TO

Hon'ble Sir John Gage, Rt. Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

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

IN

THES PROVINCES,

DEDICATED

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.
BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

एकाचे तें प्रथमवस्य २ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ एक, अन्व, तें, प्रथमस्य, ॥

इति ॥ अथवा विन्नम्। एकाचे हि कन्ने हि य प्रथमस्वत् च वितवनप्रत्य वेधिन्धम् ।

इति उपर्य यद्यायम्। आदेशसारणिविभागात् तर्काक्ष: प्रथमवस्य भवति इत्येवं तद्वितस्वम् ।

वेर्त्यालं सिद्धि धार्तरथासस्तितिम्। तत् धार्तारथासस्तितिम्। प्रथमस्येकाथां भवते ॥

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. एकाचे, तें and प्रथमस्य are to be read in the subsequent sūtras upto VI. i. 12, before the rule of Samprasthāna 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 जागुरु—जागार (जागुरु + जागार IV. 3. 82 = जाग + जाग + ज = जाग + जागार + ज VII. 4. 59 = जागार, “he awoke”). So also पपाँ, इयाय, भार from the roots पच, इ and भ. The reduplication takes place through the force of the affix that follows. Thus the affixes of the Perfect Tense (लिङ्ग), the Desiderative (सन), the Intensive (बस), the सन्धि vikaraṇa, the Aorist in भ, all cause reduplication.

The word एकाचे means that which consists of one vowel (खच) ॥ When a stem or root consists of more than one vowel (is a dissyllabic or polysyllabic root), then the एकाचे प्रथम will be the first syllable: as in जागुरु the portion जा is the प्रथम एकाचे ‘the first portion consisting of one vowel’. When a root consists of a single vowel, as द ‘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 श्र will be reduplicated, according to the maxim “प्रयोगार्थि स प्रयोगार्थितम्”—“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 पछ् there is no first syllable strictly speaking, but still the rule will apply under the above maxim. In making Reduplications the Rule I. 1. 59 should always be borne in mind. Thus पछ् + अ (पल् of लेव) = पाण् पाण् + अ = प पाण् + अ (VII. 4. 59 and 60) = पपाण्.

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

अजरविन्दितायस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदार्थः अथः, अधृतः, द्वितीयायस्य ॥

वृत्तः ॥ प्रथमाविन्दितायस्यकारः द्वितीयाविन्दितास्यकारः। अथ अविन्दिताय। अविन्दितायः अविन्दितायः द्वितीयाविन्दितायः। अविन्दितायः अविन्दितायः अविन्दितायः। अविन्दितायः अविन्दितायः अविन्दितायः।

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 सन्नयन root अविन्दित, (अव् + सन्यू = अव् + ई + सन्यू VII. 2. 35 = अविन्दित), reduplicates the second syllable द्वितीय and the 3rd pers. sing. is आविन्दितति, the श्र being elided by VII. 4. 60: and श �changed to श by VIII. 3. 59. So also अविन्दितति, अविन्दितति ॥ The last form is thus evolved, अव् + सन्यू = अव् + ई + सन्यू (VII. 2. 74) = अव् + ई + श (VII. 3. 84, and VI. 1. 51). Here now we have to make reduplication, and if I. 1. 59 be applied, then since a vowel affix श्र follows, the reduplication of श्र should take place i.e. the श्र the sthāṇi should be reduplicated. But we have explained the sūtra द्वितीयाविन्दितच पुष्प I. 1. 59, by the phrase द्वितीयाविन्दितति, i.e. the vowel-affix causing reduplication. Here the vowel-affix ई does not cause reduplication, but the consonant-affix सन्यू that does so. Therefore rule I. 1. 59 does not apply, for ई itself is a कार्य, and the maxim applies कार्यादिन्दितति कार्यती निमित्ततथा नामित्ति “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 श्र is formed श्रित्वा; here the root श्री is g切断ed before the augment ई. Rule I. 1. 5 declaring the prohibition of gmination with regard to श्रिर or निमित्र words does not apply here. For though श्री has an indicatory श्र, yet as it undergoes an operation itself, it cannot be the cause of the application of another rule.
Some persons explain the word अजाठि as the Ablative singular (and not Genitive Singular) of अजास्ति: and they consider the word as a Karmadhārāya compound and not a Bahuvrīhi compound. According to them the word means:—“The syllable following the initial vowel is reduplicated”. (अबालालान्निहृत्वासिति; अबालालान्निहृत्वासिति हे भवति)। According to this interpretation, the word अजास्ति is merely explanatory.

न न्या: संयोगाद्यः || 3 || पदानि || न, न्या, संयोगाद्यः ||

वृत्ति: || द्वितीयसत्ताति वर्णाति || द्वितीयसत्ताचे उदयवृत्तानां नवाणां तत्त्वं अनाकारे अर्थादे प्रांस द्विवचने प्रतिपद्ध- || भवनाताकारे द्वितीयसत्ताचे उदयवृत्तानां: संयोगाद्यो न द्विवचनं ||

वार्ताक्रमः || बकारान्निहृत्वाद्यं प्रतिवेद्यं वत्सल्यं ||

वा ॥ द्वितीयसत्ताचे ता न वक्तव्यः॥ वा ॥ बकारान्निहृत्वाद्यं प्रतिवेद्यं न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ||

वा ॥ द्वितीयसत्ताचे ता न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् || वा ॥ कद्वफास्तानां द्वितीयसत्ताप्रत्येकः हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ||

वा ॥ द्वितीयसत्ताप्रतिवेद्यं नामवृत्तादि इति भवत इति वक्तव्यम् || वा ॥ यथेऽनामवृत्तादि वक्तव्यम् ||

3. The letters न, द्व and र are the first letter of a compound consonant and being part of the second syllable, are not reduplicated.

The word dvitiyasya “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 उन्मेव is उन्मेव, formed by adding सन्न and हृद। The second syllable here is विन्दु which is to be reduplicated by the last rule. But in doing so, न will not be doubled. Thus we get the form उन्निहृत्य; so also from अक्ष्य and अन्ते we have आक्ष्यित्वादि, and आविर्भवित्वादि।

Why do we say “when न, द्व and र are the letters”? Observe विन्दुमेव from विन्दु in which न is the initial letter and has been reduplicated in to न। Why do we say “being the first letter in a conjunct consonant”? Observe प्राणिग्नित्वादि from the root अन्ते ‘to breathe’, the न of being changed into न by VIII. 4. 19 and 21. The phrase अजास्ति: of the last sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. Thus ह्रासिर्वत्वादि। Some explain the word अजास्ति: understood in this sūtra in the same way as in the last, namely as a karmadhārāya compound in the Ablative singular. They do so, in order to explain the form इन्द्रियह्रास्ति, which is thus evolved.इन्द्रियह्रास्ति = इन्द्रिय + कवच्च III. 1. 8 = इन्द्रिय || Then इन्द्रियह्रास्ति = इन्द्रिय + ह्रास्ति || Here though the second syllable consists of n, d and r, yet न alone is rejected in reduplication and not द्व and र also, as न and र are not immediately after the initial vowel (अजास्ति) द्व in this case.

Vārt:—This prohibition should be stated with regard to the letter न also. As न्या—उन्निहृत्यादि। This prohibition applies when the word is taught primarily as having a penultimate न|| But when it is taught as primarily
having a penultimate र, then the rule does not apply: the य should then be ordained as a substitute of र || See Tudadi root 20.

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

Vārt:—In the case of the verb यति the third should be reduplicated, “Third of what”? Some say the third of the consonants, and according to them the form is यत्वयति || Some say the third syllable, therefore of the root यत्वय (यत्व+य+त), the third syllable य is reduplicated: Thus यत्वयति, यत्वयति (VII. 4. 79) the य of य is changed into short र by VII. 4. 79.=यत्तयति ||

Vārt:—The third syllable of the verbs कण्डुलय &c. is to be reduplicated. Thus कण्डुलय+य+त=कण्डुलयत=कण्डुलयति; so also असुखिवयति &c. ।

Vārt:—The third syllable of verbs derived from nouns is optionally reduplicated, Thus असुक्षिबयति or असुक्षिवयति ||

Vārt:—Others say, any syllable of a नामप्रति (verbs derived from nouns) may be reduplicated, Thus from the noun द्रुक is derived the root पुजीय, the desiderative root of which is पुजीय, which requires reduplication. Here any syllable may be reduplicated; as: 1. पुजीयति, 2. पुजीशिस्ति, 3. पुजीशिपति, 4. पुजीशिपति || Or there may be double and treble reduplication simultaneously as. पुजीशिशिपति ||

पुजीशिशिपति; द्रुक || पदार्ति || पृथवि; अभ्यासः ||

पृथवि: || द्रुक इति सर्वार्थं वर्तमानं वर्तमानं धार्मिकं ज्ञातं || तत्र परिसर्वशर्मिक च स द्रुक इति सर्वार्थं वर्तमानं धार्मिकं ज्ञातं ||

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

The word य in the nominative case is understood here, but for the purposes of this sūtra it is taken in the Genitive case i.e. इत्यय: पृथ: “the first of the two” ordained above. The word Abhyāsa occurs in sūtras III, 1. 6, VI. 1. 7 &c,

उभे अभ्यस्तम || 5 || पदार्ति || उभे, अभ्यस्तम ||

पृथवि: || द्रुक इति सर्वार्थं द्रुक इति सर्वार्थं वर्तमानं धार्मिकं ज्ञातं || तद्द्रुक इति सर्वार्थं द्रुक इति सर्वार्थं धार्मिकं ज्ञातं ||

5. The both are collectively called Abhyāstaka.

Though the word य was understood in the sūtra, the use of the word यै (both) indicates that the word Abhyāstaka applies to the two taken together and not to any one of them separately. The word abhyāstaka 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 हृदलि dādati, the accent is on the first म्. So also by VII. 1. 4 ज्रू takes the place of म् after an Abhyasta, therefore, हृ + हिः = हृ + भालिः = हलि. So also वस्तु (VI. 4. 112).

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 जक्षा, जाप, हार्ता, पार्दा, लास, वेधि, and वेधी. Pāṇini has overlooked वेधी 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 sārvadhatuka Tense-affix not having the intermediate र्द् and beginning with a vowel. Thus ज्ञाति जाति, जासति, हासिः दारिद्राति, चाकासति चाकासति, वासिः साधसति, वायये साधति, and वेदः वेदः. The present participle श्रीयत् is irregularly formed by adding the affix श्रु (अन्) and when so formed it does not take the augment त्वम by VII. 1, 78.

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

There is no list of तुसः verbs given anywhere. The word भासि in भासि 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 तुसः (तुजः + काण्च. III. 2. 106=तुसः: Rig. I. 3. 6). भासि, अनुबादि भागार, लयादि मीमांसा, स तुसः. This lengthening only takes place in the Vedas before some special affixes, and not every where or in secular literature. As तुसः शब्दान् हर्द्वा.

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 + यञ्च = पञ्च पञ्च + यञ्च = पञ्च पञ्च. So also पञ्चत, मन्यकोणव व. In the case of कञ्च, Rule III. 1. 36 does not apply, so the Perfect of this word is not formed by adding ाम to and the auxiliary verbs क्, क्, and रस; but regularly. In fact कञ्च is regarded as if it was सु. See सूत्र III. 1. 36 वार्त. वाच्य कञ्चोपवद्य भावे जहू भाविकिं भ्रमोजन्म, भामस्य प्रतिप्रभायमे- का पञ्चेवद्यपाहत्.

Why do we say when दहर फollows? Observe कस्य, हस्तम्. Why do we say “of a Dhaṭu”? Observe समवा सिधन्यिनि, समवांगन्यिनि. The question arises from the fact that the root (dhaṭu) always directly precedes the affixes of the Perfect, no vikaraṇa intervenes as in the case of other tenses. So there was no necessity of using the word dhaṭu in the sūtra. To this it is replied that by III. 4. 117, sometimes िद is treated as sāvadhātuka, and then it takes vikaraṇa. As जहू taking the vikarana हस्तम् becomes हस्तम् (III. 1. 74) this whole base is not a dhaṭu, therefore when the affixes of Perfect are added there is no reduplication, and we have हस्तम्. See III. 4. 117.

Why do we say ‘of a non-reduplicate’? Observe क्रणो नीपाप बुध्मो बसः. नौनुसयेनेनाव, i.e. it is the Perfect Tense of the Intensive verb नौनुसयम्, and is not reduplicated again, दहर having already caused reduplication. So also समान्यम् नलं समविन्दः. ending in the फ of the Perfect.

वार्त.-In the Chhandas there is optionally reduplication of the root in the Perfect and other tenses. आधिवार्यम् आधिवार्यम् or द्विवार्यम्; द्वितासि द्वितिः द्वितासि द्वितिः द्वितासि द्वितिः द्वितासि. यथा समवा विन्यिनि. वार्त.—The root जहू is optionally reduplicated in the Perfect. As, थो आदिर (or जाजार) सतापः कामान्ये.

सन्यायः ३२ द्वारण | सन्यायः सन्यायः।
बृहि: II धातुसम्बन्धित वचनें। सन्यायसित च पव्यन्तत्तु वातावरणस्य धातुसम्बन्धित चार्यसम्बन्धित फळोवरणस्य च यथा यथा च भवन।

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

The word सन्य यञ्च should be construed as genitive dual and not as Locative dual. In the latter case, the meaning would be “when the affixes सन्य and यञ्च follow, a non-reduplicate root is reduplicated”. The difficulty would be that while the root alone would be reduplicated, the augment हस्तम् would not, as in आदित्यविन्दः, आदित्यविन्दः.

The phrase धातुसम्बन्धित 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 + सन्य (III. 1. 7) पञ्च, reduplicate विशस्तिः (VII. 4. 79). So पञ्च
So also of बढ़नः—as, पापच्छ (VII. 4. 83), अपत्यच्छ, बायच्छ, अपहर्ष, मेघालुक्ष इत्यादि. If a root is already a reduplicated one, there is no reduplication: as ज्ञयस्यस्येते, ज्ञव्यस्येते being the Desiderative forms of ज्ञयस्य (already formed by svārthika लघु III. 1. 5), and of लघु (the Intensive form of लघु) See III. 1. 22.

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

The लघु is the characteristic sign of the roots of the third class, and causes the elision of the vikaraṇa शुद्। The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or a vowel. Thus शुद्दितम् (from लघु), विमनिति, विज्ञेति

11. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the affix च्छ 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 अपीपछ, अपीपछ (VII. 4. 93 and 94). So also आविद्द, आविद्द, आविद्द। These are aorists of the causative roots पाचि &c.

When the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative (व्यवन) verbs पचि &c is to be formed, as here, we should first elide the causative sign चि, then shorten the penultimate vowel, and then reduplicate. Then by VII. 4. 93 the effect would be like as if च्छ 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 च्छ had followed, on the reduplicate, if followed by a light vowel, of an in deflective base to which चि followed by च्छ is affixed; provided there is not the elision of any letter in the pratyāhāra च्छ occasioned by the affixing of चि।” 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 च्छ। 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 ādesa (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 (अतात्त्विक) vowel, but to
Reduplication.

a form consisting of such substituted (साधित) vowel. Therefore, the light vowel is not considered non-existent for the purposes of सन्नव्रत. If this order of operation is not followed, there would arise incongruities. The order must be this: 1st the elision of मि (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 सन्नव्रत. The difficulty will be in the form of अश्रीयामृत, where the short is ordained after the मि. If this be the order of operations, there will not be the reduplication of the second syllable मि in the word मयिने? This is, however, done by I. 1. 59. which see.

दास्वान साहान मेद्वान || १२ || पदानि || दास्वान, साहान, मेद्वान, च || चत्: || दास्वान साहान मेद्वाननि सच्चादानवं सापान्यां चाच्चानेन पियात्वां ||

व्याक्ति: || कुमारीनन्दन के ए भवत् हिंदि व्याक्ति: || चारो || वाच्यानितियतविनान्ति इत्यज्ज्वलयां वयासारं ||

व्याक्ति: || वैति व्याक्ति: || चारो || इस्ते चारो || चारो || पादेनितेः चारों च वीघ्यावासारं \n
12. The participles dasvan, sahvan and midhvan are irregularly formed without reduplication.

The word साहान is from the root सम् ‘to give’ with the affix अ (III. 2. 107), here the reduplication and the augment हृ are prohibited irregularly. As शाहारी साहुः दस्तः (Rig I. 3, 7). The word साहान is derived from the root सम् ‘to endure’, by adding the affix क्रु (III. 2. 107), the irregularity being in lengthening the penultimate, not allowing the augment हृ and the reduplication. Thus साहान वजायकः || So also मेद्वान comes from नित्वृ ‘to sprinkle’ with the affix क्रु (III. 2. 107) the irregularity consisting in non-reduplication, non-application of हृ, the lengthening of the penultimate vowel, and the change of ह into ह. As शाहारी साहुः दस्तः. It is not necessary that these words should be in the singular always, in their plural forms also they do not reduplicate.

Vārt:-Reduplication takes place when क्रु, &c, are followed by the affix क || Thus नित्वृ अनेन = क + क = वजायक, क्रु + क = चिक्क्रु || The affix क comes after क्रु and क्रु with the force of the affix यान ||

Vārt:-The roots चर, चल, पत्त, and बद तake reduplication when followed by the affix क्रु (III. 1. 134) and the reduplicate (abhyāsa) takes the augment भावः || The final consonants of the Abhyāsa (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 चरचरः, चलचलः, पतापतः, बदबदः ||
Vārtt.—The above vārtika is optional, so we have the forms चरः पुरः; चलो यतः; चलो मुरः: &c.

Vārtt.—The root हृत् is reduplicated before the affix अच्, and the augment धारेः comes after the Abhyāsa, and ध्व is the substitute of ह of the Abhyāsa. Thus हृत् + अच् = पुरः + धारेः + हृत् + अच् = चन्द्रायनः (The second ह is changed into ध by VII. 3. 55), as in the phrase चन्द्रायनः कौन्तेयुर्गीणीनामः।

Vārtt.—The causative root पान्ति is reduplicated before the affix अच्, there is elision of नि (sign of the causative), and हृत् is the augment of the Abhyāsa, and it is lengthened. Thus पान्ति + अच् = पान्तूरः।

व्यष्टः: संप्रसारणे पुनःपथोलस्थलपरः॥ १२॥ पद्यः॥ व्यष्टः: संप्रसारणः, पुरः, पत्रोः; तप्यः॥

वृत्तः:॥ पुरः पाति इत्यतःप्रसारस्थलपरः समासे व्यष्टः: संप्रसारणे भावः॥
बालकम:॥ व्यष्टः: सम्प्रसारणे गोकानशः: पतियः॥

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

When the words हृत्व and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samprasāraṇa (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix व्यष्ट of the preceding. That is हृत् is changed into हृ॥ Thus कवीक्रमः गम्भीरः उः = कवीगतः (a Bahuvrihi compound taking the samāsanta affix or rather substitute हृ by V. 4. 137) कवीगतःपतितः = कवीगतः + पति (IV. 1. 92) = कवीगतः॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding यह (IV. 1. 78). Thus we have कवीगतः (see IV. 1. 78). Now in forming the Tatpurusha compound of this word with पुरः or पति, the final य will be changed into हृ and we have कवीगतःहृतः। कवीगतःपतितः॥ The य of या becomes merged into ह (VI. 1. 108), and the short ह is lengthened (VI. 3. 139). So also कौशल्याभिषेकः= कौशः। कौशल्याभिषेकः॥

Why do we say “of the affix व्यष्ट”? Observe हुष्याहुः; लाल्यालः॥

Why do we say “when followed by हृत्व or पति”? Observe कवीगतःहृतः॥ कवीगतःपतितः॥

Why do we say “when forming a Tatpurusha compound”? Observe कवीगतःपतितस्य भास्तः = कवीगतःपतितस्य भास्तः॥ It is a Bahuvrihi compound.

The affix व्यष्ट is here the feminine affix य followed by घ (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: प्रत्ययक्षेत्र वस्ता रसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसितसित
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: क्षणेयं ्चानुसरणेन न \( \) II. Thus we have
परमकालिष्टगम्याः पुष्च: = परमकालिष्टगम्यपुषच: and so also परमकालिष्टगम्यपृवतः: II. Not so
when the word is an upasarjana’ or subordinate in a compound. As अतिकालः
कारीपगम्याः = अतिकालीपगम्याः, तत्तवः = अतिकालीपगम्यातः; अतिकालीपगम्यपावः: II.

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

Though a word ending in यक्त may have may semi-vowels, yet the
vocalisation takes place of the affix य (यक्त) only, according to the maxim
निर्देशान्तरस्थितिः मयाः “substitutes take the place of that which is actually
enunciated”.

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

Vārt:-—Prohibition must be stated when पृवत and पुष्च follow the word
गौताक्ष: II. As गौताक्षपुष्चः, गौताक्षपृवतः: instead of गौताक्षपुष्चः: &c.

बन्धुनि बहुद्विहृः II १४ II पदानि बन्धुनि, बहुद्विहृः
सूति: II यक्त: संसारणसमग्रविषुः सूति:। बन्धुनिः बहुद्विहः संसारण यक्त: संसारण सूति:।
या १० भाषाचारातुकमाद्युः: ॥

14. There is vocalisation of the affix यक्त when the
word बन्धु in follows in a Bahuvrhi compound.

Thus कारीपगम्यासुपत्रः = कारीपगम्यासुपत्रः: II. So also कारीपगम्यासुपत्रः: II.

Why do we say “when the compound is a Bahuvrhi”? Observe कारी-
pगम्याहसुपत्रः = कारीपगम्याहसुपत्रः: which is a Tatpurusha compound. Like the last
sūtra, we have here also परमकालिष्टगम्यातः: but अतिकालीपगम्यातः; कारीपगम्यासुपत्रः:

Though the word बन्धु निः is exhibited in the śūtra in the neuter gender,
it is in fact a masculine word.

Vārt:-—There is vocalisation of यक्त in a Bahuvrhi compound with
मात्र, मात्रक and मात्र optionally: as कारीपगम्यामात्रः or कारीपगम्यामात्रः; कारीपगम्यामात्रकः
or कारीपगम्यामात्रकः; कारीपगम्यामात्रकः, कारीपगम्यामात्रकः II. The indicatory य of मात्र
makes the word take the udātta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163), thus debar-
ing the especial accent of the Bahuvrhi (VI. 2. 1). All Bahuvrhi compounds
ending in यक्त take the samāsānta affix क्तः, so मात्र would have become मात्रक by
force of V. 4. 153, so the separate enumeration of मात्र and मात्रक here shows that
क्तः is also optional,
15. The semivowels of the roots वचः, स्वपः and यजादि verbs are vocalised when followed by an affix having an indicator कः.

The anuvṛtti of वचः does not run into this sutra. The root वचः includes the वचः प्रतिपादने of the Adādi class (II. 54) and the हूः substitute of हूः (II. 4. 53) स्वपः is the root वचः श्रवये of the Adādi class (II 59). The यजादि verbs are the last nine roots of the Bhvādi class viz. भवः, स्वपः, यजः, यजः, वचः, हूः, द्रमः, चदः and श्रमः. The semivowels of these eleven verbs are changed into the corresponding vowel, when an affix having an indicator कः is added to them. Thus with the Past Participle affixes कः and स्वपः, we have the following forms:—

1. वचः—उत्कः, उत्कवाः, (VIII. 2. 30). 2 वचः—सुसः, सुरवाः 3 द्रमः—इतः, इतवाः, (VIII. 2. 36) 4 ब्रमः—उसः, उसवाः, 5 द्रमः—इतः, इतवाः (VIII. 2. 31, 40, VIII. 3. 13 and VI. 3. 111) 6 वचः—उत्कः, उत्कवाः, (VII. 2. 56 VIII. 3. 60) 7 ब्रमः—उत्कः, उत्कवाः, 8 भवः—भृतः, भृतवाः, 9 हूः—हृतः, हृतवाः, 10 श्रमः—श्रवये, श्रवयाः, 11 उपस्थितः—उपस्थितः, उपस्थितवाः.

धातृस्वरुपमणे न्यायवच तथाय पितायते:—When in a Grammatical rule, an operation (dependant on an affix) is taught with regard to a root (dhātu) by mentioning particular verbs (dhātus) 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 धातृः. The existence of this maxim is inferred in the formation of the word भ्रमश्रमः in VI. 4. 174, which sees. Therefore, there is no vocalisation of वचः in the following वचः, श्रमः: Here श्रमः is formed by adding स्वपः to वचः (स्वपः वचः) श्रमः is formed by हूः added to वचः, the vowel being lengthened and samprasarana being expressly prevented by Upādi II. 57. Now, it is a general rule that a root taking the affix ब्रमः, श्रमः, or श्रमः does not lose its character of a dhātu. Therefore श्रमः is a root (धातु), and it ought to take vocalisation before the affix कः. But ब्रमः is not enunciated to come after a dhātu, but after a द्रमः (द्रमश्रमः ब्रमः III. 1. 8) in the rule ordaining its affixing. So also श्रमः: formed by adding हूः to वचः (See Vārt. V. 3. 83).

