद् ॥ Thus गांमन्यः, र्णीमन्यः, or श्रियंमन्यः, भ्रुवंमन्यः ॥ By force of the atidesा अमप्रत्ययवद्, 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 इवह् and उवह् As आ—गां मन्यः (VI. 1. 93); पूर्वसर्वज as र्णीमन्यः (VI. 1. 107); guṇa, as,—गरंमन्यः (VII. 3. 110) and इयह् and उवह्, as श्रियंमन्यः, भ्रुवंमन्यः (VI. 4. 81 &c). Why do we say ending in a vowel other than अ (इच्छ)? Observe स्वन्मन्यः ॥ Why do we say 'a monosyllable'? Observe लेखामुं मन्याः ॥

The affix अम् is elided after a Neuter noun (VII. 1. 23), therefore, will this अम् also be elided when श्री is treated as Neuter? As श्रियमास्मानं मन्यते आद्यानकुलं = श्रियंमन्यम् or श्रिमन्यम्? The second is the valid form according to Patanjali.

वाचंयमपुरंदरौ च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचंयम्, पुरन्दरौ, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाचंयम् पुरंदर इत्येतौ निपात्यते ॥

69. वाचंयम् and पुरन्दर् are irregularly formed.

Thus वाचंयमः आस्ते (III. 2. 40 स्वच्छ affix). पुरं शारयति = पुरन्दरः (III. 2. 42). The shortening of याम् and शार takes place by VI. 4. 94.

कारे सत्यागदस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारे, सत्य, अगदस्य, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कारशब्दरत्नपदे सत्य अगद इत्येतयोर्मुमागमो भवति ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ अस्तु सत्यागदस्य कारदाति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भक्तस्य छन्दसि कारे मुम वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ धनोर्भव्यायां मुम्बन्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ लोकस्य पूर्णे मुम्बन्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ इये उन्मादास्य मुम्बन्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ भ्राष्ट्रागन्योरिन्धे मुम्बन्तव्य ॥
वा० ॥ गिले उगिलस्य मुम्बन्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गिलशिले वैति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उण्णभद्रयोः करणे मुम्बन्तव्यः ॥ मुत्तोप्राज्ञोजमेविद्ये सेम्य उपास्य दुष्टिशब्दस्य पुरवारेषो
वा वक्तव्यः ॥

70. मुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद् when the word कार follows.

As सत्यकारः = सत्यकरोति or सत्यस्यकारः ॥ So also अगदकारः ॥

Vart :—So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुकारः ॥

Vart :—So also in Vedas, of भक्त before कारः—e. g. भक्तकार, in secular language भक्तकारः ॥

Vart :—Of धेनु before भव्या, e. g. धेनुभव्या ॥

Vart :—Of लोक before पूर्ण, c. g. लोकपूर्णा ॥

Vārt :—Of अनभ्याश before इत्य as अनभ्याशमित्यः ॥

Vārt :—Of भ्राष्ट् and अग्निं, before इत्थः, as भ्राष्टमित्थः, अग्निमित्थः ॥

Vārt :—A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल e. g. सिमिङ्गिलः, but गिलगिलः ॥

Vārt :—So also before गिलगिल, e. g. सिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

Vārt :—Of उष्ण and भद्र before करणं, e. g. उष्णं करणं, भद्रंकरणं ॥

Vārt :—युच्छ् is optionally the substitute of दुहित् when the words सूत, उम, राज, भोज, and मेरु precede it e. g. सूतपुच्छी or सूतदुहिता, उमपुच्छी or उमदुहिता, राजपुच्छी or राजदुहिता, भोजपुच्छी or भोजदुहिता, मेरुपुच्छी or मेरुदुहिता ॥ Some read तुच् in the Sārangaravādi class (IV. 1. 73), and then this word has its feminine पुच्छी ॥ This is seen in other places also, e. g. शैलपुच्छी ॥

इयेनतिलस्य पाते अे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयेन, तिलस्य, पाते, अे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इयेन तिलत्येतयोः पातशब्दउत्तरपदे भग्रस्ये ममागमो भवति ॥

71. मुम् is the augment of the words इयेन and तिल, before पात, when the affix अ is added.

Thus इयेनपातोऽस्यां क्रीडायां = इयेनपाता, वैलंपाता ॥ See IV. 2. 58. Why do we say before अ ? Observe इयेनपातः ॥

रात्रेः कृति विभाषा ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, कृति, विभाषा, (मुम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रात्रेः कृत्ततउत्तरपदे विभाषा मुमागमो भवति ॥

72. The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by kṛt-affix.

As रात्रिच्चरः or रात्रिच्चरः, रात्रिमटः or रात्रिमटः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. The augment is compulsory before a kṛit-affix having an indicatory ख, As, रात्रिमन्त्यः ॥

नलोपो नञ्चः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, नञ्चः, (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्चो नकारस्य लोपो भवत्युत्तरपदे ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञ्चो नलोपो ऽवक्षेपे तिद्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The न of the Negative particle नञ्च, is elided when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अन्नाद्याणः, अवृष्टलः, असुरापः, असोमपः ॥

Vārt :—The न of नञ्च is elided before a verb also, when reproach is meant : as, अपचसि स्वं जाल्मः, अकरोपि स्वं जाल्मः ॥

तस्मान्नुडचि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुद्, अचि, (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्माल्लुप्तनकारान्नञ्चः नुजागमो भवति अजावादुत्तरपदे ॥

74. After the above न-elided नञ्च (i. e. after अ) is added the augment नुद्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनञ्चः, अनभ्यः, अनुष्टः ॥ Why do we use तस्मात् “after such a नञ्च” ? Otherwise नुद् would have been the augment of नञ्च, and not of the subsequent

word for: the sūtra would have read thus तुदाचि ॥ Adding तुद् to नभ् or rather to अ, we have अत् (granting that तुद् is not to be added *before* अ but *after* it, against I. i. 46). Now अन्+अजः will be अभजः and not अनजः for VIII. 3. 32 will cause the doubling of the final न of अन् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, तुद् is ordained with regard to the second member and not with regard to अ or नभ् ॥

नभ्राणपान्नवेदानासत्या नमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्नाकेषु प्रकृत्या ॥ ७५ ॥
पदानि ॥ नभ्राद्, नपात्, नवेदा, नासत्या, नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्न,
नाकेषु, प्रकृत्या, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नभ्राद् नपात् नवेदा: नासत्या नष्टाचि नकुल नख नपुंसक नक्षत्र नख नक्न नाक इत्येतेषु नभ्
प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

75. The Negative particle remains unchanged in नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या (dual), नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्न and नाक ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative ! नभ्राजते = नभ्राद्, formed by क्विए् and नभ् composition. न पाति = नपात् formed by शह् affix. न वेत्ति = नवेदा, formed by अस्तुन् ॥ सत्यु साधवः = सत्याः, न सत्याः = असत्याः, न असत्याः = नासत्याः ॥ न मुञ्चति = न मुञ्चि, formed by कि affix (Uṇadi), नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥ न ली न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ न भरते क्षीयते वा = नक्षत्रम् ॥ न नकामति = नक by उ affix: न अस्मिन् अकम् = नाकम् ॥

एकादिश्चैकस्य चातुर्क् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादिः, च, एकस्य, च, अतुर्क्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकादिश्च नभ्रप्रकृत्या भवति एकशब्दस्थादुगागमो भवति ॥

76. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अतुर्क् (अद्).

Thus एकेन न विशातिः = एकाभ्रविशतिः, एकान्नविशत् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds. The augment आतुर्क् is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकात् न विशातिः and एकात् न विशति by VIII. 4. 45.

नगो अप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगः, अप्राणिषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नस्यप्रकृत्या भवति ॥

77. The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in नग, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नगः or अगः: 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix उ is added to गम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring

to animate beings. Observe अगः सहः शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here.

सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सः, संज्ञायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्रस्य स इत्यमादेषो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

78. स is substituted for सह, in a Name.

Thus साम्यथम्, सपलाशम्, सामिश्रम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहयुधा, सहकृत्या ॥ The word सैः 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 स acute and ह grave, namely, it would have the svarita accent. But, as a matter of fact, it has the acute accent. As सैःुचः, सैभार्यः ॥ These are Bahuvrihi. In Avyayibhāva, the samāsa-accent will prevail (VI. 1. 223), as सैठि॑, सपशुब्दन्ध॑म् ॥

ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रन्थान्त, अधिके, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रन्थान्ते उपर्युक्ते च वर्तमानस्य सहस्रस्य स इत्यमादेषो 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 उत्तेषिष्मधीते ॥ So also सहूर्तम् = (उहूर्तान्तम्) ॥ स संग्रह (= संप्रहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayibhāva compounds by ° अन्तवच्चते (II. 1. 6). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI. 3. 81. The present sūtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time-denoting words even, when the meaning is that 'of the end of a book'. When the sense is that of 'more', we have सहोणायारी, समाप्तः कार्षोपणः सकाकिर्णीको मापः ॥

द्वितीये चानुपास्ये ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीये, च, अनुपास्ये, (सहस्यसः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये उपास्ये सहस्य स इत्यमादेषो भवति ॥

80. स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter however is not directly perceived.

Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, the non-principal is called the 'second' or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपास्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपास्य, 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 साम्रिः (कपोतः) 'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where'. सपिशाचा वाता "a storm-wind which announces the Piśachas". सराक्षसीका शाला ॥ Here the fire, the Piśacha or the Rākshasas are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon &c.

अव्ययीभावे चाकाले ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावे, च, अकाले, (सहस्यसः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावे च समासे इकालवाचिन्युत्तरपैरे सहस्य स इत्यमादेशो भवति ॥

81. स is the substitute of सह, in an Avyayibhâva when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रंधेहि, मधुरं प्राजः, but सहपूर्णाहृष्टम् the second member being a time denoting word (II. I. 5).

वोपसर्जनस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उपसर्जनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वोपसर्जनो बहुव्रीहिर्गृह्णते । सहवद्वाय सहशब्दस्य वा स इत्यमादेशो 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 सपुचः or सहपुचः, सच्छाचः or सहच्छाचः ॥ Why do we say of a Bahuvrîhi? Observe सहुप्ता, सहकृत्या ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrîhi like सहकृत्यप्रियः or सहयुजप्रियः ॥

प्रकृत्याशिष्यगोवत्सहलेषु ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, आशिषि, अ, गोवत्सहलेषु, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या सहशब्दो भवति आशिषि विषये इगोवत्सहलेषु ॥

83. The word सह retains its original form when the sentence denotes benediction, except when it is गो, वत्स or हृल ॥

Thus स्वस्ति ऐवदत्ताय सहपुत्राय, सहच्छाचाय, सहमात्याय ॥ But optionally here, as स्वस्ति भवते सहगवे or सगवे, सहवत्साय or सवत्साय, सहलाय, or सहलाय ॥ The phrase अगोवत्सहलेषु is no part of the original sūtra, but has been added by the Kâshikâ from a Vartika.

समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्खप्रभृत्युदकेषु ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानस्य, छन्दसि, अ, मूर्ख, प्रभृति, उदकेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानस्य स इत्यमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये मूर्खेन प्रश्नते उदर्क इत्येतान्युत्तरपैरपदानि वर्जयित्वा ॥

84. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas, but not before मूर्खेन, प्रभृति and उदर्क ॥

Thus अतुभ्राता सगर्भः, अतुसखा सयूधः, योनः सनूतः (See IV. 4. 114). समाने गर्भः = सगर्भः, तत्र भवः = सगर्भः formed by यन् affix IV. 4. 114. But समानमूर्खां, समानप्रभृतयः, समानोदर्काः ॥ This substitution takes place in secular literature also, as संपर्कः, साधर्घ्यम्, सज्जातीयः &c.

ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोश्रुपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नाम, गोत्ररूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयोवचन, बन्धुषु, (समानस्यसः) वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस जनपद रात्रि नाभि नामक् गोत्र रूप स्थान वर्ण वयस् वचन बन्धु इत्येतेष्वत्तरपैरेषु समानस्य स इत्यमादेशो भवति ॥

85. This substitution of स for समान् takes place before ज्योतिस्, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान वर्ण, घयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also.

Thus सज्योतिः, सज्जनपदः, सरात्रिः, सनाभिः, सनामा, सगोत्रः, सरूपः, सस्थानः, सवर्णः, सवचनः, सबन्धुः ॥

चरणे ब्रह्मचारिण ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणे, ब्रह्मचारिण, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) वृत्तिः ॥ चरणे गन्धनाने ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

86. स is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिण 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 ब्रह्मचारिण ॥ समान refers to the vow, the vow of studying being common to both : i. e. समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ According to Bhattoji Dikshit चरण in the sūtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study. He who has a common (samāna) branch (charaṇa) is a sabrahmchāri.

तीर्थं ये ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर्थं, ये, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययपरे परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थ when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थः = समाने तीर्थे वासी (IV. 4. 107). 'a fellow-student ?

विभाषोदरे ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उदरे, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उदरशब्दउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययान्ते समानस्य विभाषा स इत्ययमादेशी भवति ॥

88. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सोर्थः or समानोर्थः (IV. 4. 108).

हय्यशावतुषु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दक्ष, हशा, वतुषु, (समानस्यसः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ दक्ष हशा वतु इत्येतेषु परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हशे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वाऽ ॥ हशे: क्षप्रत्ययोपि तत्रैव वक्तव्यः ॥

89. स is substituted for समान, before दक्ष, हशा and the affix वत् ॥

Thus सदक्ष, सहशः ॥ The affixes कश् and क्षित् are added to हश् under III. 2. 60. *Vārt* :—which give as the forms दक्ष and हश ॥ *Vārt* :—So also before हशः as सहशः ॥ हश is formed by क्ष affix under III. 2. 60. *Vārtika*. The affix वत् is taken for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

इदंकिमोरीशकी ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ इदम्, किमोः, ईश, की, (हय्यशावतुषु) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ इं किम् इत्येतयोरीश की इत्येतौ यथासंख्यमादेशो भवतो हशदृशावतुषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हशे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. ई is substituted for इवम् and को for किम् before the words दक्ष, दशा and the affix घट् ॥

Thus इदृक्, ईदशः and इयान्, कीदृक्, कीदशः and कियान् ॥ ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई+इयत् and को+इयत् by V. 2. 40 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 : and we get इयत् and कियत् ॥

Vart :—So also before दृष्ट, as ईदृष्टः and कीदृष्टः ॥

आ सर्वनामः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, सर्वनामः, (इग्दृशावतुषु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम आकारादेशो भवति इग्दृशावतुषु ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृष्टे खेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

91. आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (I. 1. 27) before these words दक्ष, दशा and the affix घट् ॥

Thus तादृक्, तादशः, तावान्, यादृक्, यादशः, यावान् ॥

Vart :—So also before दृष्ट, as तादृष्टः and यादृष्टः ॥

विष्वग्नेवयोश्च देरद्याञ्चतौ (ता) वप्रत्यये ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्वक्, देवयोः, च, देः, अद्वि, अञ्चतौ, अप्रत्यये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विष्वक् देव इलेतयोः रर्वनाम्नश्च देरद्यीत्ययमेदेशो भवति अञ्चतौता वप्रत्ययान्तरसंपरे ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि श्लियां 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 अञ्चि, when अञ्च with the affix घ follows.

Thus विष्वगञ्चति = विष्वघङ्. This form is thus evolved. अञ्च + विष्व - अञ्च + O = अञ्च + नुष् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant ञ्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the किम् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. न् is changed to ङ् and we have अङ् which with विष्वघङ् gives the above form. देवघङ्, तद्यङ्, यद्यङ् ॥ आद्रि and सधि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (nipātan) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when ई is changed into ङ् the following vowel becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 4). Why do we say of विष्वग् and देव ? Observe अभ्याच्ची = अभ्यमञ्चति, the feminine णीप् being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vart*. The अ of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अञ्च is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when अञ्च follows' ? Observe विष्वग्नयुङ् ॥ Why do we say 'when the affix घ follows' ? Observe विष्वगञ्चतन् ॥ The घ is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अप्रत्यये (अञ्चतावप्रत्यये). It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वप्रत्यये or अप्रत्यये indicates by implication that in other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had अप्रत्यये not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when अञ्च followed, but when अचना ending in युङ् also followed. The maxim भातुपद्मे तशादि विपितिष्वते is illustrated in अवस्कृतं and

भयस्कारः; for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that visarga is changed into श् 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 भयस्कृत् which is followed merely by the verb कृ; as well as to forms like अयस्कृतः ॥

Vart :—In the Vedas, diversely before the feminine nouns: thus in “विभाषी च इत्याषी च” there is no substitution in विभाषी, but in कामीची there is this substitution. कामीची is derived from किम् + अञ्च् = कामि + अञ्च् ॥ Then is added ईर् and then like अभाषी ॥

समः समि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, समि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समिलेतस्य समि इत्यथमादेशो भवति अञ्चत्तो व (अ) प्रत्ययान्तरक्षरपदे ॥

93. समि is substituted for सम्, before this अञ्च when no affix (or व affix) follows.

Thus सम्बृ, सम्बञ्चौ, सम्बञ्चः ॥

तिरस्सिस्तर्थलोपे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, तिरि, अलोपे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिरस् इत्येतस्य तिरि इत्यथमादेशो भवत्यञ्चत्तो व (अ) प्रत्ययान्तरक्षरपदे उलोपे । वा इत्यलोपे न भवति ॥

94. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अञ्च when no affix (or व affix) follows, provided that the अ of अञ्च is not elided.

Thus तिर्यृ, तिर्यञ्चौ, तिर्यञ्चः ॥ Why do we say ‘when there is no elision’? Observe तिरसा, तिरसे ॥ Here अ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word अलोपे in the sūtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) “where अ is elided” or (2) “Where there is no elision”. The latter meaning should be taken however.

सहस्य सधिः १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सधिः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सहेतस्य सधिरित्यथमादेशो भवत्यञ्चत्तो व (अ) प्रत्ययान्तरक्षरपदे ।

95. सधि is the substitute of सह, before अञ्च followed by no affix (or व affix).

Thus सध्यृ, सध्यञ्चौ, सध्यञ्चः; and सधीषः, सधीषा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

सध मादस्योश्छन्दसि ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सध, माद, स्ययोः, छन्दसि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माद स्थ इत्येत्योहन्तरपदयोः सहस्य सध इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

96. सध is substituted for सह in the Veda, when माद and स्थ follow.

Thus सधमादेशुम्न्य एकास्ताः, सधस्थाः ॥ Another example is आत्मा वृहन्तो हरयो युजाना, अवांगिन्द सधमादो वहन्तु (Rig III. 3. 7) सहमाद्यन्ति देवा अस्मिन् ॥

द्वयन्तरहपसर्गेभ्यो ईत् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, अन्तर्, उपसर्गेभ्यः, अपः, ईत्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अन्तरित्येताभ्याषुपसर्गादोन्तरस्यावित्येतस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समापईत्यं प्रनिषेधावक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ईत्यमनवर्णादिति 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 शीपः, अन्तरीपः, नीपम्, वीपम्, समीपम् ॥ The samāsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74.

Vārt :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप् ॥ समापं नाम देवदग्नम् ॥ Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place. Thus प्रापम्, परापम् ॥ The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप्; here however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra. It means प्र &c.

ऊदनोहैशो ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, अनोः, देहो, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुचरस्याप काकारावेशो भवति देशाभिधाने ॥

98. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप्, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अशृण देशः, but अन्वीपम् when locality is not meant. The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed; as अनु ऊपः = अनूपः ॥ The form अनूपः could have been evolved with a short ऊ also, as अनु + उपः = अनूपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

अषष्टुचतृतीयास्थान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छेषु ॥ ९९ ॥
पदानि ॥ अषष्टी, अतृतीयास्थान्य, अन्यस्य, दुक्, आशीः, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित,
उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक, राग, छ्डेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अषष्टीस्थस्य अतृतीयास्थस्य चान्यशब्दस्य दुगागमो भवति आशी स आशा आस्था आस्थित
उत्सुक ऊति कारक राग छ इतेतेषु परतः ॥

Kirikī—दुगागमो श्विशेषेण वक्तव्यः कारकच्छेषोः ।
पष्ठीतृतीयबोनेट आशीराविषु सप्तम्बु ॥

99. अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (दू), before आशीस्त, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय).

Thus अन्या आशीः = अन्यशाशीः अन्या आशा = अन्यशाशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यशास्था,
अन्य आस्थितः = अन्यशास्थितः, अन्य उत्सुकः = अन्यदुत्सुकः, अन्या ऊतिः = अन्यशूतिः, अन्यः कारकः
अन्यश्वकारकः, अन्यो रागः = अन्यश्वरागः ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यशीवः ॥ 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 = अन्यशीः, अन्येन आस्थितः = अन्यश्वितः &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 = अन्यशीयम् ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sūtra (अषष्टी and अतृतीया), implies this.

अर्थे विभाषा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, विभाषा, (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धशब्दउत्तरपदे अन्यस्य विभाषा दुगागमो भवति ॥

100. तुक् is optionally the augment of अन्य when अर्थ follows.

As अन्यर्थः or अन्यार्थः ॥

कोः कत्तत्पुरुषे च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोः, कत्त तत्पुरुषे, अचि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कु इत्यत्यक्तियमादेशो भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे उजावाक्तरपदे ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कद्यावै चापुपसंख्यानम् ॥

101. कत् is substituted for कु in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As कद्याः, करम्भः, कदुष्टः, करभम् ॥ Why do we say in a Tatpurusha ? Observe कूष्टो राजा ॥ Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel " ? Observe कुलाद्याणः, कुपुरुषः ॥

Vart :—कत् is substituted before च च, as कचयः = कुस्तिताचयः ॥

रथघदयोध्य ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथ, वद्योः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रथ वद इत्यत्योर्मात्रपदयोः कोः कश्यत्यमादेशो भवति ॥

102. कद् is substituted for कु before रथ and वद also.

Thus कद्रथः, कद्रवः ॥

तृणे च जातौ ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणे, च, जातौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तृणशब्दउत्तरपदे जातावभिधेयायां कोः कश्येशो भवति ॥

103. कत् is substituted for कु, when तृण follows denoting a species.

As कन्त्ता नाम जातिः ॥ But कुस्तितानि तणानि = कुतृणानि ॥
का पथ्यक्षयोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ का, पथि, अक्षयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् भस्त इत्यत्योरुत्तरपदयोः कोः का इत्यमादेशो भवति ॥

104. का is the substitute of कु, before पथिन् and अक्ष ॥

Thus कापथः and काक्षः ॥

ईषदर्थे ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-अर्थे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईषर्थे वर्त्तमानस्य कोः का इत्यमादेशो भवति ॥

105. का is the substitution for कु, when the meaning is 'a small'.

As कामधुम्, कालवणम्, काम्लम् ॥ Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 : as कोष्णम् ॥

विभाषा पुरुषे ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पुरुषे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दउत्तरपदे विभाषा कोः का इत्यमादेशो भवति ॥

106. का is optionally substituted for कु, when the word पुरुष follows.

Thus कापुरुषः or कुपुरुषः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. In the sense of 'a little ईष्ट्', the substitution is compulsory ; as ईष्ट् पुरुषः = का पुरुषः ॥

कवञ्चोष्णे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवम्, च, उष्णे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उद्गाष्ठउत्तरपदे कोः कवठित्यमावेशो भवति का च विभाषा ॥

107. का and कवञ्च् are optionally the substitutes of कु when उद्गा follows.

As कवोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कहुणम् ॥
पथि चच्छन्दसि ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, च, छन्दसि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पथिषाब्दउत्तरपदे छन्दसि विषये कोः कव का इयेतावेशो भवतो विभाषा ॥

108. This substitution of का, and कव for कु takes place in the Veda, before पथ ॥

Thus कवपथः, कापथः and कुपथः ॥
पृष्ठोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृष्ठोदरादीनि, यथोपदिष्टम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पृष्ठोदरादीनि शब्दश्रूपाणि येषु लोपागमवर्णविकाराः शास्त्रेण न विहिता दृश्यन्ते च तानि यथोप-
दिष्टानि साधुति भवन्ति ॥
वान्तिकम् ॥ इक्षावंभ्य उत्तरस्य तीरस्य तार भावो वा भवति ॥
वा० ॥ वाचो वाई उत्तं च लभावशेषात्तरपदस्थये प्रत्यये ॥
वा० ॥ षष्ठउत्तं दत्तुरशापायुत्तरपश्चिद्दुष्टं च ॥
वा० ॥ दुरोशाशनाशदभद्यशूलं वन्नज्यमुत्तरपदस्थृत्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ स्वयं रोहत्तौ छन्दस्युत्तं वन्नज्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ पीत्रापवसनामीनां च लोपी वन्नज्यः ॥
Kārikā—वर्णांगमो वर्णविपर्ययश्च द्वौ चापरौ वर्णविकारनाशौ ।
धातोस्तस्थातिशयेन योगस्तदुच्च्वते पञ्चविधं निरुक्तम् ॥

109. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पृष्ठादर &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 यथोपस्थितम् = शिष्टैरुच्चारितानि ॥ Thus पृष्ठुदरो अस्त्व = पृष्ठादरम्, पृष्ठ
उद्गानं यस्त्व = पृष्ठोद्गानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द् ॥ So also वाविहकः = वलाहकः; here वारि is replaced by व, and ल replaces व of वाहक; जीवनस्य मूतः = जीमूतः; here वन has been elided; शावानां शायनं = शमशानम्; here इम replaces शव; and शान for शयन ॥ उत्तं
स्यमस्य = उत्तूखलम्; here उत्त �replaces उध, and खल replaces खम ॥ पिशिताशः = पिशाशः ॥
कुशन्तोस्थां सीरिति = जस्ती ॥ Here सद् takes the affix उत् in the locative, and जुष is replaced by व ॥ जायं रोनि - मयः ॥ Here महो is replaced by मय्, and the final of द् is elided before the affix अस्त् ॥ And so on with अभ्यस्य, कपित्य &c.