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16. There is vocalisation of the semi-vowels of the following verbs, when an affix having an indicatory क ओर or क follows:—प्रह ‘to take’, व्या ‘to become old’, वेद्ध ‘to weave’, व्यध ‘to strike’, वशा ‘to shine’, व्यच ‘to deceive’, मध ‘to cut’, प्रच ‘to ask’, and ख्वज ‘to cook, to fry’.

By force of the word ‘क’ (and), the anuvrtti of किति is read into this sūtra. Thus i. मह—प्रहित, महीतावान, (by क र त and कतु), कृतायति (I. 2. 4), अवर्गुहाते (by व्य of the Intensive). 2. च्या—शील, शीलवान (VIII. 2. 44 न changed to न), क्षिमति (I. 2. 4), the short न is lengthened by VI. 4. 2 and is shortened again by VII. 3. 80. चेतत्त्रते (वच्च), 3. वध—The root व्यध is replaced by वध when लित follows (II. 4. 41). This वध can have no किति affix after it, it takes only लित terminations, which as we know are किति (I. 2. 5). The examples, therefore given will be of किति affixes only. Thus ज्वधु, ज्वुः। Now arises this question ‘why do you enumerate वधि, for is not वध (for which वधि is substituted) already included in द्वालि class of verbs given in the last sūtra, and by force of that sūtra, वधि will get samprasāraṇa before किति affixes’, The reply is “वधि is numerated here in order to show that the prohibition of samprasāraṇa with regard to व्यध as taught in VI. 1. 40, does not apply to its substitute वधि in the Perfect Tense”. Thus while the Perfect of व्यध is वधि, वधुः, वधः, the Perfect of its substitute वधि is ज्वधि, ज्वधुः and ज्वुः। More over VI. 1. 38 teaches that the य of वधि is not vocalised in लित affixes, which therefore, implies (ज्वधि) that the other semivowel i. e. य of वध will be vocalised. 4. ल्वस्—विजो, विजवान, and with किति affixes कितिधि, कितिविधि॥ 5. वधः—विधित, विधातवान, and with किति affixes विधि, विधि॥ 6. च्यच—विचित्र, विचित्रवान, विचित्रविचित्रविचविचविच॥ By a Vārtika under I. 2. 1, the word च्या is considered to belong to कुवारि class, and therefore all affixes after it, other than those having an indicatory प, स or the affix बस्, are considered as किति, and therefore, there will be samprasāraṇa before these affixes: as, विधित्वा, विधित्वम्, विधित्वात्॥ 7. वच्—उच, उचवान॥

How is the final य of वध changed into क, for by VIII. 2. 36 य ought to have been changed into य before the द्वाल्न affix क्य? To this we reply the affix क्य is replaced by न (VII. 2. 42) and as this न is not a द्वाल्न affix, Rule VIII. 2, 36 does not apply. This is done on the following maxim: “The substitute of the निष्कवा should be considered to be siddha or effective when applying the rules relating to the change of a letter into य, to accent, to affix, and to the addition of the augment द्रत”. But when य is to be changed into क, the substitute is considered asidhā (not to have taken place). Thus we have the forms बुधकः: &c. Before किति affixes we have बुधित, बुधित्वा:॥ 8. च्यच—उच (VIII. 2. 36), च्यचवान, किति—च्यच्याति, पर्वचचविच॥ The forms प्रच and बचुः would have been evolved by the simple rules of Reduplication even, without the
application of this rule. But प्रण + न (III. 3. 90) = प्रण। II Here there is no vocalisation, because Pānini himself uses the word प्रण: in sūtra III. 2. 117 showing that this is the proper form though irregular. 9. दहनः—भुः (VIII. 2. 36), द्वार्द्य, द्वित्ते = द्वित्तेति, बरी प्रवाहते। II The s of भ्रमजः is changed first into ह by मन्तः जन्तः हर्ति (VIII. 4. 53), and then ह is changed into ज by स्तोः: बुध्य द्वृत्तः (VIII. 4. 40).

स्वतःच्यासायस्येवेतः II १७ II पदानि II लिंग, अव्यास्त्व, उभयेश्चाम, (संस्कारणय) III

वृत्तः II उभयेश्च वाच्यानि महादीना च लिंग परतो स्वतांस्य संस्कारणं भवति। II

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

Thus वच—वचवच, उच्चचच, लघु—लघुलघु, लघुलघु, वच—वचवच, लघुलघु; वच—वचवच, लघुलघु, वच—वचवच, लघुलघु, वच—वचवच, लघुलघु। II As regards महादी verbs; मह—महम्म, महस्यित (there is no speciality in case of this verb, as these forms would have been evolved without even this rule). चचवच—चचचच, चचचच, चचचच, चचचच, चचचच, चचचच, चचचच; चचचच—चचचच, चचचच, चचचच, चचचच. चचचच III Some say that with regard to चचचच, it is equal whether there existed this present rule or not. For they argue thus, चचचच + चचचच = चचचच + चचचच + अ = चचचच + चचचच + अ (हलाछिर शोः: VII. 4. 60) = चचचच। II 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 ह, then you will have to vocalise व by force of this rule. Hence the necessity of this rule with regard to चचचच also, for having changed ह into ह्र, we have वृत्तमुख and then change ह्र into ह by VII. 4. 66. Then this ह substitute becomes sthānivat to ह्र (I. 1. 59), and therefore there is no vocalisation of this ह्र, 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 प्रण and भ्रमज verbs.

This vocalisation of the reduplicate is taught with regard to those affixes which are not किंतु। II With regard to किंतु 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 परतः I. 4. 2, vocalisation will take place first and then reduplication, according to the maxim प्रमुख विशेषानालिगतम् “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 वच + महुः (which is किंतु I. 2. 5) = वच + महुः = वच + उच्च + अष्ट्र् = वच + अष्ट्र्, उच्च। II
Though the phrase उभयाः 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 हसि: शष्य: VII. 4. 60, the vocalisation must take place at all events. Thus व्ययं + वण = व्य + व्य + अ || Here by VII. 4. 60, the second consonant व of व्य ought to have been elided, and the equation would have stood व + व्य + अ, and there would have been vocalisation of व by this rule. But that is not intended; there is vocalisation of व and we have वष्ट्यम् || In fact, the universal maxim of vocalisation is:—“The samprāṣāraṇya and the operations dependent on it possess greater force than other operations which are simultaneously applicable”. संप्रसारण तस्माद च कार्यम् बलवत् ॥

स्वापेश्वाकः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वापे, चज्ज, (संप्रसारणम) ॥

१८. Of the causative verb स्वापि “to cause one to sleep”, there is vocalisation of the semi-vowel, when the affix चक्र of the Reduplicated Aorist follows.

Thus the Aorist of स्वापि is अस्वापम्, अस्वापसभ, अस्वापम् ॥ The vocalisation takes place before reduplication, then there is guna 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 + चक्र = स्वापि + चक्र = स्वापु (VI. 4. 51). चक्र (VII. 3. 86) = स्वापि + चक्र = स्वापु + चक्र (VII. 4. 11) = स्वाप + चक्र (VII. 4. 11) = स्वापु (VII. 4. 94) which with the augment च becomes अस्वापु ॥

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

स्वापिस्वापिभाषणां चक्रः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वापि, स्वापि, चज्ज, (संप्रसारणम) ॥

१९. There is vocalisation of the semi-vowel of the verbs स्वाप ‘to sleep’, स्वाप ‘to shout’, and व्य ‘to cover’, when followed by the affix यस्क of the Intensive.

Thus सौन्दर्यस्य, सौन्दर्यस्य, सौन्दर्यस्ते (VII. 4. 25 the short is lengthened). Why do we say ‘when चक्र follows’? Observe स्वापक formed by नविन्द III. 2. 172.

न चक्र: ॥ २० ॥

२०. There is not vocalisation of the semi-vowel of चक्र, when the affix चक्र follows.
The word यद्य is understood here. As यद्यपि, यद्यपि, यद्यपि. Why do we say "when यद्य follows"? Observe यद, उदाद्धि। See VI. 1. 16 to which this rule is an exception.

21. The verb की is substituted for the verb चाहू ‘to worship, to observe’, when the Intensive affix यह follows.

The phrase यद्य is understood here. Thus चेकावति, चेकावति, चेकावति। The exhibition of की in the sūtra with a long इ indicates that there is long vowel even in tenses where यह is elided, as चेकावति। For if the sūtra had enunciated कि with a short इ as the substitute of चाहू, the forms चेकासत्त &c would have been still valid. Thus कि + यह = चि + कि + य = चि + कि + य = चि + की + य (VII. 4. 25 causing the lengthening of the short इ) But then the Nishṭā would have been चेकित: which is wrong.

22. The की is the substitute of चाहू ‘to swell’, when the Nishṭā affixes follow.

Thus की, कीततवृः। Why do we say "when the Nishṭā affixes follow"? Observe चाहति formed by चिति। In the phrase चाहति भवति, the word चाहति is the feminine of the word चाहति formed by चिति। The phrase चितत्वतयां when the Nishṭā follows" governs all the subsequent sūtras up to VI. 1. 29.

23. The verb स्त्रय (स्त्रय and स्त्रय) when preceded by म changes its semivowel to a vowel, when a Nishṭā affix follows.

The phrases "when the nishṭā follows", and "there is vocalisation" are understood here. The anuvritti of की does not run here. The roots स्त्रय and स्त्रय both assume the form चाहति and are included here. Thus म + स्त्रय + कि म + चिति + न (VI. 1. 108) = प्रस्त्रयतः (VI. 4. 2), and प्रस्त्रयत्वाः। The न of nishṭā affix would have been changed into न by VIII. 2. 43 in as much as the root स्त्रय has a semivowel and ends in long या। But by the vocalisation of या, the condition of चाहति for the application of VII. 2. 43, no longer existing, the affix न is not changed to न। But न is optionally changed to म by VIII. 2. 54 as प्रस्त्रयतः and प्रस्त्रयत्वाः।

Why do we say "when preceded by म?" Observe संस्कारयन: (VIII. 2 43), संस्कारयन। If it was intended that vocalisation should take place when म
singly stood before, then the sūtra could well have run thus मर्गः।। The use of the word दुरेवतेष implies that the rule applies when श्र stands first, though other upasargas may intervene between it and the root. Thus प्रस्तांतिसः, प्रस्तांतिसाधारः।। The compound प्रभृत्तिः should be explained as a Bahuvarhi = मः पृथ्वी वस्त्र धातुपर्यं-सङ्करश्रयः शुक्ल्यः (that which consisting of root and upasarga is preceded by म is called प्रभृत्तिः). Therefore the rule is made applicable to प्रस्तांतिसः:&c.

इण्विन्तिस्ययौः: इणः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानिः इण्विन्तिः, इण्वेययः, इणः।।

वस्त्रः:।। इण्वेययः इण्विन्तिस्य शृङ्गी वस्त्रानििस्य श्वेषः गताविस्य धातुपर्यंश्रयः परः।। संप्रसारणः भवतः।।

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

The word इण्विन्तिः means hardening of a fluid, by coagulation &c. Thus श्रीं मृदां मृदाः मृदाः वतः, श्रीं मृदां: “a coagulated butter, grease &c”. The त of nishtā is changed to न by VIII. 2. 47. But when the sense is that of ‘cold’, the त is not changed; as श्रीं वतः, श्रीं मृदां वतः, श्रीं मृदांिमयः।। The word श्रीं 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 संस्कृति मृदाः: ‘the rolled up scorpion’. The short इ is lengthened in श्रीं &c, by VI. 4. 2.

प्रस्तांतिः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानिः प्रतेः; ।, (संप्रसारणः)।।

वस्त्रः।। इण इण इण इण इण प्रस्तांतिस्य श्वेषाविस्याः परः।। संप्रसारणः भवतः।।

25. There is vocalisation of इणः preceded by the upasarga प्रति, when the nishtā affixes follow.

Thus मृदाणिः मृदाणिन्तिः।। This sūtra applies to cases where the words need not have the meaning of “coagulation” or “cold”.

विविधा सत्यविविधतः ॥ २६॥ पदानिः विविधा, अविधा, अव, पृथ्वी, (संप्रसारणः)।।

वस्त्रः।। इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इण इ�
Vocalisation.

27. Optionally धृत्ते is formed in the sense of ‘cooked’, by the vocalisation of the semivowel of श्रा before the nishtā affix कः।

The word श्रामिता is understood here. The roots न्त्र ‘to cook’ of the Bhvadi class, and श्रा ‘to cook’ of the Adādi class, and श्रा ‘to cook’ of the Bhvādi sub-class Ghaṭādi, are meant here. In all these, श्रा replaces श्रा, whether causative or not. Thus श्रात शीर, श्रात हतिः। This is a vyavasthita vivahā, so that श्रा is invariably changed to श्रा when referring to शीर and हति, but not anywhere else. Thus श्राया व्याय, श्रायत व्यायः (VII. 3. 36 and VI. 4. 92). This word does not take double causative though the sense may require it. As श्राया शीर श्रायत व्यायः “Devadatta through Yajñadatta has caused the milk to be cooked”. The श्रा is intransitive. When the sense is that of Reflexive, or Causative, there the form श्राया is to be used. As श्राया शीर स्वयम्, श्राया शीर देवतेन।

28. श्राया is optionally the substitute of the root ज्ञात् ‘to increase’ before the Nishtā affixes.

The root ज्ञात् belongs to Bhvādi class. The indicatory श्रा shows that the affixes तं ते and नजूँ are changed into ते and नजूँ (VIII. 2. 45). Thus पीती स्वाय, पीती बहुः, पीताः। The option here is also a regulated option (vyavasthita-vivahā). The substitution takes place invariability when the root is without upasarga, and never when it is preceded by an upasarga. Thus प्रामात्। प्रामात्वत्। The substitution, however, must take place when the preposition श्राय precedes the root, and the words श्रायुः and श्रायुः are in composition: as श्रायोऽनुः, श्रायफः।

29. There is substitution of श्राया for ज्ञात् when the affixes of the Perfect (श्रात्) and the Intensive (श्रात्) follow.

The anuvritti of the word श्राया ceases. The phrase ज्ञात् श्राया of the last sūtra is drawn into this by force of the word श्रा ‘and’; thus श्रायाः, श्रायते, श्रायिते, श्रायितते। The substitution of श्राया 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 श्राया: प्रशास &c men-
tioned in VI. 1. 17. Thus शी + लिः = शिः + शी + त = शिः + श्य + ए (VI. 4. 82 the श being substituted) = शाशिः with the affix शा. So also in the Intensive, as शाशमयेते, शाशयेते, शाशपूणयते. ||

विभाषा द्वये: || 30 || पद्यानि || विभाषा, श्ये: ||

वृत्ते: || तिण्डुरीतिः वस्ते संस्कारणानि न || तिण्डुरी शा दस्यते तंतोऽर्थभाष्यं संस्कारणं मवति. ||

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

The phrases िष्व बड़ा: and सम्प्रसारणं are to be read into this सूत्र. Thus श्याशे or श्याभा, श्याभुः or श्याभिभुः. || So also in the Intensive as श्याभूते or श्याभि-भूते. || The root िष्व would not have taken vocalisation before श्यू by any previous rule, this सूत्र teaches optional vocalisation. The root would have taken vocalisation before िष्व, which is a िष्व affix, invariably by VI. 1. 15, this सूत्र modifies that by making the substitution optional. In the alternative, when the root does become vocalised, the reduplicate is also not vocalised in spite of VI. 1. 17. This explains the form िष्वाव, which by VI. 1. 17 would have been िष्वाश. || िष्व + श्यू = (िष्व उह + श्यू VI. 1. 30) = िष्व + श्यू (VI. 1. 108) = िष्व + श्यू (VI. 1. 8) = िष्वाश. ||

शौ च संख्ये: || 31 || पद्यानि || शौ, च, सं, चक्षोः. (संस्कारणम्, ) ||

वृत्ते: || विभाषा द्वारापित चतुः || तत् परे च शौ परत: श्याशेत्क्रोणितीभाषा संस्कारणं मवति. ||

31. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel, in the causative of िष्व, when followed by the Desiderative सं, and the Aorist चहु affix.

The phrase िष्वाशे is understood here. In forming the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist forms of the Causative of िष्व, there is optional vocalisation. Thus िष्वाशेवियत or िष्वाशायवियत. || So also in the Reduplicated Aorist चहु, as भाष्यावहु or भाष्यावभूत. || By the maxim संस्कारणं संस्कारणाश्वेयं च बलियो मवति (see सूत्र VI. 1. 17), the antaranga substitution of व्रिद्धि &c is superseded by the samprasaśaṇa and the subsidiary operations relating to it here. The व्रिद्धि and the substitution of आव take place after the samprasaśaṇa has taken place. The sūtra VII. 4. 80 teaching the substitution of िष्व for the श of the reduplicate, when सं follows, shows by implication that the substitution caused by िष्व is sthāninvat though it itself does not cause reduplication (I. 1. 59).

Thus िष्व + श्यू = िष्व + श्यू = श्याशे + िष्व = िष्वाशे. || In reduplicating आव िष्व we cannot form िष्वाशेय, but must consider the substitute equal to the original िष्व of िष्व and must reduplicate it. We thus get िष्वाशेवियत. || In the case of vocalisation, the rules of व्रिद्धि &c are postponed. Thus िष्व + िष्व + सं (VI. 1. 108) = िष्व + िष्व + सं = िष्व + िष्व + िष्व + सं = िष्व + िष्व + ि�्व + सं. || Here we requ-
iere reduplication. Here the substitute ज्ञ in शाक्त though not caused by सन, is treated sthānīvat under I. 1. 59 to ज्ञ, which is carried in reduplication. Similarly the Aorist: \( \text{श्रध्व} + \text{श्र्द्व} + \text{श्र्द्व} = \text{श्रध्व} + \text{श्र्द्व} + \text{श्र्द्व} = \text{श्रध्व} + \text{श्र्द्व} + \text{श्र्द्व} + \text{श्र्द्व} \) (VII. 4. 1) = श्रध्व + श्र्द्व + श्र्द्व + श्र्द्व (VII. 4. 51) = अहा (VII. 4. 94)

32. There is the vocalisation of the semivowel of the causative of हुवे (हुँ) before the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist affixes.

The whole of the last sūtra is to be read into this sūtra. Thus सहाय-विपत्ति and सहायविपत्ति; सहायविपत्ति; अहा; अहा; अहा and अहा। The root हुँ does not take the augment य required by VII. 3. 37 before the affix श्र्द्व, because the Samprasārana rule is stronger. The repetition of the word संप्रसारण in this sūtra, though its anuvṛtta was present, indicates that the force of the word संप्रसारण 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 हुँकारित्वात् = हुँकारित्वात्; the Desiderative of this verb is जिद्धार्कित्वात्।

अन्यस्तस्य च || 32 || पदानि || अभ्यस्तस्य, च, (संप्रसारणम्)।

33. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of हुँ 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 ज्ञान, ज्ञानं; and ज्ञानम्। This and the last sūtra are one, in the original of Pānini, they have been divided into two by the authority of a Vārtika.

बहुल्य ज्ञानस्य || 34 || पदानि || बहुल्यम्, ज्ञानस्य, (संप्रसारणम्)।

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

Thus हुँवे or हुँवानिः, as हुँवानिः हुँवे ‘Invoke Indra and Agni’. हुँवे सारस्वती हुँवे। The form हुँ is Atmanepada, Present tense, 1st Pers. sing. the vikarana श्यपु is elided, then there is vocalisation and substitution of उवृह्य || So also हुँवानिः महतं विवरणं, हुँवानिः विवरणं देवानुः। So also हुँ: as खुपीप्रयम् (Rig I. 2. 1.) ‘hear the invocation’.
35. For चाय is diversely substituted की in the Chhandas.

Thus विदुष्ण नाथिनृ, नाथिनृ चित्रण, नित्रित्वं चित्रण. These are forms ending in the affix यं of the Perfect. Sometimes there is no substitution. As भावं-भावित्वं चायायः.

अस्पृष्टेयायाम् अन्नदुः चित्रणाय तत्वायायः: श्वितमादिश्रीराशिराष्ट: || ३६ ||

पदानि || अस्पृष्टेयाम्, आनंदुः, आनंदुः; चित्रणे, तित्याय, भाता, भित्र, भाशी; आशीत:; आशीत:; ॥

वृत्ति: || अस्पृष्टेयायाम् आनंदुः आनंदुः चित्रणे तित्याय, भाता, भित्र, भाशी; आशीत; अश्वित; इत्यादि विपरीते ॥

36. In the Chhandas, the following irregular forms are met with:—अस्पृष्टेयाम्, आनंदुः; आनंदुः; चित्रणे, तित्याय, भाता:, भित्र, भाशी: and आशीत:.

The word छन्दित is understood here. From the root लहर ‘to challenge’, is formed अस्पृष्टेयाम् being the Imperfect (लहर), 2nd Pers. Dual, Atmanepada: there is reduplication of the root, vocalisation of r, and the elision of त्र irregularly. As, हुः विद्यो विग्रहेयाम्. In secular language the form is अस्पृष्टेयाम्. Some say, it is derived from लहरे with the preposition या, the vocalisation of r, the elision of त्र, and the non-prefixing of the augment अत्र in the Imperfect (VI. 4. 75). The counter-example of this will be अस्पृष्टेयाम्-

याय इलै. From लहर and लहर ‘to respect, to worship’, are derived आनंदुः and आनंदुः in the Perfect before the 3rd per. pl. उस, there being vocalisation of r and the elision of त्र irregularly. Then there is reduplication, then ये changed to ये, then the lengthening of this ये, then the addition of the augment न, as: लहर+उस = कहर + उस = कहर + उस = कहर + उस (VII. 4. 66) = भात + कहर + उस (VII. 4. 70) = भात + कहर + उस (VII. 4. 71) = भात. The irregularity consists in the samprasthāpa with the elision of त्र. Thus यहात राहामोहुः; न राहामोहुः. The secular forms will be आनंदुः, आनंदुः. The form चित्रणे is the Perfect 2nd per. sing. of the root चित्रणे to go: there is vocalisation of the reduplicate, and the non-addition of the augment त्र before the affix या. This is the irregularity. The regular form is चित्रणे. The form तित्याय is the Perfect of चित्रण, the vocalisation of the reduplicate is the irregularity. The regular form is तित्याय. From the root श्री ‘to cook’, is derived श्राता before the Nisbhā affix, श्री changed to श्रा irregularly. As श्रातास्ति श्रानास्ति: श्रातास्ति श्रानास्ति: Some say the श्रा substitution of श्री takes place when the word refers to सौम, in the plural, and थ्रा when it refers to other
than सौम्. Sometimes the word भाल: is seen in the singular, referring to objects other than सौम्. Thus यदि भालो श्रुतिन्य उपन्यास. In fact, the exhibition of the word भाल: in the plural in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary. The words भालीर् and भालार्ल्ये: are from the same root भ्री, with the prefix भ्रा: and taking the affixes क्रि: and क् respectively. Before these भ्री is replaced by भ्री, and the non-addition of n in the Nishṭhā is irregular. As, तामार्ल्ये दुःखिन्त भालार्ल्ये फळ्वन्यान, क्षीरमध्यात भालार्ल्ये:।

न संस्कृतसारणे संस्कृतसारणम् न ३७ न पदानि न, संस्कृतसारणे, संस्कृतसारणम्। वृत्ति न संस्कृतसारणे परं: पूर्वव: वक: संप्रसारणे न भवाति।

पाल्लि:। क्रि: बैस्सरपाल्लि: पाल्लि:। भा:। रूपमैती बहुमुः।।

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 भ्रा: has two semi-vowels र and र; when र is once vocalised into र, the preceding र will not be vocalised into र। Thus we have विषः। From भ्रा:—विषः, भ्रा:—विषः। 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 ज्ञापक: that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvṛtti 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 दुःख, the र being changed to र, the र is not changed as दः। It might be objected that when the र of र, and र the sam-prasārana of र coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long र for the two र's and this is sthānivat to the original, the र and र of दुःख 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 विं when followed by क्रि:, and there is elision of the क्रि: of क्रि:, when it refers to Metres. As लिङ्ग क्रि:क्रि:—क्रि:क्रि:। क्रि:क्रि:। The word क्रि: takes the samāsānta affix भ्रा: by V. 4. 74. Why do we say when referring to a metre? Observe द्वृत्ति कर्म।।
Vārt.:—In the Chhandas there is diversely vocalisation of the semi-vowel of यः followed by the affix मत्त्व याः श्रयि + मत्त्व = र + र + र + र + र + र - मत्त्व (VIII. 2. 15) = यः; as, आ राविनित्व नी विविष। Sometimes it does not take place, as शैवयात्र मुदित्व:॥ The म here is not changed to य as required by VIII. 2. 15.

Vārt.:—There is vocalisation of कवया before मत्त्व when a Name is meant: as कवयित्व स जसिविष॥ This Vārtika is unnecessary. See VIII. 2. 12 where the form कवयित्व is given.

विस्तः। व यः ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदि, वयः; यः (संप्रसारणम् न) ॥

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

The phrase न संसारणेः is understood here. Thus वासय, श्रयतः, श्रुतः॥ The word िदि is employed in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent सूत्रस, this one could have done well without it even.

वच्चासात्रायतरस्यां किति ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, कः, अस्य, अन्यतरस्यायः, किती। वृत्तः॥ अस्य ववेयो अन्यतरस्य किती िदि परस्य अस्यार्थो भवच्चासात्रायः॥

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

Thus कथतः or कथतः, कशः or कशः॥ According to Pātanjali, the phrase वच्चासा of this सूत्रa could have been dispensed with; this much would have been enough:—

वच्चासात्रायतरस्यां किति वम: ॥ Thus य+अस्य= या + या + अस्य = यस्त: and युः: (the vocalisation being prohibited). In the alternative:—या + अस्य = य + अस्य = य + उष्ण + अस्य (VI. 1. 77)= कथतः, कशः॥ Here there is vocalisation. In the case of य substitute, the य is never vocalised, so we have कथतः, कशः॥ Thus all the three forms have been evolved without using वच्चासा ॥

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

वृत्तः॥ िदिद्वन्तुस्य सूतः येजः नन्तुसात्रायतरस्य भवोतिति परर: संसारणेः न भवति ॥

40. The semivowel of ये ‘to weave’ is not vocalised in the Perfect.

Thus ययः, यशः, यदः॥ This root belongs to यजाविक class and would have been vocalised before किता affixes by VI. 1. 15; and before non-किता affixes the Reduplicate syllable of the Perfect would have been vocalised by VI. 1. 17. Both vocalisations are prohibited here.

त्यपि च ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यपि, च,(संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तः॥ वयः गच्छति ॥ त्यपि च परस्य येजः संसारणेः न भवति ॥

41. The semivowel of ये is not vocalised when the Participial affix त्यपि follows.
Thus प्रवाय, उपवाय। The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛtti of एष्य only runs.

एष्य || २२ || पद्यानि || एष्यः, (सम्प्रसारणमु न) इ।

बृत्ति: || एष्यप्रयोगः। एष्य वन्यानाबिन्द्वस्य धातोपर्यं परतः संसारां न भवति।

42. The semivowel of एष्य ‘to grow old’ is not vocalised when the affix एष्य follows.

Thus प्रस्याय, उपप्रस्याय।

एष्य || २३ || पद्यानि || एष्यः, (सम्प्रसारणमु, न) इ।

बृत्ति: || एष्यप्रयोगः। एष्य वाकस्वबिन्द्वस्य धातोपर्यं परतः संसारां न भवति।

43. The semivowel of एष्य (देव) ‘to cover’ is not vocalised when the affix एष्य follows.

As प्रस्याय, उपप्रस्याय। The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛtti of एष्य runs.

विमाया परे: || ७४ || पद्यानि || विमाया, परे:, (सम्प्रसारणमु, न) इ।

बृत्ति: || एष्य प्रयोगः। एष्यिन्द्रुस्त्रवर्तितः। एष्यस्तिं वाकस्वविन्द्वस्य धातोपर्यं परतः विमाया संसारां न भवति।

44. The vocalisation may optionally take place when एष्य preceded by परि takes the affix एष्य।

Thus परित्यः बुधम् or परित्यः। The augment दुः, presented by VI. 1. ७१ is deburred by VI. 4. २, which causes the lengthening of the vowel: since VI. 4. २ is subsequent to VI. 1. ७१।

आदेव उपदेशे पशिति || २५ || पद्यानि || आद®, एष्य®, उपदेशे, अशिति इ।

बृत्ति: || एष्य प्रयोगः। एष्यिन्द्रुस्त्रवर्तितः। एष्यस्तिं वाकस्वविन्द्वस्य धातोपर्यं परतः संसारां न भवति।

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

The word एष्य: is to be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. ८। Thus लो-मलात, लोतुम, लातुमृत्र, श्—निशात, निर्दात, नित्रातृत्र, नित्रातृत्र। Why do we say ending with an एष्य (diphthong)? Observe कर्तव्य from क, and हर्तव्य from हू। Why do we say in upadesa or द्वातुपाध? Observe वेता, स्वेता where एष्य and स्त्रौ are not the forms taught in the first enunciation of the root in the द्वातुपाध, but are secondary forms. Why do we say, before non-शित्क affixes? Observe श्चैं—अधृ + तित्त् = ग्नायत, ग्नायत। Exception is, however, made in the case of the affix एष्य of the Perfect: as जन्त, मम्। This is explained by interpreting the word चित्त as दित्त, that is the affixes having an indicatory श्च in the beginning: एष्य has श्च at the end. This is done on the maxim भूतस्क विप्रस्तवायाप्रति मम्, “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 आचित is an example of प्रसङ्गगतिषिक्षा: a simple prohibition of a contingent case. Therefore, the substitution of आ for खः वृक्ष 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 के and के are presupposed to end in आ when applying this affix: thus सुस्तः; सुस्तः: || Similarly by III. 3. 128 we apply थुः to के and के by presupposing it as आह्नत roots: as सुस्तः; सुस्तः: ||

The word आ is understood in all the subsequent sūtras up to VI. 1. 57 न व्यो चिति || खः || पदानि || न, व्यः; चिति, (आत्र) || चूः: || चिति आवरणवधाति परस्त भाकारदेशी 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 संविधाय, संविधाय: || The reduplicate of the Perfect is vocalised here by VI. 1. 17. The Vṛddhi in संविधाय takes place by VII. 2. 115 before the स्वृृ affix अहः: ||

स्फुराप्रसङ्गगतिषिक्षा: || खः || पदानि || स्फुरार्थ, स्फुरत्यः:; व्यः, (आत्र) || चूः: || आह्नत इति वचने; रसुर स्फुर बलनाट्यात्माधावर्धीवचन: त्यथे पानिर परस्त भाकारदेशी भवति: ||

47. In the roots स्फुर and स्फुल ‘to move’, there is the substitution of the आ for the diphthong when the affix अहः follows.

Thus विस्फार: instead of विस्फार:; औिस्फार: instead of विस्फार:; || By VIII. 3. 76, the त is optionally changed to त्य after व्य, as विस्फार:; and विस्फार:; ||

फ्रीकायन्नो मान || खः || पदानि || त्री, इत्रू, जीनाम, यो, (आत्र) || चूः: || इत्रूप्रसङ्गगतिषिक्षा: इत्रू अथवेन, ज्ञी अृत्य, इत्रूबन्धावधाति परस्त भाकारदेशी भवति: ||

48. The substitution of आ for the diphthong takes place in the causatives of the roots त्री ‘to by’, इ ‘to study’ and ज्ञी ‘to conquer.’

Thus कायपाल, कथ्यापाल and जायपाल: || The augment द is added by VII. 3. 36, since these roots end in long भा: ||

सिद्धौपालाकिके || खः || पदानि || सिद्ध:; अपालाकिके ||

चूः: || चितिवर्यते:; पिछु इत्यादिप्राप्त कथ्यापालाकिकें वसमानवचः त्यथा त्री परस्त भाकारदेशी भवति: ||
49. The substitution of आ takes place for the diphthong in the causative of लिप, when it does not refer to the next life.

The word परलोकिक is derived from परलोक 'the next world' by adding the affix द्विं with the force of 'for the sake of' (V. 1. 109). The double Vṛddhi takes place by VII. 3. 20. The sense of the word लिप must refer to ब्रह्म or non-intelligent things for the purposes of this substitution. Thus आ लिप, द्विं लिप, द्विं लिप. Why do we say when not referring to the next world? See सप्तासपत्ति द्विं लिप, सप्तासपत्ति कर्मां द्विं लिप. The force of लिप is here that of knowledge, नास: बिनिप्ति द्विं लिप मानावत्साकावद्ध्विं लिप. 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 लिप of the ascetic is for the sake of the next life, and so there is no substitution of आ for आ. Why the substitution does not take place here: आ लिप, आ लिप, आ लिप 'he causes food to be prepared for the purpose of giving to the Brahmans'. Here though the gift of the food produces effect in the next world, yet as that is the effect of आ लिप and not of the verb लिप, the substitution does take place. When the verb लिप directly and not through the mediation of another action, produces पारलूकिकeffect, then the substitution does not take place. The verb लिप here belongs to the Divādi class and not to the Bhāvādi, as the form विनिप्ति in the sūtra shows it.

भीतिः भीतिः भीतिः वयपि च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनाति, मीनाति, द्विइ, वयपि, च ॥

वृत्ति: आ निप्ति द्विइ निप्ति वृत्ति: भीम विनिप्ति, द्विइ निप्ति, द्विइ निप्ति भावाम् लिपि विनिप्ति चक्षुकरङ्गात्विषय विनिप्ति उपवेशकावद्ध्विइ निप्ति चक्षुकरङ्गात्विषय स्थानं आ भावाम्बो निप्ति।

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

By force of the word भि 'and' in the sūtra, the substitution takes place of the diphthongs also of these verbs before all affixes other than वयपि, and this substitution takes place, before the occasion for the applying of the affixes arises (उपदेशकथायाय आ भावाम् निप्ति)। 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 प्रभात, प्रभातय, प्रभाति, प्रभात, विनिप्ति, विनिप्ति, विनिप्ति, विनिप्ति, विनिप्ति, विनिप्ति, विनिप्ति, विनिप्ति, विनिप्ति, विनिप्ति, विनिप्ति, विनिप्ति, विनिप्ति. The substitution of आ being understood to have taken place in the very उपदेश (in the dhātupātha) of
these roots, the affixes relating to roots ending in र or ष do not apply to these at all. Thus यव्, बल्ल, ईष्टुतांग, formed by प्र and बल by taking श्र = श्र and adding these affixes (III. 3. 128 and III. 3. 18) and not the affixes श्र (III. 3. 56) and काल् (III. 3. 126).

विभाग विभागः || 51 || पदार्थः || विभागः, विभागः ||

वृषि: || व्यस्तति वсанंति, आद्यं उवर्धतःति च। तीव्र ० ज्ञेयणसिद्धति वियाद्धि: सी ज्ञेयणसिद्धति कपालितस्यस्य-भुस्मादं वया नित्याः स्वतः। विन्यासानुवस्यां च एव विषये उपस्त्रवंडालस्य स्थानात् विभागाः भाकाः प्राप्तोऽभवति ||

वासुकः || विभीषणलिङ्गः कालिष्ठः। प्राप्तिः युक्तम्: ||

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

The final of ली will take guna substitution before लातू affixes, and will become ल, this incipient diphthong ल is changed to आ by this rule. The same is the case with all the roots subsequently taught, thus लातू will be लेटू, and then ल changed to आ, लार्गोऽ and आ changed to आ &c. Therefore we have employed the anuvrতत्ति of आ ‘diphthong’ in all sūtras. The words ल्यात् and आद्यं उवर्ध आ are understood here. The roots ली belonging to Divādi and Kriyādi are both included here. Thus विलात, विलात्युम, विलात्, विलात्यु, विलात्धव, विलात्त्युम, विलात, विलात्न कालिष्ठः, विलात्त्युम, विलात्त्धव, विलात, विलात्न कालिष्ठः।

Vārt.—The आ substitution does not take place when the affix अष्च (III. 3. 56, III. 1. 134) and काल् (III. 3. 126) come after ल, लनं, ली and ली: as, िक्षातिरिलय:; निमितो वर्णंति ऐण्यम्; मनोऽ वर्णंति ऐपूदू विलयः; विलबो वर्णंति ||

The ली invariably takes आ substitution when the sense is that of ‘showing respect,’ ‘deceiving’ or ‘insulting’. As कस्तनाधापयते, इत्यथा वर्षिकाधापयते || The option allowed by this aphorism is a restricted option (vyavasthita-vibhāṣā) The substitution of आ for the final of ल 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.

विद्यवेद्यन्द्रतिः || 52 || पदार्थः || लिखतः; छन्दसिः ||

वृतिः || विभाषितं वर्णंस्य लिखद्यन्त्वस्य वातार्थं: सथाना: छन्दसिः वियाद्धि विभागाः भाकाः प्राप्तोऽभवति ||

52. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the verb लिखत् ‘to suffer pain’, in the Chhandas.

The word विभागा is understood here. Thus लिखत लिखात or लिखे; In secular literature we have लिखत लेखति ||
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 गुरः।

The affix गुरः forming the Absolutive Participle is added by III. 4. 22, and the word formed by it is repeated. Thus अवसामात्यागृहः or अवसामात्यागृहम्।

So also this affix is added by III. 4. 53: as, अस्वतमारं उप्नन्ते or अस्वतमारं उप्नन्ते.

“they are fighting with raised swords”.

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

Thus चापयति, चापयति (VII. 3. 36 for the addition of प्) so also स्कोरयति or स्कारयति।

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

The root ची 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 सुरो वालो गा: मावपयति or मावयति = गा: माहयति।

The word मजन means the receiving of the embryo which in course of time will lead to the birth of a child.

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

The words ची and विभाषा are understood here. The word हेतु in the sūtra is the technical हेतु meaning स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजनम् (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 श्रुण्डो भावयते (VII. 3. 36) or भिषयते (VII. 3. 40). So also जातलो भावयते or भिषयते. This root takes the affixes of the Atmanepada, by I. 3. 68; and the augment य 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 + य i. e. भी ending in ह; and means भी ending in ह takes the augment य.

Why do we say ‘when the agent of the causative is the producer of the fear’? Observe कुष्ठिकरणं भावयति हेतुभयः। Here the fear is produced from the कुष्ठिकरण and not from Devadatta the Agent.

निल्यं समयते: ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निल्यं, समयते: ॥

भृति ॥ भेनावर्तनान्यं हेतुभयं ॥ निल्यमणियतातिमितिः निल्यमणिः ॥ निल्यं श्रुण्डसंवर्तमादि भासोऽहं ॥ भेनावर्तनान्यं हेतुभयं ॥

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

The words श्रम and हेतुभय are both understood here. The word निल्य shows that the anuvtti of निल्यमणि ceases. Thus हुण्डोजितलो श्रमावर्तनान्य। Otherwise we have कुष्ठिकरणं भावयति। The word भेनावर्तनान्यं here is taken to mean श्रमावर्तनान्य i. e. ‘wondering, feeling astonished’. See I. 3. 68 where also this meaning has been extended to भेनावर्तनान्य by its connection with भासो with भासो together; the proper word ought to have been हेतुभयं in connection with श्रम, and हेतुभयं in connection with भासो।

श्रुण्डोहरिदायलकिति ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुण्डो, हरिदाय, श्राठि, अष्टि, अष्टिक्षिति ॥ भृति ॥ बुज्ज बिसति, दर्शिः, दर्शनं, दर्स्याप्राहार्यक्षाकिति भवति पत्रसु रमगा भासो भवति ॥

58. The augment अष्टि (अष्टि) comes after the श्रुण्ड of श्रुण्ड ‘to create’, and धार्श ‘to see’, when an affix beginning with श्राठि letter (the Mute and the Sibilant) follows: provided that it has no indicatory य।

Thus श्रुण्ड + हरिदाय = श्र + ह + ध + य = सट्टू nom. sing. धार्शा, so also सट्टू, सट्टूम, सट्टा, सट्टम, सट्टम, सट्टमह। This अष्टि augment prevents the गुर्द substitute ordained by VII. 3. 86. But in भासो and भासो the Viśuddhi takes place in the Aorist, after the augment अष्टि had taken effect.

Why do we say when beginning with a Mute or a Sibilant? Observe स्त्रांगमुम, हरिदायम् with ह। Why do we say not having an indicatory क? Observe स्त्रूः, हरिदायम्: before the affix क। 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 र्श्रुण्डस्यायम्, हरिदायम्। Here the words are used as nouns rather than verbs. For the maxim अष्टि: श्रुण्डस्यायम् पत्रसु भासो भवति applies here.
60. The word शीर्षक is found in the Chhandas.

This word is another form of शिर and means 'head'. This is not a substitute of शिर in the Vedas, for both forms are found therein. Thus शीर्षक हि समू कृति हरित, वले शीर्षक हार्मन्यम्. In the secular literature there is only one form शिरः.

बक्षति अद्वितितेः ६१ || पदानि || ये, च, तजटते ||

बुति: शीर्षकत्रित द्विते। आदेशाद्वितितं स कथे तद्वितित हि। परं नामितमहिमं स सदाधनोऽस्मि प्रकटं शिरः शार्माणास्मि। यक्यप्रतीत तजटते परत: शिरः शास्त्राय शीर्षकत्रितो भवति।

शाचिकम् ओ द्राक्षः प्राक्षः

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

The word शीर्षक is understood here. This rule teaches substitution. The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the Śūtra, we must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरः. Thus शीर्षको हि खेर्यो भवति,
62. There is the substitution of श्रीप for शिरस्व when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Thus हासिसहीर्षयस्यत्र वहासिसहीर्ष्यस्यहासिसहीर्ष्यस्य (IV. 1. 96). So also स्त्रुतिशरस्य श्रव्यस्य (VI. 1. 61). Had the word been श्रीप (instead of श्रीष्य as taught herein) then it would have retained its final श्र् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI. 4. 168). Again in forming the feminine of हासिसहीर्ष्यस्य by adding श्र् (IV. 1. 78), arises this difficulty:—वहासिसहीर्ष्यस्य (when श्र् is a Taddhita affix beginning with श्र्) when this is applied to हासिसहीर्ष्यस्य, we must apply the last rule and change the श्र् into श्रीष्य (for श्र् being the substitute of शिरस्व is prima facie a substitute of श्रीष्य also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61). The form which we get will be this, हासिसहीर्ष्यस्य + श्र् = हासिसहीर्ष्यस्य + श्र् (VI. 1. 61) = हासिसहीर्ष्यस्य (VI. 4. 168). But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हासिसहीर्ष्यस्य। How do we explain this? Thus हासिसहीर्ष्यस्य + श्र् = हासिसहीर्ष्यस्य + श्र् (the श्र् is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of श्र् we substitute a zero or श्र् in प्रार्थना)। Now this आदेश becomes sthānivat to आ, thus the affix श्र् not being directly applied to श्र्, because this zero intervenes, श्र् is not replaced by श्रीष्य as required by VI. 1. 61, for it is not followed by an affix beginning with श्र् but by a zero sthānivat to आ affix.

This सूत्रa is not of वा०, but is really a वार्तिकa raised to the rank of a सूत्र by later authors.
63. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are substituted:—पद्म for पद्, दुः for दुः, नस् for नस्स, भास्क for भास्क, एक्षाँ for एक्षः, उद्दन for उद्दन, यत्र for यत्र, शक् for शक्, उद्दन for उद्दन and आस्त्र for आस्त्र.

The Kāśikā gives आस्त्र as the substitute for आस्त्र, the Siddhānta Kau-mudi gives the original as आस्त्र which has been adopted in the above. Some say that these substitutions take place in the Vedic Literature only, others say, they are general. Others read the word 'optionally' into this sūtra from VI. 1. 59 and hold that these substitutions are optional and not compulsory.

Examples:—1. पद्—निपस्थलो जाहि, पावास्य मोहुः || 2 दुः—ते ती धावति तस्य ||
3 नस्—मुक्कस्यस्यवनसा || 4 मात्—मातिस्यव पदायमि चतुर्या || 5 एक्षां—एक्षां पुरुषो मनसा जातितेष्ठा ||
6 निपस्थलो अभावस्यायं निपति वशेष || 7 भास्क—भास्करः स्मार्थान्तिः || 8 उद्दन—उद्दन श्रुति श्रवाणानागामाणं ||
9 उद्दन—उद्दन दौभामयम् || 10 यत्र—यत्र धावति || 11 शक् शक्ति बद्वादम् || 12 उद्दन—उद्दन लिङ्गस्य नाति ते || 13 आस्त्र—आस्त्रि ति नन्म मधुनि ||

Why do we say when the weak terminations दुः &c follow? Observe वर्ते ने प्रतिपीड़ी नातिकेः में क्रुः || As examples of this substitutions in the secular literature also, the following may be given:—

व्याघ्राभ्यं गार्भस्य पद्धासुपुरसूतितः च ||

व्याघ्रायो नोङस्यपौरलं बालन्त्याविष्पमागाः ||

These substitutions take place before other affixes also: as, श्लष्ट्या, कक्षास्य माधवः ||

Vārt.—The following substitutions also take place: गांठ for गांठ, पुष्ट for पुष्टना, and सित for सितद: as यज्ञस्य मांसपच्या: मोंसपच्या: (Yaj. XXV. 36). द्रुष्य मांसम for द्रुष्यास्यांस्यम: न ते सितो न पृष्टया बालन्त्याविष्पमागाः ||

Vārt.—The नस्स is substituted for नस्स for नस्स only when the affixes नस्स नातिका and नस्स नातिका and the word दुः follow: as, नस्स, नस्स, नस्स दुः: || The दुः is taught in IV. 3. 55 and V. 1. 6; दुः is taught in V. 4. 45.

Vārt.—The substitution of दुः for दुः as the initial of a verbal root before the affix दुः does not take place when it refers to 'letters', or 'cities' as: नातिको वर्ग: 'a nasal letter' नातिको नातिकाः ||

घातवाड़े: स: स: ॥ 64 ॥ पद्धारिः ॥ घातवाड़े:, प:, स: ॥

वुः वुः धातौरामेः: पालस्य ध्यानस्य तत्काराध्या भवति नवत्विं ||

बालन्त्याविष्पमागाः || उवाणाश्वपुरसूतिन्यां प्रतियोगी बालन्त्याविष्पमागाः ||

64. There is the substitution of स in the room of the श when being the initial of a verbal root as enunciated in the Dhātupātha.

The roots exhibited in the Dhātupātha with an initial श, change it for स: || Thus पह—सह, विछ—सिथाः || Why do we use the word 'root'? Observe
Why do we say 'initial'? Observe—कर्णि, कुष्टि—Why have then roots been exhibited in the धातुपाठा with an initial य, when for all practical purposes this य 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 य is for the sake of brevity. Certain roots change their स into य when preceded by certain letters: those roots which thus change their letter स for य have been at once taught with an initial य, and thus by VIII. 3. 59 their स is changed to य. Thus from सिव—instead of सिस्व we have सियव, भूत्व:। Thus root is exhibited in the धातुपाठा with य, and thus we know that the स must be changed to य। Otherwise a list of such roots would have to be separately given. One must refer to the धातुपाठा 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 धातुपाठा as beginning with an initial य, as well as the following roots सत्, सत्व: सत्वत्, सत्वज, and सय: though followed by य or य। The following roots though followed by a vowel or a dental are not taught with an initial य viz. सूर, सृजः, सत्, सत्य, सत्, and स।

वृत्त:—Prohibition must be stated of the roots derived from nouns, and of सिव and सस्क। Thus शोभते, पण्डते are roots derived from nouns, and though these roots begin with य are not changed: so शिवः—शिवति, शस्कः—शस्कते। The word शिव: contains in it two roots शिवः and शिवः, one with श, another with श, and thus we have two forms in the reduplication:—शिवते, शिवते। The substitution of स for य takes place in the case of the root that has य।

65. There is the substitution of य for the initial स of the root in the धातुपाठा.

The phrase धातवस्ति is understood here. Thus शीर्षः—शीर्षति, गमः—गमति, गहः—गहति। But not बगः—बगति। This does not apply to roots derived from nouns. ज्ञातिस्तिस्ति—ज्ञातिस्ति। The roots are exhibited in the धातुपाठा with य for a similar reason as they are exhibited with य। By VIII. 4. 14, these roots change their न into य when preceded by certain prepositions. All roots beginning with a य should be understood to have been so taught, with the exception of the following:—य, नन्दः, नन्दि, नकः, नादि, नाधः and नाधः।

66. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the य and य when followed by any consonant except य।
The final श or श of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c, beginning with a वृत्त consonant i.e. any consonant except र। Thus दिविन + वसर (I. 2. 107) = दिविन + विव + वसर = दिविलसु्र. nom. singular दिविनान्ति. दिविलिङ्गी. दिविलिङ्गात्मक। Thus जुः + त = जुते, 'spun', जुः + त = जुते 'made a noise'. So also the affix दुः comes after गौर्ण in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129). Of the affix दुः, द is replaced by एः (VII. 1. 2). Thus गौर्ण + एः + र = गौर्णः: (the श of the affix being even elided before र।) So also in यदि, यजि the श of लिङ्ग (III. 4. 102) is elided before रः (III. 4. 105). So also श is elided in the following:— from शी:—जीर्णसः (by Uṇādi affix जीवः रात्रः) from लिङ्ग—अविनिमात् formed by the Uṇādi affix अनिन्त्र with the negative न। There being diversity in the application of Uṇādi affixes (III. 3. 1), there is not र्थ substitution for र as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except र।" Observe त्र्युत्तिन, त्र्युत्तिते when र is not elided. Why the word त्र्युत्तिन is placed first? The elision of र and र ह should take place prior to the elision of the aprīkta व that taught in the next sūtra. Thus त्र्युत्तिन + विव = त्र्युत्तिन रः (VI. 4. 48) = त्र्युत्तिन + र = त्र्युत्तिन। So त्र्युत्तिन + विव = त्र्युत्तिन। Why र of र्थ is not elided before र which is a वृत्त consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of र been intended, the root would have been enunciated as र्थ instead of र्थ। If you say the र is taught for the sake of forms like वृत्तिति by samprasārana, and वृत्तिति by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasārana, and the elision of र by विलिङ्गिय: are Bahiranga.