Vart:—तीर becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as इक्षिणतीरम् or शक्षणतारम्, उत्तरतीरम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vart:—Before the Patronymic इश् affix, वाग्वाद becomes वाङ्वाल as, वाग्वाद-
स्यापर्यं = वाङ्वालः ॥

Vart:—The final of वस् is changed to व before इत्, इष्ट, and धा (meaning

'location'): and the first letter of the second member is changed to ऽ or ए॥ Thus अ॒र्णता अस्य = आ॒र्णन्; so शो॒र्णशः or शो॒र्ण कुरु॥ The addition of र् is optional here. The putting of आ॒र्ण in the plural number indicates that आ 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:—अ॒र्ण व्याति or व्याति = अ॒र्णवा॥

Vart.—The final of दुर् is changed to उ, before शा॒ष, ना॒ष, इ॒ष and ष्वे॒ष and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus दु॒खेन शा॒ष्यते, ना॒ष्यते, इ॒ष्यते यः = दू॒खाशः, दू॒णाशः, दू॒ष्मः. In the last (ष्म) there is elision of the nasal also. दु॒ष्म व्यायाति = दू॒ष्यः॥ Here is added the affix क to the root भा॒ष्म (भै॒ष) preceded by the upapada दु॒ष्म, by III. I. 136.

Vart.—उ is substituted for the final of स्वर् when the verb रह follows in the Vedas: as एहिस्वं जायेस्वो रोहावं (रोहाव is Imperative Ist. Pers. Dual).

Vart.—The final of पर्वस्, पर्वस् &c. is elided in the Vedas. as पीवोप वस-नामां, पयोपवसनानाम्॥

संख्याविसाय पूर्वस्याहृस्याहनन्यतरस्यां डौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वि॒, साय, पूर्वस्य, अहृस्य, अहन्, अन्यतरस्याम्, डौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्या वि॒ साय इत्येवं पूर्वस्याहृस्य एत्यने अहनित्यमादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां डौ परतः ॥

110. अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह्, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि॒ or साय pre-cedes it.

Thus इयोरह्रोर्भवः = इयह्रः, इयहः ॥ The Locative singular of these are इयह्रि॒ or इयहनि॒, इयह्रि॒ or इयहनि॒ ॥ So also इयह्रि॒, इयहः ॥ With वि॒—व्याह्रि॒, व्यहनि॒ or व्यहः; साय—सायह्रि॒, सायहनि॒, सायहः ॥ These are एकशीसमासः, and this very sūtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि॒ or साय ॥ Thus we have मध्याह्र॑—मध्यमह्रः (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वह्र॑ and अपराह्र॑ only.

द्रूलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घो अणः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रूलोपे, पूर्वस्य, दीर्घः, अणः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ इकाररेफयोलोपो यस्मिन् स द्रूलोपः, तत्र पूर्वस्थाणो दीर्घो भवति ॥

111. When द् or र् is elided, for the preceding अ, इ and उ a corresponding Long vowel is substituted.

Thus ली॒हम्, भी॒हम्, उप॒गृहम् ॥ र्लोपे॒-निर॒-रक्तम् = नीरक्तम्, अनिर॒-रथः = अनीरथः, इन॒-रथः, पुना॒ रक्तम् वासः, प्राता॒ राजक्रथः ॥ For the elision of द् see VIII. 3. 13, and for the elision of र् see VIII. 3. 14. But आ॒वृहम्, the वृह is not lengthened because it is not included in the pratyahāra अ॒ण् which is formed with the ण् of अ॒ इ॒ उ॒ ण्॥

सहिवहोरोदवर्णस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहि॒, वहो॒ः, ओ॒त्, अवर्णस्य, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ सहि॒ वहि॒ इत्येवोरवर्णस्योकार अ॒देशो भवति द्रूलोपे ॥

112. When द् or र् are elided, there is the substitution of ओ॒ for the अ॒ or आ॒ of the verbs सह॒ and वह॒॥

Thus सोदा, सोदुम्, सोदव्यम्, वोदा, वोदुम् and बोदव्यम् ॥ Why do we say of अ or आ ? Observe उडः, उडवाम् ॥ 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 उदवोडाम्, उदवोटम् ॥ Had merely अ been read into the sūtra, instead of अवर्ण then coming after the त् of ओत्, it would have denoted only short अ (तात्परि परः = तपरः I. I. 75).

साढै साद्वा साढेति निगमे ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साढै, साद्वा, सादा, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साढै साद्वा सादा इति निगमे निषात्यन्ते ॥

113. साढै, साद्वा and सादा are irregularly formed in the Vedas.

Thus साढै समन्तात्, साद्वा चचूम् ॥ The latter is formed by तत्वा affix, the औ substitution not taking place. In the other alternative तत्वा is changed to औ ॥ सादा is formed by तृष्ण affix. In the secular literature सोदा and सोदुम् are the proper forms.

**संहितायाम् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायामित्यवनधिकारः । यदित उद्भूमतुकमित्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तदैवित्यव्यम् ॥**

114. In the following sūtras upto the end of the pāda, are to be supplied the following words :—“In an uninterrupted flow of speech”.

Thus sūtra VI. 3. 135 declares “अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns”. Thus विद्माहित्वा सत्पति शूर गोनाम्. The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sūtra to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have विद्माहि, त्वा, सत्पति, शूर, गोनाम्।

**कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टाष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नचित्तद्रक्षुवस्वस्तिकस्य ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥
कर्णे, लक्षणस्य, अ विष्ट, अष्ट, पञ्च, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, रक्ष, स्वस्तिकस्य (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णशब्दे उपरपे लक्षणवाचिनी शीर्षो भवति विष्ट अष्टम् पञ्चम् खणि भिन्न छिद्र रक्ष स्वस्ति-
क इत्यतान्तर्जन्मविवरा ॥**

115. Before कर्ण, there is the substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark or. the ears of cattle, but not when the words are विष्ट, अष्टम्, पञ्चम्, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र and स्वस्तिक ॥

Thus शशाकर्णः, द्विशुणाकर्णः, विशुणाकर्णः, द्विशुलाकर्णः, अहुगुलाकर्णः ॥ The word लक्षण here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals. Why do we say when it denotes such a mark ?

Observe शोभनकर्णः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of शिष्ट &c'? Observe विद्यकर्णः ॥ अष्टकर्णः, पठचकर्णः, भिन्नकर्णः, तिभ्रकर्णः, लवकर्णः, स्वस्तिकर्णः and मणिकर्णः ॥

नहिंवृतिवृपिद्यथिरुचिसहितनिषु कौ ॥१६॥ पदानि ॥ नहि, वृति, वृषि, व्यथि,
वृचि, सहि, तमिषु, कौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहि वृति वृषि व्यथि वृचि सहि तमि इत्येतेषु किंवग्रस्यात्मात्मापरेषु पूर्वपदस्य शीर्षो भवति सं-
हितायां विषये ॥

116. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नह्, वृत्, वृश्, व्यथ्,
वृच्, सह् and तन्, when these roots take the affix क्ति ॥

Thus उपानह् (उपानत् Nom. S.), so also, परीणत्, नीषत्, उपावत्, (with vṛt) प्रावृह्, उपावृह्, (with vṛsh) मामावित्, हव्यावित्, श्वावित्, (with vyadhi) नीवृह्, भभीवृह्, (with ruchi) क्लतावृह्, (with sah) तरीवृह् (with tan). The nasal is elided after ग्रह् before क्ति (VI. 4. 40), by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तन् also. Why do we say when क्ति follows? Observe परिणेहम् ॥

वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिशुलकादीनाम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वन, गिर्योः, सं-
ज्ञायाम्, कोटर, किशुलकादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन गिरि इत्येतत्योदयत्वात्परेषार्थ्यासंख्यं कोटराहीनां किशुलकारीनां च शीर्षो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

117. For the final vowel of कोटर &c. a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किशुलक &c. before गिरि, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटरावणम्, भिन्नकावणम्, सिद्धकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किशुलकागिरि, अठगनागिरि, &c.

The न is changed to ण in वन by VIII. 4. 4. But भसिपदवम् and कृष्ण-
गिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 भिन्नक, 3 सिद्धक, 4 पुरग (पुरक), 5 शारिक (शारिक) ॥

1 किशुलक (किशुलक), 2 शाल्व (शाल्वक), 3 नहै, 4 अठगन, 5 भग्नन, 6 लोहित,
7 कृष्णट ॥

घले ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घले, (पूर्वस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घले परतः पूर्वस्य शीर्षो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुस्ताहभात्पितृणामिति ॥

118. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix घल ॥

Thus आघृतीघलः, कृषीघलः, इन्ताघलः ॥ These are formed by the affix घलम् (V. 2. 112).

Vart:-Not so, of उस्ताह, भात् and पितः as उस्ताहघलः, भातघलः and पितघलः ॥

मतौ वह्वचो अमजिरादीनाम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानिं ॥ मतौ, वह्व चः, अमजिरादीनाम्,
(संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतौ परतो वह्वचो अमजिरादीनाम् शीर्षो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

119. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मत्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c.

Thus उदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, वीणावती, उप्करावती, अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मतुष् (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, खरिवती, पुलिनवती, इंसकार-उद्यवती, अकवाकवती ॥ When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening, as वलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खरिर, 3 पुलिन, 4 इंस, 5 कारण्डव (इंसकारण्डव) 6 अकवाक.

शरादीनां च ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ शरादीनाम्, च, (दीर्घः) ॥

कृतिः ॥ शरादीनां च मतो शीर्षो भवति संज्ञावां 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 वशाहि class (VIII. 2. 9).

1 शर, 2 वंश, 3 धूम, 4 अहि, 5 क्रापि 6 मणि, 7 शुनि, 8 शुचि, 9 इतु.

इको वहे उपीलोः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, वहे, अपीलोः ॥

कृतिः ॥ इग्नात्स्य पूर्वपदस्य पीलुवार्जितस्य वहउत्तरपदे शीर्षो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपील्यारीनामिति वन्हम्यम् ॥

121. The final ए and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह ॥

Thus वहीवहम्, कर्णीवहम्, हुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels' ? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Vart:—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As वाहवहम् ॥

उपसर्गस्य घञ्जमनुष्ये वहुलम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, घञ्जि, अमनु-
ष्ये, वहुलम्, ॥

कृतिः ॥ उपसर्गस्य उपन्तउत्तरपदे उमतुष्येभिषेदे वहुलं शीर्षो भवति ॥

122. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the krit-affix वज्, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus नीङ्गेशः, वीमार्गः, अपामार्गः ॥ It does not take place, as प्रसेचः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before सार and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासारः and प्राकारः; otherwise प्रसारः and प्रकारः ॥ Optionally in वेश &c. as प्रतिवेशः or प्रतीवेशः; प्रतिरोधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥ When human beings are meant, there is no lengthening, as निपाशे मनुष्यः ॥

इकः काशे ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, काशे, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्योपसर्गेत्वं काशशब्दउत्तरपेरे शीर्षो भवति ॥

123. A Preposition ending in इ, or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As मीकाशः, वीकाशः, अनूकाशः ॥ काश is formed by अच् (III. I. 134). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इक् ॥

दत्तिः ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, ति, (दीर्घः इकः उपसर्गस्य) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ए इत्येतत्वं वस्त्रकारादिरेत्यस्त्रियन्वरत इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य शीर्षो 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 नीकम्, वीकम्, परीकम् ॥ See VII. 4. 47 for the change of ए to त ॥ But प्रक्तम्, अवक्तम्, where the prepositions do not end in इ or उ ॥ Why do we say 'ए is changed to त'? Observe वितीर्णम् नितीर्णम् ॥ Why do we say ति 'a substitute of ए, beginning with a त'? Observe सुख्तम्, here इक् is the substitute of ए (VII. 4. 46).

अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अटनित्येतस्योन्नपेरे संज्ञायां शीर्षो भवति ॥

125. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अटावकः, अटावन्तुरः अटापम् ॥ But अटुवः, अटभावः where the compounds are not names.

छन्दसि च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, च, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विष्वे इत्यन्नपेरे शीर्षो भवति ॥
वार्षिकम् ॥ गवि च युन्मेभाषायामदनो शीर्षो भवतीति वन्नव्यम् ॥

126. In the Veda also, the long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a second member.

Thus आग्नेयमटाकपालं निर्वपेत्, अटाहिरण्या शक्षिणा, अटापसी ऐवता शुमती ॥ The form अटापसी is the feminine in ढीप् (IV. I. 8) of अटपात् (V. 4. 138) the अ of पात् being elided in a Bahuvrihi), पट् being substituted for पात् by VI. 4. 130.

Vārt̄a.—The final of अष्टन् is lengthened before गो even in the vernacular, when yoking is meant. Thus अटागंवं शक्टम् ॥

चितेः कपि ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चितेः, कपि, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चितिशब्दस्वं कपि परतो शीर्षो भवति ॥

127. The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कण् ॥

Thus एकचितीकः, द्विचितीकः, त्रिचितीकः ॥

विश्वस्य वसुराटोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विश्वस्य, वसु, राटोः, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विश्वशब्दस्य वसु राटो इत्येत्योहन्तरप्रस्थोर्ध्वं भवति ॥

128. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राट् (the form assumed by राज्).

Thus विश्वावसुः, 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 ॥ नरशब्दउत्तरपे संज्ञायां विषये विश्वस्य शीर्घो भवति ॥

129. The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a Name.

Thus विश्वनरः, वैश्वानरिः (the son of Vishvānara). But विश्वनरः = विश्वे नर वस्य when it is not a name.

मित्रे चर्चो ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्रे, च, अटुष्ठौ, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मित्रे चोत्तरपे इत्यावभिषेये विश्वस्य शीर्घो भवति ॥

130. The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvamitra'. But विश्वमित्रः 'a boy called Viśvamitra'.

मन्त्रे सोमाश्वेनिद्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, सोम, अश्व,
इनिद्रिय, विश्वदेव्यस्य, मतौ, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये सोम अश्व इनिद्रिय विश्वदेव्य इत्येतपां मतुप्रत्यये परतो शीर्घो भवति ॥

131. In a Mantra, the final vowels of सोम, अश्व, इनिद्रिय and विश्वदेव्य are lengthened when the affix मन्त्रुण् follows.

Thus सोमावती, अश्वावती, इनिद्रियावती, विश्वदेव्यावती ॥

ओषधेश्व विभक्तावप्रथमायाम् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओषधेः, श्व, विभक्तौ, अप्र-
थमायाम्, (मन्त्रे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिशब्दस्य विभक्तावप्रथमायां परतो शीर्घो भवति ॥

132. In a Mantra, the final of ओषधि is lengthened before the case-endings, but not in the Nominative.

Thus ओषधीभिरप्तत्, नमः पृथिव्ये नमः ओषधीभः ॥ Why do we say 'before case-endings'? Observe ओषधिपते ॥ Why do we say 'but not in the Nominative'? Observe विष्वेवमस्त्वौषधिः ॥

अटुचि तुनुघमक्षुतङ्कुञ्चोरुप्याणाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अटुचि, तु, नु, श, मक्षु,
तङ्कु, कुञ्च, उरुप्याणाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अटुचि विषये तु नु श मक्षु तङ्कु त उरुप्य इत्येतपां शीर्घो भवति ॥

133. In the Rig-Veda the finals of the particles तु, तु, य, मष्टु, the tense-affix तङ्, कु, the ending अ and the word उरुम्य are lengthened.

Thus तुः—मा सू न इन्द्र वृचहन् (Rig IV. 32. 1) तु—तू करणे ॥ यः—उत वापा स्वालात् ॥ मष्टु—मष्टु गोमन्तमीवहे ॥ तङ्—भरता जातेवरसम् (Rig X. 176. 2). तङ् is the त substitute of या, when it is treated as डित्, therefore it does not apply here, मृणोत यावाणः (I. 2. 4). कु—कूमनस् ; अ—अचा गौः ; उरुम्या जोग्यः ॥

इकः सुञ्जि ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, सुञ्जि, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मुश्म निपातो शृश्यते । इग्नास्य सुञ्जि परतो मन्त्रविषये शीर्षो भवति ॥

134. In a Mantra, the finals of the preceding member ending in इ or उ are lengthened before the particle सु ॥

Thus अशी तु यः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) उर्ध्वं ऊ शुप उत्तये (Rig I. 36. 13). The त is changed to उ by VIII. 3. 107; and न changed to य by VIII. 4. 27.

दृश्यचोतस्तिङ्गः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युचः, अतः, तिङ्गः, (श्रूचि दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्युपस्तिङ्गन्तस्यात् दृश्यिषये शीर्षो भवति ॥

135. A tense affix ending in अ is lengthened in the Rig-veda, when the Verb consists of two syllables.

Thus विदा हि त्वा सत्यार्थं शूर गोमाक् &c. See Rig III. 42. 6, विदा हि तस्य पितरम् &c. But not here देवा भवत वाज्ञिनः, as the verb consists of more than two syllables: not also here आ देवाक् वक्षि यसि अ as the verbs do not end in अ ॥

निपातस्य अ ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातस्य, अ, (श्रूचि) (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निपातस्य अ दृश्यिषये शीर्षं आदेशो भवति ॥

136. In the Rig Veda the final of a particle is lengthened.

Thus एवा ते, अच्छाते, अच्छा जरितारः (R. I. 2. 2).

अन्येषामपि दृश्यते ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषाम्, अगि, दृश्यते, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येषामपि शीर्षो दृश्यते स शिष्ठप्रवेगासुगन्तव्यः ॥ यस्य शीर्षत्वं न विहितं दृश्यते अ प्रबोगे तद-
मेन कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ शुनो इन्द्रांश्चाकर्जकुन्दवराहपुच्छपरेषु ॥

137. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

Here we must follow the usage of the Sishthas. Where the lengthening is not ordained by any of the rules of Grammar, but occurs in the writing of standard authors, there we should accept such lengthening as valid. Thus केशाकोशि, काचाकाचि, जलसाद्, नारकः, पूरुषः ॥

Vārt—The final of अन् is lengthened before the following एन्त, एषा, कर्ण कुन्द, वराह, पुच्छ, and पदः—as शाश्वतः शाश्वः, शाकर्णः, शाकुन्दः, शावराहः, शापुच्छः, शापदः ॥

चौ ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ, (पूर्वस्यदीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चौ परतः पूर्वपदस्य रीर्थो भवति ॥ जावित्यर्थातिलुमकाराकारे गृह्णते ॥

138. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form औ, having lost its nasal and the vowel.

Thus इधीञ्चः पञ्च, इधीचा, इधीचे, मधूञ्चः पञ्च, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The nasal of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 24, and the अ by VI. 4. 138. In इधि + अञ्च the इ is not changed to its semivowel, though that is an antaranga rule, because the present sūtra ordains specifically long औ, and so also इधि + अञ्च and मधू + अञ्च ॥ See also VI. 3. 92.

संप्रसारणस्य ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संप्रसारणस्य, (उत्तरपदे दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणान्तस्य पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदे रीर्थो भवति ॥

139. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कारीषगन्धीयुदः, कारीषगन्धीपसि:, कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13. कारीषस्वेष गन्धोऽस्य=कारीषगन्धिः (इ being added as samāsānta by V. 4. 136 and 137). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61. does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option; moreover, on the maxim of 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 युनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानं "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." For here the following maxim will prevent the revival सकृप्तता, द्विप्रतिषेधवद्वाधितं 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."

ओप३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।



BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH

अङ्गस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गस्य, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोवमाऽसप्तमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित उर्ध्मनुकमिष्यामोऽङ्गस्येवं तदेवितव्यम् ॥

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 हूतः, जीतः, संशीतः ॥ That means that the vowel preceded by a consonant belonging to the stem is lengthened. Therefore in निर् + वेश + न्त् = निरुत्तम्, the vocalised vowel उ is not lengthened, as निर् is upasarga and not stem. So दुरुत्तम् ॥ Similarly VI. 4. 3, teaches the lengthening of the final before नाम्, as अमीनाम्, वाम्नाम् ॥ But क्रिमिणाम् पद्म, पामनां पद्म, as मि and म are not the end-portions of a stem. The stem is क्रिमिणा and पामना 'a female having क्रिमि or पामन्', formed by म affix (V. 2. 100). The forms क्रिमिणाम् and पामनाम् are Accusative Singular. Similarly VII. 1. 9 teaches that after अ, भिस् is changed into एस् ॥ As वृत्तेः, ईतेः ॥ There also, the अ must be the अ final in an aṅga or stem : hence not here आग्नेयाभिस्ता, ओहनभिस्ता, the भिस् does not follow an aṅga. भिस्त् means boiled rice and भिस्त्ता means तृष्णः ॥

The maxim of अर्थवद्यमहणे नानर्थकस्त्व 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 सू or Samprasaraṇa follows, thus : VI. 4. 16 ordains the lengthening of vowel before सू, as विशीष्टति ; but not here इधि सनोति for इ of इधि is not that of aṅga. So also in Samprasârana, but not in निरुत्त &c as shown above.

2ndly—For the purposes of एत्वं in sūtra VI. 4. 68. The optional change of आ into ए must refer to anga, as ग्लेषात् or ग्लाषात्, but not here निर्बात् or निर्वात्, for here ए is not part of the anga, and so ए cannot be considered a conjunct part of anga.

3rdly—For the change of तु to तात् in VII. 1. 35. There also तु must be portion of the anga, and not the particle तु, therefore, जीवतु or जीवतात्, but not here जीव तु स्मृ.

4thly—For the substitution of इवह् and उवह् in VI. 4. 77. Therefore not here इवर्यम् and उर्यम्.

5thly—For the sake of तु॒ augment in VII. 1. 54. But not here कुमारी भासित आह्॥

6thly—For the sake of shortening of vowels. Thus VII. 4. 13 ordains the shortening of अ॒ vowels before क॥ It refers to the anga-vowel, as कुमारिका॥ But not here, कुमारी कसै सूहवति or कुमाराः कं सुखं = कुमारीकं॥

And lastly for तत्वं or त् substitution. Thus VII. 4. 48 ordains the change of ए॑ into त् in the case of अप् before भ॥ It refers to anga, as अद्धिः॥ But not here अद्भारः, for अप् here is not anga.

To sum up in Sanskrit : सत् सम्प्रसारणं शीर्षं तत्वं तात् अनुवाद्य तु॒ उवह् अनुस्वेत्यलिधिकारे प्रयोजनं॥

The word अनुस्वयं is in the Genitive case. But the force of Genitive is here not only that taught in I. 1. 49 (स्थाने वोगः), but of mere relationship. Or अनुस्वयं may be considered as a mere prātipadika, without any case-affix. In the subsequent aphorisms, it should be read with proper case-affixes as the exigencies of each sūtra may require. Thus in अतो भिसः एत् (VII. 1. 9) अनु should be read in the ablative case : अकारान्ताद् अनुभाद् भिसः एत्॥ The Genitive case has force of स्थानपट्टी in sūtras like हन्तज्ञं, where the *whole* of एत् is replaced (VI. 4. 36). It has the force of अवयवपट्टी in sūtras like उद्गुपथावा गोहः (VI. 4. 89). It has the force of निमित्तनिमित्ति सम्बन्धः in युषोरनाकौ (VII. 1. 1). Or the Genitive case in अनुस्वयं may be changed into any other case, as already shown.

हलः॥ २॥ पदानि॥ हलः, (अनुस्वयं सम्प्रसारणम् दीर्घः)॥
वृत्तिः॥ अनुवयवाच्चलो वदुन्नरं सम्प्रसारणं तदन्तस्यानुस्वयं शीर्षो भवति॥

2. The long vowel is substituted for a vocalised half-vowel अ, ए and उ at the end of a stem, when it is preceded by a consonant which is a portion of the stem.

Both the words शीर्ष and अ॒ from VI. 3. 111, and संप्रसारण from VI. 3. 139 are understood here. Thus हूतः from ह्वा, जीनः from ज्वा, संशोतः from व्या॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe उतः and उत्तवात् from वेत्र॥ Why do we say that the preceding consonant should be a portion of the stem?

Observe निरुतम्, here ए is not an integral part of the stem, but a portion of the upasarga निर् and therefore ए is not lengthened. Why do we say 'at the end of a stem'? Observe विद्धः, विचितः from व्यध् and व्यच्; here the vowel ए is in the *middle* of the stem. Why do we say 'अ, इ and उ substitutes of semivowels'? Observe तृतीयः ॥ Here वि has been vocalised into श्, ए being substituted for ए before the affix तीय (V. 2. 55). The ए will not be lengthened. Or the absence of lengthening in तृतीय is an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini himself in sūtras like II. 1. 30 &c. The word अङ्ग should be repeated in this sūtra, first to qualify the word इल, and then to qualify the letters अ, इ and उ ॥

नामि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नामि, (अङ्गस्य दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नामीतेतत्प्राणीबहुवचनम् आगतनुदकं गृह्णते ॥ तस्मिनपत्रोङ्गस्य शीर्घो भवति ॥
Kārikā—नामि शीर्घ आमि वेस्त्वास्तुते शीर्घे न तु भवेत् ।
वचनाच तपास्ति, नोपधायाम चर्मणाम् ॥

3. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम (having the augment तुट्).

Thus अग्नीनाम्, शाश्वताम्, कनृष्णाम्, हर्ष्णुष्णाम् ॥ The anuvritti of अग्न् (VI. 3. 111) ceases. The augment तुट् (VII. 1. 54) in नाम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra; like VI.4.7. and the lengthening takes place after the addition of तुट् to the genitive affix आम् ॥ For if the lengthening took place before the addition of तुट्, there would be no occasion for तुट् which comes only after short stems.

न तिसृचतस् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तिस्, चतस्, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिस् चतस् इत्येतत्वोर्नामि शीर्घो न भवति ॥

4. The finals of तिस् and चतस् are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

As तिसृष्णाम्, चतसृष्णाम् ॥ The very fact of this prohibition proves by implication that the final ए of these words is not changed to ए before a genitive plural, VII. 2. 100 notwithstanding. In fact तुट् 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 तिसृचतसोर्नामि परत उभयथा हृश्यते, शीर्घशाशीर्घम् ॥

5. In the Veda, the finals of तिस् and चतस् are found in both ways, before the Genitive plural नाम् ॥

In some places they are seen as lengthened, in others not. As तिसृष्ण मध्बंदिने or तिसृष्ण मध्बंदिने ॥ So also चतसृष्णाम् and चतसृष्णाम् ॥

तु च ॥ ए ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तु इत्येतस्त्र नामि परयुभयथा भवति ॥

6. So also न् before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally.

As सं नृणां त्रुपते, and सं नृणां त्रुपते ॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others, it extends to secular literature also.

नोपधायाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उपधायाः, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वान्तस्थाङ्गस्योपधाया नामि परतो शीर्षो भवति ॥

7. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चन्+नाम् (VII. 1. 55)=पञ्चान्+नाम् (VI. 4. 7)=पञ्चानाम् (VIII. 2. 7); सप्तानाम्, नवानाम्, दशानाम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in न्'? Observe चतुर्णाम् ॥ But not in चर्मणाम् where the affix is not नाम् but आम् without नुद् ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ ॥ < ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने, च, असंबुद्धौ (नोप-
धायाः दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने च परतो इसंबुद्धौ नोपधाया शीर्षो भवति ॥

8. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

As राजा, राजानौ, राजानः, राजान्, राजानै ॥ So also सामानि तिष्ठन्ति ॥ राजा was राजान्, the न् was elided by VI. 1. 68, and न् 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!

वा षपूर्वस्य निगमे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ष, पूर्वस्य, निगमे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षपूर्वस्वाचो नोपधाया निगमविषये सर्वनामस्थाने परतो इसंबुद्धौ वा शीर्षो भवति ॥

9. The lengthening of the penultimate vowel of a stem ending in न्, before the affixes of the strong-case, is optional in the Veda, when ष precedes such a vowel.

Thus स तक्षणं or तक्षणं, तिष्ठन्तमवृत्तिं। इसुक्षणं or इसुक्षणमिन्नम् ॥

Why do we say 'in the Veda'? In the secular literature we have तक्षा, तक्षणौ तक्षाणः always.

सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ सान्त, महतः, संयोगस्य, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य संयोगस्य यो नकारः महत च तस्योपधाया शीर्षो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो इसंबुद्धौ ॥

10. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत् ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant न्त्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases. Thus अश्यान्, अश्यांसा, अश्यांसः, अश्यांसि, पश्यांसि, यश्यांसि ॥ महत्—महान्, महान्तौ, महान्तः ॥ But हे श्रेयन्, हे महन् in Vocative Singular. The Nasal is inserted by VII. 1. 70.

अप्तुन्तृच्चवसृनप्तुनेपृत्वधृक्षन्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्त्रृणाम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप्. तन्, तृन्, स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षन्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ, प्रशास्त्रृणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्यतस्य तृजन्तस्य स्वसृ नप्तृ नेष्टृ ल्लहृ भस्तृ हेतृ पानृ प्रशास्तृ इत्येतेषां आद्वानामुपथाया शीर्घो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो उसंबुद्धौ ॥

11. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative Singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अप्, in stems formed by तन् and तृन् affixes, and in स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षन्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ and प्रशास्तृ ॥

Thus आपः तिष्ठन्ति ॥ Some would have it even in compounds; as बद्वाम्पि तडागानि ॥ The Samāsānta rule is not applied here, because it is *anitya*. If it be considered *nitya*, then also there is lengthening, but without the addition of the nasal. तन् समासान्तो विधिरनिय इति समासान्तो न कियते। नित्यमपि च नुभमकृत्वा दीर्घत्वमिष्यते। तृन्। कर्त्तारौ कटान्। वदितारौ जनापवाशान्। कर्त्तारः। तृन्। कर्त्तारौ कटस्य। कर्त्तारः। इत्तारौ भारत्य, इत्तारः। त्वसृ। स्वसा। स्वसारौ। स्वसारः। नप्तृ। नप्ता। नप्तारौ। नप्तारः। नेष्टृ। नेष्टारौ। नेष्टारः। ल्लहृ। ल्लहारौ। ल्लहारः। क्षन्तृ। क्षन्तारौ। क्षन्तारः। होतृ। होतारौ। होतारः। पोतृ। पोतारौ। पोतारः। प्रशास्तृ। प्रशास्तारौ। प्रशास्तारः। नप्तावीनां प्रहणमध्युत्पत्तिपक्षे विध्यर्थम्। ध्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम्। एवं भूतानामन्येषां संज्ञाशब्दानां शीर्घो मा भूसिति। पितौ। पितरः। मातौ। मातरः। असंबुद्धाविति किम्। हेकर्त्तः। हेस्वसः ॥

If the words नप्तृ &c. be considered as रुद्धि, not derived from any root, then their enumeration is here for the sake of Vidhi (injunction); if they be considered as derivative words formed by Uṇadi affixes, then their enumeration is for the sake of *niyama* (restriction), so that other words formed similarly are not to be governed by this rule. As पितौ, पितरः, मातौ, मातरः ॥ Why do we say 'not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे कर्त्तः, हे स्वसः ॥ In the above examples अप् is substituted for अप् by VII. 3. 110.

इन्हन्पूषार्यमणां शौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, हन्, पूष अर्यमणां, शौ, (दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ इन् हन् पूषन् अर्यमन् इत्येवमन्तानामद्वानां शौ परत उपधाया शीर्घो 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 अहणान्वर्यवता चानर्थकन् च तस्मै विधि प्रयोजयन्ति", the employment of इन् in this sūtra includes and means "words *ending* in the syllable इन्" ॥ As regards the rest (हन् &c.), the affix शि (Neuter Pl.) is never added to them alone, but when they are parts of a compound. Thus इन् is a noun formed by the addition of

the affix किंवद् to the root इन्; and the affix Kvip is added to it only then, when it is preceded by another word like "Brahma" &c. See III. 2. 87. Similarly the words पूषन् and अर्थमन् are masculine and cannot take the Neuter Plural affix ति 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 इन् &c."

Thus बहुर्णीनि and बहुर्णीणि । बहुवचाणि । बहुभूणहाणि । बहुपूषाणि । बहुर्याणि ॥ सिद्धे सत्यारम्भे नियमार्थः । इन्हं न्पूषार्थम्यामुपधायाः शावेव शीर्घे भवति नान्यत्र । इण्डनौ । छथिणौ । वृक्षहणौ । पूषणौ । अर्थमणौ ॥

Though this result could have been obtained by VI. 4. 8, the special mention of these words shows that except in Accusative and Nom. Pl. the lengthening does not take place in other strong cases. As इण्डनौ, छथिणौ, वृक्ष-हणौ, पूषणौ, अर्थमणौ ॥

Kārikā :—Regarding the rule of lengthening taught about इन् &c here, let the wise reader, after making a restrictive rule with regard to सुद् (sarvanāmas thāna) affixes in general, make again another rule regarding the affix ति in particular, (i. e., make a yoga-bibhāga). By so doing, the form भूणहाणि (Loc. sin.) of the Achārya, will not be found fault with.

2. (But if yoga-vibhaga be not made) then I rule that the anuvritti of सुद् being dropped, let the rule be made with regard to ति affix in general (without regarding it as a Sarvanāmāsthāna affix). And as the rule of lengthening applies to penultimates, there would arise no fault, if the vowel of इन् is lengthened before the demonstrative affix ए (in words like वृक्षहायते=वृक्षहा इष आचरत, This refers to VII. 4. 25).

3. Or if the anuvritti of सुद् (Sarvanāmāsthāna) be taken into this Sūtra, because of the context, then the mention of ति in this Sūtra, (would be redundant, because the word Sarvanāmāsthāna 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 Sarvanāmāsthāna does not apply. That is, the Sarvanāmāsthāna will be restricted with regard to इन् &c to the affix ति and not to सुद् affixes generally.

Note :—ति is the affix of the Nom. and Acc. Pl. in Neuter (VII. 1. 20.) It it a Sarvanāmāsthāna by I. 1. 42. But the word Sarvanāmāsthāna may be read into this sutra from the preceding VI. 4. 8. What is then the necessity of employing ति in this? The above karikā 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 (ठः) is वृक्षहनि, and भूणहनि ॥ How do you make this? By splitting up the present sutra into two parts, the first part being इन् इन् पूषार्थम्याम्, and the second being त्तो ॥ 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 वृचहायते, भूणहायते denominative verbs in क्यहु ॥

Or even though the Sarvanāmsthāna may be read into the sūtra by anuvṛitti, yet this may be considered a Restrictive Rule in general, and not only with regard to शि considered a Sarvanāmsthāna or a Neuter affix शि is the Sarvanāmsthāna affix of the Neuter : which has no other Sarvanāmsthāna, therefore, it is a general Niyama and not only a Sarvanāmsthāna or a Neuter niyama. Therefore in this niyama the word “नपुंसकस्य”—“of the Neuter”—is not to be taken.

For if it be taken, then the Sūtra would mean, the neuter stems in इन् &c are lengthened in शि only and no where else. The result would be that in examples like भूणहनि ब्राह्मणकुले (loc. sin), there would be no lengthening at all (i.e. we shall never have the form भूणहनि 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 Sarvanāmsthāna applies to Neuter also in certain cases, therefore, any rule (niyama) made with regard to Sarvanāmsthāna would apply to Neuter also.

सौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, च, (उपधाया: दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सावसंबुद्धौ परते इन्हपूर्षार्थ्यन्नामुपधाया शीर्थो भवति ॥

13. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पूषन् or अर्यमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus इण्डी, वृचा, 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 शपिङ्गन्, हे पूषन्, हे वृचहन् हे अर्यमन् ॥

अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतु, असन्तस्य, च, अधातोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अतु अस इत्येवमन्तस्य अधातोःशपधाया: सावसंबुद्धौ परतो शीर्थो 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 इवतुप् Uṇ I. 63 from भा to shine), कृतवान् (with कृत्वा); गोमान् and अवमान् (with मतुप्) ॥ The तुम् (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. असः—as शुपयाः, शुभेताः, शुभोताः ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging to a dhātu'? Observe पिण्डम् where स belongs to the root अस् (पिण्डं असते), so also अर्मवः (अर्म वस्ते) ॥ The अस् having no significance as an affix &c is also included here, on the strength of the maxim "whenever अस् 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 यहानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तस्मत्विर्धं प्रयेत्यन्ति) ॥ The word अन्त in the sūtra indicates whatever *ends* in अतु whether when first enunciated (उपदेश), such as उत्तु, न्तवतु &c, or which assumes the form अतु in grammatical inflection, such as मतुष् which in upadeśa ends in अतुष्, but becomes अतु in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गोमन्, हे शुपयः this rule not applying there.

अनुनासिकस्य किञ्चलोः कृडिति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकस्य, कि, क्षलोः, कृडिति, (दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्य उपधावा शीर्घो भवति किंपत्वे परतो श्लारौ च कृडिति ॥

15. The penultimate vowel of a stem, ending in a nasal, is lengthened before the affix कि, and before an affix having an indicatory क् or कृ, 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 क्षल् consonant (any consonant but a nasal and a semivowel). As शान्तः (with न्त), शान्तवान् (with न्तवतु), शान्त्वा (with बत्वा), and शान्तिः (with न्तिः). These are all formed with किन् affixes. As to फिन् affixes we have शंशान्तः and तन्तान्तः formed by तस् 3rd Person Dual added to the Intensive roots शम् and तम् ॥ तस् is फिन् by I. 2. 4. Why do we say 'ending in a Nasal'? Observe ओऽनपक्, पक्षः, पक्षवान् ॥ Why do we say 'before कृ and jhalādi affix'? Observe गम्यते, रथ्यते ॥ Why do we say a फिन् or a किन् affix? Observe गन्ता and रन्ता ॥

अञ्जनगमां सनि ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, हन्, गमाम्. सनि, (वा दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तानामक्षानां हनिगच्छो अ सनि श्लारौ परे वा शीर्घो भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ गमेरिङ्गादेशस्यति वन्तव्यम् ॥

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 jhalādi (i. e. not taking the augment इत्) follows.

Thus of roots ending in vowel we have :—विशीषति, तुदूषति, चिशीर्षति, जिहीर्षति (VII. 1. 100); of हन् and गम्, जिघांसति, and भधिजिगांसते ॥

Vārt :—The rule applies to that गम् which is the substitute of इह (II. 4. 48) ‘to study’. Therefore, not here, संज्ञिगंसते वस्तो मात्रा (cf. VII. 2. 58); In the Veda we read स्वर्गे लोकं समज्ञिगंसत्, where though गम् means ‘to go’ and is not, therefore, the substitute of इह, the lengthening takes place by the rule VI. 3, 137. Or the word अस् should not be added in the sūtra at all: which should be read as इतगमां सनि meaning “There is lengthening of the stem when the Desiderative सन् follows”. This would apply of course, to vowel-ending stems, because the sentence would mean that, for there cannot be lengthening of a consonant. This will apply to गम् also, in this way :—“A stem ending in a vowel is lengthened in the Desiderative, and so also of गम् which is a substitute of the vowel-stem इ”॥ In this way, we may see, that there is no necessity of the Vārtika.

तनोतेर्विभाषा ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनोतेरहस्य सनि श्लारौ विभाषा शीर्षो भवति ॥

17. The lengthening of the stem of तन् is optional, before the Desiderative सन्, when it does not take the augment इह ॥

Thus नितांसति or नितंसति ॥ But in नितनिषति no alternative is allowed, as इह is added to सन् by VII. 2. 49 Vārt: optionally.

क्रमश्च क्लि ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, च, क्लि, (श्लिलि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम उपभाषा विभाषा शीर्षो भवति त्वाप्रत्यये श्लारौ परतः ॥

18. The penultimate of क्रम् is optionally lengthened, before the affix च्छा, when it is without the augment इह ॥

Thus क्रन्त्या or क्रान्त्या; but क्रमित्वा only, with इह augment. But when क्रम् is replaced by स्वप्, the rule does not apply: as प्रकम्ब्य, उपकम्ब्य ॥ This is on the maxim अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गोन्त्यप् वाप्ते ‘a bahiranga substitution of स्वप् supersedes even antaranga rule’.

च्छोः शुड्नुनासिके च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्छोः, शुड्, अनुनासिके, च, (किश्लोः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छ इत्येतस्य सतुक्रस्य वकारस्य च स्थाने वथासंख्यं श ऊ इत्येतावाशेषो भवतः, अनुनासिकारौ प्रत्यये परतः चौ श्लारौ च क्लित्विः ॥

19. For च्छ (including the augment त्रुक्) is substituted श्, and for च is substituted ऊ, before an affix beginning with a Nasal, as well as before क्लि and jhalādīङ्गित् and कित् affixes (VI. 4. 15).

Thus प्रश्छः, विच्छः from प्रच्छु and विच्छु, with the affix नह् (III. 3. 90) the च्छ being replaced by श् ॥ Similarly from the root तिह् we have स्थोनः thus: सिह्+न (Un III. 9). = सि + ऊ + न = स्थू + न = स्थोनः (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 सिह्+न = सैह्+न = से + ऊ + न ॥ Having thus added ऊ,

before scope could be given to the *guṇa* rule VII. 3. 86, we make sandhi of सि + ऊ = स्यू, because semivowel substitution is antaranga operation and of wider scope than *guṇa*, and the maxim of वार्णवाङ् बलीयो भवति has no scope here. "An operation which is taught in the Argâdhikâra, and affects the *anga* or stem, possesses greater force than an operation which concerns a combination of letters (i. e. is taught in a sandhi rule)".

With कृ we have शब्दप्राश् formed with क्लिप् (Un II. 57) added to प्रच्छ, there is no vocalisation of the semivowel र, and there is lengthening of आ, and च्छ changed to श. So also गोविशा ॥

Of the change of इ into ऊ we have the following :—अस्यूः, हिरण्यूः
 (रिश्व + क्रिप्तु = रि + ऊ = श्यूः) ॥ Here the ऊ substitution is Bahiranga, and रि + ऊ = श्यू, the change of इ into ऊ is antaranga, therefore on the maxim of असिद्धं बहिरङ्ग-मन्तराङ्ग (a bahiranga is non-existent for the purposes of an antaranga); there should be no change of इ into ऊ, for ऊ is non-existent. That maxim is however set aside by नाजानन्तर्ये बहिष्टु प्रकर्त्तव्यः “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 jhalādi affix; as पृष्ठ + क्त् = पृष्टः, पृष्टवाक् (क्तव्यतु), पृष्टा (क्तव्या); here ष्ठ is changed to श, there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, and श changed to ष by VIII. 2. 36.

So also श is changed to श as, शूतः, शूतवान्, शूत्वा ॥

When the affixes are not डित् or कित्, the rule does not apply: as शुभाम्, शुभिः ॥ Some do not read the anuvṛtti of कित् and डित् into this sūtra, and explain शुभाम् and शुभिः by VI. I. 131 : उ short being substituted for व of दिव ॥

In "କର୍ମପ" (VIII. 2. 36) the letter ପ should not be taken, because by the force of the present sūtra, ପ is ordained to come every where in the place of କ ॥

The indicatory इ in ऊइ is for the sake of distinguishing this ऊ in sūtras like एते धर्मदृष्टि मु (VI. 1. 89). In the sutra वाहऊइ (VI. 4. 132) there is also indicatory इ॥

जघरत्वरश्रिव्यविमवासुपद्मायाद्ध ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ जघर, त्वर, श्रिवि, अवि, मध्याम, उपद्मायाः, च, (किञ्चलोः वस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तर स्वर प्रियि अव मव इत्येतनामहानां वकारस्य उपधायाच स्थाने ऊदित्ययमादशो भवाति द्वी परतो उग्रासिके द्वालारी च कडिति ॥

20. In ज्वर्, त्वर् श्रिव्, अव्, and मव्, before the above-mentioned affixes (किंवा, a Nasal or a jhalâdi 'किंत्' or डिंत्) there is the single substitution of ऊऽ for the ष and the vowel preceding the final consonant.

Thus शूः, शूरौ, शूरः, शूर्तिः ॥ स्वरः—तूः, तूरौ, तूरः, तूर्तिः ॥ श्रिविः—शूः, शुवा, शुवः, शूतः शूतवान्, शूतिः ॥ अवः—अूः, उवौ, उवः, ऊतिः ॥ मदः—मूः, मुवौ, मुवः, मूतः, मूतवान्, मूतिः ॥ उवरत्सरो-स्पथा वकारत् परा, विष्व वमवा पूर्वा ॥

In उवर् and स्वर् the ऊ replaces ए as well as the अ which follows ए; and in विष्व, अव् and मद् it replaces the ए and the vowel इ and अ which precede ए ॥ Another reading is विष्व ॥

रालोपः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, लोपः, (किञ्चलोः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ रेकादुन्तरयोद्युलोपो भवति व्यौ परते श्लादौ कण्ठित अ परतः ॥

21. After ए there is the elision of छ and झ before 'कि' and jhalādi 'कितू' and 'कित्' affixes.

Thus from हर्षा—शूर्, शूरौ, शूरः, शूर्तः शूर्तिः, the त् of Nishṭhā is not changed into न by VII. 2. 57. So also from हर्षा we have हूर्, हूरौ, हूरः, हूर्णः, हूर्णवान्, हूर्णिः ॥ So also the ए is elided, as from शूर्तीः—शूर्, शूरौ, शूरः, शूर्णः, शूर्णवान्, शूर्णिः ॥ शूर्तीः—शूः, शूरौ, शूरः, शूर्णः, शूर्णवान्, शूर्णिः ॥

असिद्धवदभात् भात् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ असिद्धवत्, अत्र, आभात् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ असिद्धवरित्ययमधिकारो थित उर्ध्मनुक्रमित्याम आ अव्यावपरिसमाप्तस्तद् असिद्धवदेवित्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दुयुटादुवह्ययोः सिद्धो भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. The change, which a stem will undergo by the application of any of the rules from this sūtra upto VI. 4. 129, is to be considered as not to have taken effect, when we have to apply any other rule of this very section VI. 4. 23 to 129.

This is an adhikāra rule. The above translation is given according to Prof. Bohtlingk. According to Kāsika the असिद्धवत् extends up to the end of the chapter. Dr. Ballantyne translates it thus :—"The rules, reckoning from this one to the end of the chapter, are called Abhiya, because the chapter ends with a series of rules dependant on the aphorism 'bhasya' VI. 4. 129. When that (i. e. one of the Abhiya rules) is to be brought into operation, having the same place for coming into operation as another Abhiya, which has already taken effect, that one which has taken effect, shall be regarded as not having taken effect".

The word आभात् means 'up to अ' i. e. upto VI. 4. 129. in which last sūtra the word अ occurs : i. e. in applying the rules taught upto VI. 4. 129. The word अअ shows that the two rules must have the same आभाय or place of operation, where their places of operation are different, they are not asiddha to each other. The word असिद्ध shows that an utsarga or general rule must take effect, as if existing in spite of a special rule, and that an 'ādeśa' or substitution taught by another rule should not be considered to have taken effect in applying the special rule. Thus in forming एषि and शाषि (Imperative 2nd person)

ए is first substituted for अस् 'to be' by VI. 4. 119 : and शा for शास् by VI. 4. 35 and then is हि added by VI. 4. 101. The latter rule says that हि is added in the Imperative, only after those roots which end in a consonant of प्रल् class. Now अस् and शास् end in a /shal consonant, and can take हि, but their substitute ए and शा end in a vowel and not a consonant and should not take हि ॥ The present rule helps us here, and for the application of हि (VI. 4. 101) the substitution of ए for अस् or शा for शास् should be considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect. Similarly in शागहि (Vedic Imperative, शाष् 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 शाग and ज, which ending in अ would require the elision of हि by VI. 4. 105. But since the change of ज &c is not regarded as having been accomplished, the elision of हि does not take place.

Why do we say आभात् 'up to VI. 4. 129'? In applying any other rule the changes ordained by abhiya rules would not be considered as asiddha. Thus अभाजि and रागः from अज्ञै and रञ्ज ॥ Here the nasals of rafj and bhañj have been elided by VI. 4. 27-28 and 33 before the affixes अभ् and चिष् respectively, and we have the stems रञ्, and भञ् to which rule VII. 2. 116 applies and we have Vṛiddhi of अ preceding the final consonant. Had the elision of the nasal been considered as non-effective for the purposes of VII. 2. 116, then अ could not have taken Vṛiddhi, as it would not then be उपथा or penultimate.

Why do we use the word अव् in the aphorism? The rules are asiddha to each other with regard to a common place of operation and not otherwise. Thus पा+वस् (कूष्म)+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 sūtra VI. 4. 64, then we cannot elide the आ of पा, because आ is not then followed by a vowel (उ being non-existent). उ however is not considered as asiddha, and आ being thus elided, we have पुषः in पुषः: पद्य ॥ Similarly चिः+वस्+अस्=चिष्+उस्+अस् ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we apply rule VI. 4. 82, and substitute य for उ as चिष्युषः: पश्य ॥ Similarly लू+वस्+अस्=लुलुषः: ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we change the ऊ of लू into उव् by VI. 4. 77. In all the above three cases, the elision of आ, or change of ए to य, or of ऊ to उव्, takes place in reference to वस्, while the samprasāraṇa of व takes place with reference to the Accusative plural case-ending अस् which makes the stem Bha. So they have not the same आश्रय ॥ Nor does the maxim of असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरे apply here, because the special maxim of Abhiya governs the sūtras of this section, so there cannot be the relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga among these sūtras, simultaneously with their being asiddha to each other.

Vart:—The substitute शुक् (VI. 4. 88), and शुद् (VI. 4. 63) should however be considered as not asiddha, and rule VI. 4. 77 teaching उच्च् and VI. 4. 82, teaching क् substitution should not be applied simultaneously with them. Thus शू—वशुव, वशुवतुः वशुवः with शुक्, and उपदिशीये, उपदिशीयते, उपदिशीयरे with शुद् of VI. 4. 63. In the case of क्, when शुक् is added, there is not the addition of उच्च्, and in the case of शीढ्, when शुद् is added, there is not अणादेश ॥

The आ in आभात् has the force of limit inclusive, so that, the asiddha rule applies to the sūtras governed by अ ॥

आश्वलोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, न लोपः, ॥
शृन्तिः ॥ आश्विति भ्रमयस्त्वृष्टमकारो गृह्णते तत उच्चारस्य नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. After न, which is added to the roots of the seventh class as a characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa अम्), there is the elision of the following न ॥

Thus अनक्षि and भनक्षि from अञ्ज 'to anoint', and भञ्ज 'to break'. Thus अञ्ज + भाम् + तिष् = अनञ्ज + ति (I. I. 47) = अनञ्ज + ति (VI. 4. 23) = अनक्षि ॥ So also हिन्ति from हिति (हिन्स्) 'to injure'. Why do we say 'after अ' and not merely 'after न', without the indicatory श? Observe यज्ञानाम्, यज्ञानाम्, where the न of नाम् is not elided after the न of यज्ञ and यज्ञ, the lengthening of अ by VII. 3. 102 being sthānivat would not have prevented the elision. In the case of विभानाम् and प्रभानाम् (formed by विभ + नाम् and प्रभ + नाम्) also, the न of नाम् is not elided after अ of विभ ॥ For the अ of the sūtra is the technical अ the vikaraṇa, and not any combination of the letters श and न ॥ The pratipadokta maxim applies here. लक्षणप्रतिपरोक्तयोः पतिपरोक्तस्थेव भ्रहणम् ॥

अनिदितां हल उपधायाः कृद्धिति ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनिदिताम्, हलः, उपधायाः, कृद्धिति ॥

शृन्तिः ॥ अनिदितामङ्गानां हलन्तानामुपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति कृद्धिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अनिदितां नैलोप लक्ष्मिकम्योशपत्तापशरीरपविकारयोश्पसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ एञ्जेणो शुगरमणरपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यन् ॥ वा० ॥ वितुणि अ एञ्जेरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ रज्जकरञ्जनरञ्जः स्पूसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

24. In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न,—this न not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory इ (VII. 1. 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or श् follows.

Thus from लक्ष्मि and अनक्षि are formed लक्ष्मतः and अनक्षतः with न्न, लक्ष्मते, अनक्षते with न्नी, लक्ष्मीपत्ते, अनक्षीपत्ते with बङ् the नी being added by VII. 4. 84. But लक्ष्मते and अनक्षते, the न् is not elided, the root being written in the Dhātupāṭha as दुणिर संशब्दौ, 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 नश्यते, नानश्यते ॥ Why do we say having an indicatory क or कृ? Observe जंसनं, ज्वंसनं with स्युद् ॥

Vārt :—The roots लङ्घ (लगि) and कन्ध (कपि) are exceptions, where meaning 'to feel pain or difficulty' and 'a disease of the body'. These, though exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with an indicatory त्, are treated as exceptions to the rule of अनितिः: thus विलगितः and विकपितः, when not having the above meanings, we have विलकृतं and विकम्पितं ॥

Vārt :—The causative of the root रज्ज, loses its nasal when meaning 'to hunt deer': as, रज्यति मृगान् 'he hunts the deer', but रञ्जयति वस्त्राणि 'he colors the clothes'.

Vārt :—रज्ज loses its nasal before the affix चित्रुण्, as रगी ॥

Vārt :—The words रजकः, रञ्जन्, and रजः are formed from रज्ज by the elision of the nasal.

दंशसञ्जस्वज्ञां शापि ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दंशा, सञ्ज, स्वज्ञाम, शापि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इंश सञ्ज रञ्ज इत्यतेषामङ्गानां शापि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

25. The nasal of दंशा, सञ्ज् and स्वज्ञ् is elided before the vikarana शृप् of the roots of the 1st class.

Thus इशति, सञ्जति and परिष्वजते for the change of the त् of स्वज्ञ् to त् see VIII. 3. 65

रञ्जेष्व ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रञ्जः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रञ्जेष्व शापि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

26. The nasal of रञ्ज् is also elided before शृप् ॥

As रञ्जति, रञ्जतः, रञ्जन्ति ॥ The separation of this from the preceding is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛtti of rāṣṭra only runs and not of dāsi &c.

घञ्जि च भावकरणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञ्जि, च, भावकरणयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भावकरणवाचिनि घञ्जि परतो रञ्जेष्वप्याया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

27. The penultimate nasal of रञ्ज् is elided before घञ्ज्, when the word formed with it expresses a state or an instrument.

Thus रगः 'passion, color, or the coloring stuff'. Thus भावयोः रगः, विचित्र रगः denote भाव, while रञ्जेष्वनेनिति रगः denotes instrument. The घञ्ज् is added by III. 3. 121; and च् changed to क् by VII. 3. 52. But रङ्गः = रञ्जन्त् तस्मिन् 'a theatre';

स्यदो जवे ॥ २८ ॥ स्यदः, जवे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जवे ऽभिषेये स्यद् इति घञ्जि निपातते । स्यन्तरेनलोपो वृज्जप्यावश ॥

28. The word स्यद् is formed by घञ्ज् in the sense of 'speed'.

This word is derived from स्यन्, the nasal is elided, and the Vriddhi prohibited irregularly. Though the अर्धाधातुका affix घञ् causes here the elision of a portion of the root, viz of न् of स्यन्, 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 गोस्थःः' अभस्थः meaning "cow-speed," "horse-speed." but तैलस्थनः, and घृतस्थनः meaning "dripping of oil or ghee".

अवोदैधीशप्रश्वयहिमश्वथाः ॥२९॥ पदानि ॥ अवोदैधीशप्रश्वयहिमश्वथाः वृत्तिः ॥ अवोदैधीशप्रश्वयहिमश्वथ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ।

29. अवोदैधीशप्रश्वयहिमश्वथ and हिमश्वथ are irregularly formed by the elision of न ॥

Thus उन्दै-अव + उन्दै + घञ् = अवोदैः ; इन्दै + घञ् = एधः, the guṇa is irregular, for I. 1. 4 applied here, and prevented guṇa. उन्दै + मन् = औश (Uṇadi मन्). प्र + अन्य + घञ् = प्रश्वयः (The want of Vṛiddhi is the irregularity). So also हिमश्वथः ॥

नाश्चेः पूजायाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अञ्जेः, पूजायाम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जेः पूजायामर्थे नकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

30. The nasal of अञ्जेः is not elided when the meaning is to honor.

Thus अङ्गित्ता अस्य गुरवः, अङ्गित्तमिव शिरो धत्ति ॥ The इ व्यतीकरण is added by VII. 2. 53. When the sense is not that of 'honoring', we have उदक्तमुखं कुपात् "the water was drawn from the well." Here the इ is prohibited by VII. 2. 15.

किं स्कन्दिस्यन्दोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ किं, स्कन्दि, स्यन्दोः, (न लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्वाप्रत्यये परतः स्कन्द स्यन्द इत्यत्योर्नेकारलोपो न भवति ॥

31. स्कन्द and स्यन्द retain their nasal before the affix च ॥

This स्कन्दस्या, and स्यन्दस्या or स्यन्दस्या, the इ व्यतीकरण being added when स्यन्द is considered as having an indicatory उ in the dhatupātha. When इ व्यतीकरण is added, त्वा 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 ॥ जान्तानामद्वानां नशेभ्य त्वाप्रत्यये परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

32. The nasal may be optionally elided before च in a root ending in ज् and in नश् ॥

Thus रक्त्तस्या or रक्त्या, भर्त्तस्या or भर्त्या, नश्या or नश्या See II. VII. 1. 60 for the augment न् in नश् ॥ When इ व्यतीकरण comes, we have नशिस्या ॥

भञ्जेभ्य चिणि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्जेः, च, चिणि, (विभाषा न लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्जेभ्य चिणि परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो भवति ॥

33. The nasal may be optionally elided in भञ्ज्य before the third person Passive of the Aorist in चिष्ठा (१)

Thus अभाज्जि or अभञ्ज्जि ॥ This is an aprápta vibháshā, and teaches for the first time the elision of न in a certain contingency.

शास् इद्दृहलोः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शासः, इत्, अञ्ज्, हलोः, (कृडिति) ॥
वृन्तिः ॥ शास् उपधाया इकारादेशो भवति अडिं परतो हलादौ च कृडिति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कथौ च शास् इत्यं भवतीति वन्नव्यय् ॥ वा० ॥ किंप्र प्रत्यये तस्यापि भवतीति वन्नव्यय् ॥

34. Before the Aorist in अञ्ज् and before an affix beginning with a consonant having an indicatory क् or ख् there is the substitution of ई for the vowel of शास् ॥

Thus अन्वशिष्टत्, अन्वशिष्टताम् and अन्वशिष्टन्; so also शिष्टः (with न्त्), शिष्टवान् (with न्तवतु), तौ शिष्टः वयं शिष्मः (with the tense-affixes सः and मः which are डित् by I. 2. 4). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 60. Why do we say 'before the affixes of अ Aorist and consonant affixes'? Observe शासति, शशास्तु, शशासुः ॥

Vart:—There is the substitution of ई for the vowel of शास् before the affix किंत्र ॥ As आर्यसीः = आर्यान् शास्ति ॥ So also मित्रसीः ॥ The form is thus evolved, शास् + किंत्र = शिस् + ० = शिर + ० = शीः (the short ई being lengthened by VIII. 2. 76).

The root शास् is that root which takes अञ्ज् aorist; namely the second Adādi शास् (शासु अनुशिष्टौ), and not the Bhvādi and the first Adādi शास् (आङ् शासु इच्छायाम्) ॥ Therefore not here आशास्ते, आशास्यमानः ॥

Vdrt:—But before किंप्र, this शास् also is changed, as आर्यीः, आशिषौ, आशिषः ॥ Or this is an irregular form indicated by the author in the word शियासीः used in VIII. 2. 104.

शा हौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, हौ, ॥
वृन्तिः ॥ 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 षि by VI. 4. 101. See VI. 4. 22. The anuvritti of उपधाया: 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 किंत्र and डित् also is not here. Therefore, when this हि is treated as पित् (III. 4. 88), then too the substitution takes place, though a पित् Sárvadhātuka is not डित् (I. 2. 4). Thus शाधि is also found in the Vedas as having acute on the first syllable, which can only be when षि is पित् and consequently anudātta (III. 1. 4).

हन्तेर्जः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्ते:, जः, (हौ) ॥
वृन्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जातोर्ज इत्ययमादेशो भवति हौ परतः ॥

36. ज is substituted for हन् before हि ॥
Thus जहि शृणु ॥

अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो इलि क्षडिति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥
अनुदात्तोपदेश, वनति, तनोत्यादीनाम, अनुनासिक लोपः, इलि, क्षडिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशासोपदेशानामक्रान्तं वनतेस्तनोत्यादीनां आनुनासिकलोपो भवति इलाशौ क्षडिति प्रतये परतः ॥

37. The final nasal of those roots which in the Dhātupāṭha have an unaccented root-vowel, as well as of वन् and तन् &c, is elided before an affix beginning with a consonant (except a semi-vowel or nasal), when these have an indicatory क् or रु ॥

Thus अत् gives us अस्ता (with तत्वा), अतः (with नक्), अतवान् (with नक्तव्यत्), अतिः (with नक्तिः), Similarly एत् gives us एस्ता, एतः, एतवान्, एतिः ॥ अम्, एम्, नम्, गम्, हन् and मन् which end in a nasal are to be considered as unaccented roots, though taught as accented in the Dhātupāṭha. So also of वन्: i. e. वन्ति: with नक्तिः; with नक्तिः the nasal is not elided as वन्ति; (VI. 4. 39): and before other jhalādi affixes वं retains न् as all those affixes take the augment इद् ॥ The तनादि roots belong to the eighth class. Thus ततः, ततवान्. The Tanādi roots are ten in number, सन्, सन्, क्षण्, क्षण्, तृण्, तृण्, वन्, मन् and कृम् ॥ Of these सन् takes long आ also (VI. 4. 45). क्षण्—क्षतः, क्षतवान्, क्षण्—क्षतः, क्षतवान्; तृण्—तृतः, तृतवान्; तृण्—तृतः, पृतवान्; वन्—वतः, वतवान्; मन्—मतः, मतवान् ॥

Why do we say before a डित् affix? Observe अतत्, अतयाः (I. 2. 11 these affixes are डित्) So also not in शान्तः, शान्तवान्, तान्तः, तान्तवान्, दान्तः, दान्तवान्, not being anudātta in the Dhātupāṭha. If the root does not end in a nasal, the rule does not apply, as in पवनः, पववान् ॥ If the affix does not begin with a *jhal* consonant, the rule does not apply: as गम्यते, रम्यते ॥ If the affix is not कित् or डित् the rule does not apply: as, यन्ता, यन्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say "anudātta by *upadesa*"? So that the rule may apply to गम् root, as गतिः; but not to शम्, as शान्तः शान्तवान् ॥ For मैतिः is formed by नक्ति affix and is accented with udātta on the first, but it is a secondary udātta and not of *upadesa* or dhātupāṭha, and does not prevent the elision of न् of गम् ॥ Similarly शम् is udātta-upadesa though in शान्तः it has become अनुशासः ॥ The former though taught in the Dhātupāṭha as udātta, has been specifically mentioned above as anudātta, and शम् is taught as udatta in the Dhātupāṭha, and no where else taught as anudātta.

आ ल्यपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ल्यपि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपि परतो उनुशासोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो वा भवति ॥

38. The nasal of the above roots (i. e. anudātta ending in a nasal, and वन् and तनादि) is optionally elided before the Absolutive affix ल्यपि ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhâshâ. The option applies to roots ending in श्. In the case of roots ending in other nasals, the elision is compulsory. Thus प्रथत् or प्रथन्य्, प्रत्य or प्रत्न्य, प्रणत्य or प्रणन्य, आगत्य आगन्य, but no option in आहत्य, प्रमत्य, प्रवत्य, प्रक्षत्य ॥

न किञ्चि दीर्घश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, किञ्चि, दीर्घः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञाति परतो ऽनुनासिकलोपो दीर्घश्च न भवति ।

39. Before the affix किञ्चि, the above roots neither drop their nasal nor lengthen their root-vowel.

The above roots i. e. anudâttopadeśa, ending in a nasal, and वन् and तनादि, do not lose their nasal before किञ्चि. Thus अर्त्ति॑, सन्त्ति॑, वन्त्ति॑ ॥ The lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 15, when the nasal was not elided : that also is prohibited.

गमः कौ॒ ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, कौ॒, (अनुनासिकलोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकलोप इति वर्तते । गमः कौ॒ परतो ऽनुनासिकलोपो भवति ।
वार्त्तिकं म् ॥ गमाव॑नामिति वन्त्वयम् ॥ वा॒ ॥ उड॑ च गमाव॑नामिति वन्त्वयम् ॥

40. The nasal of गम् is always elided before कि॒ ॥

Thus अङ्गगत्, कलिङ्गगत्, अध्रगतो हस्तः ॥ The त् is added by VI. 1. 71.

Varttika—It should be stated of गम् and the rest. The elision takes place here also संयत्, परीतत् ॥

Varttika—The nasal of गम् &c. is elided before उडः as, अग्नू॒, अग्नेष्टू॒ ॥
चिङ्गोरनुनासिकस्थात् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिङ्ग-चनो॑ः, अनुनासिकस्थ आत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शिं वनो च प्रस्थये परतो ऽनुनासिकान्तस्थाङ्गस्थाकार आवेशोभवति ॥

41. A stem ending in a nasal, and followed by the affix विद् or वन्, always substitutes long आ for its nasal.

Thus अज्ञाः, गोजाः, अत्तजाः, अद्विजाः, गोषाः (e. g. गोषा इन्द्रोनृषा असि Rig V.), कूपखाः, शतखाः, सहस्राः, सधिकाः, अग्नेगा उत्तेषणाम् ॥ The affix विद् (which is totally elided) is added under III. 2. 67. The स of सन् is changed to ए by VIII. 3. 108. in गोषा ॥ With the affix वन् we have the following:—विजावा, अग्नेजावा (III. 2. 75). The repetition of the word अनुनासिक in this sūtra shows that the limitation of anudâttopadeśa &c. which applied to the अनुनासिक of sūtra VI. 4. 37 does not apply here.

जनसनखनां सनझलोः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खनाम् सन-झलोः, (आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जन सन खन इत्येतेषामङ्गानां सनि झलसौ द्विति झलसौ प्रस्थयं परत आकार आवेशो भवते ।

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 उ॑ ॥

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 इ॒, the न् is not therefore elided, as जिज्ञनिष्टि, चिखनिष्टि ॥ In the case of the root सन्, the Desiderative takes ई॑, so we have two forms सिषासति and सिसनिष्टि (VII. 2. 49). The Desiderative has, therefore, been mentioned in the aphorism, only for the sake of the root सन्॥

If the phrase सन्धूलोः be taken to mean 'the Desiderative beginning with a consonant', then we should read the anuvṛitti of इ॒लि कर्मिति from the preceding sūtras, to complete the sense of this; and if the phrase means "when the Desiderative of a jhalādi affix follows", then we should qualify the word Desiderative by the word jhal from the preceding sūtras. Or we may divide the sūtra into two (1) Before a कित् or डित् jhalādi affix long आ is the substitute of the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan'. (2) And so is the case, when the Desiderative affix follows, not having the augment ई॑, for then also the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan' is replaced by long आ॥

The न् of the root सन् would have required elision by VI. 4. 37, because this verb belongs to Tanādi class, still the आ substitution taught in this sūtra takes place, by preference, on the maxim of विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् (I. 4. 2). In fact, though in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22) one rule is considered as asiddha for the purposes of the operations of another rule, yet one rule *supersedes* another by the maxim of vpratisedha. 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 ई॑॥

ये विभाषा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, विभाषा, (जनसनखनाम् आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वकारादी द्विती प्रथ्येऽपरतो जनसनखनामाकार आदेशो भवति विभाषा ।

43. There is optionally the substitution of long आ for the finals of जन्, सन् and खन् before an affix beginning with य and marked with an indicatory क् or ङ्॥

Thus जायते or जन्यते (with यक्) जाजायते or जङ्गजन्यते (with यङ्) । So also सायते or सन्यते, सासायते, or संसन्यते, खायते, or खन्यते, चाखायते or चङ्खन्यते ॥ Before the vikaranya अन्यन् of the Fourth class, which is डित् according to I. 2. 4; the आ is *always* substituted for जन् by VII. 3. 79. No option is allowed there.

तनोतेर्यकि ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेनोते:, यकि, (विभाषा आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तेनोतेर्यकि परतो विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ।

44. The long आ may be optionally substituted for the final of तन् before the Passive characteristic यक्॥

Thus तायते or तन्यते; but no option is allowed in तन्तन्यते with यङ्॥

सनः किञ्चि लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनः, किञ्चि, लोपः,
च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरङ्गस्य किञ्चि प्रथ्येऽपरत आकार आदेशो भवति लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ।

45. The long आ is optionally substituted for the final of स्त्र before the affix किंच; and there is also elision optionally of the Nasal.

Thus we have three forms सातैः, सन्तैः and सतैः ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् 'optionally' has been employed in the sūtra for the sake of clearness only; for the विभाषा of VI. 4. 43 could have been read into it by annvṛitti. Lest any one should doubt, that the annvṛitti of विभाषा had ceased with the last aphorism, this word अन्यतरस्याम् is employed here.

आर्द्धातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धातुके ।
वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धातुकाह्यविकारां न स्वपीति प्रागेतस्माद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुकमित्याम आर्द्धातुकाह्येवं सह-
वितव्यम् ।

46. From this upto VI. 4. 68 inclusive, is always to be supplied "before an affix called ार्द्धातुका (III. 4. 114 &c)."

This is an adhikāra sūtra and extends upto VI. 4. 69 (exclusive). In all the sūtras upto VI. 4. 68 should be supplied the phrase "before an affix called ार्द्धातुका". 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 ार्द्धातुका affix". Thus the final अ of the verbal stem विकीर्ष is elided before the ार्द्धातुका affix ए, as विकीर्षेऽ, विकीर्षत्, but the final अ is not elided before a सर्वाधातुका affix, as the अ of भव in भवति, भवतः ॥ The *luk*-elision of शप् after roots of भवति class, implies that there is never *lopa* of शप् ॥

The following purposes are served by this sūtra, i. e. an ार्द्धातुका affix causes the following special changes (1) भतोलोपः—The elision of अ of a stem, as shown above, in विकीर्षता, विकीर्षितुम्, (2) यतोपश्च, The elision of अ by VI. 4. 49, 50: as वेभिदिता, वेभिदितुम्, वेभिदितै॒ष्यम् from वेभिद्य the Intensive stem. Before सर्वाधातुका, we have वेभिद्यते, वेभिद्यते ॥ (3) गिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम्, The elision of ए by VI. 4. 51, as कारणा हारणा पात्यते (पात्य + अक् + ते = पात्य + अ + ते), वाऽयते ॥ In सर्वाधातुका, पात्यति, वाऽयति, कारणति, हारणति ॥ (4) आलोपः, the elision of आ, VI. 4. 64— as पपतुः, पपुः, वपतुः वपुः; In सर्वाधातुका, वान्ति, वान्ति (5) ईत्यम्—The substitution of long ई for आ in some roots, VI. 4. 65 as धीयते, धीयते; in सर्वाधातुका अशास्ताम्, अधाताम् (6) ईत्यम्—The substitution of ए for आ, VI. 4. 68; as स्नेयात्, ग्लेयात्; in सर्वाधातुका, स्मायात्, ग्लायात् ॥ This is confined to the Precative (Asirlin). (7) विष्वद्भावश्च सीयुदि, the treatment of the Precative like Aorist Passive in विष्ण, by VI. 4. 62. as कारिषीट, शारिषीट ॥ In सर्वाधातुका, किषेत, द्विषेत ॥

Kusikā—असो लोपो यतोपश्च गिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम् ।

उग्नोपै॒त्वमेत्यं च विष्वद्भावश्च सीयुदि ॥

भस्जो रोपश्चयारमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि । भस्जः, र-उपधयोः, रम,
अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्जो रेफस्योपधायाम रमन्यतरस्यां भवति ।

47. In the room of the र् and the penultimate letter स् of the root भर्त्ता, there is optionally the substitute रम्, when an अर्धाद्धतुका affix follows.

The र् and स् cease to exist and र् takes their place. The substitute having an indicatory स् comes after the final vowel (I. 1. 49). Thus भर्त्ता+त् = भर्ज+त् = भर्टा the ज being changed to ट् by VIII. 2. 36, and त् to ट् by VIII. 4. 41. The other form will be भटा; so also भट्टम् and भर्त्तम्, भट्टवान् and भर्त्तवान्, भर्त्तनम् or भर्त्तनम् ॥ But भट्टः and भट्टवान् by VI. 1. 16, in spite of this rule. The word उपरेषा (VI. 4. 37), is understood here also. The rule therefore applies to the simple root bhrasj as originally taught in the Dhatupāṭha, and not to any Derivative root from it. As the Intensive (यह) is वरीभृत्यते ॥

अतो लोपः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, लोपः, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धिरीर्थाभासतो लोपः पूर्वविप्रसिधेयेन ॥

48. The अ standing at the end of a stem is elided before an अर्धाद्धतुका affix.

Thus चिकीर्षिता, चिकीर्षितुम्, and चिकीर्षितव्यम्, from the Desiderative stem चिकीर्ष ॥ So also चित्तुतः and कृषुतः from the roots चित् and कृष् thus, चित्+उ (III. 1. 80)=चित्+अ+उ (III. 1. 80)=चित्+उ (अ being elided before the अर्धाद्धतुका उ)=चित्, the 3rd Personal dual of it is चित्तुतः ॥ The addition of अ by III. 1. 80 and its subsequent elision by the present sūtra, may appear a redundancy, but the elided अ being sthānivat, prevents guṇa of चि ॥ So also कृषुतः ॥ See sūtra 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 त्"? The long आ will not be elided: as आता, वाता ॥ Why do we say 'before an अर्धाद्धतुका'? Before a Sārvadhātuka there will be no elision of अ nor before a Taddhita : as वृश्वद् and वृश्वता ॥

Vart:—The elision of such अ takes place even to the supersession of the subsequent rules relating to Vṛiddhi and lengthening. As चिकीर्षकः, चिह्नीर्थकः, चिकीर्ष्यते and चिह्नीर्थ्यते ॥

यस्य हलः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, हलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य यशब्दस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

49. When a consonant precedes the final य in a verbal stem, this य is elided also before an अर्धाद्धतुका affix.

Thus वेभिरिता, वेभिरितुम्, वेभिरितव्यम् from the Intensive stem वेभिय ॥ In the sūtra यस्य is given, which is the Genitive singular of य namely of the letters य् अ ॥ By the rule of अनोऽन्यस्य (I. 1. 52), the अ of य ought to be elided

and not य् ; but that rule is evidently inapplicable here, since the elision of य् would have taken place by the preceding rule : the present rule therefore teaches the elision of य् (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 य् ॥ Why have we taken [the two letters (संशात्) conjointly viz.] य् and not य् ? Observe इर्षिता, मन्विता, शुष्मिता from the simple roots इर्ष्, मन्व्, and शुष्म् ॥ Here य् not being followed by अ, is not elided (see Bhvadi 541—546). Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant ?' Observe लोक्यिता, पोष्यिता ॥

क्यस्य विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यस्य, विभाषा, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ क्यस्य इल उत्तरस्य विभाषा लोपो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ।

50. The elision of य् of the Denominative stem (**क्य**) is optional, when preceded by a consonant and followed by an अर्द्धाद्धतुका affix.

The य् denotes the affixes क्यच् and क्यह् ॥ Thus समिधिता or समिधिता, इष्मिता or इष्मिता meaning समिधमास्मन् इष्म्लति or समिध इष्माचरति &c.

ऐरनिदि ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णः, अनिटि, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनिदासार्द्धधातुके जेलोपो भवति ।

51. The इ of the verbal stem formed with the affix णः, is elided before an अर्द्धाद्धतुका affix which does not take the augment इह् ॥

This debars इयङ्, the semi-vowel य्, the guṇa, Vṛiddhi and the long substitutions. Thus असत्सत्, अरत्सत्, आपिशत्, आविद्त्, कारणा, हारणा, कारकः, हारकः, कार्यते, हार्यते and जीप्तसि (see VII. 4. 1 for the shortening of the stem of the Aorists in these). Why do we say 'not having the augment इह् ?' Observe कारविता and हारविता ॥

निष्ठायां सेदि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्, सेदि ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायां सेदि परतो जेलोपो भवति ।

52. The affix णः is elided before the affixes क्त and क्तवत् when these take the augment इह् ॥

Thus कारितम्, हारितम्, गणितम्, लक्षितम् ॥ Why do we say "before an अर्द्धाद्धतुका affix having the augment इह् ?" Observe संज्ञपितः पणः ॥ 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, ज्ञाप् is a root which takes no इह् augment in the Nishṭhā. It may be objected that VII. 2. 15 preventing इह् augment applies to verbs of one syllable (VII. 2. 10), and the causative ज्ञापि being of two syllables will always have इह् in the Nishṭhā, and so it is useless to use the word सेदि in the sūtra. The word सेदि in the sūtra fixes the time when the elision of णः should take place. Namely, *first* there should be added the

augment इ॒ and then, there should take place the elision of णि ॥ Otherwise we shall have this difficulty कारि+त्, here let us elide the णि first: and we get कार॑+त्, now we cannot add इ॒ to त्, for कार् being a verb of one syllable will not take इ॒ by VII. 2. 10. Therefore, the reverse process must be adopted. We must elide इ॒ first. For ज्ञपितः see also VII. 2. 27.

जनिता मन्त्रे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनिता, मन्त्रे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जनितेति मन्त्रविषये इडावै णिलोपो निपात्यते ।

53. In a Mantra, the word जनिता is formed irregularly by the elision of णि before the affix त् with the augment इ॒ ॥

Thus थो नः पिता जनिता ॥ Otherwise जनयिता in secular literature. It is an exception to VI. 4. 51.

शमिता यज्ञे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमिता, यज्ञे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वस्तकर्मणि शमितेति इडावै णिलोपो निपात्यते ।

54. शमिता is formed irregularly by the elision of णि before an इ॒ augmented affix, when meaning a sacrificial act.

Thus शूतं हविः शमितः ॥ It is formed by शूत् and is in the Vocative case. Why do we say 'when referring to a sacrificial act'? See शूतं हविः शमितः ॥ See Satpatha Br. III. 8. 3, 4 and 5.

अयामन्ताल्वाच्येत्तन्विष्णुषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अय, आम-अन्त-आलु-आच्य-इत्नु-इष्णुषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम् अन्त आलु आच्य इत्नु इष्णु इयेतेषु परतो नेरवावेशो भवते ।

55. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the affixes आम्, अन्त, आलु, आच्य, इत्नु, and इष्णु ॥

Thus कारां चकार, हारां चकार, गण्डयन्तः, मण्डयन्तः (formed by the Uṇadi affix हार्, हा = अन्त, added to the roots गण्ड and मण्ड) आलु । स्पृहयालुः । आच्य, स्पृहयाच्यः, शृहयाच्यः ॥ इत्नुः—स्तनायत्नुः ॥ इष्णुः—पोषयिष्णुः ॥ Thus sūtra could have been well dispensed with; for the इ of णि would take guṇa ए which will be changed to अ॒ by the rules of Sandhi, before these affixes. This substitution of अ॒ for इ is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra however, because there इ could not be changed to अ॒ by any sandhi-rules.

ल्प्यपि लघुपूर्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्प्यपि, लघु पूर्वात् (नेः अय ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ल्प्यपि परतो लघुपूर्वादुत्तरस्य नेरवावेशो भवति ।

56. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the Absolutive affix ल्प्यण्, when the vowel preceding the इ is light.