बेलुङ्कस्य ६७ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ वेंः; अर्पनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्र्युत्तिन इति यथे। विनिमात् विनिमातः मृण्डलः। बेलुङ्कस्य लोपोऽ

67. There is elision of the affix विव when reduced to the single letter श।

The affix विव includes विव, विव, विव &c. In all these, the real affix is श, which being an aprīkta (I. 2. 41), is elided. Thus द्रवः, द्रुणः (III. 2. 87). Here the affix विव is elided. So also गृहस्थः, वैतस्तः (III. 2. 58). Here the affix विव is elided. So also वा न्यायान पावकः, तुरीयानकः (III. 2. 62). Here the affix विव is elided.

Why do we say "of an aprīkta—अन affix consisting of a single letter")? Observe द्रिं: formed by the affix द्रिं (विव being the real affix); so also जनाचारिः formed विव, see Uṇādi Sūtras IV. 53. 54. No root can become a noun unless some krit 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 Dhātus to a Prātipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by
I. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus भिव words are adverbs (Gati) and Indefinables.

हस्त्त्वंस्यो शिर्ष्ट्वंस्तिथ्वपूर्णं हस्त् || ६< || पदानि || हस्त्, उच्चापुर्वः,
दीर्घात, सदां, तिः, दिः, अमुक, हस्त् ||

इर्वः || लोप इति वर्णितः || तद्विध लोपिक्षे नायण्येष कर्मसायेः एक्त्वेऽद्वैः। इर्वः इति लोपः || हस्तान्तः
हस्तान्तायान्तः शीर्षार्थः सदां तिः स्तिः हस्तान्तः हस्तान्तः]

'Kārikā'—संध्योगन्तत्व लोपे इति नतोपरिहि सिद्धाति। राज्ये नेतृव लोपः स्वाध्यायस्मादिग्रीविते।

68. After a consonant there is the elision of the nominative-affix स्त्र् and the tense-affix ति and स्ति (when reduced to the form of तु and स्तु) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix श्री and आप), there is the elision of the nominative affix स्त्र्।

The sūtra translated literally means:—After a word ending in a consonant, or श्री, or आप when a long vowel, the affixes स्त्र्, ति and स्ति when reduced to a single consonant affix (अप्रकट हस्त्) are elided. But ति and स्ति are elided only after a consonant and hence we have translated it as above. As examples of the elision of स्त्र् after a consonant:—राजाः + स्त्र् = राजाः (VI. 4. 8)+ोऽराजः, लशा, वलास्तः, पर्यायः। After a श्री:—as, कुमारी, गौरी, शार्कर्षियी। After आप:—उभार्या, शहर्या, कारी गर्भाय। The elision of ति and स्ति takes place only after consonants:—as, श्वस्तिथाय (श्व + स्त्र् + तिः = अ + च + श्व + तु = अ + श्र + तु) (VI. 1. 10)
= अ + भ्र + श्र + तु (VII. 4. 66 and I. 1. 51.) = अ + भ + श्र + तु (VII. 4. 60) = अ + भ्र + श्र + तु (VIII. 4. 54) = अ + दिः + तु (VII. 4. 76) = अ + दिः + तु (VII. 3. 84) = अ + भिर्य + तु = अ + भिर्य। So also अभागोऽभवाः। In both these cases तु of the Imperfect has been elided. The स्त्र् is elided in the following:—अभागोऽभवाः, अभिनेत्रीयाः। (दिः + स्त्र् + श्र्)। The श्र् is changed into श्र् by VIII. 2. 75 and स्त्र् is elided by this rule.

Why do we say “after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ”?
Observe श्रीस्तीमि; लेनान्ति। Why do we say “after a long vowelled feminine affix”? Observe श्रीस्तित्वाद्वियोऽस्तित्वाद: प्रकटत्वायुः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say “when followed by स्त्र्, ति and स्ति”? Observe श्रीस्तीमि। The ति being read along with त्रि, does not include श्रि, but refers to ति only. Why do we say ‘when reduced to a single letter’? Observe निम्नति, निनान्। Why do we say ‘the consonant is elided’? Observe निम्नति, निनान्। Here the aprikta affix श्र् of the Perfect is not elided: though it being the substitute of ति is like श्रि, and ought to have been elided, had the word हस्त् not been used in the sūtra.
Why has the elision of ख्र (ख्र), त्र (त्र) and श्र (श्र) 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 रज्ञा, तस्ता could not be evolved. As रज्ञृतः + ख्र = रज्ञृव + ख्र (VI. 4. 8) = रज्ञृस्त्र and by eliding ख्र by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become रज्ञृस्त्र, and the final ख्र 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 ख्र does not find scope, since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of ख्र) is considered as if it had not taken effect. So also in the case of उख्तल्ल्र and पर्वर्त्तल्ल्र II उख्त + भ्र + विव्र III. 2. 76 = उख्त + भ्र (the nasal being elided by VI. 4. 24); now add ख्र, we have उख्तल्ल्र + ख्र = उख्तल्ल्र; elide the final ख्र not by this rule, but by VIII. 2. 23, we have उख्तल्ल्र here we cannot change the ख्र into ख्र by VIII. 2. 72 for ख्र 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 भज्ञोत्त्त्र II. The word भज्ञ: is 2nd. Pers. sing. of the Imperfect of भिद्द of Rudhādi class. Thus भिद्द + भ्र + ख्र + भ्र = भ्र + ख्र + भ्र + ख्र (बिद्व changed to बिव्र by VIII. 2. 75) = भज्ञस्त्र II. If we elide the final ख्र of the conjunct by VIII. 2. 23, then in भज्ञस्त्र + ख्र, the ख्र would not be changed into ख्र to form भज्ञोत्त्त्र by VI. 1. 113 since the elision of ख्र is considered as to have not taken effect when applying this rule. So also in भज्ञस्त्र भल्लर, by Rule VIII. 2. 24, there would be no lopa even, for संवर्गान्तके rule is restricted by रवर्ग (VIII. 2. 24), i.e. ख्र only and no other consonant is elided after ख्र, therefore there will be no elision of ख्र in भज्ञस्त्र by VIII. 2. 23.

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

The word लेप is understood here also; as well as हर्ष। The word अपूर्तिः however is not to be read here, as its repetition in VI. 1. 68 (though its anuvṛtti 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 अन्नि and शान्ति for अन्नि and शान्ति; and by VII. 3. 107, a short vowel is substituted for the long vowel ए and ख्र of the feminine: as नारि and ब्रुषु for नारि and ब्रुषु। Now applying the present sūtra, the affix ख्र is elided after-
all the above words. As हे ब्रह्मे !, हे वायू !, हे वेदन्त! हे नाति !, हे वधु ! The Vocative Singular of कुञ्ज्य a Neuter noun is thus formed. By VII. i. 24, अम replaces यम of the nominative, the य of अम and the final य of कुञ्ज्य coalesce into one य by VI. i. 107, which becomes कुञ्ज्य। Here by the rule that ‘consonant’ only is to be elided, we elide य only (and not य 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 य is not an अपूर्वक हुस for it is part of the affix अम, and its elision would not have taken place had we read the anuvritti of aprikta into this sūtra. Thus we have हे कुञ्ज्य। But in हे कपित्य। there is not the elision of the य of the affix अम, the substitute of य for the affix there is अम (VII. i. 25). This affix being वित्य causes the elision of the final य of कपित्य (VI. 4. 143), and we have कपित्य+अम, here we have not a प्रतिपदिक which ends in a short vowel, but in a consonant, hence य is not elided. See also VII. i. 25. The word हुस is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution is stronger than lopa. Therefore in हे अमन्य + य, the affix is not elided first and then guṇa substituted for य, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided.

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

Thus या ब्रह्मा or या ब्रह्मा ने, या ब्रह्मा ने ब्रह्मा।

इस्स्य पिता कति तुक्क। ७१। पदाति। हुस्स्य, पिता, कति, तुक्क।

कृत्य। पिता कति पर्ता इन्स्य तुमागाय भविष्य।

71. To a root ending in a short vowel is added the augment त (तुक) when a Krit-affix having an indicatory य follows.

Thus अमन्य+ि+तिः=भानिष्य, so also तीर्थं! Similarly ग्रहङ्ग and प्रहङ्ग and उपर्ज्ज्य formed by the affix व्यय। Why do we say “ending in a short vowel”? Observe आहुः, भानिष्य। Why do we say “having an indicatory य”? Observe कुञ्ज्य, हुस्य। Why do we say “a krit affix”? Observe पद्यः, पदाति, with the Taddhita-affixes सर+ and तमृ। In the compound भानिष्य, though the root is made short, yet there is no augment तुक, 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 भानिष्य वाहिकः तस्य: “That which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is Antaranga is to take effect”. 

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

This is an adhikāra or governing sutra, exerting its influence upto VI. 1. 158. What ever we shall say in the sutras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहितायाम्, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice. Thus ०युः, नवनन्द ते and दे are changed to ष and ष when the two words are pronounced without any hiatus. Otherwise we shall have ०ष्ये च ष, मषु ष्ये ॥

छ च ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छै, च ॥

ृवतः ॥ इन्द्रस्य तुगमचयम् च षकारं परत्: संहितायाम् विषये इन्द्रस्य तुगमाते वनाति ॥

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

Thus ष्योति, मष्यिति ॥ The ष is changed to ष 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 चिचिच्छस्ति, चिचिच्छुः, the augment is not to be considered as part of the Reduplicate वि, but of the short ष only; and therefore it is not elided by इन्द्रि: वाय (VII. 4. 60) rule applying to reduplicates. This follows on the maxim नातवायवस्थ:। सहायोवस्थो वर्तति “the part of a part cannot be considered as a part of the whole”. Here ष is a part of the abhyāsa syllable वि which is itself a part of the verbal base, therefore ष is not considered as an abhyāsa: or because ष being an augment of ष is considered as part of ष and not of वि of which ष is the part,

आकाशोदरः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आषु, माषोः; च ॥

ृवतः ॥ तुग्निलनुर्ध्वतेः, छषरति ॥ आषोऽविं संप्रसादित्व चतुष्क्रियेऽयव वर्तमानस्य मार्गेन प्रतिविधेयवनस्य छकारं परततुगामाते वनाति ॥

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

The Particle आ has the four senses of 1. littleness (इन्द्रस्य) 2. with verbs, as a prefix (किषयमाते): 3. the limit ineptive (अभिविधि) and 4. the limit exclusive (समाया)। This sutra ordains तुक necessarily, where by VI. 1. 76, it would have been optional. Thus इन्द्रायं = भाष्याय:; 2. With verbs: as आचास्याय, 3 and 4. आचास्याय, भाष्याय:॥ So also the negative particle मा, as, माचष्यस्तात, माचष्यवरः ॥ The ष in भाष्य
and ताः shows that ता when used as a Gati and ता Karmapravachaniya and ता when used as a negative particle are meant. Therefore, the त is not necessary in the following:—अढळावा मानवांते, प्रमाणाः। The त may be optionally added in these as अढळावा and प्रमाणाः। The ता here has the force of recollection (स्मरण); अढळावा “Oh the shade”. The word प्रमा is formed from the verbal root माः by the prefix प्र and the affix अक्ष (III. 3. 106) with the feminine affix ता, and the word ending in ता has not the indicatory त॥

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

Thus तिर्यक्ति, मेर्म्च्छति, अपचाप्च्छति, विचाप्च्छति। The augment belongs to the long vowel and not to the whole syllable ending in that long vowel.

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

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 कुर्सीच्छत्या or कुर्सीचत्या, कुर्सीच्छता or कुर्सीचा॥ The त 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; (सयं सयं चिन्ति) not applying. Thus तिस्वदु तुमरीच्छं हर इववस्रसस्य, “let the girl stay. Take the umbrella of Devadatta”. Here कुर्मी and छथे are not in construction, but तुम is still added optionally.

Vārt.—The augment त is optional in the Chhandas, after the words विद्व्यजन &c. As, विद्व्यजनक्ष्यम or विद्व्यजनक्ष्यम, विद्व्यजनाः कुर्सीचाराम or कुर्सीचाराम॥

77. The semivowels य, र, ल, त are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels य, र, ल and त (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sūtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. 1. 101, namely the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding for
the application of this rule. Thus ड्यू + अ = ड्यू, म्यू + अ = म्यू, क्यू + अ = क्यू, न्यू + अ = न्यू, ल्यू + अ = ल्यू, ल्यू + अ = ल्यू, ल्यू + अ = ल्यू, ल्यू + अ = ल्यू.

Vārt:—This semivowel substitution of vowels takes place, when preceded by a prolated vowel, even to the supersession of VI. 1. 101 requiring lengthening. Thus अङ्ग = अङ्ग, अङ्ग यस्मात्, पद्य = पद्य, इल्लक = इल्लक, अङ्ग इल्लक = अङ्ग इल्लक, पद्य इल्लक = पद्य इल्लक. The phrase ‘when a vowel follows’ exerts its influence upto VI. 1. 108.

78. For the vowels प, भे, जो and ओ respectively substituted अथृ, आ, अथृ and आ when a vowel follows.

Thus प + न्यू = प + न्यू, अ + न्यू = अ + न्यू, अ + न्यू = अ + न्यू, अ + न्यू = अ + न्यू.

So also क़ुल, क्वेस, क्वेस, क्वेस, हू + ब्रू (III. 2. 148) = हू + ब्रू = हू + ब्रू = हू + ब्रू = हू + ब्रू.

वान्तरं द्वितीये ७९. || प्रदानिः || वान्तः, विन्दम्, प्रदानिः ||

79. The substitution of अथृ and आ for ओ and ओ also takes place before an affix beginning with य।

The वान्त are those which end in य (viz. अथृ and आ) Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding सूत्र, those which end in य (viz. अथृ and आ) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and ओ. Thus ब्रू + ब्रू = ब्रू + ब्रू = ब्रू = ब्रू (VI. 4. 146 and IV. 1. 105). So also नान्यू, नान्यू, नान्यू, नान्यू, नान्यू (IV. 4. 91) इत्यादि। Why do we say “अथृ and आ”? Observe रागमिन्द्रतिं = रागमिन्द्रतिं, no change of द् before य। Why do we say “before य”? Observe मोथाम्, मोथाम्। Why do we say “an affix”? Observe गाओयानं, गाओयानं।

Vārt:—The word ओ is changed before द्वितीय in the Vedas. As ओ + द्वितीय = ओ + द्वितीय, as ओ + द्वितीय = ओ + द्वितीय, as ओ + द्वितीय = ओ + द्वितीय. Why do we say ‘in the Vedas’? Observe गाओयानं:।

Vārt:—This substitution takes place when referring to the measure of a road:—as, रागमिन्द्रतिं = मोथाम्। This is in the secular literature, रागमिन्द्रतिं = मोथाम्।

80. For the final diphthongs ओ and ओ of a root, are substituted अथृ and आ respectively, before an affix beginning with य, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.
The words एवः; वाल्लाखः प्रक्षेपः are understood in this sūtra. The word तांतिहासित means ‘caused by that’ i.e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with य. Thus य forms its Future Passive Participle by स (III. 1. 97), this affix causes the guṇa of य by VII. 3. 84: Thus य + य = ल + य, which according to the present sūtra becomes नययः. So also य—प्र + य = पययः। य + य (III. 1. 125) = न + य = अवस्थय लाभयम् and अवस्थय पापयम्। 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 तु + य = वाल्लो + य = वाल्लो; it will not apply to cases like ना + य = नाय, ना + य = नाय, where औ and औ 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 य with the upasarga औ is औ + य + य = य = य. Here by Samprasarana (VI. 1. 15), य becomes य as औ + य + य + य; now by sandhi औ + य = औ (VI. 1. 87), we have औ + य = औ. So also औ, इलयामितिः, पययः: (IV. 1. 95). The word एव in the aphorism has the force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, औ and औ before य are changed then only to य and य when य has caused the production of औ and औ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the य has caused the production of औ and औ or not.

सूर्यजयण्यः शक्त्यधे II 81 II पदानि II सूर्यः-जयण्यः, शक्त्यः-अर्थे II पुनः: II ति जि इवत्सति त्रिवृद्धिभिः पत्रसंसरः शक्त्यार्थे गम्यमाने एकार्यस्वाक्षरिणी नियमिते II

81. In सूर्यः and जयण्यः there is substitution of अर्थ for ए only then when the sense is that of “to be possible to do”.

The roots ति and जि before the affix वद्य (III. 1. 97) assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As जयण्यः: शते = सूर्यः (ति + य = शते + य); so also जयण्यः: II Why do we say when meaning “to be possible to do”? Observe शते पापं, जे द्वारं वृष्ण: II Here the meaning is that of ‘necessity’.

कर्मस्तत्त्वे II 82 II पदानि II कर्मः, तद्यथे II पुनः: II ति जि इवत्सति त्रिवृद्धिभिः कर्मभेअस्मिनित्ये वल्लो पत्रसंसरः अवस्थिते नियमिते II

82. In कर्मः there is substitution of अर्थ for ए when the sense is that of ‘exposed or put out for sale, saleable’.

The word कर्म is derived from की ‘to buy’, with the affix यत्; the guṇa ए being changed to य. The word तद्यथे means ‘for the purpose of that’.
i. e., for the purpose of being bought. As कट्या गौऽ, क्यऽ: कम्रलऽ: इ. Why do we say ‘when the sense is that of saleable’? Observe केंद्रे नी धार्ने न प्राप्ति क्यऽ: “we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale”.

भव्यप्रवचयऽ च मन्त्रिसऽ तृतीयऽ पदानि भव्य - प्रवचयऽ , च, मन्त्रिसऽ, इ. वृत्ति: इ विनिर्देशार्थः पूर्वऽसऽ च यो इवतः सतः प्रवचयऽ परसऽमर्यासऽ मन्त्रिसऽ निवार्थः इ वान्तिकऽ इ वर्णाद्यऽ अध्यायऽ उपसंहारऽ.

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

The word भव्य is derived from भृ + वन, and प्रवचयऽ from प + वन + वन: इ. The गुऽ: ए is changed to अऽ: इ. Thus भव्यं किलासऽ इ वस्ततरी प्रवचयऽ इ. The वन is added to भृ with the force of Ablative by virtue of the diversity allowed by कुप्युऽ बहुऽ (III. 113) इ. Thus विनिर्देशऽ असऽऽ = भव्यऽ: “frightening or fear-able”. The word प्रवचयऽ is always used in the feminine: in other places प्रवचयऽ is the proper form. Why do we say ‘in the Vedas’? Observe भृऽ, प्रवचयऽ in secular literature.

पार्वऽ:—The word भव्यऽ should also be enumerated when referring to water. As भृऽ: मन्त्रा = भव्यऽ अध्यायऽ: इ. The affix वन is added by IV. 4. 110 (इ + वन = भव्यऽ: + वन: इ).


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

This is an adhikāra sūtra. In every sūtra upto VI. 1. 112 (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of ekādesa, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c. Thus VI. 1. 87 teaches ‘There is guṇa substitution, when अ or आ is followed by a vowel’. We must supply into that sūtra the phrase एकऽ: पूवऽ परसाऽऽऽऽ: i. e. one guṇa is the substitute for the final अ or आ and the initial vowel. Thus खऽ + इऽऽ: = खऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽঊ
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 (रसायन निष्ठाते न, पूर्वस्य च ह; “n is the substitute of the n of nisṭhā, after r and s, and of the preceding h”). Here n is taught as substitute both of r and s, and as एक is not used in the sūtra, we get two n, as निष्ठ + न=निष्ठ + न=निष्ठ: ॥ But this is not the case here. According to Mahabhāṣya the word एक is redundant.

अन्तादिवलय || तृष्ण पदार्थि || अन्त - आदि - बल || च, ॥
बृवि: ॥ एक हलि विैशः पूर्वप्रवृति || एक: पूर्वप्रवृति: बायसंकालित: विन्यायते स पूर्वस्यान्तव्यवस्थातः परस्परादिवलयात् ॥

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 ब्रह्मचर्य we add क the feminine affix (IV. 1. 66); and now र + क=र (VI. 1. 101) i.e. ब्रह्मचर्य + क=ब्रह्मचर्य ॥ Here ब्रह्मचर्य is a Nominal-stem (भाविक) and the affix क is a non-prātipadika, and the single-substitute क is considered as the final of the prātipadika. So that we can apply to the form ब्रह्मचर्य 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 क the word would have rather ceased to be a prātipadika (I. 1. 46), because this feminine affix क is not included in IV. 1. 1. Similarly for the final non-case-ending क of वृष्ट and the case-ending ओ, there comes a single substitute ओ, by VI. 1. 88, this ekādeśa ओ is considered both as a non-case affix and a case affix, that is, as the initial of the affix ओ, and the final of वृष्ट and thus the word वृष्टी gets the designation of Pada I. 4. 14 as it ends in the वृष्टी affix ओ: ॥

This अन्तादिवलय does not apply in rules relating to letters i.e. to rules depending for their application on letters. Thus खड़ + भा=खड़ ॥ Here the
ekāḍeṣa या is as the final य of खद्दू, but not for the purposes of the application of the rule which says that the तिस्त is changed to रुश्य after a nominal-stem ending in अ, so the Instrumental plural of खद्दू will not end in रु, but will be खद्दू-तिस्त: II. So also in जुहां II. It is the Perfect 3rd per. sing. of ह or हा (VI. I. 45).

By VI. I. 53, the ह is changed to य, and we have जुहांया = जुहांया which by VI I. 108 becomes जुहा, the य being the single substitute of य and आ II. This single-substitute य should not be considered as या for the application of the rule VII. I. 34 by which the Perfect affix न (अ) is changed in आ after roots ending in आ II. Similarly in अश्व + अन्त्यः = अश्वां अन्त्यः (the य being elided by VIII. 3. 19). अश्व is the Dative singular of इत्व in the Feminine with आ II. By VII. 3. 114 या is added in the Dative with the shortening of the preceding आ; as अ + या + य = अश्वी। Here य is the single substitute for आ and य। Here for the application of VI. I. 109 the single substitute य should not be considered like य। The sthāṇi of the single-substitute (ekāḍeṣa) is the sūn 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 sthāṇi: as when ह replaces अस्त्र the whole form अस्त्र is called sthāṇi, and not अ or स्त्र separately. The parts, may be called sthāṇi only inferentially, because the whole is made up of parts. The parts not being considered as sthāṇi, the rule of sthāṇiādv bhāva will not apply to an ekāḍeṣa with regards to the parts, and no operations dependant on such parts will be effected by such ekāḍeṣa. But it is intended that such operations should take place. Hence this sūtra.

86. The substitution of a single अदेṣा is to be considered as to have not taken effect, when otherwise य would have to be changed to य, or when the augment य (तुक) is to be added.

The word अदि 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 अदेṣा, and gives scope to the operations dependent upon the general rule (अदि च वचनप्रमाणप्रमाणस्य एका प्रमाणस्य च II.) Thus कौटिल्यतू here य is not changed to य। The equation is thus exhibited: कउ + अदि यां = कउ + कौटिल्यतू (the य changed to य by VIII. 2.66) = वउ + अदि यां (उ being substituted for य by VII. I. 113) = कौटिल्यतू (चो-उ यां = नो VI. I. 109). Now applies our sūtra. By VIII. 3. 59, य coming after यā required to be changed into य, but here the single-substitute यां is con-
sidered to be non-effective for this purpose. Similarly वाच्य, वाचस्य, कास्य, वौःस्य। Similarly in कास्य there is the addition of तु by VI. 1. 71, though actually preceded by a long vowel. That long vowel had resulted from the ekādeśa of तु for द्वैत, and this ekādeśa is considered as if non-effective for the purposes of तु augment. Similarly in ख-ि-ि-तक-ि-त्य व्रिः. Here also ख-ि-ि-त्य व्रिः is considered asiddha.

\[\text{Vart:}—\text{Prohibition must be stated in the case of sampraśāraṇa, the Locative singular case-ending के (के), and the 1st per. sing. Atmanepada affix हूँ। Of vocalisation we have the following: शक्तेश्वरि = शक्तेश्वरि हूँ, then we add के, before which there is vocalisation of तु, this तु combining with in the following तु becomes शक्तेश्वरि: as शक्तेश्वरि-ि-मृगि = शक्तेश्वरि-ि-मृगि (VI. 1. 15) + शक्तेश्वरि (VI. 1. 198). The Locative plural is formed by हूँ: शक्तेश्वरि-ि-मृगि = शक्तेश्वरि (the lengthening taking place by VI. 4. 2). Here हूँ is changed to य the ekādeśa य for तु-ि-अ not being considered asiddha. So also परिवर्तिनि (परि + य + तक = परि + य + तक + तिरिक्ष्ट = परिवर्तिनि, add य)। Of the affix के we have:—हूँ-ि-ि-त्य व्रि, add तक, then the single substitute य being considered not asiddha we have शक्तेश्वरि or शक्तेश्वरि। Of the affix हूँ of 1st Pers. Atmanepada we have अपरि-ि-ि-शवि = अपरि-ि-ि-शवि or अपरि-ि-ि-शवि। In both these cases we optionally add तुक् by VI. 1. 75-76, by considering the ekādeśa (VI. 1. 87) as to have taken effect, and making the finals य or य long. Here the ekādeśa is not asiddha and therefore तुक् is optional and not compulsory.