Thus प्रशामच्य गतः, संशमच्य गतः, प्रवेभिश्च ग्रगच्य ॥ But प्रपात्य गतः: the vowel preceding the इ being long. Hence VI. 4. 51 applies. The shortening, the

elision of अ and the elision of अ should not be considered as asiddha, as their place of operation is not the same. Thus शम् + जित् = शमि ; this आ is shortened by VI. 4. 92, and we have शमि ॥ This shortening is not to be considered as asiddha, for if asiddha, there being no laghu pūrva, the present rule would not apply. Similarly वेभित्य is the Intensive root, its अ is elided by VI. 4. 49, this elision is not considered as asiddha, if it were asiddha, the इ of भि would not be laghu. Similarly the elision of अ in गण which is a root which ends in अ, (see Dhātupāṭha Churadi 309), is not considered as asiddha for similar reasons.

विभाषा, ५५पः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप उत्तरस्य ऐर्थ्ये परतो विभाषा उत्तरेणो भवति ॥

57. अय् is optionally substituted for the इ of जि before the affix ल्पय्, after the verb आप् ॥

Thus आपद्य or आप्य गतः ॥ This however does not apply to the आप् substitute for इह्, as अभ्यास्य गतः (VI. I. 48, VII. 3. 36). The maxim of Pratipadokta applies here.

युप्लुचोद्दीर्घशङ्क्लसि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-प्लुचोः, दीर्घः, छन्दसि, (ल्पयि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यु प्लुरत्यत्योर्ल्ये परतम्भन्दसि विषये सीर्चो भवति ॥

58. In यु and प्लु, long is substituted for उ, before ल्पय् in the Veda.

Thus शन्यनुपूर्वं विश्वूय ; यथा यो शक्षिणा परिश्वूय ॥ Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe संश्वय, आश्वय in the secular literature.

क्षियः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, (दीर्घः ल्पयि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियम् सीर्चो भवति ल्पयि परतः ॥

59. A long is substituted for the इ of क्षि before ल्पय् ॥

As प्रक्षीय, उपक्षीय ॥

निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम् अ-ण्यदर्थे, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यतः कृत्यस्थार्यो भावकर्मणी तान्यामन्यत वा निष्ठा तस्यां क्षियो सीर्चो भवति ।

60. A long is substituted for the इ of क्षि before the Participle in क्त्, when it has not the sense of the future Passive Participle in ण्यत् ॥

The force of ण्यत् is to denote condition (Impersonal action) and object (passive). When the Past Participle has not the force of ण्यत्, the vowel of क्षि is lengthened. Thus आक्षीणः, प्रक्षीणः, परिक्षीणः all used in the active sense. The क्त् is added to the Intransitive क्षि to denote the agent (III. 4. 72). Thus प्रक्षीणमिदं देवदत्तस्य 'this is the spot where Devadatta perished'. Here क्त् is used with a Locative force (III. 4. 76). Why do we say 'not having the force of

च्छन् ?' Observe अक्षितमसिमामेसेष्टः ॥ Here त is added with the force of condition, and akshitam means 'imperishable'. The vowel not being lengthened the त is not changed to न (VIII. 2. 46).

वा ऽक्षोशदैन्ययोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आक्रोश-दैन्ययोः (क्षियः दीर्घः विभाषा) वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोश गम्यमाने रेत्ये च कियो निष्ठायामण्डर्ये वा शीर्णे भवति ॥

61. The long is optionally substituted, for the इ of क्षि, before the Past Participle त्त, not having the sense of the Future Passive Participle च्छन्, when the word means 'imprecation' or 'a miserable plight'.

Thus किलयुरेषि or शीणायुरेषि, सितकः or शीणकः, कितोवं तपस्थी, शीणोऽवं तपस्थी ॥ When not having the sense of cursing or miserable condition, we have one form only, as शीणभन्नः ॥

स्यसिच्च-सीयुट्तासिषु भावकर्मणोऽपदेश ऽज्ञनप्रहृशां वा चिष्वदित् च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-सिच्च-सीयुट्त-तासि, भाव-कर्मणोः, उपदेशो, अच्छ-हन्-प्रह-हृशाम्, वा, चिष्ववत्, इद्, च, ॥

दृतिः ॥ स्य तिन् सीयुट्त तासि इत्येतेषु भावकर्मविषयेषु परत उपदेशो ऽज्ञतानामङ्गानां हन् प्रह हृश् इत्येतेषां च चिष्ववत् तथा इडाग्नो भवति । वा चिष्ववत् तथा इडाग्नो भवति ।

62. Before the affixes स्य (First Future and Conditional), सिच्च (S-Aorist), सीयुट्त (Benedictive) and तासि (the Praphrastic 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) प्रह् and (4) हृश् are treated optionally in the same way as in the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिष्व, and when so treated, they have the augment इद् ॥

The augment इद् is, of course, added to the affixes स्य, सिच्च, सीयुट्त and तासि and not to the stem. What are the special objects served by this atidēsa aphorism? They are given in the following verse :—

Kārikā चिष्वद् दुर्जिर्युक् च इत्येभ घस्यं
शीर्णेषोक्तो यो मितां वा चिरीति ।
इद् चासिष्वत्तेन मे लुप्यते णि-
र्नित्यमावं वलनिमित्तोऽविधाती ॥

First :—The Vṛiddhi takes place as in चिष्व (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 श्

(Bhuādi 809 to 873) optionally lengthen their vowel (VI. 4. 93), and lastly the addition of the augment इ॒ 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 इ॒ is added irrespective of the conditions and limitations of VII. 2. 35 &c.

(1) Roots ending in a vowel in the Dhātūpāṭha with the affix स्य as, चिः—चायिष्यते or चेष्यते, अचायिष्यते or अचेष्यते ॥ So also with शा, as, शायिष्यते or शास्यते, अशायिष्यते or अशास्यते ॥

In शमि there are three forms, the two शामिष्यते or शमिष्यते and अशामिष्यते being given by the elision of the causative ending by VI. 4. 51, in spite of the इ॒ augment which is considered as asiddha : and शम् being a root of मित् class, the श is lengthened optionally by VI. 4. 93. The forms शमयिष्यते and अशमयिष्यते are given when not treated as चिष्, the causative is retained, the penultimate being shortened by VI. 4. 92. With the affix सिच्—अचायिषाताम् or अचेषाताम्, अशायिषाताम्, or अशेषाताम् and अशामिषाताम् or अशमिषाताम् ॥ With the affix सीयुह—चायिषीह or चेषीह, शायिषीह or शासीह and शामिषीह or शमिषीह ॥ With the affix शासि :—चायिसा or चेता, शायिसा or शाता, शामिसा or शमिसा ॥ The चिष् aorist model of these roots is अचायि, अशायि (VII. 3. 33), and अशामि (VII. 3. 34) or अशामि (VI. 4. 93).

(2) इ॒ :—Fut. शानिष्यते or हनिष्यते; Con. अशानिष्यते or अहनिष्यते, Aor. अचानिषाताम् or अवायिषाताम् and अहसाताम् (II. 4. 44); Ben. शानिषीह or वधिषीह ; Per. Fut. शानिता or हन्ता ॥ The चिष् model is अधानि ॥

(3) महः—Fut. माहिष्यते or महीष्यते Con. अमाहिष्यते or अमहीष्यते; Aor. अमाहिषाताम् or अमर्हिषाताम् (अम्रहिषाताम्) ? ; Ben. माहिषीह or (माहीषीह) ? महीषीह, Per. Fut. माहिता or महिता ॥ The lengthening of मी takes place by VII. 2. 37. The चिष् model is अमाहि ॥

(4) इ॒शः—Fut. शर्षिष्यते or द्रश्यते, Con. अशर्षिष्यते or अद्रश्यते ; Aor. अशर्षिषाताम् or अद्रश्याताम् ; Ben. शर्षिषीह or द्रसीह ; Per. Fut. शर्षिता or द्रटा (दर्टा) ? ॥ The चिष् model is अशर्षि ॥

Why do we say before स्य &c ? Observe चेष्यते, शास्यते ॥ Why in the Impersonal and Passive ? Observe चेष्यते and शास्यते ॥ Why in Upadeśa ? The rule applies to कारिष्यते also, though काऽ (after guṇa change) ends in a consonant, but in its original enunciation it ends with a vowel. The atideśa rule being enunciated with regard to stems (aṅga), prevents the substitutions of हन् and इ॒श् and इ॒शः ॥ Thus हनिष्यते, शानिष्यते, एष्यते or आयिष्यते, अचेष्यते or अध्यायिष्यते ॥ The substitutes व॒श or गा (II. 4. 42, 43, 45, 50) do not come according to the Kāśikā, when these roots are treated as चिष् ॥

दीडो युडचि कूडिति ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीडः, युट्, अचि, कूडिति ॥
बूडिः ॥ सीडंयुडागमो भवति अजारो कूडिति प्रत्यं परतः ॥

63. युत् is the augment after दीर्घ, of an अर्धाधातुका affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus उपदिशीते, उपदिशीते and उपदिशीते ॥ The Personal ending is किं by I. 2. 5. शीर्घः 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 उपशनम् ॥

आतो लोप इटि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, लोपः, इटि, च, ॥
भूतिः ॥ इकारात्मर्जवातुके कृडिति भाकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य लोपे भवति ॥

64. The final आ of a root is elided before an अर्धाधातुका affix with the augment इत् as well as when it begins with a vowel and has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus पिष्य and तस्थिष्य ॥ Here the affix has the इत् augment. पष्टुः, पसुः, तस्थितुः, तस्थुः ॥ Here the affixes are किं by I. 2. 5 गोहः, कम्बलहः with the affix क् (III. 2. 3). So also प्रशा (fem), प्रथा (fem) by अह III. 3. 106. Before सर्वाधातुका affixes, we have वान्ति, वान्ति, व्यत्ते and व्यत्ते ॥ The two latter are the Imperfect 1st Pers. Sing. Atn. of ए and ला with the affix इ (इत्). When it does not begin with a vowel, we have ग्लावते, शसीते ॥

इत्यति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, यति, ॥
भूतिः ॥ इकार आतेषो भवति भाकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य वति परतः ॥

65. The final आ of a stem is changed into ई before the कृत-affix यत् ॥

Thus ऐवम्, धेयम्, हेयम्, and स्तेवम् ॥ The Guṇa takes place according to VII. 3. 84.

शुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शु, मा, स्था, गा, पा, जहाति साम्, हलि ॥

भूतिः ॥ युसंज्ञकानामङ्गानां मा स्था गा पा जहाति सा इत्येतेषां हलाशे कृडिति प्रत्यये परत इकारप्रदेशो भवति ॥

66. For the final of the roots of the form of दा and धा (शु), as well as for that of the roots मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा (जहाति) and सा (सो), there is substituted ई before an अर्धाधातुका affix beginning with a consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus दीर्घते, धीर्घते with अक्, देशीर्घते, देशीर्घते with अह् ॥ So also मीर्घते मेमीर्घते, स्थीर्घते, तेष्ठीर्घते, भीर्घते, जेगीर्घते, अध्यगीट, अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत, पीर्घते, पेर्घते, हीर्घते, जेहीर्घते, अवर्गीर्घते, अवर्गीर्घते ॥

The पा 'to protect' of Adadi (47) is not meant here. be come the

vikarana शृङ् is elided in roots of that class. Its form will be शयते. It is Bhvādi शा 'to drink' that is taken here. So also हा-जिहीते is not to be taken here. Its form is शयते ॥

Why do we say 'before a consonant'? Observe इत्तुः, इतुः ॥ Here had ह्ल् not been used in the sūtra, the आ of शा would be replaced by ई by the present sūtra, even before a vowel-affix अतुः o उत्; for the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64 is prevented by this subsequent sūtra teaching ई substitution. In fact, the employment of the word ह्ल् in the aphorism is a jñāpaka that the rule of vīpratishedha (I.4.2) applies in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22), and the lopa of आ is superseded by the present rule substituting ई instead. So also शता and धाता before non-किंत् and non-किन्त् affixes.

परिणिः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, लिङ्गः, ॥

शृतिः ॥ शुभास्यागापाजहातिसामङ्गानां लिङ्गं परते एकारादेशो भवति ॥

67. ए is substituted for the आ of the above roots in the Benedictive mood Active.

Thus देयात्, देवात्, देवात्, स्येवात्, गेयात्, देयात् and भवसेयात् ॥ Before non-किंत् and non-किन्त् we have शसीट् and धासीट् ॥ By the word लिङ्गं is here meant the आरीलिङ्ग or the Precative mood; the Personal endings of which mood are अर्धाधातुका by III. 4. 116. More-over by III. 4. 104 the Parasmaipada affixes only of the Benedictive are किंत्, so the present rule does not apply to the Atmanepada affixes of the Precative.

वा अन्यस्य संयोगादेः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्य-संयोग, आदेः, (लिङ्गः) (आतः) ॥

शृतिः ॥ शुभादिभ्यो अन्यस्य संयोगादेशाकारान्तस्य वा एकारादेशो भवति लिङ्गं 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, ल्लेयात् or ल्लायात्, but only स्येयात् (VI. 4. 66), and यायात् (not commencing with a double consonant). The phrase किंत्सि is understood here and therefore the rule applies to Parasmaepada affixes (III. 4. 104). Thus ग्लासीट् in Atmanepada. The root considered as an aṅga, should consist of a double consonant, therefore in निर्वायात् (from निर्+या), व् is not to be considered as a root having a double consonant, for व् is no part of the aṅga, but of the preposition.

न ल्यपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल्यपि, शुभास्यागापाजहातिसाम ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपि प्रत्ये परतो शुनास्थागापाजहातिसां यदुक्त तत्र ॥

69. The ई substitution for आ under rule VI. 4. 66, does not apply when the absolute affix ल्यष् follows शुमा, स्था, गा, पा, हा and सा ॥

Thus प्रशाय, प्रधाय, प्रमाय, प्रस्थाय, प्रगाय, प्रपाय, प्रहाय and अवसाय ॥ The affix स्वप् as the substitute of क्त्वा, is a किन् affix by I. I. 56.

मयतेरिदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ मयतेः, इत्, अन्यतरस्याम्, (ल्यपि) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ मयतेरिकारावेशो वा भवति ॥

70. ई may optionally be substituted for the आ of मा, (मयति) before ल्यष् ॥

Thus अपमित्य or अपमष्ट ॥

लुङ्गलङ्गलङ्गक्षवदुदाच्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्ग, लङ्ग, लङ्गक्षु, अट्, उदाच्तः (अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङ्ग लङ्ग लङ्ग इत्येतेषु परतोऽस्थाजागमो भवति, उदाच्तश्च स भवति ॥

71. अट् acutely accented is the augment of the verbal stem in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus अकार्षित्, अहर्षित्, अकर्णेत्, अहरत् and अकरण्यित्, अहरिष्यित् ॥

आडजादीनाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्, अच्-आदीनाम्, (उदाच्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आडागमो भवत्यजारीनां लुङ्गलङ्गलङ्गुषु परत उदाच्तश्च स भवति ॥

72. आट् acutely accented is the augment of a verbal stem beginning with a vowel, in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus ऐक्षिट्, ऐक्षत्, ऐक्षिष्यत्; औज्जीत्, औज्जत्, औडिज्यत् ॥ ऐहिट्, ऐहत् and ऐहिष्य औम्भीत्, औम्भत्, and औम्भिष्यत् ॥ The Vriddhi takes place by VI. I. 90.

The Passive Imperfect (लङ्ग) of यज्, वप् and वह are ऐज्यत्, औप्यत् and औहत् 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 ऐज्यत्, उप्यत्, and उहत् 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 अक्, being nitya, is added and precedes in order the augment, the latter being so far anitya; after अक् addition the roots assume a form in which we can add आट् ॥ Why आट् is considered anitya depends on the following maxim :—घाडान्तरस्व प्राप्तुवन् विधिरनित्यो भवति “when the word-form in reference to which a rule teaches something ; after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously would be different from what it was before that other rule had taken effect, then the former rule is not nitya.”

छन्दस्यपि हश्यते ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अपि, हश्यते, आद् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये आडागमो हश्यते । वत्र हि विहितस्ततोन्यवापि हश्यते ।

73. The आद् augment is found in the Veda also.

It is found there before the roots beginning with a vowel as well as before consonant roots. Thus आवः, आन्, and आयुनक् ॥ आदः is the Aorist of वृम्, the affix being elided by II. 4. 80. आनक् from नष् (II. 4. 80), and आयुनक् is the Imperfect of युम् ॥

न माङ्ग्योगे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, माङ्, योगे (लङ् लङ् लङ्क्षु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्ग्योगे लुङ्लङ्लङ्क्षु बहुनं तत्र भवति ॥

74. In connection with the prohibitive particle मा, the augment अद् or आद् is not added in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus मा भवान् कार्षीत्, मा भवान् हार्षीत्, मा स्म करोत्, मा स्व हरत्, मा भवानीहिट्मा, भवानीसिट्, मा स्म भवानीहत्, मा स्म भवानीक्षत् ॥

बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्ग्योगे ऽपि ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, अ माड योगे,
अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माङ्ग्योगे ऽपि बहुलमडातै भवतः अमाङ्ग्योगेपि न भवतः ॥

75. There is diversity in the Veda : the augment अद् or आद् is added even with मा, and sometimes not added even when there is no मा ॥

Thus in जनिष्ठ उपः (Rig X. 73. 1), कामशूनवीत् (Rig I. 53. 3) and काममर्वीत्; the augment is not added though there is no मा ॥ In मा वः सेवे परवीजान्यवास्तुः, मा अभिस्थाः, मा आवः, the augment is not elided, though the particle मा is added.

इर्यो रे ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इर्योः, रे, (बहुलं छन्दसि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इरे इत्यतस्य छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रे इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

76. रे is diversely substituted for इरे in the Veda.

Thus कं स्विद्धं प्रथमं रप्ते आपः (Rig X. 82. 5) या स्व परिस्प्रे ॥ In इरे, the आ of आ 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 परमात्मा ध्येयग्निर्माणि चक्रिरे ॥ Here इर् augment is first added to रे after the सेद् roots and the affix thus becomes इरे, then रे is substituted again for this इरे by this सूत्रा, thus the affix is brought back to its original condition. To show this repetition—रे—इरे—रे the सूत्रा has exhibited the word इर्योः in the dual number.

अचि इनुधातुभुवां च्योरियङ्गुवडौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, इनु, धातु, भुवाम्,
च्योः, इयङ्, उवडौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुप्रत्ययान्तस्याङ्गस्य धातोरिवर्णोवर्णान्तस्य शु इत्येतस्य इयद्वद् इत्येतावारेशौ भवते प्रचि परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयद्वद् प्रकरणेतन्वावीनां छन्दसि बहुलषुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

77. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the ऊ of ऊ, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final ई, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of औ, the इय् (for ई or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

Thus आप्नुवन्ति, राधनुवन्ति, शक्नुवन्ति, from roots of the 5th class. चिकित्यतुः शुलुपतुः, ह लुः; नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, लुवः and भुवौ and भुवः ॥

Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe आप्नुयात्, शक्नुयात्, राधनुयात् ॥ Why "of अनु &c."? Observe लश्यै, लश्याः, वध्यै, वध्याः ॥ Why "of ई and ऊ"? Observe चक्तुः, चक्तुः where the vowel is चक् ॥

Vart :—The Guṇa (VII. 3. 84) and Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 115) however take place to the supersession of इवङ् and उवङ्: as from चि—चयनम् and चावकः, मू—लवनम् and लावकः, with स्युद् and प्वुल् ॥

Vart :—In the Chandas there is deversely the substitution of इवङ् and उवङ् in the case of तन् &c. Thus तन्वं पुषेम or तनुं पुषेम ॥ विषुं पुषेम, स्वर्गो लोकः, सुवर्गो लोकः, इयम्बकं यजामहे, चियम्बकं यजामहे ॥

अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे ॥७८॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासस्य, अ, सवर्णे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्येवर्णोवर्णान्तस्यासवर्णे उचित्परते इवङ् उवङ् इत्येतावारेशौ भवतः ॥

78. इयङ् and उवङ् are substituted for the ई and ऊ of a reduplicate, before a non-homogenous vowel.

Thus इयेष, उवोष, इयर्ति, (VII. 4. 77) but इष्टुः and ईषुः, ऊष्टुः and ऊुः before homogenous vowels and इयाय and उवाय before a non-vowel.

खियाः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ खियाः, (अचि इयङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वीइयतस्याजारौ प्रत्यये परतः इयडारेशौ भवति ॥

79. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As श्वी, खियौ, खियः; but श्वीणम् the न् being added by a subsequent rule, supersedes this rule. The making this a separate sūtra is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

वा अमशासोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अम, शासोः (इयङ् खियाः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अमि शति परतः खिया वा उयडारेशौ भवति ॥

80. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of strī is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शास् (अस्) ॥

Thus श्वी पश्य or खियं पश्य, स्त्रीः पश्य or खियः पश्यः ॥

इणो यण् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, यण्, (अङ्गस्य अचि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इणोङ्गस्य यणारेशौ भवति अचि परतः ॥

81. For the इ of the root इण् (पति) is substituted a semivowel (अ), before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus यन्ति, यन्तु, आयन् ॥ This supersedes इयह् substitution, and is itself superseded by VII. 2. 115, and VII. 3. 84 which ordain Vṛiddhi and Guṇa : on the maxim मध्ये उपवादाः पूर्णं विधीन वाधन्ते, नोत्तरात् ॥ "Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them." So we have अयनम् and आयकः ॥

एतनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अनेकाचः, अ संयोगपूर्वस्य, (धातोः अचिं प्रत्यये) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरवयवः संयोगः पूर्णो वसाहिर्वर्णान् भवति असावसंयोगपूर्वस्तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचोऽपि परतो व्याप्तिशो भवति ॥

82. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

The word धातोः is understood here, and the word संयोग is qualified by that : i. e. the इ or ई which is not preceded by conjunct consonant forming part of the root is called an asamyoga pūrva इ ॥ Thus निन्यतुः, निन्युः, उन्यौ, उन्यः, आन्यौ, आन्यः ॥ All the above examples are of the soot नी preceded by the gati prepositions नि and उत्, or a Kāraka-upapada आम् ॥ The rule will not apply however if the preceding word is neither a gati nor a Kāraka, but an adjective, as परमनी, its dual and plural will be परमन्यौ and परमन्यः by इयह् ॥ Why do we say 'of इ or ई'? Observe लुलुभतुः and लुलुवः from लुलु which ending in ऊ takes उवह् substitution. This is also shown in the next sūtra. Why do we say the stem should be of more than one syllable? Observe नी; its dual and plural are निन्यौ and निन्यः by इयह् ॥ Why do we say the इ or ई should not be preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe ववक्री d. ववक्रियौ pl. ववक्रियः by इयह् ॥ 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 न्, yet the latter is not part of the root, one न् 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 अङ्ग ॥

ओः सुषि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, सुषि, (यण्, धातोः, असंयोगपूर्वस्य, अनेकाचः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरवयवः संयोगः पूर्णो वसाहिर्वर्णान् भवति तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचोऽजारो षुषि परतो व्याप्तिशो भवति ॥

83. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel अ is substituted for the final

अः of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in **अः** not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short अ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलपू 'a sweeper':—d. खलप्वौ, pl. खलप्वः; so also शतस्त्रौ and शतस्त्रः, and सकृलूः dual सकृल्लौ and सकृल्लृः ॥ But लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः before tense-affixes, (non—**ष्ट्**); लू—लुं, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only), and कटपू—कटप्वौ, कटप्वः (because अः is preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root). The rule does not apply if the first member is not a Gati or a Kāraka word: as परमनूः—परमलुवौ and परमलुवः ॥

वर्षाङ्गवश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षा भवः, अ, अचि सुषिय यण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाभू इयेतस्याजासै सुषिय परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उनर्भवेत्वन्तव्यम् ॥

84. अः is substituted for the अः of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभौ, वर्षाभ्वः ॥ वर्षाभू 'what is born in the rains, a kind of herb.' This is an exception to the subsequent rule.

Vart:—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when हन्, कार and उनर् precede भूः; as हन्म्बौ, हन्म्बः, उनभ्वौ, उनभ्वः, कारभ्वौ (काराभौ), कारभ्वः (काराभ्वः) ॥

न भूसुधियोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, सुधियोः, यण्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भू सुधी इयेतयोर्यणादेशो न भवति ॥

85. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभू—प्रतिभौ, प्रतिभुवः; सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥ VI. 4. 77.
छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा, भूसुधियोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये भू सुधी इयेतयोरुभयथा दश्यते 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 विभव, विभुवर्ष, तुष्यः and तुषियः; वनेषु चिरं विर्भं विर्षे, विर्षे विभुवर्ष, सुष्यो इव्यमग्ने, सुषियो इव्यमग्ने ॥
हुश्नुवोः सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हुश्नु वोः, सार्वधातु के, अङ्गस्य, अनेकाचः, अरसयोग, पूर्वस्य, अचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हु इयेतस्याङ्गस्य अनुप्रत्ययान्तस्यानेकाचो इसयोगपूर्वस्याजासै सार्वधातुके परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

87. The semi-vowel अः is substituted for the अः of हु, and for that of त्रु (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 ह—शहति, शहतुः अश्वहन्, so also with हु—as मुन्वन्ति, मुन्वन्तु, अमुन्वन् ॥ Why do we say "of हु and हु formed stems"? Observe योशुवति, येशुवति, 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 Sârvadhâtuka affix, unless the Intensive roots with the elision of यङ् be taken. Nor can we get examples from the Chandas, for the preceding rule applies only to ârdhadhâtuka affixes. Why do we say before a Sârvadhâtuka? Observe शहतुः, शहुः (VI. 4. 77). So also not in अमुवन्ति and ममुवन्ति as the उ is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

भुवो बुग्लुङ्गलिटोः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, बुक्, लुक्, लिटोः, अचि, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ भुवो बुग्लग्नो भवति लुडि लिटि आजासौ परतः ॥

88. भू gets the augment उ (बुक्) before the tense-affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect, when beginning with a vowel.

Thus अभूवन्, अभूवम्; बभूवः, बभूवतुः, बभूवुः ॥
उदुपधाया गोहः ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, उपधायाः, गोहः, अङ्गस्य, अचि, प्रत्यये ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ गोहो उङ्गस्य उपधाया उकारादेशो भवति अजासौ प्रत्यये परतः ॥

89. For the penultimate ओ of the gunated stem गोह् (from गुह्), there is substituted ऊ before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus नि गूहति, निगूहकः, साधुनिगूहिन्, निगूहम्, निगूहन्ति, गूहे कर्त्ते ॥ Why do we say 'penultimate'? So that the substitution should not apply anywhere 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, निजुग्लतुः, निजुग्लुः ॥ This change will not take place before the affixes beginning with a consonant; as निगोदा, निगोतुम् ॥ Some say, the word is exhibited as गोह् in order to prohibit the अय् substitution of ओ before स्वप् ॥ As निगाहि + स्वप् = निगूहा (VI. 4. 56 not applied), the ऊ substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) would have brought in अय्, गूह् being considered as a word having a light vowel for its penultimate. According to Kâsikâ the ऊ substitution, however, is not asiddha, as their places of operation are different.

दोपो णौ ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ दोपः, णौ, उदुपधायाः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ रंषप उपधाया उकार 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 गीह, may be given for the root दुष्य being exhibited as दोष in the sūtra. When not followed by णि, we have दोषो वर्जते ॥

वा चित्तविरागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, चित्त-विरागे, उदुपधायाः णौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चित्तविकारार्थं दोष उपधाया वा डकारादेशो भवति जौ 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 हस्तः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिताम्, हस्तः, णौ, उपधायाः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मितो धात्वा घटास्यो मित इत्यवमादयो ये प्रतिपादितास्तेषामुपधाया हस्तो भवति जौ परतः ॥

92. The roots having an indicatory अ, retain their penultimate short vowel before the causative णि ॥

The मित् roots are घटादि a subdivision of Bhwādi (800 to 873), and all other roots that end in अम् as शम् and तम् of Divādi class. Thus घटयति, व्यथयति, जनयति, रजयति, शमयति, ज्ञपयति ॥ Some read the anuvṛtti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra into this. This will then be a limited option only (vyavasthita-vibhāshā). The forms उत्क्रामयति and संक्रामयति are thus explained.

93. Optionally a long may be substituted for the penultimate of the causative of मित् roots, before the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिण् (इ), and before the Absolutive affix णमुल् (अम्) ॥

चिण्णमुलोर्हीर्धोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, णमुलोः, दीर्घः, अन्य-
तरस्याम्, णौ, मितः उपधायाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चिण्णपरं णमुलं च जौ परतो मितामङ्गानामुपधाया शीर्धो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Thus अशमि or अशामि, अतमि or अतामि with चिण्; and शमंशमम्, and शामंशामै ; शमंतमम् or शामंतामम् with णमुल् ॥ Why have we used the word शीर्ध in the sūtra? The rule does not teach merely the *optional shortening*. So that in the alternative of short, we have अशमि and in the other alternative we have अशामि, so that there is long. For had शीर्ध not been used, it would have taught optional short only, i. e. it would be a द्वन्द्वविकल्पविधि only, and there will be this difficulty :—when the causative of causative is taken, as in शमयन्तं प्रयुह्नने, there would not be lengthening in the alternative. Because the lopa substitute of णि would be sthānivat : therefore, the णि which would be followed by

विष or जपुल, would not have in it the मित् aṅga, because the first वि intervenes between the शाम् aṅga and the चित् and जपुल affix, and that वि which is preceded by a मित् aṅga is not followed by चित् and जपुल, because the second वि (though elided) intervenes. Therefore, there would not be *optional* short here, but *compulsory* short, by the preceding sūtra and no lengthening. The rule, therefore, teaches the optional substitution of the *long* (सीर्ष). For there arises no such anomaly in this view. For taking this rule to be a सीर्षविधि, the lopa-substitution of वि would *not* be sthānivat, by the express prohibition contained in I. 1. 58, and so we can get forms of double causatives. But if we take it a इत्यविकल्पविधि, then the lopa-adēśa of वि being sthānivat, would prevent getting the alternative long form. Therefore the word सीर्ष is used in the sūtra to make this rule a सीर्षविधि, and prevent sthānivat-bhāvā. Thus take the causative of शम्, which will be शामि by the last sūtra. Take its Intensive with अह्, शामि + अह् which causes doubling by VI. 1. 9 = शामि शामि + अह् = शामामि + अह् (VII. 4. 60) = शं शामि + अह् (तुक् or nasal being added to the abhyāsa by VII. 4. 85) = शंशामि + अह् = शंशम् + अ (VI. 4. 51) = शंशम्. Add मित् to this ie. make the causative of the Intensive. शंशम् + अ + इ ॥ Then the अ of अ is elided by VI. 4. 48 = शं शम् + अ + इ. Then इ is elided by VI. 4. 49 = शंशम् + इ = शंशामि ॥ This शंशामि is the causative root of the Intensive of the causative शम् ॥ Now add चित् or जपुल to this root; and we get two forms short and long अशंशामि or अशंशामि with चित् and शंशम् or शंशाम् with जपुल ॥ The long forms could not have been obtained had this not been a सीर्षविधि, for then the lopa-adēśa of मित् being sthānivat would have prevented the application of सीर्ष ॥ The roots शम् and शम् (both Divādi) ending in अ do not ever lengthen the root vowel before चित् and जपुल by VII. 3. 34. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to the simple roots. The derivative causative roots of these, namely, शामि — शमवति, शामि — शमवति, optionally lengthen the penultimate before these affixes. Thus शामि + चित् = शम् + चित् (the इ of वि being elided by VI. 4. 51) = शामि or शामि (with the augment अ = अशामि or अशामि) ॥ This rule applies when the Causative root takes these affixes. In fact the mention of the word सीर्ष implies as much, otherwise the sūtra could have been made without this word, for the word 'optionally' would have brought in both 'short' and 'long'. Thus in शमवत्तं प्रयुडन्ते 'he causes another to make quiet,' we add वि (the Causative sign.), to the Causative root शामि, as शामि + वि = शम् + इ (VI. 4. 51) = शामि, the lopādēśa here is not sthānivat for the purposes of *lengthening* (सीर्षविधि) the अ of शम् (I. 1. 58) ॥ From this शामि with चित् we get अशामि, and with जपुल we get शाम् ॥ But we cannot get the short forms, by taking the other alternative, as the lopādēśa will then be sthānivat. Hence the necessity of the word सीर्ष in the sūtra. Thus the चित् and जपुल forms of the Causative of the Causative (i. e. the double Causative) of शम् are अशामि or अशामि ; शामेशम् or शामेशाम् and from the form शंशमवति, we have अशंशामि or अशंशामि, शंशमेशम् or शंशामेशम्.

शामच् ॥ These latter are from the Causative stems of the Intensive root. The sign वृक् of the Intensive has been elided (VI. 4. 49) as shown above.

खचि हस्वः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ खचि, हस्वः, (उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ खच्यरे णी परतो हस्तो भवत्यङ्गस्योपधायाः ॥

94. The penultimate of the Causative stem is shortened before the affix खच् ॥

Thus द्विष्टल्पः, परंतपः, पुरंदरः ॥ See III. 2. 29 and 41.

हलादो निष्ठायाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलादः, निष्ठायाम्, (हस्वः उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादो अङ्गस्योपधाया हस्तो भवति निष्ठायां परतः ॥

95. The penultimate of the Causative of छद् (छादि) is shortened before the Participle affixes क्त and क्तवतु ॥

Thus प्रहृष्टः, प्रहृष्टवान्, but प्रहृष्टवति before non-nishṭha. The rule applies also when त्विन् follows as प्रहृत्तिः ॥ This is done by splitting up the aphorism into two (1) हृष्टः (2) निष्ठायाम् ॥

छादेदेहं द्वयुपसर्गस्य ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छादेः, धे, अ द्वयुपसर्गस्य, (उपधायाः हस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छादेऽप्यस्थाद्वयुपसर्गस्य धमत्येष परत उपधाया हस्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहिपृथ्युपसर्गस्येति वन्नव्ययम् ॥

96. The penultimate of the Churādi छद् is shortened before the affix घ (III. 3. 118), when not preceded by two prepositions (or more).

As उरुछरः, पञ्चरः, इन्तच्छरः ॥ But समुपच्छादः with two prepositions. The same when preceded by more than two prepositions, as समुपातिच्छादः ॥ The elision of णी of छादि &c., by VI. 4. 51, should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) or sthānivat (I. 1. 57), otherwise there would be no *penultimate* to be shortened.

Vartī—The prohibition with regard to द्वि should be extended to numbers more than two.

इस्मन्त्रनिक्षु च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्, मन्, त्रन्, किषु, च, छादेः (उपधायाः हस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस्, मन्, त्रन्, किषु इत्येतेषु परतेषादेष्यभाया हस्तो भवति ।

97. The penultimate of छादि is shortened before the affixes इस्, मन्, त्रन् and किषु ॥

Thus छरिस्, छहमन् (neuter), छत्रम्, धामच्छत् and उपच्छत् ॥ The first three are Uṇādi affixes.

गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्षडित्यनङ्गि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम, हन, जन, खन, घसाम्, लोपः, क्षडिति अनङ्गि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन जन खन घस इत्येषामङ्गानामुपधाया लोपो भवत्येजासौ प्रत्येष क्षडित्यनङ्गि 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, जग्नुः, जप्तुः, जन्ते, जप्ताते, जप्तिरे, चखन्तुः, चखतुः, जप्ततुः, जप्तुः, अप्तमनीमध्यन्तपितरः, ॥ किञ्चतीकिम्, गमनम्, हननम्, ॥ अनडीतिकिम्, अगमत्, अघसत्, ॥ अचीर्यत्, 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 ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनि, पत्योः, छन्दसि, (क्रिंति उपधायाः लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनि पति इत्येतयोऽछन्दसि विश्वे उपधाया लोपे भवति अजाहौ क्रिंति प्रथये 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 वित्तिरे कवयः, शकुना इव पतिनः ॥ In secular language वित्तेनिरे, पेतिन् ॥ घसिभसोर्हलि च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ घसि, भसोः, हलि, च, (अचि क्रिंति) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घसि भस इत्येतयोऽछन्दसि उपधाया लोपे भवति हलाशावजाहौ च क्रिंति प्रथये 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 समिधमे सपीतिष्ठ मे, बधांते हरी धानाः ॥ समिधः is thus derived : किंत् is added to the root अह् ; then by II. 4. 39, घस् is substituted for अह् ; thus घस् + ति = घस + ति (अ being elided by the present sūtra) = घ + ति (त् being elided by VIII. 2. 26), then त् is changed to ध्, and घ to ग् and we have ग्धिः ॥ Then समाना ग्धिः = समिधः (समान changed to स VI. 3. 84). The word बधाम् is the Imperative of भस्, thus भस् + श्लु + ताम् = भ भस् + ताम् = भ श्लु + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = भश् + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = भ इ + धाम् = इद्धाम् ॥ 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 वप्सति = भस् + श्लु + ति = भ भस् + ताम् (VII. 1. 4) = वप्सति (VIII. 4. 55).

Why having an indicatory क् or ङ्? Observe अङ्गूर् वभस्ति ॥ The अ has been added into the aphorism by the Vārtikakāra.

हुश्लभ्यो हेष्ठिः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु-श्लभ्योः, हेः, ष्ठिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्माद् श्लन्ते भ्यशो नरस्य हलाशेषेः स्याने धिरादेशो भवति ।

101. After हु and after a consonant (with the exception of semi-vowels and nasals), ष्ठि is substituted for the

Imperative affix हि, when the latter does not take the augment इट् ॥

Thus इ—शुद्धिः; शूद्र consonants; भिद्—भिन्निः, छिद्—छिन्निः ॥ But प्रीणीहि, प्रीणीहि (VI. 4. 113) not ending in consonants. Why 'हि only'? Observe शुद्धतात् ॥ Why do we read the anuvṛitti of इलि into this स्त्रा? 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 रुद्धिः, स्वपिहि ॥ In the case of शुद्धतात्, भिन्नतात्, 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 सकृदतो विप्रसिद्धेष्ये ब्राह्मितं तद्वाख्यतंमव "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 अकृत् is added by V. 3. 71, हि substitution takes place, as भिन्नद्विकि, छिन्नद्विकि ॥ The maxim युनः प्रसङ्ग तद्वानात् सिद्धत् applies here:—"Occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had been previously superseded by a subsequent rule."

भुश्चणुपूरुष्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भु-श्चणु-पू-रु-इ-भ्यः, छन्दसि, हेर्दिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शु शृणु पू रु इ इत्यतेष्य उत्तरस्य हेर्दिरादेशो भवति उन्नति विश्वे ।

102. हि is substituted for हि in the Vedas, after भु, शृणु, पू, रु and इ ॥

As शुधी हविभिन्न, शृणुधी, गिरः, पूर्धि, उरुकृदुरुणकृ हि and अवावृष्टिः, ॥

In शृणुधी, the हि is not elided after the इ of शृ as it was required by VI. 4. 106, since the present aphorism specifically mentions it. The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. The forms other than शृणुहि are irregular; शृ इ being added *diversely* by III. 1. 85, and then elided diversely by बहुलं उन्नति II. 4. 73

आडितध्य ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग-इतः, च, हेर्दिः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अठितध्य हेर्दिरादेशो भवति ॥

103. हि is substituted for हि, when the tense-affix is not डित् ॥

Under III. 4. 88 हि is also वित् in the Vedas: and when it is वित्, it is not डित् by I. 2. 4. Thus रारन्धिः, यन्धिः and युवोधिः in the following सोमरारन्ध अस्मव्यं तज्ज्वरम्बव प्रथन्धिः, युवोध्यस्मज्जुहुराणमेनः:

Why do we say 'when it is not डित्'? Observe प्रीणीहि ॥ रारन्धिः is irregularly Paraśmaipada of रूप; the रूप being replaced by इलु, and the reduplicate lengthened as a Vedic form. The इ is not elided, by VI. 4. 37 as the affix is not डित् ॥ प्रथान्धिः is from यन्, the यन् is elided: and युवोधिः from यु (योति), the यो being replaced by इलु ॥

चिणो लुक् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिणः, लुक्, प्रत्ययस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चिण उत्तरस्य प्रत्ययस्य युग्मनवति ॥

104. The personal-endings are elided after चित्, the third person, singular Passive of the Aorist.

As अहारि, अलांदि, अकारि, अपार्वि ॥ So also अकारितमात्, अहारितमात्, here the elision of the personal affix त (III. i. 60) of the Aorist being considered as *asiddha*, the affixes तरप् and तम् are not elided: though if the sūtra were to be literally interpreted, *every affix* after चित्, ought to be elided. Or the word किंडति is understood here; so that किंतु and किंतु affixes of चित् are elided and not every affix.

अतो हेः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हेः, अहस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताश्चात्मातुन्तरस्य हेतुगमवति ॥

105. The Imperative affix हि is elided after a stem ending in short अ ॥

Thus पञ्च, पठ, गच्छ, धाव ॥ But युहि, हसि after stems ending in अ. Why do we say "short अ"? Observe लुनीहि, युनीहि (लुना + हि, the ē substitution by VI. 4. 113, should be considered *asiddha*), here हि is not elided after the long आ ॥

उत्थ प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, च, प्रत्ययात्, असंयोग पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारो यो इसंयोगपूर्वस्तत्त्वात्प्रत्ययादुत्तरस्य हेतुगमवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्थ प्रत्ययावित्त्वा उन्नति 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 इन् ॥ Thus चिनु, सुनु, कुरु ॥ Why after 'उ'? Observe लुनीहि, युनीहि ॥ Why do we say "उ being part of the vikaraṇa or affix"? Observe हसि, युहि, here उ is part of the root itself, and not of the vikaraṇa. Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe ग्रान्तुहि, राष्ट्रुहि, तश्चुहि ॥

Vart :—The elision of हि after the उ of the vikaraṇa उ and इन् is optional in the Vedas; as भातुनुहि यातुथानान्, चिनुहि यसपातेय, सेन मा भागिनं कृणुहि ॥

लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां स्वोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, मर्म्मोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयमुकारो इसंयोगपूर्वस्तत्त्वात्प्रत्ययस्यान्यतरस्यां लोपो भवति ॥

107. The उ of the vikaraṇa उ and इन्, where not preceded by a conjunct consonant, may be elided optionally before a personal ending beginning with म् or व् ॥

Thus सुन्वः or सुनुवः, सुन्मः, सुनुमः, सन्वः, सनुवः, सम्मः, सनुमः ॥ The उ must be-

long to the affix, and should not be part of the root. Therefore not in शुबः, शुमः ॥

Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe शश्वुबः, शश्वुमः only. Though the elision word लुक् was understood in this sūtra, the mention of लोप् indicates that the *final* is only to be elided, and not the whole affix लु ॥ It is a general maxim that the words लुक्, लु 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 शुनः &c., Moreover, in कुर्व and कुर्म formed by guṇa of कू, 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 करोते: ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, करोते:, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेस्तत्त्वं उकारप्रस्थयस्य बकारमकारार्थे प्रस्थये परतो निरवं लोपो भवति ॥

108. The elision of उ is invariable before च and म् in the case of कू (करोति).

Thus कुर्वः and कुर्मः ॥ Thus कू+उ+वः=कुर्+उ+वः (VI. 4. 110)=कुर्+०+वः (VI. 4. 108). Now the lopa being not sthānivat, when a vowel is to be lengthened (I. 1. 58), उ of कू should be lengthened by VIII. 2. 77. This contingency is prevented by VIII. 2. 79.

ये च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, लोपः नित्यंकरोते: ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारार्थे च प्रस्थये परतः करोतेस्तत्त्वोकारप्रस्थयस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

109. The affix उ of the stem कुर् is always elided before a personal ending beginning with a य ॥

Thus कुर्यात्, कुर्यात्म् and कुर्मः ॥ The augment शास्त् 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, कृद्धिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उकारप्रस्थयात्तत्त्वं करोतेकारस्य स्थाने उकार भावेणो भवति सार्वधातुके कृद्धिति परतः ।

110. Before a Sārvadhātuka affix with an indicative ए or उ, short उ is substituted for the य of कू (कर्+उ) when gunated.

Thus कू+उ+तस्=कर्+उ+तस्(VII. 3. 84)=कुर्+उ+तस्=कुरुतः (VI. 4. 110)
The तस् is डिन् by I. 2. 4. So also कुर्यन्ति, कर् ॥ Why do we say 'before a Sārvadhātuka'? So that the rule may apply to what was once a Sārvadhātuka, though no longer existent. Thus कुर् where the personal ending यि is elided, but it leaves its effect behind. The उ in उत् shows that this उ is not to be gunated by VII. 3. 86. When the affix is not किन् or डिन् we have करोति, करोषि and कराम (I. 2. 4).

इनसोरल्लोपः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन-असोः, अत-लोपः, सार्वधातुके कृद्धिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थास्तभाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कृद्धिति परतः ।

111. Before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix, the आ of आ and अस् is elided.

इन् is the characteristic of the roots of the Rudhâdi class, while अस् is the root itself. Thus रुधः; रुधति, भिन्नः, भिन्नन्ति; So also of असः—स्तः, सन्ति ॥ But भिन्नि and अस्ति before non—कित् and non—डित् affixes. इन् + अस् ought to be इनस्, instead of that we have इनस् in the sûtra. The पररूप single substitution is an irregularity.

इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इना-अभ्यस्तयोः, आतः, लोपः सार्वधातुके कडिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मा इत्येतस्याभ्यस्तानां चाङ्गानामाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कडिति परतः ।

112. Before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix beginning with a vowel, the long आ of आ (the vikaraṇa of the 9th class) and of the reduplicate stems is elided.

Thus लुनते, लुनताथ्, अलुनत ; भिन्नते, भिन्नताथ्, संज्ञिहते, संज्ञिहताथ् and समज्ञिहत ॥ Why do we say 'of इना and the reduplicates'? Observe आन्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why 'of long आ'? Observe विभ्रति ॥ Why 'before कित् and डित्'? Observe अलुनात्, अजहात् ॥

ई हल्यधोः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, हलि, अ-धो (इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः सार्वधातुके कडिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान्त्नानामङ्गानामभ्यस्तानां च शुशर्जितानामात ईकारादेशो भवति हलादो सार्वधातुके कडिति परतः ॥

113. Before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix beginning with a consonant, the आ of आ and of the reduplicate stems is replaced by ई, except when the root is इ or ई (ए) ॥

Thus लुनीतः, उनीतः, लुनीयः, उनीयः, लुनीते and उनीते ॥ Of reduplicates we have भिन्नीते, भिन्नीये, भिन्नीष्वे, संज्ञिहीते, संज्ञिहीये, संज्ञिहीष्वे ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe लुनन्ति, भिन्नते ॥ Why with the exception of ए? Observe इतः, धतः ॥ So also लुनाति and जहाति before non-कित् and non-डित् affixes.

इहरिद्रस्य ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत, हरिद्रस्य, (हलिसार्वधातुकेकडिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरिद्रातेर्हलादो सार्वधातुके कडिति परत ईकारादेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकथ ॥ शरिद्रातेरार्धधातुके लोपो वन्नन्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सिद्ध ग्रन्थविधौ भवतीति वन्नन्यम् ॥

Kârikâ ॥ न शरिद्रात्वके लोपो शरिद्राणे च नेष्यते ।

विशरिद्रासतीत्येके विशरिद्रिष्टीति वा ॥

वा० ॥ अयतन्यां वेति वन्नन्यम् ॥

114. ई is substituted for the आ of शरिद्रा before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus शरिद्रितः, शरिद्रियः, शरिद्रिवः, शरिद्रिष्वः ॥ But शरिद्रति before a vowel affix (VI. 4. 112) and शरिद्राति before a non-डित् affix,

Vart :—The final of इरिद्रा is elided before an Ārdhadhātuka affix.
Vart :—And this elision should be considered as siddha, in applying rules relating to affixes. Thus शरद्रा by loosing आ becomes इरिद्रा, and we should apply those affixes which would come after a form like 'daridrā', and not what would have come after a form like 'daridrā'. Thus च comes after roots ending in long आ (III. 1. 141) : but this affix would not be applied here, but the general affix भञ्ज (III. 1. 134). Thus इरिद्रार्ति = इरिद्रा : ||

Kārikā :—The elision does not take place in the forms शरिद्रावक and शरिद्राप, and the Desiderative may be either विशरिद्रासति or विशरिद्रिष्ठाति || Siddhānta Kaumudi gives the following rule : "आ of इरिद्रा should be considered as elided when applying an Ārdhadhātuka affix, but optionally so before लुह (Aorist), and not at all before सत् (Desiderative), अवृल and ल्यट्" ||

Vart :—Optionally so in the Aorist (adyatana-past) as, अशरिद्रीत् or अशरिद्रासीत् || The latter form is evolved by VII. 2. 73 and elision of सित् || The form शरिद्रस्य in the sūtra is Vedic, the root being shortened from शरिद्रा to शरिद्रा ||

भियो अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (इतहलि कूडिति सार्वधातु के) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्यतस्यान्वयतरस्यामिकारारेणो भवति हलाहो कूडिति सार्वधातु के परतः ॥

115. इ is optionally substituted for the ई of भी before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant and having an indicator क् or ङ् ||

Thus विभृतः or विभीतः; विभृयः or विभीयः; विभिदः or विभीदः; विभितः or विभीमः || But विभृति before a vowel-beginning affix and विभृति before a non-छित् affix and भवते before an Ārdhadhātuka affix.

जहातेष्व ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, (इ हलि अन्यतरस्याम् कूडितिसार्वधातु के) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेष्व इकारारेणो भवति अन्यतरस्यां हलाहो कूडिति सार्वधातु के परतः ॥

116. इ is optionally substituted for the आ of हा (जहाति) before a Sārvadhātuka कित् or छित् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus जहितः or जहीतः (VI. 4. 113) जहियः or जहीयः (VI. 4. 113). But जहति before a vowel affix, and जहाति before a non-छित् affix, and हीवते and जहीवते before an Ārdhadhātuka. The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms.

आ च हौ ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, च, हौ, (इ अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेष्व इकारभान्वयतरस्यां 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, (जहाते: सार्वधातुके कृडिति) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लोपो भवति जहातेर्थकाराशे कृडितं सार्वधातुके परतः ।

118. The final of the stem of हा is elided before an affix beginning with च being a Sārvadhātuka कित् or डित् affix.

Thus जहात्, जहाताश् and जहुः ॥

च्चसोरेद्वावभ्यासलोपश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ घु-असोः, एत, हौ, अभ्यास-
लोपः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानामस्तेष एकारादेशो भवति ही परतो अभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

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 स् being elided by this sūtra, and ध being elided by VI. 4. 111. This लोप of the present sūtra should be considered as having an indicatory श so that the *whole* of the reduplicated and not only the final letter of the abhyāsa (I. 1. 55) is elided.

अत एकहल्मध्ये इनादेशादेर्लिति ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, एक-हल्म, मध्ये,
अनादेशादेः, लिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृडितीतिवर्तते ॥ लिति परत आदेश भारिर्यस्त्याह्लस्य नास्ति, तस्य एकहल्मध्ये, असहाययोहलोर्मध्ये
वो कारस्तस्य एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिति कृडिति परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इम्भेरेत्वं वन्नव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ नशिमन्योरलिक्ष्येत्वं वन्नव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ छन्दस्त्वमिपचोरप्यलिति एत्वं वन्नव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यजिवप्योषम् ॥

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, येनतुः, येनुः, पेचतुः, पेचुः, देनतुः, देनुः ॥ Why 'for अ'? Observe शिविनतुः, शिविनुः: the इ is not replaced. Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe रासे, रासाते, रासिरे ॥ Why do we say 'standing between two *simple* consonants'? Observe रसतुः, रस्तुः ॥ 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:—तस्ततुः and तस्तुः ॥ Why do we say 'which has no substituted consonant in the reduplicate'? Observe चकणतुः, चकणुः, जगणतुः, जगणुः, बभणतुः, बभणुः ॥

The substitution referred to here must be caused by the affixes of the Perfect, therefore, the rule will apply to नेमतुः, नेषुः, सेरे and सहस्रे, सोहर though नम् and षह् are the roots, and न् and ष् are changed to न and स ॥ The substitution of जश् consonant or a चर् consonant in the reduplicate, should not be here considered asiddha (VIII. 4. 54, read with VIII. 2. 1). That substitution will be considered a substitution for the purposes of this sūtra and will make the stem आदेशादिः, as is indicated by the special exception made in favor of फल् and भज् (VI. 4. 122). If the form of the letter is not changed in the reduplicate, by substitution, then such substitution will not make the stem आदेशादिः ॥ Thus by VIII. 4. 54, a चर् letter (च, ट, त, क, प, छ, ष, स) is substituted for a consonant (other than a nasal and a semi-vowel) in the reduplicate.