आद्युण: \[16\] पदानि || आत्, युण: \[

वृत्ति: || अनीत्योक्तति। अवशेषात्ततो श्व अचि च पूर्वोऽधुरणेऽऽधुरणेऽ: पृष्टपरयोगपर्यायोऽऽधुरणेऽ: स्थापि एको युण आदिश्च भवति।

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

The word आचि 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 guna. Thus श्व + त्वम् = त्वम्, श्व + त्वम् = श्वत्वम्; मला + द्वैत = मला द्वैत, तव + द्वैत = द्वैत; श्व + द्वैत = श्वद्वैत, तव + वक्त = वक्त, श्व + वक्त = श्ववक्त; तव + क्ष्य = क्ष्य; श्व + क्ष्य = श्वक्ष्य; तव + गुरु = गुरु; श्व + गुरु = श्वगुरु; तव + तुक्त = तुक्त; श्व + तुक्त = श्वतुक्त। By analogy of I. 1. 51, the guna substitute of तु being अ is always followed by तु, as that of अ is followed by तु। This universal rule is limited by the following aphorism.

वृद्धिरोचि \[\text{वृद्धिरोचि:} \] || || पदानि || वृद्धिः, पञ्चि ||

वृद्धि: || आदित्य चानि। अवशेषात्ततो श्व एव एव च पूर्वोऽधुरणेऽऽधुरणेऽ: पृष्टपरयोगपर्यायोऽऽधुरणेऽ: स्थापि वृद्धिरोचि: आदिश्च भवति।
88. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initil diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ-ए) diphthong = Vṛiddhi).

The word अआ is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz, the Vṛiddhi. Thus अआ + एदका = अआइका, आआ + एडका = आआइका, अआ + एवाइका = अआइकायन, आआ + एवाइकायन = आआइकायन. अआ + एवाइकायन = अआइकायन; अआ + एवाइकायन = आआइकायन; अआ + एवाइकायन = आआइकायन; अआ + एवाइकायन = आआइकायन.

प्रदेशस्वरुपस | <२९. पदानि पादिः, पदाचिन्तनिः, उदाहरणिः

प्रदेशस्वरुपस | बाह्य दृष्टिः बाह्य दृष्टिः, इत्यादि च।<

89. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-ए of पादिः (root र) and पादिः (root रेघ), and for अ or आ-उ of ऊद्द (the substitute of वा in वाह्य by VI. 4. 132).

The whole of the last sūtra and अआ are understood here. The ए of the last sūtra qualifies the root र in पादिः, i.e. when the root र assumes the form र by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule. The ए does not qualify the root र as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does ए qualify न for अ is not a diphthong. Thus उप+एवाइकायन = उप+एवाइकायन = उप+एवाइकायन; उप+एवाइकायन = उप+एवाइकायन; उप+एवाइकायन = उप+एवाइकायन. In the last example, गुणa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87, the present sūtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of पादिः and पादिः, 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 पुरस्तात्विक्षण अन्तरिक्षण विभाजित वापने नाहीत "Apaśabdhas 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+अआ-एदकायन = उप+एदकायन = उप+एदकायन. (Here though अ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form अॅचिः is wrong. So also उप+एदकायन = उप+एदकायन; for here the root र does not assumed the form र, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एदकायन qualifies the root र.

Vādā—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अआ is followed by अॅचिः, as अॅचिः (सुना) ||
Vārt:- The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स् is followed by हर or हरिण, or हरिणी thus सैरिण, सैरिणी. The word हर is formed by the affix यः added to हरलोक (Ad. 8). स्नानीभावणं हरणं = सैरम the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32. Another form is सैरी = स्नानाभावणम्यं न पृच्छात् with the affix गिनि (II. 2. 78).

Vārt:- The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when म is followed by क्र, क्रत, क्रति, एष, एष्य as मोश, मोशेष, मोशि, मोशेष्य, मोशेष्यः. The word एष is derived from the root हस to wish (Tud. 59), हस ‘to go’ (Div. 18), and हस ‘to repeat’ (Kry. 53), by adding the affix यः; and the word एष्य is derived form the same roots by adding मत्. This Vārtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused परिकार: While the roots हस ‘to glean’, and हस ‘to go to injure, to show’. (Bh. 115 and 642), form एष्य and एष्य: with the above affixes; and with म, their forms will be एष्य: and प्रेष्य:.

Vārt:- The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in न्य is followed by वत and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound: as हन्यन वत् = हन्यनात्; हन्यन वत्य = हन्यनात्य; but हन्यन वत् = हन्यन: Why in Instrumental? Observe परम: Why ‘Compound’? See हन्यनात्.

Vārt:- The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word क्रण follows the following: म, वसलत: वसलत: वसलत: As प्राणम् ‘principal debt’, वसलतायम् ‘the debt of a steer’, वसलायम् ‘debt of a blanket’, वसलायम् ‘debt of a cloth’.

Vārt:- So also when the words क्रण and श्य are followed by क्रण: as, क्रणायम् and क्रणायम्. The word क्रणायम् means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasārṇa is the name of a river and of a country.

आद्वयः 9.7 पवानिः आदः: च

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

The anuvṛtti of एष्य ceases: that of अविच however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आद, and the आद, which is precedent, to a vowel—in the room of these two i.e. the आद and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute. The augment आद is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus ऐशिते, ऐशित, ऐशित्य, ऐशिति, ऐशितत, ऐशितत् from roots ऐशिस्यन (Bhu. 641). उम उम्म पूर्णे (Tud. 32) and उ बृज भाजिवे (Tud. 20). According to Siddhânta Kaumudi the आद is the augment which हिंदू case-affixes take after nādi-words (VII. 3. 112). According to him the following are the examples:—बहुभक्षीः-आदः-क्रृत्वा=बहुभक्ष्यवै (Dative Singular). The आद is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लेघः.
The च 'and' in the sūtra shows that the परशुर रुल, taught in VI. 1. 95, 96 when उष्ण, ओ and अत्रक्षक �follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is बाहु. Thus ओष्णियत्, ओष्णियत् || बाहु-उष्ण = ओष्ण, तात्मिच्चद्र = ओष्णियत् ||

उपसर्गाधिति धातृ || 9.1 || पद्यानि || उपसर्गात्, ब्रह्मिति, धातृ ||

बृहिष्ट: || अविद्येत् || अवर्ग्नात्तिद्वाराधिकाराः धातृ परतः श्रुत्यपयोः: स्थान उद्विरिकारिष्टों भवति ||

91. The व्रीढ्द्धि is the single substitute when the च or आ of a preposition (upasarga) is followed by the short च्र of a verb.

The word धातृ is understood here also. When a preposition ending in च or आ is followed by a root beginning with च्र, the व्रीढ्द्धि is the single substitute for the precedent च or आ and the subsequent च्र. This debars the gīna taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus उष्ण + क्राच्छि = उष्णाच्छि, मात्राच्छि, उपास्मोऽति ||

Why do we say 'after a preposition'? Observe खुट्टि, माल्लिति, प्रर्द्धितात्: = मन्नता क्राच्छि अवसाद म्याति ||

Here the word धातृ is not treated as an upasarga, hence this sūtra does not apply. It is a Gati here. Why do we say 'when च्र follows'? Observe उष्ण-हर = उष्णाति || Why have we used ज्र after च्र indicating that short च्र is to be taken? - Observe उष्ण + क्राच्छि = उष्णाच्छि भवति ||

No option is allowed here by the subsequent sūtra. The ज्र is used, in fact, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in case of Denominative verbs, no ordinary verb can begin with a long च्र. Why have we employed the word धातृ, when the word 'upasarga' would have caused us to infer its correlative धातृ? It is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. 1. 129 which causes मद्यात् मात्र: or non-sandhi of च्र ||

The repetition of 'धातु' shows that the alternative prakriti bhava taught in VI. 1. 129, would not apply in the case of the च्र of a Dhātu.

वा चुप्यापि शादाने: || 92 || पद्यानि || वा, खुपि, आपिशाते: ||

बृहिष्ट: || अविद्येत् || उपसर्गाधिति धातातिति च || खुट्टि वर्गबोधे धातुकारात्रेऽ परतो उष्णात्तिद्वाराधिकाराः धातृ-विद्योऽति च च उद्विरिकारिष्टों भवति ||

92. According to the opinion of Āpisali, the व्रीढ्द्धि is optionally the single substitute, when the च or आ of a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning with च्र ||

Thus उष्णात्तिति or उष्णाच्छि, उपास्मोऽति or उपास्मोऽति || The च्र and च are considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word च्र in the last sūtra includes च also. The name of the Grammarian Āpisali is mentioned for the sake of respect; the च itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

अतो द्वायात्म: || 93 || पद्यानि || आ, ओतः, अमृ - शासो: ||

बृहिष्ट: || अतो चि शासि च परत: श्रुत्यपयोऽति भविष्यों भविष्यों ||
93. For ओ of a Nominal stem-ि-म of the Accusative case-ending अम्य and अस्त, the single substitute is आ.

The word आत्म is a compound of आ± + आत्म: || Thus गा = अम्य, गा = गार, गा-ि-मथ = गा: || Thus गा पव, गा: पवव: || This debars the Vṛddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also धा or धा: ध्याय; as the word धा is also a nominal stem ending in धा: || The Sārva-nāmasthāna affixes are निष्ठ after this word also (see VII. 1. 96) which would have caused Vṛddhi, therefore, this आ debars the Vṛddhi. The word अम्य here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix पस्त, and as the word शुष्क of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore, अम्य the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have आचिन्यम्, अम्यम्.

पांडि परस्रमः || ९४ || पदानि || पांडि, परस्रमः ||

मृचिः || भाषिकृत, उपसर्गप्राक्तानिगति च। भाषणात्तुपसर्गप्राक्तानिगति भाषात पश्चापशों: परस्रमेनकारिणिः भवति।|| भाषिकृतमः || शास्त्रनवारूपं परस्रमं वक्त्यम् || शा ॥ एवं चार्यों ग रस्रमं वक्त्यम् ॥

बा ॥ अखोरीयः समाचे ्वा परस्रमं वक्त्यम् ॥ बा ॥ एसरूपिण्य ्वाचासं परस्रमं वक्त्यम् ॥

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

The words भात, उपसर्गप्राक्तानिगति are understood here. In an upasarga ending in ओ or आ followed by a root beginning with ओ or आ, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (परस्रम): || This debars Vṛddhi taught in VI. 1. 88. Thus द्वात्माति, प्रेमाति, उपाति, गोपाति || Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI. 1. 92, according to them the para-rūpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus द्वात्माति or द्वात्माति, उपाति or उपाति ||

Vārṭa.—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place in the case of अखोरीयः: &c. As शाक-ि-अम्यः = अखोरीयः, कृतः ओर्या = कृतम्, शीमः + अन्तः = शीमाण्याः: ‘hair’; when not referring to ‘hair’, the form is सीमाण्याः: ||

Vārṭa.—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when ओर्या follows a word, and the sense is not that of ‘appointment’. Thus द्व-ि-ओर्या = द्वास्त; भण्ड-ि-ओर्या = भण्डास्त || When the sense is that of नियोगा, the Vṛddhi takes place: as द्वास्त भण्ड, मालव्य गा: ||

Vārṭa.—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place optionally when ओर्या and ओर्या are compounded with another word: as स्थान ओर्या: = स्थानात्तुर्या: or श्लेष्या, so also विशेष्या or विशेष्या || When not a compound, the Vṛddhi is compulsory: as तित्त वेदेनागर्य पश्चय ‘Stay Devadatta, see the lip’.

Vārṭa.—In the Vedas, the para-rūpa substitution takes place when एमन &c. follow. Thus एमन वा एमन = एमन लेमन: || So also एमन वा एमन = एमन लेमन: ||

वृत्तिः || भाषिकृत, भाषणात्तुपसर्गाधिकारिणी भवति ||
95. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम्, or + the vowel of the Preposition आहः, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The ओम् is understood here. Thus का-ि-ऑम् = कोम्; या-ि-ऑम् = योम्; as कौम्भिक०, ओम्निवस्तु; श्री-ि-ओम् = होम्, then या-ि-ऑम् = योम्, का-ि-ऑम् = कोम्, ना + होम् = होम्. ता + होम् = होम्. आ + आवान् = आवान्, then आहः-ि-आवान् = आवान्। Thus this rule supersedes both the Vṛiddhi and the lengthening (VI. 1. 88, and 101).

उस्पदान्तान्तः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उसि, अपदान्तान्तः ॥
बुधः ॥ आहिंक्यः । अवराजस्यादन्तचिति, पूर्वपर्योगारुपाध्वायः; परस्यपेक्षाकेदिः भवति ॥

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

The अम् is understood here. This debars the guna substitution taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus निन्या-ि-उस्तः = निन्युः, निन्या-ि-उस्तः = हिन्युः। अज्जा-ि-उस्तः = जज्जुः; (सुः of जा) भा-ि-उस्तः = बयः। All these are examples of हिन्यु (Potential) and बयः (Imperfect). Thus निन्या-ि-यातुः + हिन्युः (the यातुः is added by III. 4. 103) = दंड्यत् + त + उस्तः (सुः replaced हिन्युः III. 4. 108) = निन्युः। अज्जा-ि-सतुः + हिन्युः = जज्जा + सतुः (II. 4. 77) + उस्तः (III. 4. 110) = अज्जा + उस्तः = अज्जा + सतुः (VI. 4. 111) = अज्जा। The उस्तः is also the substitute of हिन्यु in हिन्यु (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 हृ is:--चक्षुः-ि-उस्तः = चक्षुः। So also from भी we have अभवे-ि-उस्तः = अभवूः। The word अपदान्तत् 'not being final in a pada' does strictly speaking, serve no good purpose in this sūtra. For the affix उस्तः 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 उस्तः, however, be taken as the syllable उस्तः (whether an affix or part of an affix or not), then the limitation of अपदान्तत् becomes valid. Thus का + उस्तः = कोम्, का + उपस्तः = कोम्हः। Most likely this word has been read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra or because उस्तः syllable is taken here and not merely the affix उस्तः।

अतो गुणे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, गुणे ॥
बुधः ॥ अपदान्तात्तिति, वर्गाते । अवराजस्यादन्तात्तिति, परत: पूर्वपर्योगः: स्थानि परस्यपेक्षाकेदिः भवति ॥

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

Thus प्युः-ि-शाशुः-ि-अनि = प्युः-ि-अनि = प्युः-ि-अनि so also यज्ञनि।। This debars lengthening of VI. 1. 101. प्युः + इ = प्युः, यज्ञ + इ = यज्ञ, here the Vṛiddhi is debarrred (VI. 1. 88). Why do we say “after the short vowel अ?” Observe या-ि-अनि = बल्नि, बल्नि।। Why do we say when followed by ‘a Guna letter?’ Observe
98. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत्र (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound) - I-इति ||

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अथात्; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अथित or imitation of that sound. Thus पद्द्व-1-इति = पत्तिति, पद्द्व+इति = पत्तिति, पद्द्व+इति = भाविति, पद्द्व+इति = भाविति ||

Why do we say ‘imitation of an inarticulate sound’? Observe अगरु-1-इति = ज्ञाति || Why ‘do we say “of अत्र”’? Observe मद्द्व+इति = मराढीत || Why do we say when followed by इति || Observe पद्द्व+अत्र = पद्द्वः ||

Vârt:—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—अत्र+इति = श्रद्धिति || How do you explain the form पद्द्वति in the following:—पद्द्वति गम्भीरमसुद्विनविद्वस || Here the word is not पद्द्व-1-इति but पद्द्व-1-इति ||

नाध्रेंद्रितस्यन्यस्य सु वा || ९९ || पद्द्वति न, नाध्रेंद्रितस्य, अन्त्यस्य, सु, वा ||

गृहिः || अथातुकरणस्यार्दिकिनितर्थः श्रुत्वात् इति तत्स्य परस्यं न भवति तत्स्य बोधिन्य-स्मार्त्स्य वा भवति ||

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

Thus पद्द्वपद्द्वतिः or पद्द्वपद्द्वतिः करोति (पद्द्वपद्द्वति + इति = पद्द्वपद्द्व + इ + ति = पद्द्वपद्द्वति) ||

The word is doubled by VIII. 1. 4. The para-rûpa substitution will take place when the whole word so reduplicated denotes a sound imitation, thus पद्द्वपद्द्वति करोति || Here we apply the preceding sûtra. The अम्रेतिः is the name of the second member of the doubled word (VIII. 1. 2).

नियमाभिनविष्टे दाशि || १०० || पद्द्वति नियम, नाध्रेंद्रिते, दाशि ||

हृति: || अथातुकरणस्यार्दिकिनियमवादाद्वति || दाशिः वहारेर तस्मादिः तस्मादिः नाध्रेंद्रिते अथातुकरणस्यार्दिकिनियमवादाद्वति ||

100. Of such a doubled sound-imitation word, to which the affix आ is added which causes the elision of the final अत्र, for the final न of the first member and the initial
consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute.

Thus पद्यम् करारत (V. 4. 57), स्रद्धया करारि || पद्यम्-त्रा (V. 4. 57) = पद्यम् || This sutra is really a Vārtika. When the affix त्रा (V. 4. 57) is added to पद्य, there is doubling of the word by the Vārtika under VIII. 1. 12: this doubling takes place before the final अ न is elided.

अः सब्धेऽ || १०२ || पद्यम् || अः, सब्धेऽ, दीर्घेऽ ||

बुधिः || अः सब्धेऽ सधिः परतः पूर्वस्थः स्थायीं दीर्घेऽ एकादशों भवति ||

वानिकः || सब्धेऽनीचे भौतिक द्रव्य वचनम् || वा १ || ततः द्रव्य वा चचनम् ||

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

Thus शण्ड + अमिः = शण्डभ्रमभ्रम, द्वि + हङ्गं = द्वि, न्दु + एक्क = न्दुक्के and हङ्गं + करः योनिः || Why do we say ‘an अः or simple vowel’? Observe अन्ते-ए = अन्तये || Why do we say ‘by a homogenous vowel?’ Observe हङ्गं-धन्य = हङ्गं || The word अः is understood here also. The word सब्धेऽ, therefore, qualifies the word दीर्घेऽ understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As जुनारी देवे || The अः and शणाः are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10: for that prohibition does not apply to the long अः and शणाः, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अग्निशिवस्य ज्ञापनः (I. 1. 69) is not brought into operation at the time when नास्त्र हङ्गाय (I. 1. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सब्धेऽ rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नास्त्र हङ्गाय comes into play, then the rule of सब्धेऽ definition (I. 1. 9) and then comes the महणकतावर्य (I. 1. 68). Therefore in नास्त्र हङ्गाय those अः only are taken which are not included in the class of homogenous vowels i.e. only the 9 vowels contained directly in अः, and not the सब्धेऽ vowels which I. 1. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though short अः and शणाः are not सब्धेऽ by I. 1. 10: the long अः and शणाः would be savarṇa.

Vārt.—When अः short is followed by अः short, the long substitution is optional: so also with शणाः! This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two अः or शणाः—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is सम्प्रदा and the other सम्प्रदा, or (2) because their prosodical length is 1½ and so the word शणाः cannot be applied with consistency in their case (कराय &c). Thus होन्दकाराः = होन्दकाराः or होन्दकाराः; so also होन्दकाराः = होन्दकाराः or होन्दकाराः. The शणाः of शणाः is शणाः ||

प्रथमाहे: पूर्वस्वराः: त्रा || १०२ || पद्यम् || प्रथमाहे: पूर्व - सब्धेऽ:; ||

बुधिः || अः सब्धेऽ सधिः परतः पूर्वस्थः प्रथमाहे: विभिन्तविभिन्ते कहौत्तत्तत्त्वयथा द्वितीयेष्ठे प्रथमाहे: परस्पराः।

श्लोकः प्रथमाहे: हिंदीयायां च विभाषाविभाषे अः: पूर्वस्वराः: स्थायीं पूर्वस्वराः एकादशों 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 अक्ष: and स्वत: 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 पूर्वकृप 
or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. Thus अम्ब-ि-अग्र: 
= अंग्री; बाकृ-ि-अग्र: = बाकृ; वृक्ष-ि-अग्र: = वृक्षाः, so also श्राहः, भृकृताः, भृकृताः. In the case 
of these last four examples (वृक्ष-ि-अग्र: &c) the rule VI, 1. 97 would have 
caused para-rūpa substitution i.e. would have given the form वृक्ष-ि-अग्र: = वृक्ष:, 
and that rule would have debared the lengthening rule VI. 1. 101 on the 
maxim “apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to 
be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede those rules that stand 
nearest to them:” but not this पूर्वकृप: lengthening rule as it does not stand 
nearest. The word माव्य when a vowel follows’ is understood here also. 
Thus वृक्ष-ि-ि-स्वत: = वृक्ष:, भृकृताः. The word अक्ष: ‘the simple vowel’ is understood 
here also. Thus नौ-ि-अग्र: = नावः. 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 शूर्व or ‘long’ is used in order to debar the 
substitution of pluta vowel having 3 measures for a pluta vowel.

तस्माच्छलो न्ति: पुष्करः १०३ तत्समात्त, शशा:, न्ति, पुष्करः। 
पुष्करः। तस्मात्पुर्वत्तिर्यंहकारस्य भावो अवयवस्य सकारस्य पुष्करः नकारशियो भवतः।

103. After such a long vowel homogenous with 
the first, न्ति is substituted for the न्ति of the Accusative case affix 
शशा: in the masculine.

Thus वृक्ष-ि-ि-ाम्ब: = वृक्ष-ि-अम्ब: = वृक्षाः। So also अम्बी, वाश्वः, कृष्णः, होङ्गः, पञ्जकारः 
हृदायः, भक्ताः, पञ्चः &c. All these are masculine nouns. Now the word अम्बचः 
formed by the elision of कृष्ण meaning a figure like a कृष्ण (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 छुपि वृक्षाः अतिं भवते I. 2. 51). In forming the 
accusative plural of भृकृताः, the न्ति will not be changed into न्ति। Thus भृकृताः पञ्चः, 
भक्ताः पञ्चः। 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 न्ति is substituted for 
भृकृताः अम्ब: by VI. 1. 93. Here न्ति will not be replaced by न्ति as गाः पञ्चः। Why do 
we say ‘of the Accusative plural?’ Observe शशा:, शशा: endings in शशा: Nom 
पः। Why do we say “in the masculine” Observe, खेडः, बहः; कुमारिः।
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 वृषोऽक्षेऽस्त्व, रूढे, कुण्डे ॥ Here Rules VI. r. 87 &c. apply. Why do we say “after अ or आ?” Observe अग्नी ॥ Why do we say “followed by an इच्छा (a vowel other than अ)? Observe वृषा: here VI. r. 102 applies.

दीत्योष्णि च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात, जसि, च ॥

Thus दींत्योष्णि इच्छा च परसः पूर्वस्वर्णीयों 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 अस्तु ॥

Thus कुमारी, कुमार्य, ब्रह्मानन्यो, ब्रह्ममन्यः: ॥

घ चन्द्रसिं ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा, चन्द्रसिं ॥

Thus दीयाचन्द्रसिं विषयेद जसि च इच्छा च परसो वा पूर्वस्वर्णीयों न भवति ॥

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

Thus माही: or माह्या, विण्ड्या: or विण्ड्याः, पाराही or पाराह्यो; उपानाही or उपानाह्यो ॥

अमि पूर्वः: ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमि, पूर्वः: ॥

Thus अमि हैवेव । अमि परसोऽजः । पूर्वपरयोऽ ज्ञान पूर्व एकविधी भवति ॥

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

The word अमः: is understood here. Thus वृश्च्य-अमः = वृश्च्य (VII. r. 24)

वनक्ष्म, अर्थन-अमः = अर्थिम, वायुम ॥ The word पूर्व ‘antecedent, first’ in the sutra shows that the first vowel itself is substituted and not any of its homogenous vowels. Otherwise in कुमारी + अमः = कुमारिमः the इ would have been of three mātrās or measures, as it comes in the room of इ + अ, the aggregate mātrās of which are three.

In the Vedas, there is option, as शमी or शम्य, पौरी or पौर्यम: ॥ अमः is the...
ending of the Accusative singular of all genders and also of the nominative singular in the Neuter in certain cases. (See VII. 1. 23, 24 and 28).