Thus in पच् the reduplicate is पपच्, the first प is also a *substitute*, for the चर् substitute of प will be प ॥ Such substitutes, however, are not meant here.

This we learn from the implication (jñāpaka) of sūtra VI. 4. 126 where exception is made in case of शस् and शद् ॥ Therefore, where the substitute is a *different* letter, then the reduplicate becomes आदेशादिः otherwise not.

When the affixes are not किंत् or द्वित् the rule does not apply: as अहं पपच्, अहं पपठ ॥

Vārt :—ए is substituted for the अ of इम् under similar circumstances :—thus इभतुः, इसुः ॥ The elision of the nasal by VI. 4. 24, would be considered asiddha by VI. 4. 22, hence this vārtika.

Vārt :—ए is substituted for the अ of नष् and मन before affixes other than those of लिद् ॥ As अनेशम्, मेनका ॥ अनेशम् is the Aorist in शह् of नश् which belongs to Pushādi roots (III. I. 55). मेनका is formed by उद् (III. I. 150). Padamanjari gives अनेशन् (3rd Pl.), and quotes अनेशमस्येषवः ॥

Vārt :—In the Vedas, ए is substituted for the अ of अम् and पच् before affixes other than those of the Perfect, as अवेशम्, (वि + अम् + आनश्, the augment मुक् being dropped); पर्विस्त् instead of पविरत्, the Imperfect of पच् ॥ The shortening is also a Vedic irregularity.

Vārt :—So also of वज् and वप्, as आवेजे and आविषे 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 अनादेशादेः) दृत्तः ॥ थलि च सेटि परतो इनादेशादिरक्षस्य एकहल्मध्यगतस्वातः स्थाने एकार आदेशो भवति अभ्यासलांपम् ॥

121. ए is substituted for अ, of a verbal stem standing between two simple consonants, the stem not having any different letter substituted in the reduplicate, when the ending थल् of the Perfect having the augment इद् follows, and thereby, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus एचिय, शोक्रिय ॥ But पपक्ष्य before anि अ ; दि शेविय, the vowel being ए and not अ ; ततस्थिय, तरस्थिय, the अ not standing between two *simple* consonants ; and चक्षणिय, बभणिय, the reduplicate having the substitutes च and ब different from क and भ ॥ This sūtra applies even when the affix is not कित् ; and यह is read in the sūtra only for the sake of clearness, no non-kit Perfect ending can take इद except यह ॥

तफलभजन्नपश्य ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृ, फल, भज, नपः, च, (अत एक हलमध्ये अनादेशादैर्लिटिथलिचसेटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृ फल भज नप इत्येतेषामङ्गानामत एकापारेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्य, लिटि कृडिति परतस्थिति च सेटि ॥

वाचिकच ॥ अन्येष्वेति वन्नन्यय ॥

122. ए is substituted for the अ of तृ, फल, भज and नप, and the reduplicate is elided, when the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or रु) follow, as well as when थल् with the इद augment follows.

Thus तेरतुः, तेरुः, तेरिय, फेलतुः, फेलुः, फेलिय, भेजतु, भेजुः, भेजिय, चेपे, चेपाते, चेपिरे ॥ In the case of तृ the rule applies to the अ obtained by Guṇa, contrary to VI. 4. 126, in फल् and भज् the rule, that no different substitute should be in the reduplicate, is not adhered to, and in नप the अ does not stand between two *simple* consonants.

Vārt: It should be stated that the rule applies to अन्य also:-as, अथतुः, अथेतुः ॥

राधो हिंसायाम ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधो हिंसायाम ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधो हिंसायामर्थेऽपर्णस्य एकार भारेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्य लिटि कृडिति परतस्थिति 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 रु), as well as before थल् with the इद augment.

Thus अपरेधतुः, अपरेधुः, अपरेधिय, but राधतुः, राधुः, राधिय in any other sense than that of ‘hurting’. In this sūtra the *long* आ of राध is to be replaced by ए, the anuvṛitti of short अ (अतः VI. 4. 120) is therefore not appropriate here. We should either read the annuvṛitti of आ from VI. 4. 112, or we should read the word एकहलमध्ये in this way “in राध whatever stands between two simple consonants is replaced by ए”.

वा जृभ्रमुत्रसाम ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जृ, भ्रमु, त्रसाम, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जृ भ्रमु त्रस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतः स्थाने वा एकार भारेशो भवति अभ्यासलोपश्य लिटि कृडिति परतस्थिति च सेटि ॥

124. ए is optionally substituted for the अ of the stems जर् (जृ), 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 जेरतुः, जेरः, जेरिय, or जजरतुः, जजरः, जजरिय, भ्रेमतुः, भ्रेमः, भ्रेमिय, or बभ्र मतुः, बभ्रुः, बभ्रिय, त्रेसतुः, त्रेसः, त्रेसिय, or तत्रसतुः, तत्रसः, तत्रसिय ॥

फणां च सप्तानाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ फणाम्, च, सप्तानाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फणारीनां सप्तानां धातूनामवर्णस्य स्थाने वा एकार आवेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपय लिटि कृडिति परत, स्थलि च सेदि ॥

125. ए is optionally substituted for the अ and आ of the seven roots फण्, राज्, भ्राज्, भ्रात्, भ्रात्, स्यम् and स्वच्; 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 केजतुः, केषुः, केणिय or पफणतुः, पफणुः, पफणिय; रेजतुः, रेजुः, रेजिय, or राजतुः, राजुः, राजिय; भ्रेजे, भ्रेजाते, भ्रेजिरे, or बभ्राजे, बभ्राजाते, बभ्राजिरे; भ्रेशो, भ्रेशाते, भ्रेशिरे, or बभ्राशे, बभ्राशाते, बभ्राशिरे; भ्रेशो, भ्रेशाते, भ्रेशिरे, or बभ्राशे, बभ्राशाते, बभ्राशिरे; स्येमतुः, स्येमुः, स्येमिय, or सस्यमतुः, सस्यमुः, सस्यमिय; स्वेनतुः, स्वेनुः, स्वेनिय, or सस्वनतुः, सस्वनुः, सस्वनिय, Why of 'seven'? Observe, इधनतुः, इधनुः, इधनिय ॥ The Phaṇādi is a subdivision of Bhuādi (873-879)

न शसदद्वादिगुणानाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, शस, दद, वादि, गुणानाम्, (अत एक हल्मध्येऽनादेशादेल्लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शस दद इत्येत्यर्वकापारीनां च धातूनां युज इत्यवमिनिर्वृत्तस्य च योकारस्तस्य स्थाने एकारावेशो न भवति, अभ्यासलोपय ॥

126. ए is not substituted for the अ of शस्, दद्, or of roots beginning with a व, or of such verbal stems in which the अ results through the substitution of Guṇa, though the affixes of the Perfect being कित् or डित् follow, or the set थल्, nor is the reduplicate elided.

Thus विशशसतुः, विशशस्तुः, विशशसिये, इवदे, इवदाते, इवदिर, Of roots beginning with वः-ववमतुः, ववमुः, ववमिय, ॥ Of roots where अ is the result of Guṇa, विशशसतुः, विशशहः, विशशरिय, लुलविय, उपविय ॥ गुणशब्दाभिनिर्वृत्तस्याश्याद्यस्यैकारस्य चावभकार इति एत्वं प्रतिपिद्यते ॥

The अ of Guṇa may result either from the guna of ए as ए changed to कर् or of उ changed to ओ again changed to अद् as लु—लव ॥

अर्वणख्यसावनञ्चः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्वणः, त्, असौ, अनञ्चः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्वीन्नितेत्यस्याक्षस्यत् इत्यवमारेशो भवति, सुष्ठेत्ततः परो न भवति, स च नन्म उत्तरो न भवति ॥

127. त् (which is changed to न्त् in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in ई unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem अर्वन्, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is त्, the क् is for the sake of making this affix an उगीत्, so that in sarvanāmsthāna cases we have तुष् augment VII. 1. 70. Thus अर्वन्तौ, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्तम्, अर्वन्तौ, अर्वतः, अर्वता, अर्वद्याम्, अर्वदिः, अर्वती, आर्वतम् ॥ असाधिति क्रिष्म्, अर्वा ॥ अनप्र इति क्रिष्म्, अनर्वाणौ, अनर्वाणः, अनर्वाणि वृष्टम् मन्द्रजिह्वम् ॥

But अर्वा in the Nominative Sing.: and अनर्वाणौ, अनर्वाणः, अनर्वाणि वृष्टम् मन्द्रजिह्वम् with the Negative Particle नह् ॥

मधवा बहुलम् ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधवा, बहुलम्, (त्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधवन्नितेतस्याङ्गस्य बहुलं त् इत्यवमादेशो भवति ॥

128. त् is diversely substituted for the final of मधवन् ॥

As मधवन्, मधवन्तौ, मधवन्तः, मधवन्तम्, मधवन्तौ, मधवतः, मधवना, मधवती, माधव-
तम्, ॥ न च भवति, मधवा, मधवानौ, मधवानः, मधवानम्, मधवानौ, मधवानः, मधवाना, मधवभाम्, मधवभिः-
मधेनी, माधवनम् ॥

भस्य ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्येत्यमधिकार, आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः, शरित ऊर्ध्वमनुकमिष्यामी भस्येत्य तदेवित्यस्य ॥

129. Whatever will be taught in the following upto the end of the Adhyāya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19).

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 130 says 'पद् is the substitute of पाद्' ॥ It means पद् is substituted for पाद् when the latter gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus हिपदः पद्य, हिपशः कृतप् but हिपाशौ, हिपाशः where the affixes are those of Sarvanāmsthāna.

पादः पत् ॥ १३० ॥ पादः, पत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिति पादशब्दो लुमाकारो शृणते । तदनन्तस्याङ्गस्य भस्य परित्यवमादेशो भवति । स च पाच्छस्य-
त्वं 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 निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशो भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule." ॥ Thus हिपदः पद्य, हिपशः, हिपरे, हिपशिकां तदाति (V. 4. 1), त्रिपशिकां तदाति, वैवाप्रपदः ॥

वस्तोः संप्रसारणम् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वस्तोः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वस्तन्तस्य भस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

131. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वंस्) is vocalised to ऊ in a Bha stem.

Thus विदुषः पश्च, विदुषा, विदुषे, वेचुषः पञ्च, वेचुषा, वेचुषे, वयुषः पञ्च ॥ For the purposes of the elision of आ (VI. 4. 64), vocalisation under the present sūtra should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22). Thus पा + क्वचु (III. 2. 107) = पा + वस् = पा + उस् + शस् (VI. 4. 131, VI. 1. 108). Now if ऊ were to be considered as asiddha, then the affix does not begin with a vowel, and we can not apply VI. 4. 64, which requires the elision of आ, but the samprasāraṇa is not considered asiddha, and we have पञ्च + उस् + अस् = पपुषः पश्च ॥ In the nominative, where the stem is not भ, we have पा + वस् + स् = पी + वस् + स (VI. 4. 66) = पीवास् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 4. 10, VI. 1. 68 and VIII. 2. 23). The affix क्वचु is included in वस् for the purposes of samprasāraṇa.

वाह ऊद् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, ऊद् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाह इत्येवमन्तस्त्व भस्य ऊह इत्येतस्तंप्रसारणं भवति ॥

132. The ष in वाह is vocalised to ऊ (ऊद्), when the compound stem is Bha.

The word वाह is a जिव 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 प्रसौहः, प्रसौहा, प्रसौहे, विसौहः, विसौहे ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ+आ (of वा)=ऊ; and then प्रष्ट + ऊह=प्रसौह; the Vṛiddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus: प्रष्ट + वह + शस् = प्रष्ट + उह + अस् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रष्ट + ओह + अस् (the affix जिव III. 2. 64, will produce गुणा) = प्रसौहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact जिव is never added to वह (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 samprasāraṇa in ऊद्, indicates the existence of following maxim: असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of गुणा which is an antaranga operation: therefore, we can never get the form ओह ॥

इवयुवमधोनामतद्विते ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इव, युव, मधोनाम, अतद्विते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन् युवन् मधवन् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामनद्विते प्रलये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

133. The ष of इवन्, युवन् and मधवन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus शुनः, शुने, शूनः, शूना, शूने, मधोनः, मधोना, मधोने ॥ But शौवनं मांसभौवनं र्थत्वे, माधवनः स्थालीपाकः with Taddhita affixes. शौवन is formed by अन् affix (IV. 3. 154) and ओ being added by VII. 3. 4 as अन belongs dvārādi class.

This vocalisation takes place of the nouns ending in ष, but not when they become feminine or do not end in ष, as युवतीः पञ्च, मधवतः, मधवते, मधवता ॥ The word अनः of the next sūtra, in a way, qualifies this sūtra also.

अल्लोपोऽनः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्, लोपः, अनः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्येवमन्तस्य भस्य अकारलोपो भवति ॥
वार्तीकम् ॥ अनो नकारान्तस्यायं लोप इच्छते ॥

134. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

As राज्ञः पश्च, राजा, राजे, तक्षणः पश्च, तक्षा and तक्षणे ॥ *Vart*:—The elision takes place of a stem which actually ends in ए, therefore, it does not take place here, राजकीयम् ॥

षपूर्वहन्तुतराज्ञामणि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष पूर्व, हन्, धृतराज्ञाम, मणि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पकारपूर्वो यो ऽन् हनो धृतराज्ञश्च तस्याकारलोपो भवति ॥

135. Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding ष, as well as of हन् and धृतराज्ञ, the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus औक्षणः, ताक्षणः, ध्रौनद्धः, धार्तराज्ञः ॥ But सामनः, वैमन ॥ Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्षण्यः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a ष'? Observe सामनः and वैमनः from सामन् and वैमन् 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 डिश्योः ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, डि, श्योः (अल्लोपोऽनः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वौ परतः शीघ्रद्वे च अनो विभाषा अकारलोपो भवति ॥

136. In a stem ending in अन्, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending शी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As यक्षिः or याजनि, साम्नि or सामनि, साम्नी or सामनी (VII. I. 19).

न संयोगाद्वमन्तात् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संयोगात्, ए, म, अन्तात्, (अल्लो-
पोऽनः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वकारमकारान्तासंयोगादुत्तरस्यानो 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 ए or म् ॥

Thus पर्णणा, पवन्ण, अयवन्णा, अर्थवन्णे, चर्मणा and चमणे ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe प्रतिशील्ला, प्रातशील्ले, सामा, साम्ने ॥ Why do we say 'stems in वन् and मन्'? Observe तक्षणा, and तक्षणे ॥

अचः ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, (भस्य अल्लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच इत्यमञ्चतिरुमनकारो गृष्टते । तस्तस्य भस्य अकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

138. The अ of अच् (अञ्च) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

Thus शीघः पश्य, शधीचा, शधीचे, मधूचः पश्य, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138: and न् of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 24.

उद॒ ईत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद॑:, ईत्, (अचः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उ उत्तरस्थाच ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

139. Long ई is substituted for the अ of अच् (अञ्च), after the word उत् when the stem is Bha.

As उदीचः, उदीचा, उदीचे ॥

आतो धातोः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, धातोः, (भस्य लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्य धातोर्भेद्य लोपो भवति ॥

140. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

Thus कीलालपः पश्यः, कीलालपा, कीलालपे, शुभंयः पश्य, शुभंया, and शुभंये from कीलालपा and शुभंया ॥ Why do we say 'the आ of a root'? Observe खद्वाः पश्य, मालाः पश्य ॥ This sūtra should be divided into two (1) आतः (2) धातोः; so that the long आ in general may be elided. For Pāṇini himself has declined तत्रा and इना by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37, (तत्रो न्यप्) and III. 1. 83, (श्नः शानच्) ॥

मन्त्रेष्वाङ्ग्याद्विरात्मनः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रेषु, आङ्गि, आदेः, आत्मनः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रेषु आङ्गि परत आत्मन आदेलोपो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आङ्गान्यथापि छन्दसि लोपो इत्यते ॥

141. In the Mantras, the beginning of आत्मन् is elided, when the affix of the Instrumental Singular follows.

आङ्ग् is the name of the Instrumental singular affix, given by ancient Grammarians. Thus स्मना देवेन्यः, स्मना सामेषु ॥ Why in the Mantras? Observe आत्मनो कृतम् ॥ Why in the Instrumental Singular? बशस्मन स्तम्भो वरिष्ठा ॥

Vārti :—The elision of आ of 'Atman' is found in other cases also, but not so frequently as in the Instrumental, as स्मन्यासमञ्जत महाम् ॥

ति विशतेऽडिति ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, विशतेः, डिति, (भस्य, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य विशतेस्तिशब्दस्य डिति प्रत्यये परतो लोपो भवति ॥

142. Of the Bha stem विशति, before an affix having an indicatory ड, the ति is elided.

Thus विशकः = विशस्या कीतः (with इत्तुन् V. 1. 24), विशं शतम्, (विशतेः पूरणो विशः; with इट affix V. 2. 48), एकविशः ॥ Why do we say 'having an indicatory ड'? Observe विशत्या ॥

टेः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ टे:, (डिति, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दिसंजकस्य डिति प्रत्येपरतो लोपो भवति ॥

143. Before an affix having an indicatory इ, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided.

Thus कुषाण्, नद्वन् and वेतस्वन् with इमतुप् (IV. 2. 87). So also चिशता कीतः = चिशकः with इइन् 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 कृत affix इ) ॥

नस्तद्धिते ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, तद्धिते, (भस्य, टे:, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य भस्य टेलोपो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य दिलोपे सब्दाचारिपिकलपिकुषुमैतिलिजाजलिलिलिलिशिखण्डसु-
करतस्थसुपर्वाणामुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तकम् ॥ अद्यमनो विकार उपसंख्यानम् ॥
वा० ॥ चर्मणः कोश उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ शुनः संकोच उपसंख्यानम् ॥
वा० ॥ अव्यावानं च सांयंप्रातिकार्थसुपसंख्यानम् ॥

144. Of the stem bha, the final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is elided, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus आग्रिष्ठमिः, औहुलोमिः, सारलोमिः from आग्रिष्ठमन्, औहुलोमन्, and सरलोमन् with the Taddhita affix इश् (IV. 1. 96). Why do we say 'ending in न्'? Observe सात्वतः ॥ Why 'before a Taddhita affix'? Observe शर्मणा, शर्मणे ॥

Vart :—The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following : 1. सब्दाचारिन्—साब्दाचाराः (IV. 3. 120), 2. पीट-
सर्वन्—पैठसर्पाः (IV. 3. 120), 3. कलापिन्—कालापाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59), 4.
कुषुमिन्—कौशुमाः (IV. 3. 101), 5. तैतिलिन्—तैतिलाः (IV. 3. 116), 6. जाजलिन्—जाजलाः
(IV. 2. 59), 7. लाङ्गलिन्—लाङ्गलाः, 8. शिलालिन्—शैलालाः, 9. शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डाः, 10.
सुकरसर्वन्—सौकर साशाः, 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.

Vart :—अस्मन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with' : as, आशः; otherwise आशमनः ॥

Vart :—Of चर्मन्, the अन् is elided when meaning 'a sheath or purse' : as, चार्मः कोशः (IV. 3. 134), otherwise चर्मणः ॥

Vart :—The अन् of भन् is elided when the sense is 'to contract', as
शौवः संकोचः (IV. 3. 120), otherwise शौवनः ॥

Vart :—The Indeclinables like सांयंप्रातिकः &c are formed by the इ
elision : as सांयंप्रातिकः, पौनः पुनिकः, वाशः, क्रौतस्कुतः (formed by इम् IV. 3. 11). But
not before the affixes व्यु and व्युल्, as आरातीयः, शाखतिकः ॥ Pāṇini himself has
shown the exception, in the case of शाखतिक, by using it in II. 4. 9. So also
शाखतम् ॥

अहृष्टखोरेव ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, द, खोः, एव ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आहमियेतस्य दखोरेव परतटिलोपो भवति ।
वाणक ॥ अहः समैर् खो वरहव्यः ॥

145. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes ए and ख ॥

Thus हे अहनी समाहृते = द्वाहः, इयहः (V. 4. 91 with दच्). हे अहनी अधींशं भृतंशं भूतो भावी वा = द्वाहीनः, इयहीनः (with ख V. 1. 87).

Vart :—ख is added to अहन् in the sense of सत्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्रां समूहः कतुः=अहीनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes ए and ख, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule : अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अन्ना निर्वृत्तम्=आद्विकम् (with उभ् V. 1. 79.). The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before ए and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of ātman and adhivan, before ख, in VII 4. 169.

ओरुणः ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, गुणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य लोपो भवति तद्विते परतः ॥

146. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus वाक्यः from वभू, माण्डवः from मण्डु, शूक्रव्यं वाह (from शंकु), पिचव्यः कार्पासः, (from पित्रु) कमण्डलव्या शृतिका (from कमण्डलू), परशब्दव्यः, औपगवः, कापटवः &c. Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओरोत् 'let ओ be substituted for ए or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुणः in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वका विधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sūtra is, therefore, anitya, and we have forms like स्वायंभुः from स्वयंभू without guṇa. See VII. 4. 30 also.

हे लोपो इकद्वावाः ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हे, लोपः, अ, कट्टवाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हे परत उवर्णान्तस्य भस्याकद्वा लोपो भवति ॥

147. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (हे), but not of the stem 'Kaṭṛī'.

Thus कामण्डेलवः, शैतिवाहेयः, जाम्बवः, माहूवाहेयः, but काटंश्यो मन्ममपद्यत् ॥

यस्येति च ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, ईति, च, (भस्य, तद्विते, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्तस्यावर्णान्तस्य च भस्य ईकारे पंर तद्विते च लोपो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ यस्यत्यौडः इयां प्रतिषंधो वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इयहू उवङ्घ्यां लोपो भवति विप्रतिषंधेन ॥

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 शक्षी, श्वाक्षी, सखी from शक्षि, श्वाक्षि and सखि with the feminine affix ई

(IV. 1. 65) The above forms could also have been evolved by the simple rules of sandhi, as शक्ति + ई = शक्ती ॥ It might be asked, where was then the necessity of eliding इ ? There would arise difficulty in the forms like अतिः-सखि ॥ From the word सखि formed by इष् under IV. 1. 62, we form the compound सखिमतिकान्तः = अतिसखि, the final becoming short by I. 2. 48 (the samāsānta affix इच् is not added here as required by V. 4. 91, that rule applying to the masculine form सखि and not to the feminine सखी). Now if in forming सखि + ई = सखी, had we not elided the letter इ of इष्, then the long ई being the single substitute for both इ + ई, would be considered as like the final इ of सखि by VI. 1. 85. That being so, the word अतिसखि would be considered a non-विधि word by I. 4. 7, for सखि has been specifically excluded from विधि class. Not being a विधि, we cannot have the form अतिसखेः in the Ablative and Genitive singular. Hence the necessity of eliding इ before the feminine ई, so that the ekādeśa rule VI. 1. 85, should not apply.

The short इ is elided before Taddhita affixes :—दुलि—सौलेषः, चलि—वालेषः, अत्रि—अत्रियः ॥ अ is elided before ई as :—कुमार—कुमारी, गौर—गौरी, शार्ङ्गरव—शार्ङ्गरवी ॥ ए and ओ are elided before the Taddhita :—एस—शक्तिः, ओस—प्रक्षिः, चूड—चौडः, बलाका—बलाकिः, सुमित्रा—सौमित्रिः ॥

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (शी), when it is the substitute of औ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter, and of certain feminine in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and ए 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 ; कुञ्जे ॥ सौर्य + ई = सौर्ये (the ए would have been elided by VI. 4. 149). It is owing to this Vārtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sūtra. This may also be done by reading the anuvṛitti of श्वां (VI. 4. 136), and न (VI. 4. 137) into this sūtra.

Vart :—इयह् and उयह् are superseded, when they would apply simultaneously with this lopa. Thus इयह् and उयह् have unimpeded scope in शी or भू + शी or अस् (जस्), as श्रियो, श्रियः, भुवी, भुवः ॥ Lopa has unimpeded scope in कामण्डलू—कामण्डलेषः (with इत् IV. 1. 135), and भाद्रवाहेषः ॥ But in वस्त्री + इत् (IV. 1. 135), both the rules VI. 4. 77 and VI. 4. 148, present themselves. The former is superseded, and we have वासप्रेषः (वसं प्रीषाति = वस्त्रीः, तस्वापत्तं) ; so also लेखाभुः—लैखभिषः with the इक् affix, this word belonging to Subhrādi class (IV. 1. 123).

सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य, मत्स्यानाम्, यः, उपधायाः, (ईति, तस्मिते, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सूर्य तिष्य अगस्त्य मत्स्य इत्येतेषां यकारस्य उपधाया भस्य लोपो भवति ईति परतस्तद्विते च ॥ ·
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मन्त्रस्त्य इत्याभिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सूर्यागस्त्ययोद्दले च इत्यां च ॥

वा० ॥ तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नभाणि ॥

४० ॥ अन्तिकशाष्ट्वस्य तसिप्रत्यये परतः कक्कारातिक्षाष्ट्वस्य लोपो वक्तव्य, आद्युक्तं च ॥

वा० ॥ तमे तांद्रम् ॥ वा० ॥ कादिलोपे बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ये च ॥

149. Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य and मत्स्य,
(and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate य्
is also elided before the long ई and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येनकार्द्ध = सौरी (सूर्य + अण under IV. 3, 112 = सौर्य, then ए of सौर्प = सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तित्व—तैषमहः, तैषी रात्रिः ॥ So also भागस्त्यस्यापत्तं ची = भागस्ती (IV. 1. 114), भागस्तीयः ; So also मत्स्य—मस्ती with होष् as it belongs to Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 40). If the words सूर्य &c, were to be qualified by the word भ, then the sūtra would mean सूर्याशीनां भसंज्ञानां “of सूर्य &c, when they get the designation of भ” ; and the result of this interpretation would be, that the rule would apply to cases like सूर्यस्य ची = सूरी, भागस्त्यस्य ची = भागस्ती, &c, only, where the forms सूर्य &c, are Bha, and not to their derivatives, as सौर्य &c : and there would not have been the forms like सौरी बलाका ; because, here the word सूर्य is not Bha before the affix ई, but the word सौर्य is Bha. Hence we have introduced the words “and their derivatives” in the translation, so as to cover the cases like सौरी बलाका ॥

In the last example, we again have an illustration, of the rule VI. 4. 22, which says that for purposes of asiddha the आभ्य must be the same. Thus सौर्य + ई = सौर्य + अ lopa + ई = सौरी ॥ But सौर्य itself was formed by the elision of अ of सूर्य before the affix अण्, thus, सौर्य + अण् = सौर्य + ० + अण् (last sūtra) = सौरी ॥ But if this lopa be considered as asiddha by VI. 4. 22, then we have the following equation सौर्य + ० + अ (of अण्) + ई = सौर्य + ० + ० (अ of अण् being elided by VI. 4. 148) + ई ॥ Here अ cannot be elided, as it is not upadha or penultimate: because the first lopa is considered asiddha. But it is not to be so considered, as their scopes (आभ्य) are different. Hence we have the elision of अ by this sūtra. It should not be objected that the अ here is not penultimate, but ultimate: as सौर्य + ई = सौर्य + ० + ई (अ elided by the last sūtra), and thus अ is ultimate. Here, however, rule VI. 4. 22, applies. This elision of अ will be considered asiddha for the purposes of the elision of अ, their scope being the same. So being considered asibdha, अ still retains its designation of upadha and is elided by the present sūtra. It should be remembered here, that we could not take help of the rule of sthanivat-bhāva, because for purposes of अलोप, that rule is set aside. See I. 1. 58.