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

The word पूर्व 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 यमू-न-क = हन्न-न-क (VI. 1. 15) = हन्न (हं-अ = हं); so उपम (उप-न-क = उ खण-न-क), ध्वं ता = पूर्व भाय-न-ट = पूर्वकीकरण। 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 यमू+न = उपम+ट, if the अ did not merge in उ, then it would cause sandhi, and उ would be changed to व by व्रेष्ठ्याणवण and the word would again assume the form यमू। But this व्रेष्ठ्याणवण would cause samprasarāṇa rule non-effective, hence it follows that but for the present rule, the two vowels would have been heard separately as उ भाय।

The rule of option in the Chhandakas (VI. 1. 106) applies here also. Thus we have यमूमाणवण or तुवमाणवण। "When you have just said that the two vowels will remain separate and there will be no व्रेष्ठ्याणवण when there is no purvavav-ad-bhava we do you form यमूमाणवण; it ought to be हं भाय-सा।” 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-bhava, and only an option is allowed, then the rule of vocalisation does not become totally useless because it finds its scope in cases like हं: &c, therefore when in the alternative it is not applied, there व्रेष्ठ्याणवण will take place naturally, and the ordinary rules of sandhi will apply. The merging, moreover, refers to the vowel which is in the same aṅga or base with the samprasāraṇa. Thus शककुम-ह्यां = शककुम + निवृत्तु = एकह उ आ = शककुम। Here आ which is in the same अहृ with हं merges in to हं। But in forming the dual, we have शककुम + शी। Here शी coming after the samprasāraṇa हं does not merge therein, and we have शककुम। Similarly शककुम + शय्य-एकह नियम। In fact when once the para-purvavatva has taken effect, then subsequent vowels will produce their effect because in the antaranga operation हं into हं, the purva-rupa is ordained to save the samprasāraṇa from modification, but there is no such necessity when a Bahiranga operation is to be applied.
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 अनेनै-अन = अम्नेय, दायेनै-अन = दायोद्य॥ This supersedes the substitutes अः and अः॥ Why do we say 'of ए or ओ'? Observe न-न, मथु॥ Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe चे-ै-अन = चवन, लै-ै-अन = लवन॥ 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-ै-हत = वायवित, भाने-ै-हत = भाववित॥ Why do we say 'short'? Observe वायो भावाहि = वायवायाहि॥

दस्सिद्ग्नो च ११०॥ पदानि दसिद्ग्नोः, च॥

बुतिः॥ एक हति वर्णविच, अस्तीतिच। एक उच्चरयोऽसिद्गने वर्णः पूर्णपर्यः स्योः पूर्वः एकादेशोः मध्यति॥

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

Thus अनेनै-अन = अम्ने, दायोः॥ The ए and ओ of अनि and वाद are guna
ted 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 अग्रांगच्छि, वायोगच्छि, अम्ने: सस्त्र, वायोः: सस्त्र॥

ञहुत उद् ॥ १११॥ पदानि नञहुतं, उद्॥

बुतिः॥ दसिद्ग्नोऽर्थववोऽकारङ्गानन्दकरोऽसिद्ग्नोऽर्थववस्यकार एकादेशीभवति॥

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

Thus हृत-ै-अन = हृदुर्स। (The उ must always be followed by र् 1. 1. 51 though this उ is not the substitute of कः only, but of कः + अ conjoinly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces त्वो, both shown in the genitive case, as द्वति and अग्नास्य 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 conjoinly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of कः or अ॥ The final कः is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have हृतुर्गः, हृतुं: सस्त्र॥

स्यन्तारपरस्य ॥ ११२॥ पदानि स्य - स्यात्: परस्य॥

बुतिः॥ दसिद्ग्नोऽर्थवविच वर्णस्य बुनि स। स्यन्ताराधिति विविधस्याद्विविधस्याद्विभास्याद्विस्मृतभिन्नार्थोपरिविभवः, तांब्यं परस्य हस्ति दसिद्ग्नो उकारितस्मिन्नेवभवति॥

112. There is the substitution of उ for the अ of
of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after संबंध and पति, when for the र of those two stems य is substituted.

The phrase देहीत्रोगणिते: and उत्तर are understood here also. The य means and includes दि and शी when the र is changed to य, and य denotes दि and शी, the र being changed to य. Thus संबंध-अय = संबंध as संबंधागणिते, शी; संबंध. So also पशुपांगणिते, पशु: संबंध. The illustration of शी is संबंध which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus: संबंधित दिते = संबंध; संबंधित = संबंध-अय (III. 1. 8) = संबंध (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding दिर to the denominative root संबंध we get संबंध: ‘one who wishes for a friend’. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be संबंध-अय = संबंध: also. Of सी we have the following example. संबंधित = संबंध, add दिर = संबंध, the Ablative and Genitive singular of which is also संबंध, the र of संबंध being the substitute of र of Nishṭhā, is considered like र (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of य and संबंध in the sūtra, instead of saying directly संबंधित य indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अति संबंधित &c: where we have अति संबंधित, संबंधित: II. The word अति संबंधित य is दि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that-prohibition applies only to दि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim महत्वता अति परिपक्वति (संबंधित दि) II. “That which cannot possibly be anything but a Pratipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself”. According to Dr. Ballantyne this rule applies to all दि and सी, such as संबंध: one who loves pleasure’ (संबंधित = संबंधित-दिर) and संबंध: ‘one who wishes a son’ (संबंधित = संबंधित-दिर): Thus संबंध, संबंध: &c.

त रोपणानां देशातो 112 पदार्थं अति, रो: अन्तितवाय, अन्तितवाय, अन्तितवाय। भूतिः कारणानां तु शास्त्रं नाराज्यं उक्तं वच्चिन्नविविधतां अभक्ति: उक्तं परस्त उक्तार्तो भवति।

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

The phrase दूत is understood here, as well as the word अति of VI. 1. 109, 111. Thus दूत-अ (1st singular) = दूतस्य = दूत (VIII. 2. 66). दूत-अति = दूतस्य-अति (VI. 1. 87) = दूतस्य (VI. 1. 109); so also दूतात्मा। This ordains दूत for र, whereby VIII. 3. 17, there would have been otherwise य; and this दूत does not become asidhā (as it depends upon र 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 र’? Observe अन्तितवाय-अति = अन्तितवाय। Why do say ‘a short र’? Observe दूतस्य-अति = दूतस्य अति। Why do we use र with its indicator दूत, and not use the र generally? Observe दूतस्य-अति = दूतस्य, अति-अति राखल। Here the final र is part of the words, and is not produced from र।
The word भास्व is understood here also from VI. 1. 109. The भ must be followed by a short भ, therefore, not here: वृष्टसि-ष्ट्र = वृष्ट भ्र. The subsequent ए must be short, the rule does not apply here: वृष्टसि-अन्नि = वृष्ट भास्व। Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta भ्र' The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As, खुमा२ भ्र अन्नि (VIII. 2. 84). Why do we say "when followed by an apluta भ्र"? Observe द्रित्वसि प्रथ अन्नि (VIII. 2. 86). Here युज्यt being held asidha, there would have been य substitution, had not the phrase भास्व been used in the aphorism.

114. The य is the substitute of य (the य substitute of य VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short भ्र.

The य प्रत्याहारa includes all sordants or soft consonants. Thus प्रह्सो भास्व or भास्व or भास्व ए&c.

प्रकृत्या अन्तः-पद्मव्यपरे ॥ १९२ ॥ पद्यानि प्रकृत्या, अन्तः-पद्मः अव्यपरे ॥ भास्व। एकेदा तीव्रेऽक्षित। एकः होभ्र वल्लभम्वमतुवसिते ततस्याविद्ध प्रत्यमं भास्व। प्रकृतिरते स्वभावं कारणं वा निन्दिते। अन्तर्गतव्यावधिकारणस्तत्त समावेशं पायथबद्धं व वक्ष्यास्येबं भावानिप्यते न भ्र भूपलस्य। अन्तर्गतव्येयं भास्व भास्व।

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

The word एङ्क: 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 अन्तःś is an Indecinable, used in the Locative case here and means 'in the middle'. The word पायः 'the foot of a verse' refers to the verses of the Vedas, and not to the verses of secular poetry. The word भास्व is also understood here. Thus न ते यथे अवमायुज्यः ते अतिन्तू जचमयूः, अपवय्यो अपस्यः। बिरों अपवदग्यः। हुगस्ते अवस्यूः। (R. Veda. V. 79. 1); अध्ययो भास्व। श्रत्रु (Rig IX. 51. 1); इत्यद्ये भास्व (Rig. VI. 58. 1).

Why do we say 'in the inner half of a foot of a verse? Observe कहा गती कुल/ एतात एसृशभ्यः। Why do we say "when ए or ओ does not follow भ्र? Observe संजस्व (Rig X. 199. 1), नेत्रास्यः। Why do we say ए or ओ? Observe अन्तर्गतव्यसामप्रममयवः। Some read this sūtra as नामः पाद्मव्यः। According to them, this sūtra supersedes the whole rule of juxtaposition or संज्ञाय (VI. 1. 72).
116. The \( \ddot{\text{u}} \) or \( \ddot{\text{ro}} \) retain their original form in the middle of a Vedic verse, when the following words come after them (though the \( \ddot{\text{a}} \) in these has a \( \ddot{\text{u}} \) and \( \ddot{\text{y}} \) following it):—

\[ \text{अब्यात, अवदात, अवकम्य, अस्त्र, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्युः, च} \]

Thus अभिन्न: प्रयोगसुनिनी अभिन्न: (Rig IV.4.15), मा सिस्याते अवकम्यः (Rig VII.32.27); ते नै अभिन्नः (Not in the Rig Veda). Prof. Bohtlingk gives the following examples from the Rig Veda:—सिस्याते अवकम्यः (VI.14.3), सिस्याते अभिन्नः (IX.73.5), वर्तें अभिन्नः (IX.73.8). शताध्वीरी चार्यं गमः: ते नै अवन्तु विद्वता: (Not in the Rig Veda: according to Prof. Bohtlingk the अवन्तु is generally elided in the Veda after \( \ddot{\text{u}} \) or \( \ddot{\text{a}} \)).

117. In the Yajur-Veda, the word उरस् when changed to उरे, retains its original form when followed by a short \( \ddot{\text{a}} \) which is also retained.

Thus उरे अभिन्नम् (Yaj. Veda Vajasan. IV.7). Some read the सूत्रa as उरस्तः। They take the word as उरे ending in तः, which in the Vocative case assumes the form उरे। They give the following example उरे अभिन्नम् सर्वः। But in the Yajur Veda VI.11, the text reads उरस्तः। In the Yajur Veda, there being no stanzas, the condition of अभिन्नः पार्थ does not apply here.

118. In the Yajur Veda, the short अ is retained after आपः, उपाणः, वर्षः, अस्मिस्त्रे, अस्मिस्त्रे, अस्मिस्त्रे, अस्मिस्त्रे, अस्मिस्त्रे।

Thus आपः अभिन्नः आपः (Yaj. IV.2), उपाणः अभिन्नः उपाणः (Yaj. V.35), वर्षः अभिन्नम् गहनति पृष्ठः (Yaj. VII.1). वर्षः अभिन्नम् The Vajasaneyi Sanhita has वर्षः अभिन्नम् (V.S.I.22): The Taittiriya Sanhita has वर्षः अभिन्नम् (I. 1. 8. 1. 4, 43, 2. 5. 5. 4) अस्मिस्त्रे अस्मिस्त्रे (V.S.23.18 where the reading is अस्मिस्त्रे अस्मिस्त्रे) but Tait S. VII. 4. 19. 1, and Tait Br. III. 9. 6. 3 has अस्मिस्त्रे अस्मिस्त्रे। The words अस्मिस्त्रे &c, though in the Vocative, do not shorten their vowel by VII.3.107, because they have been so read here.
119. In the Yajur Veda, when the word अः is followed by अः, the subsequent short अ is retained, as well as the preceding ए or ओ.

Thus एः: मानी: अः अः बधायत, एः: मानी: अः अः नबिधत, एः: मानी: अः अः बधे नीति, एः: मानी: अः अः असःर्चिष्ट (Yaj. 6. 20).

अनुदाते च कुःपरे || १२१ || पदानि || अनुदाते, च, कुः-परे ||

बृविः: बधुपरेव। अनुदाते ब्यापि करवभिक्षक्यपरे परस्य बधुपि विषये एह्प्रक्त्य भवति॥

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

Thus अः सो भास्यः (Yaj. 12. 47), अः सो भास्यः॥ Why do we say when अ is gravely accented? Observe अः, here अः has acute accent on the first syllable. Why do we say “when followed by a Guttural (क) or a भ”? Observe सा द्विवास्यः सहस्वः॥

अवपयासि च || १२२ || पदानि || अवपयासि, च ||

बृविः: बधुपरेव। अनुदातश्यं सचक्किन्तुकहस्ति। अवपयासि शास्ये शुद्धरे स्वाप्ते परस्य बधुपि विषयाद्भुक्ता भवति॥

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

Thus एः एः अवपयासि॥ The word अवपयासि is 2nd per. Singular Imperfect of व in the Atmanepada. Thus अः-एः-एः-एः॥ The अ is grave by VIII. 1. 28. When it is not gravely accented, the अ drops. As बुधे-वास्यः

सर्वः सिबामा गोः: || १२२ || पदानि || सर्वः, सिवामा, गोः: ||

बृविः: सर्वः, छन्नसि भागायं चापि परस्य गोरेनु प्रक्त्या भवति विमापा॥

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

Thus गोस्यं or गो अः॥ In the Vedas also अवपयासि वा अन्येये गो अवच्छः, पदानो मोर्भा:॥

अववः इद्योतनसि || १२३ || पदानि || अववः, इद्योतनसि

बृविः: असीति निर्द्वाससि। अर्थात्वतस्मुत्ततेत्व। अचि परस्य गोः: इद्योतनसियावस्यार्थः मन्यावहसंबधिे भवति॥
123. According to the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, there is the substitution of ॐ for the ॐ of ॐ when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvṛtti of ॐ ceases, that of ॐ manifests itself. Thus ॐ + ॐ = ॐ, so also ॐ, ॐ, ॐ, ॐ, ॐ, or in the alternative we have ॐ, ॐ, ॐ, ॐ, ॐ. The substitute ॐ is accutely accented on the first syllable. This accent will be the original accent in the Bahuvrīhi compound (VI. 2. 1). Thus ॐ = ॐ. In other places, however, this accent will be superseded by the samāsanta Udātta accent (VI. 1. 223) The mention of Sphoṭāyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvṛtti of विनायक was already understood in it. This is a vyavasthiṭa vīhārāḥ, hence in विनायक the अ substitution is compulsory and not optional.

इन्हें च नित्यम् || १२३ || पदार्थि || इन्हें, च, नित्यम् ||

वृत्ति: || इन्हेंहें िलिन पत्ता गोणित्यवत्तार्थिद्रोहिति भवति ||

124. The substitution of अ for the ओ of ॐ is compulsory when a vowel to be found in the word इन्हें follows it.

Thus खेवनव || So also तत्त्र यत: || The word नित्य is not found in some texts or in Mahābhāshya.

पूर्वप्रगृहः अति || १२५ || पदार्थि || पूर्वप्रगृहः अति, ||

वृत्ति: || पूर्वप्रगृहः अतिभवतिर्मयम् भवति ||

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

Thus इन्हें ॐ अत्ति नित्यम्, तत्त्र अति इन्हें अति || These are examples of prolated vowels. The prolation of vowels is taught in the tripādi or the last three chapters of Ashtadhyāyi; and the tripādi are considered asīddha 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 Pragrihyā vowels the following are the examples: ॐ दत्ति, ॐ दत्ति, ॐ दत्ति, माति हति ||

Though the anuvṛtti of हति was current in this sūtra from VI. 1. 77: its repetition here is for the sake of ordaining ।। This is the pluta and the pragrihyā retain their original forms when such a vowel follows which would have caused a substitution. Thus ज्ञात + उ ।। ।। The ॐ is no cause of lengthening, therefore, the lengthening will take place. Now since उ is a pragrihyā, it follows that ज्ञात which ends in ॐ is also a pra-
grihya, and therefore it should not be changed before अ of अस्य. Hence we have the form जातु + अस्य = जातु अस्य. There may also be the form जान्यस्य, not by इकौट्यनचि, but by य उष्ण यो चा (VIII. 3. 33). In fact, the repetition of भाष्ट्र in this sūtra is necessary, in order to enable us to give this peculiar meaning to the sūtra. Otherwise, the sūtra been simply पुनःसम्बन्धः, it would have been translated ordainely thus: "The Pluta and Pragrihya retain their form, when ever a vowel follows". Therefore in जातु उ अस्य, since उ is followed by a vowel, it will retain its form, and will not coalesce with the उ of जातु. But this is not intended. Hence the repetition of the word भाष्ट्र, 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 जातु उ अस्य हाज़िि: the उ + उ will become lengthened, because अ is not the cause of lengthening; it causes the change of उ to उ, which of course is prevented. The word निवि of the last sūtra is understood here also. These pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given in VI. 1. 127.

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

Thus अस्य आँ अः (Rig V. 48. 1); गंगी आँ उपयुऽ जिष्पायत: (Rig VIII. 67. 11). Some read the word वहिन्ते into this sūtra. Hence there is coalescence here: रद्वः ब्रह्मवामातरः = आ अस्यप्.

127. According to the opinion of Sākalya, 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 शः श्र, मघु अधः, कुमारि अधः, किसः अधः. In the alternative we have स्यः, मघः, कुमारः, किसः. Why do we say 'the इकः vowels i.e. simple vowels with the exception of अ'? Observe वहिन्ते. Why do we say 'followed by a non-homogenous vowel'? Observe कुमारः. 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 indicator suffix and of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa).—Thus 

> अ र ते दोनिविद्वयः, प्रजा विशाम कृतिवाम

The word कृतिवाम is formed by a लित affix, namely by यस्म (V. 1. 106), added to कृति; and therefore the न is changed to न. Before a लित affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16) of nitya-compounds are वैयाकरणः, सौज्ञः, व्याकरणः, कुमारस्या, which are so by II. 2. 18 &c.

**Vart.**—In the Vedas द्वितीय अकः &c are found uncombined. As, इत्यः भः, का इङ्गिते विशामिल, यथां अवंतः, पथा अनाय&c.

**सूत्र.** II १२८ II पदानि II कृति: अकः (कृत्या:) II

> शाकाल्यस्य इस्वत्वायदृद्धाते भक्तोर परं: शाकक्लिार्यार्यस्य गवनानां: कृत्या भवति, इस्व तत्त्वात्: स्थाने स्वादि II

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

Thus कृत्या कृत्या, कुमारि कृत्या, कृतः कृत्या: II Why do we say when followed by कृति? Observe, कृत्या: II Why do we say “the simple vowels (अकः:)”? Observe कृत्याद्वित्यः (कृत्या + कृत्या) II This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to कृति vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

अर्थेऽवदृद्धातेऽपि यथाः II १२९ II पदानि II अ, खुतः - वधः, उपस्थिते, II

> इवाभ्याते नामालोक-वैलक्षणः समस्यावच्छिन्य पवस्ते वः स्ववर्ति उस्माण्यते अभ्यं अन्तः बद्वर्ति II पद्यकारे प्रक्ति भवेः न करोति II

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

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of कृति in non-Rishi texts; i.e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and कृति is added. That is in Padapātha, the Pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रक्तिन्यात (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुन्दरकाशं कृति = असुन्दरकाशं, सुभुल्या कृति = सुभुल्यमयं II Why have we used the word वदृ “like as”; instead of saying “the Pluta becomes Apluta” why do we say “Pluta is treated like apluta”? By not using वदृ, 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 pragrihyā. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrihyā, nor a pragrihyā, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrihyā at one and
the same time, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्नि or वायु, the \( \text{अ} \) and \( \text{ड} \) are pragrihya. They may be made pluta also a- अग्नि \( \text{अ} \) or वायु \( \text{ड} \). Now if before \( \text{ह्र} \), the pluta became apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्नि \( \text{ह्र} \) वायु \( \text{ह्र} \) formed by अग्नि \( \text{ड} \) + \( \text{ह्र} \) &c. For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihya by VI. 1. 125, and in addition to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्नि \( \text{ह्र} \), वायु \( \text{ह्र} \).

\( \text{३३} \) चाक्रवर्मणस्य \( \text{३०} \) पदार्थनि \( \text{३३} \) चाक्रवर्मणस्य

\( \text{३३} \) कार्यः प्रत्यादाप्रचारपर्यमस्यार्थवर्त्तमस्य नवनामादिधन्तवर्त्तमाति।

130. According to the the opinion of Chākravarmaṇa, the pluta \( \text{३३} \) followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus अन्त्योऽन्त्यायतीत व अन्त्योऽन्त्यायतीत \( \text{३३} \) वर्षम् or अन्त्योऽन्त्यायतीत \( \text{३३} \) वर्षम्. The name of Chākravarmaṇa is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to \( \text{ह्र} \) rule (VI. 1. 129) as well as to words other than \( \text{ह्र} \). In the case of \( \text{ह्र} \), it allows sanśādi optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sanśādi. In the case of words other than \( \text{ह्र} \), it ordains prakṛti bhāva optionally, when there would have been always prakṛti bhāva by VI. 1. 125. This is a case of उष्णबृद्धिपाया, prāpta and aprāpta both.

Ishti:—This apluta-vad-bhāva applies to pluta vowels other than \( \text{३३} \); as वः \( \text{३३} \) अवस्त्र or जस्यायं.

\( \text{३३} \) वर्ण \( \text{३३} \) पदार्थनि \( \text{३३} \) वर्ण\( \text{३३} \), उत्तर \( \text{३३}

\( \text{३३} \) कार्यः परान्तादास्वित्थः परमधुरः \( \text{३३} \) प्रत्यादास्वित्थः। वर्ण \( \text{३३} \) माति पदिकः प्राणति न भादुः सातुवत्तक्षतातुः।

131. For the final of the nominal-stem वर्ण, there is the substitution of \( \text{३३} \), when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

The portion of \( \text{३३} \) of the word पञ्च must be read into this śūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word \( \text{३३} \) is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus \( \text{३३} \) िमकानो धमन् = युक्ताम्, युक्ताम्, युक्ताम्, युक्ताम्, युक्ताम्. We have said that \( \text{३३} \) is here a prāti-padika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servile letter anubandha and should have been read as \( \text{३३} \). In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long \( \text{३३} \) for \( \text{३३} \) by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have युक्ताय, युक्ताय. The युक्त with a त shows that short \( \text{३३} \) is meant, and debars तृत् (VI. 4. 19). In the case of \( \text{३३} \) substitution the forms will be युक्ताय, युक्ताय. The तृत् also comes because it is taught in a subsequent śūtra. Why do we say ‘when it is a Pada’? Observe विज, विजः.
132. After एतृ and तद्र there is elision of the case-affix त्र (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 एत्र: + द्वातिः = एत्र द्वातिः, ल द्वातिः, एत्र(द्वातिः), ल द्वातिः। Why do we say of एतृ and तद्र? Observe एत्र द्वातिः, ल द्वातिः। Why do say “the case affix of the Nom. singular”? Observe एत्र गायो द्वातिः। Why do we say ‘without क’? Observe एत्र द्वातिः, ल द्वातिः। The words एतृ and तद्र with the affix अक्षः, which falls in the middle, would be considered just like एतृ and तद्र without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतृ and तद्र, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is: तद्रकुतिस्य महति गृह्यते ‘any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it’.

Why do we say “when not compounded with the negative particle”? Observe अनेनेयं द्वातिः, अनेनेयं द्वातिः। In the compound with the negative particle नेत्र, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say ‘when followed by a consonant’? Observe एत्र, लोपः॥

स्यंचन्दनिः वहुलम् १३३॥ पदान्तिः ॥ स्यः, छन्दसिः, वहुलम्, (सोः, लोपः,॥)

श्रुतिः: ॥ स्यं इत्यतः छन्दसिः द्वातिः पल्लवे बहुखणे सार्यो नवति ॥

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

Thus उत स्य वाजी निष्डमु हत्याति भीवायं बद्रो भावकश भासनि (Rig IV. 40. 4),
एष स्ये न मुना इन्द्र सोः (Rig IX. 87, 4)॥ Sometimes it does not take place: as एष स्ये निष्डमु न। The स्य means ‘he’.

सो अचि लोपे चेत्यादर्पणम् १३४॥ पदान्ति सः, अचि, लोपे, चेत्, पादुपूरणम्,॥

श्रुतिः: ॥ स्यं इत्यतः छन्दसिः पल्लवे बहुखणे नवति लोपे सति चेत्यादः पुषयते ॥

Kārikā

चेत् हार्यो रामः, सेप रज्जा सुविधिः।
सेप कर्मो महतायम् चेत् भीमो महाभासः॥

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

Thus एत्र गायसारः चर्चीनांम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सोप्तपुरुषः (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 श्रवणवृत्तया मतः. The word अन्त्य 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 पाथ as 'a foot of a Śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have:—संप्र शास्त्रिष्ठ रूपः, सेव शर्म शुचिपि श्रेष्ठ, सेव कणां महान्यांगी, सेव भीमो महावर्तः।

सुद्र कार्तुप्राणः ॥ ॥ १३५ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ सुद्र, काव्य, पूर्वः ॥

उपनिः: अस्यसहित्वा, परस्परप्रभविनि श्रूतं जाताना भवति श्रूतं। इति उच्चं तदश्चामस्त्र शून्यति कार्तुप्राणः शून्य पेतस्यप्रथमं बहितस्वयम् ॥

135. Upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the following sentence is to be supplied in every aphorism:—“before कृ 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 श्रूत is placed before the letter कृ’ should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VI. 1. 137 teaches “After सम, परि and उप when followed by the verb कृ, the sense being that of adorning”. Here the above phrase should be read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i.e. “the augment श् is added before the कृ of कृ when it is preceded by सम, परि and उप, and the sense is that of adorning”. Thus सम+श्रूत+कृ+सम=संस्कृतम्, संस्कृतम्, संस्कृतम्॥ In the succeeding aphorisms it will be seen that the augment श्रूत comes only before those roots which begin with कृ।

What is then the necessity of using the phrase कार्तुप्राण in this sūtra? It is used to indicate that the श्रूत remains unattached to कृ, though it stands before it. Thus though कृ becomes स्, 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 कृ and preceded by a conjunct letter, takes guṇa before लिङ्ग) does not apply, nor do the rules like VII. 4. 29, nor the rules ordaining the addition of intermediate श्रूत (VII. 2. 43) by which the श्रूत would come in लिङ्ग and श्रूत (Imperfect and Aorist) : as, संस्कृतम् and संस्कृतम्; and so also VII. 4. 29, does not apply as संस्कृतम् the Passive Imperfect (यति लिङ्ग) of संस्कृतम्॥ If so, then the anudātta accent taught in VIII. 1. 28 would not take place, since the augment श्रूत would intervene between the non-लिङ्ग-word सं and the लिङ्ग word कृपाणि, thus संस्कृतम् would have accent on the verb. It is a maxim स्वदेशियों भाषानिशित्यायामानवत् ‘in applying a rule relating to accent the intervening consonants are considered as if non-existent’; and therefore श्रूत does not offer any intervention to the application of the rule VIII. 1. 28. If श्रूत is not to be taken as attached to कृ, how do you explain
the guṇa in the Perfect 3rd Per. Dual and Plural in संप्रकर्ष्ये and संप्रकर्ष्ये, 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 संक्र्ष्ये which have a conjunct consonant for their penultimate; and the guṇa is done also on the maxim समम्यपापतित्स्यदृढ़ः परमेव धृतते (See VI. 1. 132). The indicatory है in छृद is for the purpose of differentiating it from छृ in the सूत्र VIII. 3. 70.

अद्व्यासद्व्यवायेपि II १३६ II पद्यानि II अद्व, अभ्यास - व्यवाये, अपि II
बृत्ति: II अद्व्यासद्व्यवायेपि छृद कार्यौं भवति II

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

Thus समकेताः (= सम् + भकरोः), सम्भावर्येत्, संप्रकर्ष्ये (= सम् + चकार्), परिचकार II. This sūtra is not that of Pāṇini, but is made out of two Vārtikas: भक्ष्या व्यवायम् नस्य नामः; and अभ्यासद्व्यवाये च II. The augmented root छृद would have given the form चकार by VII. 4. 61, if म् be considered an integral part of छृ, 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 छृद is added, and then the अद्व and अभ्यास operations take place. Thus संक्र्ष्ये is the form to which अद्व and अभ्यास operations are to be applied. Now, we have said in the foregoing aphorism, that छृद is considered as unattached to क; and therefore, the augment अद्व may be added after this छृद, and so also the reduplication may take place without it. Thus we may have the forms like संक्र्ष्ये and संप्रकर्ष्ये II. But this is not desired, hence the necessity of the present sūtra teaching that even after अद्व and reduplicate, the छृद must be placed before क and no where else.

संप्रकर्ष्ये: करोति भूषणे II १३७ II पद्यानि II सम् - परि - उपप्त्ये, करोती, भूषणे II
बृत्ति: II सम् परि उप इत्येकैवेऽभूषणायेपि करोति परस्त। छृद कार्यायेपि भवति II

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

Thus संक्र्ष्ये, संक्षेत्र, संक्षेत्रम्. The म् of सम् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 5. So also परिष्ठताः परिष्ठताः परिष्ठत्यम्. The छृ is changed to छ by VIII. 3. 70. So also with उप, as उपक्ष्याः, उपक्षेत्र, उपक्षेत्रम्. Why do we say.
‘when meaning to ornament?’ Observe उपकरोति. Sometimes छूट comes after सम even when the sense is not that of ornamenting: thus संज्ञानम.

समवाये च। १३८। पदानि। समवाये, ( च छूट )
बृत्ति। समवाय। संज्ञानवस्तवायों करोति संपन्नित्या। कालयुः। छूटाग्रामो भवति।

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

The word समवाय means aggregation. Thus सत्र न: संज्ञानम तत्र न: परिधिनः। तत्र न: उपकरोति। संज्ञानम। तत्र न: उपकरोति। संज्ञानम। that is ‘we assembled there’.

उपात्ततिववेक्षतवाक्याभाषारपारे॥ १३९॥ पदानि॥ उपात्, प्रति, यत्, वैक्तिक, वाक्य। अध्यायारपारे॥

बृत्ति। सत्र छूटानातराधिगमित्याय बृहस्पत्य य ताववस्थाय। समीतु धर्मचन।। निर्देशृण वैक्तिक।।

महात्वाधिगमितु। गगनमानिक्यतु पाठवतु स्वस्शृणीङ्गपावृत्तु वाक्याभाषार।। एवत्थवर्ये गगनमानिक्यतु करोति।

139. The augment छूट is placed before क, when the verb क 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 प्रतिवध्या।। That which is prepared or altered is called वैक्तिक।। The word वैक्तिक is the same as विकृतें, the affix अनु being added without changing the sense, by considering it to belong to महात्व class (V. 4. 38). To supply by distinct statement the sense of a sentence which is alluded to, is called the समानहार of a sentence. Thus in the sense of ‘taking pains’ we have एवांतवकपुष्टिल। (See I. 3. 32); काँण्डलुङ्गस्सुकृतः।।

In the sense of ‘altering by preparing’ we have: उपस्कृतं छूटो कवित्ते। उपस्कृते। गच्छिता।। In the sense of ‘supplying a thesis’ we have उपस्कृतं जल्पना। उपस्कृतनमप्ति।। When not having any one of the above five senses (VI. 1. 137-139) we have उपकरोति।।

किरती लिखने॥ १४०॥ पदानि। किरती।, लिखने॥
बृत्ति। उपात्ततिव उपात्ततिववेक्षताः कालयुः। ज्ञानविवध्या। छूट काण्डपूर्वः।।

140. The augment छूट is placed before क, when the verb क comes after उप and the sense is that of ‘to cut or split’.

Thus उपस्कृतं नम्रा युग्मति, उपस्कृतं काण्डीर्का युग्मति।। विकृत्तिय युग्मति।।
Vārt.—The above augment takes place when रक्ष to cut, as shown in the above examples. When the meaning is not that of ‘to cut’, the form is उपस्थितम्.

िन्तायम् प्रतिवेचम् । १४१ । पदार्थो वहिन्तायम्, प्रती, च, ॥

बुधि। किल्लाविदेश : उपप्रेते बोधित्रिक्ति हिन्तायं विद्येः छुद, कामुः भवति ॥

141. The augment सूद् is placed before क, when the verb क comes after उप and प्रत, and the sense is “to cause suffering”.

Thus उपप्रेतकम् or मात्रकम् हल्ल ते वृष्ण भूयादृत्-तिथा ते वृष्ण विशेषो भूयादृत् वया।

Why do we say when ‘the sense is to cause pain’? Observe प्रय-कष्टम्.

अपाणतेवपापाधकुणित्वत्वेकैः । १४२ । पदार्थो अपाण, चतुपपाण, शाक्विशुः, आनेखते (सूद, ) दृष्टः।

वृद्धि। किल्लाविदेश : उपप्रेतकसितात्र छुदाधकुणित्वत्, वशलेखनम् तत्सिद्धिः विद्येः छुद, कामुः भवति ॥

वासिकष्टः हर्षजीविकलकायकान्वितिबन्धम् ॥

वाचः हर्षजीविकलकायकान्वितिकिटियुभिषेष्यपत्रीयपंचयानाम् ॥

142. The augment सूद् is placed before क, when the verb क comes after उप and the sense is ‘the scraping of earth by four-footed animals or birds’.

Thus तवस्थिते वृष्णी हृद्, अपप्रेतकसितात्र छुदाधकुणित्वत् ; अपप्रेतकसितात्र भा नग्नायिः भावितम् निश्चितम् ।

Why do we say ‘four-footed animals or birds’? Observe विशिष्टम् दृष्टः।

Vārt.—This rule applies when the scraping is through pleasure, or for the sake of finding food, or making a resting place. Therefore not here:—

प्रतिकष्टम् भा भोज्यनियमातिइः। And it is in the above senses of scraping through pleasure &c, that the root takes अमने पा affixes; otherwise the Parasmaipada affixes will follow. See I. 3. 21. Vārt.

कुस्तुम्बुर्धृणि जाति: । १४३ । पदार्थो दृष्टुम्बुर्धृणि, जाति: ( सूद ) ।

बुधि। कुस्तुम्बुर्धृणिते सूद, निपातेऽर्जितीमौहीदवाति ॥

143. The word कुस्तुम्बु is irregularly formed with the augment सूद् and means ‘a species of herb’.

The कुस्तुम्बु is the name of coriander; i.e. पालवंक; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the sutra in the Neuter gender does not however show that the word is always Neuter. When not meaning coriander, the form is कुस्तुम्बु (कृतित्वम् कुस्तुम्बु)। The word दुःखु here means the fruit of the ebony tree,
अपरस्परा: क्रियासात्तलिए || १४४ || पद्धति || अपरस्परा: क्रिया - सात्तलिए

वृत्ति: || अपरस्परा इति स्रुत निपायते क्रियासात्तलेक गम्भरिते

Kārika

हुमेयद्वदयम: क्रृत्यं दुक्हाम्ममसंवरपि
समो वा हिततात्योमस्तव विचिद्यथमोः

144. The word अपरस्परा: is formed by the augment स्रुत when the sense is that of ‘uninterrupted action’.

Thus अपरस्परा: सार्व गच्छनि = सन्तततमविच्छेदेन गच्छनि || When the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरस्परा: सार्व गच्छनि = अपरे परंच सहवेव गच्छनि || The सात्तलय comes from सत्तलयं, by adding सत्तव to form the abstract noun, सतात्त्वव भावः (V. I. 123) = सतात्त्वव ||

How do you explain सततम? || The म of ससम् is optionally elided before तत्त, on the strength of the Kārika:—“The म of अव्ययम् is elided before a word ending in a kṛtya affix, the म of तुम् is elided before काम and सनस, the म of ससम् is elided optionally before तत्त and तत्त, the final म of मांस is elided before पाक or पचन. || As (१) अव्ययम् वर्तमयं = अव्ययम् वर्तमयं, (२) भोजकुम् काम् = भोजकुम् काम्, भोजनाम् ||

(३) समाहितं = समाहितं, समु तत्तं = समु तत्तं ||

(४) मांस पाकः, मांस पचनाम्

गोप्यद् सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेणुः || १४५ || पद्धति || गोः-पद्म, सेवित-असेवित-प्रमाणेणुः

वृत्ति: || गोप्यधिगति स्रुत निपायते तत्त च परं सेविते असेविते प्रमाण च विषये

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

Thus गोप्यद् वेशः = सार्व पद्मच्या वसित्र हें पर गोः: सेवितो वेशः || So also गोप्यभाषावेशयादि. || The word गोप्यद् by itself does not mean ‘not visited by cows’. Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोप्यभाषाय श्रवें, गोप्यपुरुष हें देवेः || 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 होप्यद् = होः पाकः ||

What is the use of the word असेवित in the sūtra, the word गोप्यद् will give अगोप्यद् by adding the negative particle, न गोप्यद् = अगोप्यद्? The force of नम् compound is that of सृजन “like that but not that”. As अश्रुधार गोप्यद् means “a man who is a Kṣatrya &c. not a Brāhmaṇa, but does not mean a stone &c.” Therefore अगोप्यद् 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 अगोप्यद्

आस्पद्य प्रतिश्रुतायाम् || १४६ || पद्धति || आस्पद्य, प्रतिश्रुतायाम्, (स्रुत) ||

वृत्ति: || आस्पद्यभाष्यम् स्थान प्रतिश्रुत तस्यामास्पद्यनिगति स्रुत निपायते
146. The word आच्छाद is formed by छुट्ट when meaning 'a place or position'.

The word मतिष्ठा means 'firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority'. Thus आच्छादम अनेन नाथम्. Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe भा पदान्ताः भाप्रम्.

आच्छाद्यमनिल्ये ॥ १४७ ॥ पदान्ति ॥ आच्छाद्यम्, अनिल्ये ॥
वृत्तीः ॥ अनिल्यमणि विप्रकृतमत्रं यदुत्तयमवहनमक्षते तत्त्वानाक्षमे निपाप्यते । चेतेयां चायुपथित स्थल-श्वेते हुले निपातनास्तु ॥

147. The word आच्छाद is formed by छुट्ट, when meaning something 'unusual'.

The word आच्छाद is formed by adding the affix यदु to the verb यह with the preposition भा, and the augment छुट्ट. Thus आच्छाद्येः यदु संज्ञात, आच्छाद्येः यदु संज्ञाती वि ॥ When not having this sense, we have आच्छाद्येः कर्म शोभनम् ॥

चाच्छाद्येः अवस्करः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदान्ति ॥ चाच्छाद्येः, अवस्करः ॥
वृत्तीः ॥ छुट्टिनियन्तं वयों, छुट्टवयनमणि, तत्त्वावज्ञनेयं अवस्कर इति निपाप्यते । अवपूतस्य किल्ले । कर्मणि
छुट्टराप्य संज्ञात । निपातनास्तु ॥

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

That which has bad lustre is called वयस्क (छुट्टिनियन्तं) ॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root यह is added the affix अव (III. 3. 57), the preposition कर्म and irregularly the छुट्ट. Thus अववयस्क्रयनम: ॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have अववयस्कः ॥

अववयस्को रथायुम्यः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदान्ति ॥ अववयस्कः, रथायुम्यः ॥
वृत्तीः ॥ अववयस्कर इति निपाप्यते रथायुम्ये ययमान । अवपूतस्य वयस्क्रयनस्य विविधाय, निपातनाद्वृत्तीः

149. The word अवस्कर is formed with छुट्ट meaning 'the part of a chariot'.

This word is also derived from यह with the preposition कर्म and the affix अव (III. 3. 57) and छुट्ट augment. When not having this meaning, we have अववयस्कः ॥

विविधः शाकुलिविधिकरो वा ॥ १५० ॥ पदान्ति ॥ विविधः, शाकुलिः, विविधः, वा ॥
वृत्तीः ॥ विविधः इति विशिष्यां विनियमेत्यक्षमात्मकिं । कः इति इति विविधं निपात्यन्ते शाकुलिविधिप्रव-वालिः । विविधायात्मकिं वा शाकुलिनिमयिति ॥
Verse सरवः शाकुलियो भक्ष्यं विविधः: कुछुदावहेतु ॥

150. The word विविधः is formed with छुट्ट optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being विविधः ॥
This word is formed by adding the affix क (III. 1. 135) to खु to the preposition बि and the augment खुद. The word बितिकर also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase खुकिरितिसंकि ते is added from the Vārtika and is no part of the original sūtra. Thus सर्व खुपन्यास भवन्ति बितिकर: कूकुर्रावसति. Though the sūtra बितिकरिसंकि ते would have given the optional form बितिकर, the specific mention of this form in the sūtra indicates that बितिकर always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise बितिकर would have referred to some other than a bird.

हस्ताक्षरं प्रोत्सर्वं मन्त्रं ॥ १५१ ॥ पद्यानि हस्ताक्षरं, चन्द्रोत्सर्वं, मन्त्रं ॥

२४४: ॥ चन्द्रोत्सर्वं हस्ताक्षरं: सुदर्शनम् मञ्जरि मन्त्रविषयं ॥

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

Thus खुपन्यास भवन्ति ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel? Observe सुकमलसताविव ॥ Why do we say 'in a Mantra'? Observe, खुपन्यास पारंपरिकाः।
The उच्चारण 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 खुपन्यास भवन्ति ॥

पतिष्करश्च कथे: ॥ १५२ ॥ पद्यानि पतिष्करश्च, च, कथे: ॥

२४५: ॥ कथा पारंपरिानमेवविषयेत पातोऽ पतिष्करश्च पञ्चायति कृते खुद निपातत्ते, तस्येत्व वस्तु ॥

Verse मानसमय प्रेयः प्रामाणिक भव नें खुद पतिष्करश्च: ॥

152. To the root कत् 'to go, to punish', is added the augment खुद, when preceded by the preposition प्रति, the form being पतिष्करश्च: ॥

The word पतिष्करश्च is formed by adding अत् affix (III. 1. 134) to the root, with adding the prefix प्रति ॥ Thus मानसमय प्रेयः प्रामाणिक भव नें खुद पतिष्करश्च: 'I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary'. The word पतिष्करश्च: means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary". Why do we say "to the root कत्"? Observe प्रतिगत: कत्=पतिष्करश्च: 'a horse guided by the whip'. Here though कत् is derived from कत्, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कत्, and not to a derivative word.

प्रस्करणवहिरिन्द्रकुशी ॥ १५३ ॥ पद्यानि प्रस्करण हिरिन्द्रकुशी, कुशी ॥

२४६: ॥ प्रस्करणो हिरिन्द्र दति खुद निपातत्ते कुशी चेतसिन्द्रियेऽभवति: ॥

153. The words प्रस्करण and हिरिन्द्र are formed by खुद, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्करण कपि, हिरिन्द्र कपि: ॥ The word हिरिन्द्र (VI. 1. 151) in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. When not referring to Rishis, we have प्रकटिवेशा; (कपि वासं पावं तत्त्वात्मनाः) हिरिन्द्रा मानसकः (हिरि: पन्न्रा भवं मुन्यवत्य ) ॥
154. The word मस्कर means ‘a bamboo’, and मस्करित्व means ‘a mendicant monk’.

When not having these meanings, the form is मकर. This is an undeveloped nominal stem, having no derivation, to which छत्र is added when ‘a bamboo’ is meant; and the affix दिन in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करित्व. Why do we say “when meaning a bamboo or a mendicant”. Observe मकरपाय: “an alligator”, मकरो समुद्र “an ocean”. Some say the word फकर is a derivative word, being derived from कर ‘to do’ with the negative particle मा and the affix अछ, the long था being shortened. Thus मा किसी वेम प्रातिविन्यास—मस्कर: ‘a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made’. So also by adding दिन in the sense of तात्त्विकय to the root क preceding by the upapada मा; we get मस्करित्व. Thus मा करणथािियल—मस्करी “a monk, who has renounced all works”. A mendicant always says “मा क्षुत: कमाण भानित्व: श्रेष्ठी”—“Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end”.

कास्तीरातुस्तुन्दे नगरे र० १५५ र० पदानि र० कास्तीर, अजस्तुल्न्दे नगरे र०

बृंशः र० कास्तीर भजस्तुळ्न्द्वी शब्दी निपाथते नगरे समिपेये ।

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

When not meaning cities, we have कास्तीर (रप्तू तीरस्थ); and अजस्तुल्न्द (अजस्त्वेय तुतुमस्थ)।

कास्तरो छत्रः र० १५६ र० पदानि र० कास्तकर, छत्रः र०।

बृंशः र० कास्तकर दिन छट निपाथते दुःझेश्वराहि।

156. The word कास्तकर means ‘a tree’.

This word is formed from फकर+छ+द (III. 2. 21)=कास्तकर:। When not meaning a tree, the form is कास्तकर। Some do not make this a separate सूत्र, but include it in the next aphorism.

पारस्तकरभूतीनि च संवायायः र० १५७ र० पदानि र० पारस्तकर भूतीनि, च, संवायायः।

बृंशः र० पारस्तकरभूतीनि च शक्तिपायि निपाथते संवायाय विषये।

157. The words पारस्तकर &c are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding छट। Thus पारस्तकर: ‘a country called Pāraskara’. कास्तकर: ‘N. of a tree’, रस्या ‘N. of a river’, बुधकु: ‘N. of a measure’, किविन्धा ‘N. of a cave’, तस्क ‘a thief’, formed by inserting छट in the compound of तद्व+कर, and eliding त। बृहस्पति ‘N.of a Diety’, formed similarly by inserting छट between बहुत + परि and eliding the त। Why do we
say when meaning a thief and a deity? Observe तंकर्, बृहस्पतः। The words चोर and रेवता are used in the Ganapātha merely for the sake of diversity, the word संज्ञा would have connoted that प्रसुष्मा is, When the root तुष तुष ‘to injure’ is preceded by the preposition म, there is added छुट to म, when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say ‘when the agent is cow’? Observe प्रसुष्मा भवेन्द्रते:। In प्रसुष्मा the छुट is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated:—प्रसुष्मा गोः, प्रसुष्मा गावो, प्रसुष्मा गाव।। This is an ākrītigaṇa. Thus प्रायोगिस्माः, प्रायोगिस्माः:।

1 पारस्करो देवा, 2 कारकरे बृहतः, 3 रसस्या नरी, 4 किंकु: प्रमाणम, 5 किंकिन्या दुहा, 6 सद्भृहतो: कारपाल्लोचवस्ती: छुट तलाश (तंकर: चोरः, बृहस्पतः = रेवता), 7 मातृ तुष्मा गावे करतरी: (प्रसुष्मा गोः:।)। आक्रितिगण:।

अनुष्मासं पद्मेकक्षेम्यम् ।। १५ ॥ पदार्थि: ।। अनुष्मासम, पद्म, एक-वानरम् ।।

बृहतः:। परिभाषेः स्वराविविधस्य:। व्यवनाम: स्वर उदात्त: स्वरिता वा स्वरीयते तत्तुपस्यं पदेक्ष्यं वाध्विविध-वास्या बनवीलेवर्तुपस्यं ब्रह्मम्।

Kārikā

भागमत्व विकारास्त्रः प्रक्तो: प्रतलवच।

पूवक्त्रवित्त्वत्वादिकादि पद्सः।।

वार्तिकाः। विशेषत्वादिर्मूलये बलीवान्निति वक्त्रयेषु।।

वार्। विभिन्नित्वमहर्षादेश्तस्त्रृश्रीि बलीवान्निति वक्त्रयेषु।।

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 anudattā or unaccented. This is a Paribhāṣā or maxima of interpretation with regard to the laws of accent. Wherever an accent—be it acute (udattā) or a circumflex (svarīta)—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 अनुष्मास means ‘having an anudattā vowel’. What is the one to be excepted? That one about which any particular accent has been taught in the rules here-in-after given. Thus VI. 1. 162 teaches that a root has acute accent on the final. Therefore, with the exception of the last syllable, all the other syllables are unaccented. Thus in गोपायित the acute accent is on ग, all the rest are unaccented. The root accent is superseded by ा accent; thus लुन्नति has acute accent on ना।। The ा accent is superseded by तस accent, as लुन्नति, has accent on न।। The तस accent is superseded by ा accent, as लुन्नतस्तरीयः।।

आगमस्याविकारास्त्रः प्रत्यप्रत्य: प्रत्यप्रत्य च, पूवक्त्र्वित्त्वादिकादि पद्सः।। 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 “‘ाम, acutely accented is the augment of छुट and अनुष्मास when a sarvanāmsthāna affix follows”. Thus चत्वारि, अनुष्माः; here the augment-accent
supersedes the accent of the stem, for \textit{चतुर} was acutely accented on the first syllable, so also \textit{अनंत}, these being formed by the affixes उत्त, and अस्त्र respectively. Thus चन्द + उर = चतुर (चतुर्वत्त Un V. 58, accent VI. 1. 197); अनंत is thus derived: अन + अति = अनस्त + वह + क्रु, the \textit{v} is replaced by \textit{व}, and there is vocalisation of \textit{v} of वह VI. 1. 15 = अनंत। This word is formed by a क्रिय affix with a कार्क आपाती, therefore, the second term will retain its original accent, namely the final acute of a root. (VI. 1. 162 and VI. 2. 139) अनस्त itself is derived by adding the affix (Un IV. 189) अस्त्र which makes the word acutely accented on the first syllable. (2). Similarly as to विकार (Vikaraṇa):—VII. 1. 75 teaches “instead of अस्त्र, दध, लक्ष्य, and अति, there shall be अनह acutely accented when \textit{व} follows or any of the subsequent terminations beginning with a vowel”. This अन will supersede the acute accent of the first अ of the stem: as अस्त्र। The word अस्त्र is derived from अस्त्र by adding the affix क्रिय (Un III. 154) which makes the word acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is an example of विकार। (3) Similarly in गोपालि the accent of the stem taught in VI. 1. 162 ‘a root has an accent on its final’, supersedes the accent of the vikaraṇa अव (III. 1. 28, 3), i.e. the acute accent on आ in आव gives way to the root-accent which makes \textit{व} acute. (4) So also the accent of the affix supersedes that of the stem: as कर्तव्य, and नित्य, which are formed by the affix तत्त्व (III. 1. 96) here VI. 1. 185 debars the accent of the root (VI. 1. 162).