Why do we say the penultimate अ? Observe मस्तकी ॥ This word is thus formed. The affix अर् is added to मस्ति by V. 3. 53, in the sense of मस्ती भूतपूर्वी ॥ Then the मस्ति becomes masculine मस्त्य by VI. 4. 35, and we

have मस्त्वचर ॥ This word takes ढीए by IV. 1. 15, because it is formed by an affix having an indicatory श ॥ Thus मस्त्वचर+६, and the word is भ, but the श is not elided, because it is not penultimate. The श has been read for the sake of the subsequent sūtras : उपधायः alone would have been enough for the purposes of this aphorism. The rule contained in this sūtra is rather too general ; it is limited by the following vārtikas, which enumerate the conditions under which the elision takes place.

Vart :—The श of मस्त्व is elided before the feminine ई only : therefore not here मस्त्वचेरं मांसं = मास्त्वम् ॥

Vart :—Of सौर्य and अगस्त्य before the affixes श, and ई (of the feminine) : as सौरीयः, सौरी, अगस्तीयः, अगस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्यं अर्हं निरपेत्, अगस्त्यम् formed with the Patronymic अर्ज् (IV. I. 114)

Vart :—Of तिष्ठ and पुष्ट when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्ठेण मस्त्रेण शुक्रः कालः = तेषः, पौषः (IV. 2. 3).

Vart :—Of अन्तिक before the affix तस्मि, the क is elided, and the word has acute on the first syllable : as, अन्तिस्मो न शूद्रात् (V. 4. 45).

Vart :—Before the affix तम्, it loses the syllable तिक् as well as क, as अन्तमः or अन्तिस्मः, in अन्ते त्वं नो अन्तिमः अन्तिस्मे अवरोहति ॥

Vart :—The elision of क of अन्तिक takes place diversely, before the second member also, as अन्तिके सीश्चित् = अन्तिष्ठृ (स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106)

Vart :—The elision takes place also before the affix श, as अन्तियः, this is found in the Atharva-Veda, (अन्तिके भवः, with the affix श् IV. 4. 110).

हलस्तद्वितस्य ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, तद्वितस्य, (य उपधायः लोपः ईति) ॥
शृन्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य सद्वितयकारस्य उपधाया ईति परतो लोपो भवति ॥

150. The श of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

The anuvritti of "taddhita" ceases, because of its mention in the next sūtra. Hence this sūtra applies to feminine ई only. As गार्भा, वास्त्री from गार्भं and वास्त्रं ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant'? Observe कारिकेयी ॥ Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'. Observe वैयाय भार्वा - वैयी ॥

आपत्यश्च तद्विते अनाति ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपत्यस्य, श्च, तद्विते, अनाति (लोपः) ॥

शृन्तिः ॥ अपत्ययकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य तद्विते अनाकाराशै लोपो भवति ॥

151. The श, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गर्भां समृः = गर्भकम् from गर्भ, वासकम् from वास्य (IV. 2. 37-40). Why do we say 'a Patronymic अ'? Observe सांकाइयकः, कार्मिपन्थकः (IV. 2. 80).

The repetition of the word Taddhita indicates that the elision takes place some-times of the non-patronymic अ also, as सांमी इटः ॥

Why do we say 'not beginning with a long आ'? Observe गर्भायणः, वास्यायनः ॥ The अ should be preceded by a consonant, otherwise we have कारिकेयस्यापत्त्वं = कारिकेयः ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Taddhita affix'? Observe गर्भयोः, वास्ययोः (before the Genitive and Locative dual affixes).

क्यच्चयोश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्य, छव्योः, च, (हलः, लोपः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ क्य चित्र इयेतयोध परत आपत्ययकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य लोपो भवति ॥

152. The अ belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य, and the adverbial affix चित्र ॥

Thus वासीयति or वासीयते गर्भायति, or गर्भायते ॥ So also गर्भभूतः, वासीभूतः ॥ But सांकाइयायते (where अ is not Patronymic) and so also सांकाइयीभूतः; and not also in कारिकेयीयति, कारिकेयीभूतः, the अ not being preceded by a consonant.

बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक् ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वक-आदिभ्यः, छस्य, लुक् (भस्य तद्विते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडाविषु बिल्वादयः पञ्चन्ते ॥ नडावीनां कुक् च इति कृतकुगागमा बिल्वकादयो भवन्ति तेभ्य उत्तरस्य छस्य भस्य तद्विते 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 Nadādi class (IV. 2. 91), and the augment क is added to them by IV. 2. 91. After these words, with the augment क, the affix छ is elided. Thus बिल्वायस्यां सन्ति = बिल्वकीयाः; तस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = वैष्णवकाः ॥ Similarly वैषुकीयाः—वैषुकाः, वैषकीयाः, वैषकाः, वैतसकीयाः, वैतसकाः, तृणकीयाः, तार्जकाः इत्युकीयाः, ऐशुकाः, काष्ठकीयाः, काष्ठकाः, कपोतकीयाः, कपोतकाः ॥ There is shortening of the final of कुचा by the Vārtika कुञ्चा इत्यत्वं च ॥ कुञ्चकीयाः, कौञ्चकाः ॥ उभयोरप्यभाव इति कुणपि निवर्तते ॥ लुग्महणं सर्वलोपो वथा स्थाद् यकारमाभस्य मा भूत् ॥

The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim :—संनियोगशिष्टानामन्वतरापादे (or अभादे) उभयोरप्यभावः (or अपादः), "When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise". The लुक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix इय, and not merely of अ ॥

तुरिष्टेमेयस्सु ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुः, इष्ट, इम, ईयस्सु, (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टन् इमनिच्च ईयसुन् इत्येतु परतः तु गुणस्य लोपां भवति ॥

154. The affix त् is elided before the affixes इष्टन्, इमनिच्च and ईयसुन् ॥

Thus करिष्णः, विजितिः, वहिष्ठः, देहीयसी धेनुः ॥ The whole affix त् is elided; otherwise only the last vowel (ट) 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. I. 63), and there would have remained no guṇa in विजायष्टि and करिष्ण ॥ See V. I. 122, and V. 3. 59; for these affixes. The affix इमन् has been read into this aphorism for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, there being no example of त् followed by इमन्; त् is followed by इष्ट and ईयस by V. 3. 59.

टेः ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ टंः, (भस्य लोपः इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य टेलेपो भवति इष्टेमेयस्सु परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ जाविष्टवस्थातिपरिकस्य कायं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ जाविष्टवस्थातिपरिकस्य उंवज्ञावभावटिलोपव्याप्तिः परिवन्मत्तेर्लुक्कमर्थमिति ॥

155. The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस् follow.

Thus पटिष्ठः, पटिमा; and परीयान् from पट्ट, and लघिष्ठः, लघिमा and लघीयान् from लघु ॥

Vart :—The Prātipadika followed by the causative णि, undergoes all the changes, as it would have undergone, had the affix इष्ट followed it. Those changes are (1) उंवज्ञावः—the feminine noun becomes masculine: as, एमीमाच्छेण—एसयति, इयतयति ॥ इष्ट belongs to तसिलादि affixes and causes masculination by VI. 3. 35, (2) रभावः—the change of श्व to र, as पृथुमाच्छेण—प्रथयति, ऋदयति, see VI. 4. 161. (3) टिलोपः—as, पटमाच्छेण—पटयति, लघयति by this sūtra, (4) यणाविपरम् i.e. the application of Rule VI. 4. 156; as, स्थूलमाच्छेण—स्थयतयति ॥ According to the school of Bhāradvāja, three more purposes are served : (5) विन् मतोर्लुक्—as जाग्नवज्ञमाच्छेण—जग्यति, वसुमन्तंमाच्छेण—वसयति, see V. 3. 65. (6) कन्तविधिः—the substitution of कन् for युवन् and अस्प् (V. 3. 64)—as युवानमाच्छेण or अस्पमाच्छेण—कनयति ॥ (7) प्राप्ति substitution, as required by VI. 4. 157: as, प्रियमाच्छेण—प्रापयति ॥

स्थूलदूरयुवहस्वक्षिप्रभुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थूल, दूर, युव, हस्व, क्षिप्र, भुद्राणाम्, यण्, आदिपरम्, पूर्वस्य, च गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थूल दूर युव हस्व क्षिप्र भुद्र इत्यतेषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते इष्टेमेयस्सु परतः; पूर्वस्य च गुणो भवति ॥

156. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस्, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guṇa is substituted, in स्थूल, दूर, युवर, हस्व, क्षिप्र and भुद्र ॥

That is ल्, र्, वन्, व, इ, and ई are elided. Thus स्थविष्टः, स्थवीवान्; विष्टः वीवान्; विष्टः, वीवान्; इसिष्टः, इसीवान्, इसिमा; लोपिष्टः, लोपीवान्, लोपमा ॥ The words शृण्व, क्षिप्र, and क्षुद्र are read in Prithvādi class and take 'iman' affix (V. I. 122). भांगिष्टः, भांगावान्, भांगिमा ॥ Why do we say वर् in वाणादिपरं i.e. 'the last semi-vowel'? The first semi-vowel of युवन् and शृण्व i.e. व of यु and ए of श्रु should not be elided. The word पूर्व is employed for the sake of distinctness.

प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृक्षत्प्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्बंहिगर्बिष्ट्रब्द्राधि-
वृन्दाः ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय, स्थिर, स्फिर, उरु, बहुल, गुरु, वृक्ष, तुप्र, दीर्घ,
वृन्दारकाणाम्, प्र, स्थ, स्फ, वर्, वंगि, गर्, वांगि, अप्, द्राधि, वृन्दाः, (इष्टमेयस्तु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय स्थिर स्फिर उरु बहुल गुरु वृक्ष तुप्र दीर्घ वृन्दारक इत्येतां प्र स्थ स्फ वर् वंगि अप्
द्राधि वृन्द इत्यंते वायासंख्यमारेशा भवान्ति इष्टमेयस्तुपरतः ॥

157. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस् the following substitutions take place :—प्र for प्रिय; स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, वर् for उरु, वंगि for बहुल, गर् for गुरु, वर्ष् for वृक्ष, अप् for तुप्, द्राधि for दीर्घ, and वृन्द् for वृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रष्टः, प्रेमा, प्रेवान्; स्थिर, स्थेष्टः, स्थेयान्, स्थेमा; स्फिर, स्फेष्टः, स्फेयान्; उरु, वरिष्टः,
वरिमा, वरीवान्; बहुल, वंगिष्टः, वंगीवान्, वंगिमा; गुरु, गरिष्टः, गरीवान्, गरिमा; वृक्ष, वर्षिष्टः, वर्षीवान्;
तुप्र, चपिष्टः, चपीवान्; दीर्घ, द्राधिष्टः, द्राधीवान्, द्राधिमा; वृन्दारक, वृन्दिष्टः, वृन्दीवान्; मियोरुषु-
बहुलीर्षाः पृथ्वारिष्टु पञ्चन्ते, तेनान्येषामिमानेऽन भवतीति नोशाद्विवते ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in Prithvādi class and take इमन् (V. I. 122), others do not.

वहोलोपो भू च वहोः ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहोः, लोपः, भू, च, वहोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वहोरुत्तरपांमधेयसां लोपो भवति सत्य च वहोः स्थाने भू इत्यवमारेशा भवति ॥

158. The ई and ई of these affixes (इमन् and ईयस्) are elided after वहु, and for वहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूवान्, भूमा ॥ In the case of इष्ट, the following rule 159 will apply. Under I. I. 54 and 67, वहोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz. ई or ई; in this case, वहु belongs to Prithvādi class and takes इमन् affix. (V. I. 122) The repetition of वहोः is for the sake of pointing out the sthāni, for which the word भू is to be substituted: otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

इष्टस्य यिद् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्टस्य, यिद्, च, (वहोः भू च वहोः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वहोरुत्तरस्य इष्टस्य यिदागमो भवति वहोभ भूरेशो भवति ॥

159. After वहु, the augment यिद् is added to इष्ट, and भू replaces वहु ॥

As भूयिष्टः ॥ This augment यिद् debars the lopa substitution, of the last sūtra, in the case of इष्ट ॥ The ई in यिद् is for the sake of pronunciation, the

augment being अ् ॥ Or इष्ट may be taken to have lost its अ् by the foregoing sūtra, and to the अ्, the augment यि may be added.

ज्यादाश्रीयसः ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यात्, आत्, ईयसः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उद्युक्तरस्य ईव स आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

160. आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस्, after ज्य ॥

As ज्यायान् ॥ ज्य is substituted for प्रशस्य by V. 3. 61. 'Lopa' being shut out by the intervening विद् VI. 4. 159, the आत् is read in this sūtra. If the anuvṛitti of 'lopa' were present here, then the अ of ज्य would be lengthened before अस् by VII. 4. 25, and we would get the form ज्यायान् ॥ The peculiar construction of this sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim :—अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावशिष्ठः 'when an operation which is taught in the aṅgādhikāra (VI. 4, end—VII. 4, end) has taken place, and another operation of the aṅgādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place.' In VII. 4. 25, however, क्रिडत् is understood, and lengthening could not have taken place by that rule.

र श्रुतो हलादेलघोः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ र, श्रुतः, हल, आदेः, लघोः, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ रश्च आदेशो भवति अकारस्य हलादेलघं रिष्टेमेयस्सु परतः ॥

Kārikā पूर्णं शुद्धं वृशं चैव कृशं च हृष्मेव च ।
परिपूर्णं शुद्धं चैव पञ्चतान् रविधी स्मरत् ॥

161. Before the affixes इष्ट, ईमन् and ईयस्, र is substituted for the अ in a stem, when this अ is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodially long (on account of being followed by a double consonant).

Thus प्रथिष्ठः, प्रथीयान् and प्रथिमा from पृशु (V. 1. 122), प्रशिष्ठः, प्रशीयान् and प्रशिमा ॥ Why do we say 'the अ'? Observe पटिष्ठः &c. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe अजिष्ठः, अजीयान् ॥ Why do we say 'when prosodially short'? Observe अजिष्ठः, कृषीयान्, कृषिमा ॥ The following are the six words to which this rule applies and to none else :—पूर्ण, शुद्ध, वृश, कृश, हृष, परिपूर्ण ॥ It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत, मातृ, भातृ, &c, as कृतमाच्छे—कृतमाच्छि, मातरमाच्छे—मातरमाच्छि—भातरमाच्छे—भातरमाच्छि ॥

विभाषजोऽङ्गलन्दसि ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, श्रुजोः, छन्दसि, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अजु इत्येतस्य इतः स्थाने विभाषा एक आदेशो भवति इष्टेमेयस्सु परतःङ्गलन्दसि विषये ॥

162. Before the affixes इष्ट, ईमन् and ईयस्, the अ of अजु may optionally be changed to र, in the Chhandas.

As रजिष्ठः and अजिष्ठः, in रजिष्टेमेयस्सु पन्थानम्, लवशजिष्ठः ॥
प्रकृत्यैकाच् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, एक-अच्, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाज् यज्ञसज्जकं तसिष्टेमेयस्मु परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रकृत्या इके राजन्यमनुष्ठयुवानः ॥

163. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ट, इमन्, and ईयस् ॥

Thus स्वाचिष्टः, स्वाचीयान्, स्वजयति from स्वगिन्, the गिन् being elided by V. 3. 65, the stem thus becoming monosyllabic. स्वजयत्ति is the causative, formed on the model of इष्ट by the Vārtika under VI. 4. 155. So also सुचिष्टः, सुचीयान् and सुचयति from सुचत्, the मत् being elided as before. Why do we say 'a monosyllabic stem'? Observe वसिष्टः from वसुमत् ॥ This rule is an exception to VI. 4. 155.

Vārti:—राजन्य, मनुष्य and युवन् retain their original form unchanged, before the affix अक ॥ As, राजन्यानां समूहः = राजन्यकम्, मानुष्यकम् ॥ This debars the elision of क required by VI. 4. 151. So दूनो भावः = दौवनिकः with शूष् affix (V. 1. 133), in supersession of VI. 4. 144.

इन्द्र्यनपत्ये ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, अणि, अ नपत्ये, (प्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्र्यनपत्यार्थेण परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

164. The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Thus सांकुटिनम्, सांराविषम्, सांमार्जिनम् (III. 3. 44 and V. 4. 15). These are formed by the Kṛit-affix इत्तुष् (III. 3. 44), and then अण् is added in स्वार्थ by V. 4. 15. So also साम्विष्टः from स्वगिन् ॥ Why 'when अण् follows'? Observe हण्डिनां समूहः = शण्डम् ॥ It is formed by अम् (IV. 2. 44). Why do we say 'non-Patronymic'? Observe वेधाविनोऽपत्यं = वेधावः ॥

गाथियिद्यथिकेशिगणिपणिनम् ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाथि, विद्यथि, केशि, गणि,
पणिनः, च, (अणिप्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गार्थिन् विद्यथिन् केशिन् गणिन् पणिन् इत्येते आणि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

165. गाथिन्, विद्यथिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus शापिनोऽपत्यं = शापिनः, वैशपिनः, कैशिनः, गाणिनः, and पाणिनः ॥ This sūtra applies to Patronymics.

संयोगादिभ्य ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग- आदिः, च, (इन् अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादिभ्य इनणि प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

166. The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अण्, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus शाङ्किनोऽपत्यं = शाङ्किनः, याद्रिणः, वार्जिणः ॥

अन्, ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, (अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अप्रभावकर्मणि प्रकृत्या भवते 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, सौमनः, औलनः, from सामन्, वैमन्, सौमन् and औलन् ॥
ये चाभावकर्मणोः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, अभाव, कर्मणोः, (तद्विते अन् प्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यक्कारासौ च तद्विते उभावकर्मणोर्यथेवारन् 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 साशुः—सामन्यः, ब्राह्मणः ॥ But राजो भावः कर्म वा = राज्यम् ॥ राजन् belongs to Purohitādi class and takes वक्त् (V. I. 128).

आत्माध्वानी से ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्म, अध्वानी, से, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन् अध्वन् इत्यौ से परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

169. The finals of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ये ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं = आत्मनीनः (V. I. 9), अभ्यानमलक्ष्मी (V. 2. 16) = अध्यनीनः ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राप्त्यम् ॥ The first is formed by the samāsanta affix दच् added to the avyayibhāva (V. 4. 108), and the latter by अच् (V. 4. 85).

न मपूर्वोऽपत्ये उवर्मणः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, म, पूर्वः, अपत्ये, अवर्मणः, (अणि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मपूर्वोऽन् अवर्मणाणि परतोऽपत्ये न प्रकृत्या भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मपूर्वप्रतिरेथे वा हितनाम्न इति वक्त्यव्यम् ॥

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 सुषाम्नोऽपत्यं = सौषामः, चान्द्रसामः from चन्द्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म'? Observe सोऽवत्, preceded by व ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe अमर्णा परिवृत्तो रथः = चामर्णः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 4. 167. Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन्'? Observe अक्षवर्मणोऽपत्यं = चाक्षवर्मणः ॥

Vart :—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं = हैतनामः or हैतनामनः ॥
ब्राह्मो जातौ ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मः, अजातौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्म इतेतत्पत्याधिकारेषि सामर्थ्यं रपत्यादन्वचाणि टेलोपार्थं निपात्यते ततोऽजातौ अपत्यइतेव अपत्ये जातावणि ब्रह्मणाष्टिलोपो न भवति ॥

171. ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a kind or jāti.'

This sūtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्मः, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अन् affix with the force of the Patronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्मो गर्भः, ब्राह्म हविः, ब्राह्ममत्तमः; ब्राह्मो मारःः ॥ (2) अजातौ, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jāti; for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अन् affix: as ब्राह्मोऽपत्यं=ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana'. When jāti is expressed, but अन् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥

कार्मस्ताच्छील्ये ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्मः, ताच्छील्ये, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कार्म इति ताच्छील्ये दिलोपो 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 ज affix (IV. 4. 62). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144, the form कार्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ज and अन् affixes, in the sense of tāchchhilika 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 णेऽन् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ "The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix अन्, take place, whenever the affix ज is added in the sense of one accustomed to that." Thus though ढीप् is added, to अन्-formed words, it is also added to ज-formed words, in the feminine: as औरी; तापसी &c. The ज taught in V. 2. 101, and III. 1. 140, is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that? Observe कर्मणः इतम्=कार्मणम् ॥

औक्षमनपत्ये ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ औक्षम्, अ नपत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ औक्षमित्यनपत्येण दिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

173. From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant.

As औक्षं पदम् but औक्षः=उक्षोऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided in the latter example by VI. 4. 135.

दाण्डनायनहास्तिनायनार्थर्वणिकैजह्माशिनेयवासिनायनिभ्रौणहत्यधैवत्यसारवै-
श्वाकमैत्रेयहिरण्मयानि ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाण्डनायन, हास्तिनायन, आर्थर्वणिक,
जैह्माशिनेय, वासिनायनि, भ्रौणहत्य, धैवत्य, सारव, ऐक्ष्वाक, मैत्रेय, हिरण्मयानि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दाण्डनायन हास्तिनायन आर्थर्वणिक जैह्माशिनेय वासिनायनि भ्रौणहत्य धैवत्य सारव ऐक्ष्वाक
मैत्रेय हिरण्मय इतेतानि निपात्यन्ते ॥

174. The following are irregularly formed; 1.

Dāṇḍināyana, 2. Hāstīnāyana, 3. Ātharvaṇīka, 4. Jaihmāśineya, 5. Vāsināyani, 6. Bhrauṇahatya, 7. Dhaivatya. 8. Sārava, 9. Aikshvāka, 10. Maitreya and 11. Hiraṇmaya.

These words are thus derived (1 and 2) शाण्डिनायन and शास्त्रिनायन from शाण्डिन् and शास्त्रिन् belonging to नडाहि class. The affix is टक् (IV. 2. 91). If they do not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly: शाण्डिनोऽपर्यं = शाण्डिनायनः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantādi class (IV. 2. 63). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvaṇīka: the final is not elided before the इक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिद्धाशम् and वासन् are Jaihmāśineya and Vāsināyani, the former with the affix टक् of the Subhrādi class (IV. 1. 123), and the latter with the affix किष् of IV. 1. 157. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from भूजहन् and धीवन् with the affix अभ्, and न् being replaced by त—भूजलो भावः, धीलो भावः ॥ इन् takes त before affixes having an indicatory अ or ए by VII. 3. 32: it might be said त would be added to भूजहन् before अभ् by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like भौजग्नी, वार्चप्तः ॥ The त in Bhrauṇhatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) सारव is from सरव् with the affix अव्, the final अव् being elided, सरवां भवः = सारवसुदक्तः ॥ (9) The son of ईशाकु, with अभ् affix (IV. 1. 168), the final उ is elided, or ईशाकुषु जनपरेषु भवः = ऐशाकः with अव् affix (IV. 2. 132). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final उ ॥ As one word is ऐशाकः and the other ऐशाकैः, the sūtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sūtra gives ऐशाक without any accent (eka-śruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैचेय is from मिचयु of Grīṣṭhyādi class IV. 1. 136, and takes इप् as मिचयु + इय्, 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 इय् for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैचेय, the अ of मिच् cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, before इय्, as the lopa of यु is considered asiddha VI. 4. 22; however the result is the same, for अ+ए=ए by VI. 1. 97; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The plural of मैचेय will be मिचयवः (the plural of मिचयु); as it belongs of Yaskādi class and loses the affix in the plural (II. 4. 63). Another form of this word is मैचेयिक formed under VII. 3. 2. It might be objected that had मिचयु been read in Bidādi class (IV. 1. 104), it would have taken the affix अभ्, and the form मैचेय would have been evolved regularly: as मिचयु + अभ् = मिच् + इय् (VII. 3. 2) + अ = मैचेयः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskādi class (II. 4.

63), for then by II. 4. 63, अभ् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मित्रवः in the plural. So far it would have been all right, but if मित्रव were to be formed with अभ् affix, as proposed, then the संघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अण् affix under IV. 3. 127, and not with दुष् under IV. 3. 126; but we require दुष्, as मित्रकः संघः ॥ (ii) हिरण्यव from हिरण्य with मवद् with the elision of व, हिरण्यस्य पिकारः = हिरण्मवः ॥

श्रुत्यवास्त्वयवास्त्वमाध्वीहिरण्ययानिच्छन्दसि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुत्य,
वास्त्व, वास्त्व, माध्वी, हिरण्ययानि, छन्दसि, ॥
दृष्टिः ॥ श्रुत्य वास्त्व वास्त्व माध्वी हिरण्यव इत्येतानि निपात्वन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

175. In the Veda the following are irregularly formed : Ritvya, Vastvya Vāstva, Mādhvī, and Hiranyaya.

The word वास्त्व is derived from वस्तु, and वास्त्व from वस्तु with the affix वत्, उ being changed to व ॥ वस्तौ भवत् = वास्त्वम्, वास्तौ भवत् = वास्त्वम् ॥ वास्त्व is from वस्तु, as वस्तुनि भवः = वास्त्वः with the affix अव् ॥ माध्वी from मध् with the affix अण् in the feminine, as माध्वीनः सन्त्योषधीः ॥ हिरण्यव is from हिरण्य with the affix मवद्, the म being elided.

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