The determination of the proper accent of a word depends upon considering the various rules that have gone to form it, and the sequence of those rules, e.g. a latter rule (वर) superseding a prior rule, a nitya rule superseding an anitya rule, an antaranga superseding a bahiranga, an apavāda rule superseding an utsarga rule. But another test is, what is the remaining rule that applies after giving scope to all. A rule, that in spite of another rule, finds scope or activity, bars that former rule. Thus गोपालि। It is derived from वह root, which as a root has accent on the syllable \textit{व} (VI. 1. 162). When the affix आव is added to it by III. 1. 28, the word becomes गोपाल and it takes the accent of the affix (III. 1. 3), i.e. the accent now falls on आ; but now comes rule III. 1. 32 which says that a word taking the affix आव is a root. Thus गोपाल gets the designation of root (अव), and thus takes the accent of a धातु (VI. 1. 162), and the accent falls on आ।

The rule is that except one special accent taught in a sutra the other syllables take anūdatta. Therefore, where there is a conflict of rules, the accent is guided by the following maxim: “प्रतिलब्धियंत्रः शर्लव्यस्य शतिष्कसनिश्चेष्टन्य”। namely (1) the sequence, a succeeding rule setting aside a prior rule (2) a Nitya rule is stronger then Anitya, (3) Antaranga stronger than Bahiranga, (4) the Apavāda is stronger then Utsarga. When all these are exhausted, as we have illustrated above, then we apply the rule of सतिग्रह। What is this rule? To quote the words of Kāśīkā: यह द शालिनी सति शिष्यभरते स तत्स बाध्यते भवति “that which
does remain and must last in spite of the presence of another, debars such other’. Thus in गोपायक्तः; here the प्रवस्थितः “the accent of the affix” (III. 1. 3) by which the acute is on the first syllable of the affix is an apavāda to the धातुतत्त्वः (VI. 1. 192) by which the final of a dhatu is acute, and it debars the dhatu-accent; but this affix-accent is in its turn debarred in the case of derivative verbs formed with affixes, by the rule of सतिशिष्टः, because even after the addition of the affix, these words retain the designation of dhatu. Similarly in काण्योच्चतस्रुः, “The son of him whose upper garment (uttarāsanga) is of black color— the Son of Baladeva” the Bahuvrhi-accent (VI.2.1) being an apavāda to Samāsa-accent (VI. 1. 223), debars the samāsa-accent; but this Bahuvrhi-accent is in its turn debarred by the rule of सतिशिष्टः when a further compound is formed and the final word is a compound only and not a Bahuvrhi. Though the accent of the Vikarana is a सतिशिष्टः, yet it does not debar the Sārvadhatuaka accent (VI. 1. 186). Thus in लुधीनः, the accent of the vikarana नी does not debar the accent of तस्य.

Vārt.—The नम्-accent is stronger than the case-affix accent. Thus in शतिशिष्टः, here the accent of जस्त vibhakti after तिः (VI. 1. 166) though शतिशिष्टः is debarred by नम् accent taught in VI. 2. 2, for Negative compounds are Tatpurusha.

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

Why do we say ‘in the body of a pada’? In a sentence, every word will retain its accent. As हे बैलम! भानमयाज छुङ्कर्ष "O Devadatta, drive away the white cow”. The word पवित्र is in fact used in this sūtra in its secondary sense, namely that which will get the designation of पवित्र when completed; had it meant the full ready made pada, this word would not have been repeated in पवित्रिकारः sūtra (VIII. 1. 16, 17). Had a full ‘pada’ been meant, the incongruity would arise in the following. The word तुवल्कर is acutely accented on the first as belonging to मामायि class (Phit II. 15), adding the feminine affix द्रीष्टि to it by its belonging to गौरळि class, we get कुवल्कर, which will retain its acute on the first because it is not technically a पवित्र। But it is not so, the word कुवल्कर has anudattta accent on the first syllable (Phit II. 15), and hence we can apply the अम् affix to it by IV. 2. 44, thus कुवल्कर दिकाराः=द्रीष्टि। Similarly the word गार्भिणि formed from गर्भ (belonging to Grāmādi class Phit II. 15), with, the affix द्रीष्टि (V. 2. 115) and the feminine द्रीष्टि। If here the affix द्रीष्टि being udātta causes all the rest syllables anudattta, just at the very moment of its application, without seeing whether the word was a pada or not, then the word गार्भिणि being anudattta would have taken अम्, and therefore its exception is proper in the निष्कारः class.
(IV, 2. 38). But if the anudatta-hood of the remaining syllables were to follow after a word had got the designation of श्रव, then the word गाभिणि would remain acutely accented on the first, and its enumeration in IV. 2. 38 would be useless.

कर्ष्टवति चः चतुः उदात्तः || १५९ || पदानि || कर्ष्ट, अत्वतः, चरः, अतः, उदात्तः ||

तुसः च || कर्ष्ट्वति भ्वपश्वतः च ||

159. A stem formed with the Krita-affix वत्सः has the acute accent on the end-syllable, if it is formed from the root कथ (कथते) or has a long आ in it.

Thus कर्ष्ट्: प्रकर्ष्टः, स्वकर्ष्टः, रागर्ष्टः, सर्ष्टः, धर्ष्टः || This is an exception to VI. 1. 197 by which affixes having an indicatory श्रव have acute accent on the first syllable. The word कर्ष्ट is used in the aphorism instead of कथ, to indicate that श्रव of Bhvādi gaṇa is affected by this rule, and not कथ—कथति of Tūḍādīgāṇa. The word कर्ष्ट: derived from Tūḍādi कर्ष्ट has acute accent on the first syllable.

उद्यादिति च || १६० || पदानि || उद्यादिति च च ||

तुसः च || उद्द इवेयमात्रात्मातु उद्यादिति भवति ||

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

Thus I. उद्धः, 2. भृगः, 3. अपः, 4. जलः || These are formed by पम, and would have taken acute-accent on the first. 5. जन: 6. वचः are formed by पम suffix (III. 3. 61) which being grave (III. 1. 4), these words would have taken the accent of the dhatu (VI. 1. 162), i.e. acute on the first syllable. Some read वचः: also here. 7. युगः is derived from युगः by पम affix, the non-causing of ग्नत is irregular, and the word means ‘a cycle of time’, ‘a part of a carriage’. In other senses, the form is यापः || 8. गरः—(कृष्टः) is formed by पम, and has this accent when it means ‘poison’, in other senses, the acute is on the first syllable. 9. गनः, वकः, गेरः (वेदः), and बनः, करणः || These words are formed by पम by III. 3. 121. When denoting instrument (कारण) they take the above accent, when denoting भाव the accent falls on the first syllable. 10. तत्त्वाद्वृत्तानपि, e.g. परत्त्वः, परिधः, स्वसः || 11. आर्यनि: स्तोत्रः, the stotra means Sāma Veda, the word भावानि: occurring in the Sāma Veda has acute on the last: in other places, it has the accent on the middle. 12. भावः हरः, the हरः has end-acute when meaning ‘a cave’, otherwise when formed by पम affix it has acute on the first. 13. सामायवतिर्मिथानः, thus मारः: मारः: in other senses, the acute is on the first. 14. उत्समायवतिर्मिथानः स्वामः, e.g. उत्समः, वृद्धायुः: || Some read the limitation of सामायवतिर्मिथान into this also. 15. भक्तमयवतिर्मिथानाः (भरतः: ) || These are formed by पम, मारः: though a प्रस्त root is here पमः तः.
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 कूमरी + ् = कूमरी ग्. The word कूमरी has acute on the last, when the unaccented (anudātta) कूमर् is added to it, the ग् is elided (VI. 1. 148), the anudātta कू is becomes udātta. So also पुष्प + तृष्ण = पुष्प: (VII. 1. 88), पुष्प + तृष्ण = पुष्प: The पुष्प + तृष्ण has acute on the last. So also कुब्र + नर्मद = कुब्रनर्मद (IV. 2. 87), कुब्र, कुब्रनर्मद II. The words कुब्र &c, are end-acute, and the affix गत (वत) is anudātta (III. 1. 4).

Why 'an anudātta vowel gets &c'. Observe त्रावसु: + देव = त्रावसु: II (पुस्तक वहात IV. 4. 76). Here though पुस्तक is end-acute (VI. 2. 144 formed by पुस्तक with gati) it is followed by देव which is svarita (VI. 1. 185), this svarita causes the lopa of देव udātta: but it does not itself become udātta. 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 anudātta. Therefore when देव is taught to be svarita, all the other syllables (like देव) will become anudātta. So there is no lopa of udātta when देव comes. The word अनुदात्तम is used to indicate that the initial anudātta becomes udātta. Had anudātta not been used, the sūtra would have been चब्बीसतालोप, which would mean द्वस्त्ये पर्यंत; द्वासतालोपेत तस्यानि उदात्त भवेत, for the anuvṛtti of अनुत् would then be read from the last. There would then be anomaly in the case of गा हि गुश्याताम्, and माहि गुश्यायम्। From the root हृद we have formed हृश्यात्तम्य and हृश्यायम् in the Aorist Atmanepada, dual. हृद + देव + आत्तम् = हृद+स (VII. 3. 72) + आत्तम् II. Here आत्तम् causes the elision of the udātta अ of हृ. Therefore the final of आत्तम् would be udātta, which is not desired. The augment अ is not added because of गा, had it been added, the अ would have been udātta (VI. 4. 71). Had हि not been given, then also the whole of हृश्यात्तम् would have become anudātta in हृश्यात्तम् because of तद्वात्तम्: (VIII. 1. 28). See VIII. 1. 34 (हि च). Why have we used the word गा in the sūtra? If it was not employed, then the subsequent anudātta 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 anudātta would have become udātta. Thus in माहुष: माहुषोऽभासक: माहुष:। Here माहुष: is plural of माहुष:। The word माहुष is end-acute and this acute (अ) was elided in the plural, before the affix अत् was added.
The elision here is not caused by जस्, but is a subject of जस् (not निवित्त बलिष्ठ, but विषय). Therefore जल does not become उदभरत्त, which would have been the case, had शत् not been used. शत् श्वुरुच्छः शाखामिश्रत्य लुक्. The gotra affix was elided prior to the adding of the case-ending. Why do we say “when an ‘udभरत्त is elided”?

Observe विव्र + वस् (IV. 1. 104) = वा. The feminine of this will be वा + वीयु (IV. 1. 73 = वा). Here वा causes the elision of auदभरत् अष्ट्र of अष्ट्र, and hence remains unchanged. So also श्चित्.

धातु: I १६२. पदार्थ: धातु: (अन्तः, उदात्त:) वृत्ति: अन्तः इलेव: धातुप्ररूप उदात्तो भवति.

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

The word अन्त is understood here. Thus व्यजत, वेष्ठत, ऋणत, गापार्थत, धाति.

चेत: I १६३. पदार्थ: चेत: (अन्तः, उदात्त:) वृत्ति:.

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

Thus नाद्रेष्ट्य, भानुर्त्य, मेप्त्र् अपुल: These are formed by द्रुष् III. 2. 161. So also कौर्षिन्य: by II. 4. 70 where the substitute कौर्षिन्य is employed. To कुज्ञ is added हान in the sense of मुम्ब, then is added the feminine affix भीष, thus कौर्षिन्य has middle-acute. The descendants of कुण्डिनि will be कौर्णिन्य: (by भम् of Gargadi). The plural of कुण्डिनि will be formed by eliding भम् and substituting कौर्णिन्य, for the remaining portion. In the cases of affixes having an indicatory च, the acute accent falls on the final, taking the stem and the affix in an aggregate. Thus बहुच्छः I The affix बहुच्छ is one of those few affixes which are really prefixes. (V. 3. 68), The accent will not, therefore, fall on च, but on the last syllable of the whole word compounded of the prefix+ the base. So also with the affix अर्क्ष: It is added in the middle of the word, but the accent will fall on the end; as उच्छेकः (V. 3. 71).

तद्वितस्य I १६४. पदार्थ: तद्वितस्य, (अन्तः, उदात्त:) वृत्ति:.

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

Thus कौर्णिन्य: formed by the affix चधक्ष्म (IV. 1. 98). कुर्ज्ञ + च फ्न्त् + भम् = कौर्णिन्य: dual कौर्णिन्य: pl. कौर्णिन्य: (भम् being elided by II. 4. 62, and thus giving scope to चधक्ष्म accent). In this affix there are two indicator letters च and च; the च has only one function, namely, regulating the accent according to this rule, while च has two functions, one to regulate accent by VI.1. 197, and another to cause Vriddhi by VII. 2. 117. Now arises the question, should the word get the accent of च or of च? The present rule declares that it should get.
the accent of च and not of म, for the latter finds still a function left to it, while if म was to regulate the accent, च would have no scope.

कित्र || १६५ || पदानि || कित्र ||
वृत्ति: तद्वित्त्वेत्र || तद्वित्त्व कित्रो मुखो भविष ||

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

Thus नागद्राकेन: formed by फक्तु (IV. 1. 99), so also जागद्राकेन: || Similarly भास्मिकेन: शाख्किकेन: formed by दक्तु (IV. 4. 1).

tित्रथ्यो जस्: || १६६ || पदानि || तित्रथ्य: || जस्: (अन्त्: || उदारां:)

tित्रथ्य || तित्रथ्य उदारस्य जसस्य उदारो भविष ||

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

Thus तित्रित्रित्रित्रि || This debars the Svarita accent ordained by VIII. 2. 4. The word तित्र (feminine of बि VII. 2. 99) meaning ‘three’ is always plural. There are no singular or dual cases of this numeral; of the seven plural cases, the accusative plural will have acute on the final by VI. 1. 174; the remaining cases (Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative) have affixes beginning with a consonant, and by VI. 1. 179 they will be udātta. Thus the only case not covered by any special rule is जस् (nom. pl); which would have been Svarita, but for this rule. If जस् be the only case not provided for, then merely saying तित्रथ्य: 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 तित्र 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 tois sūtra, then in the case of simple तित्र there would be no harm, but when it is seconed member in a compound there would be anomaly. Thus तित्रित्रि would have become end-acute. But that is not desired. It is svarita on the final by VIII. 2. 4.

चतुरः: दशि || १६७ || पदानि || चतुर:, दाः (अन्तबद्धाः:)

चतुरः: चतुरः पदानि || चतुरः ||

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

Thus चतुरः: पदम the accent is on ह || The feminine of चतुर is चतुरु (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 चतुरु has acute on the first, as formed by उप्त affix. Its substitute चतुर will also be so, by the rule of ध्यातंवत् || The special enunciation of ध्यातंवत् with regard to चतुर्ष in the Vārtika चतुर्षःतास्यसम्बन्धातिपलम जस्य (VII. 2. 99) indicates that the
present rule does not apply to चतुर्स. Another reason for this is as follows:

चतुर्स + श्लष्य = चतुर्ष + श्लष्य. Now comes the present सूत्र; here, however, the रू

substitute of क्र being sthā-nilvata, will prevent the udāṭta formation of the रू of

t; nor will क्र be considered as final and take the acute, as there exists no vo-

cel क्र but a consonant रू which cannot take an accent. As चतुर्ष: पश्च, Pro-

fessor Bohlingk places the accent thus चतुर्ष, Pro. Max Muller चतुर्स. I have

followed Prof. Max Muller in interpreting this sūtra; for Bohlingk's inter-

pretation would make the ending श्लष्य accented, and not the final of चतुर्स.

सावकाकास्तुतीयाविनिशिनिकिति: || 165 || पदानि || सौ, एकाच्, तत्तीयादि;,

विनिशिनिकिति: ||

वृत्तिः || सावकिति सामीवयम्वचनम् दुष्क्षरस्य महणेन। तत् सौ य एकाच् तत्तास्य प्रतीयाविनिशिनिकित्वा

क्षता महति ||

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 ष) refers to the ष of the Locative plural.

Thus राजा, राम्याय, शर्मा, शार्मा, श्राता, श्राद्धाय, शार्द्ध: || Why do we say 'in the Locative plural'? Observe राजा, राजे || Why do we say 'monosyllabic'? Ob-

serve हरिण, गिरिण, गाजु || Why do we say, the Instrumentals and the rest? Ob-

serve चोँचे, चोँचे || Why do we say "the case-endings (विनिशिनिकिति)?" Observe चिकका, चिकना || The plural of the Locative being taken in the sūtra, the rule
do not apply to ख्या and ख्याय, as in the plural of the Locative they have

more than one syllable, though in singular locative their stem has one

syllable.

अन्तोदातादुत्तरपदाद्यायतरस्यायांतिस्यमाते || 169 || पदानि || अन्तोदाताते,

उद्धर्याय, अद्यायाय, अनिवस्यामाते ||

वृत्तिः || एकाच् इति वन्ते, तत्तीयाविनिशिनिकिति च। नित्यशक: स्वयंते। तेन नित्याविधाकाेकितः स

मास: पथुवस्वतः। नित्यसातित्वाद्यायांतिस्यमाते बड़त्तरस्यायामाते तथाकाेकाए। तत्तीयाविनिशिनिकित्वः

तरस्यायामाते भवति ||

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

The phrases "एकाच्" and तत्तीयाविनिशिनिकिति are understood here also. The

nitya or invariable compounds are excluded by this rule. Thus पुस्थीवचा or

पुस्थीवच्चा, परस्माणि or गाप्च; पुस्थीवच: or गाप्च: || So also परस्माणि or गाप्च &c.

According to VI. r. 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 भवाचा, सुभाचा, छुल्ला. 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 नित्यसमाते indicated that the compound was meant? Had we not used the word उत्तर-प्राप्त, the aphorism would have stood as, अन्तसंवाचा वत्सलसाधनात्यसमाते ‘In a loose-compound having acute on the final, the above affixes are acute, if the compound consists of a monosyllable’. The word एकाच: will thus qualify the compound and not the second member of the compound, which is intended. And thus the rule will apply to शविर (हून कह्र) Ins. भ्रोंत्रों, भ्रोंत्रों &c, and not to compounds having more than one syllable. Why do we say ‘in loose compounds’? Observe भान्युविचार, सुभाचा. 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.

अङ्केश्च यस्य सर्वनामान्यात्म || \(\text{170}||\) पदानि || अव्रेणः, छन्दःसिं, असर्वनाम-
स्थानात्म ||

础ि: || अमेश: परा उसर्वनामान्यानबनिधस्तात् भवति छन्दःसिं विपये ||

170. In the Chhandas, the case-endings other than the sarvanāmaśṭhāna, get the acute accent when coming after अङ्के ||

In the Vedas, a stem ending in the word अङ्के, has the acute not only on the affixes previously mentioned, but on the accusative plural affix also. Thus ह्रज्जा ह्रज्जा भवानि: (Rig I. 84. 13). Here the word श्याच: had accent on भी by VI. 1. 222, but by the present sūtra, the accent falls on the case-affix असु।

Though the anuvrīti of “Instrumentals and the rest” was understood here, the word sarvanāmaśṭhāna has been used here to include the ending श्यास also. As श्रवणाचा बाहुः प्रतिव वल्लुप्यात्म ||

ऊँधिदर्पद्रापुण्यृश्रुश्च || \(\text{171}||\) पदानि || ऊँध, ह्रज्ज, पदादि, अपु, पुम, रे, वदुः ||

础ि: || ऊँध ह्रज्ज पदादि अपु पुमे रे वदुः हसकीः उसर्वनामान्यानबनिधस्तात् भवति ||

171. The same (asarvanāmaśṭhāna) case-endings have the acute accent, when the stem ends in बाहु, also after ह्रज्ज, after पदु &c (upto निश्च: VI. 1. 63), after अप, पुम, रे and वदु।

The ऊँध is the substitute of the व of बाहु (VI. 4. 132) and not the ऊँ� taught in VI. 4. 19 &c. Thus प्रज्जह, प्रज्जह, but not in अश्वयु: (Ins. sing of अश्वयु: derived by ऊँध substitution of व in एतत्रितVI. 4. 19 &c). ह्रज्ज—आप्नित, एवः.

The anuvrīti of “अन्तसंवाचा” is understood here, therefore, when the word
The word अष्टम्, 'eight', has acute accent, when it gets the form अष्मा.

The word अष्मा has two forms in the acc. pl. and the other cases that follow it, namely अष्म and अष्म. The affixes of acc. pl. &c are udāttā after the long form अष्म and not after अष्म. Thus अष्मम्: opposed to अष्मम्, अष्मम्: con. अष्मयः, अष्मयाः con. अष्मम्. The word अष्मम् has acute on the last syllable, as it belongs to the class of प्लुतः 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 अष्मत् indicates that the word अष्मम् has two forms, and the substitution of long अ when taught in VII. 2. 84, thus becomes optional, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word अष्मम् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अष्मम् would always end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word अष्मम्, namely, it makes the word अष्मम् with long अ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of प्रद. If अष्मम् was not to be called a प्रद, like अष्मम्, then there would be scope to the present sutra in the case of अष्मम् while it would be debarred in the case of अष्मम् without long अ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to प्रद word, and hence the employment of the word अष्मम् would become useless.

173. After an oxytone Participle in अष्म the feminine suffix हि (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 े (i. e. is not अन्तु).

The word अन्तुत्वात् ‘after an oxytoned word’ is understood here. Thus
ढुँढ़ी, ढूँढ़ी, ढुँढ़ी, युँढ़ी, युँढ़ी, युँढ़ी, युँढ़ी from ढुँढ़ी, युँढ़ी, युँढ़ी.

Why do we say “not having the augment उष्ण?” Observe ढुँढ़ी, ढूँढ़ी.

Here also by VI. 1. 186, after the root तुँढ़ which has an indicatory अत्र,
in the धातुपञ्चा, being written तुँढ़, the सारवधातुका affix ष्टूँ (अत्र) is anu-
datta. This anudatta अत्र, coalescing with the udātta अ of तुँढ़ (VI. 1. 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 नी (feminine in हूँ) word and before vowel-endings?” Observe ढूँढ़ी, ढूँढ़ी.

If the participle is not an oxytone, the rule does not apply. As
ढूँढ़ी, ढूँढ़ी.

Here the accent is on the first syllable by VI. 1. 189.

Vārtt.—The words ढूँढ़ी and ढूँढ़ी should also be included: as ढूँढ़ी,
ढूँढ़ी, ढूँढ़ी.

उदाहरणम् हल्पोऽवृत्त। १७४। पदानि। उदाहरणम् हेतुः। पूऽवित्त।
भूँदः। उदाहरणम् दोष वन हल्पोऽवृत्त सत्ता नाभिको अभिन्नत्विनाशनयो नाभित।
पार्श्वकम्। न कर्मभाष्य। १७५।

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 कदन् + इ = कदृः; कदन्, हृण्ड, हृण्ड, प्रतिर्दृः, प्रतिर्दृः; प्रतिर्दृः,
प्रतिर्दृः। All these are तुँढ़ ending words and have consequently acute accent
on the final (VI. 1. 163). Why ‘actuely accented final vowel is replaced &c’?
Observe कृः, कृः हृण्ड, हृण्ड, हृण्ड, formed by तुँढ़ having acute on the first syllable.

Why do we say ‘preceded by a consonant’? Observe बहुतिर्दृः—बहुतिर्दृः दाद्रिः
(VIII. 2. 4) हृण्डक्रियाति अस्य इष्टः हृण्डक्रियाः। This compound with बहु
gets udātta on the final by VI. 2. 175. In making the Instrumental singular of
बहुतिर्दृः, the ः is replaced by हृः, but as this हृः is preceded by a vowel, the affix
gets the svarita accent.

Vārtt.—The rule applies when the stem ends in हृ though not in a
semi-vowel, as वाप्तृः, चल्पृः.

नोडः धार्यौः। १७५। पदानि। न, ऊँचू, धार्यौः।
भूः। ऊँचू पताकव उदाहरणम् हल्पोऽवृत्त सत्ता नाभिको अभिन्नत्विनाशनयो नाभित।

175. But not so, when the vowel is of the femi-
nine affix अ (IV. 1. 66), or the final of a root.

After the semi-vowel substitutes of the udātta अ (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 निधिःक्षणः, निधिःक्षणः, निधिःक्षणः, निधिःक्षणः, which has acute accent on ख, because ख is udātta (III. 1. 3), and the ekadesa of it, when it combines with the preceding vowel is also udātta (VIII. 2. 5). The व substituted for ख before the ending ः, is a semi-vowel substitute of an udātta (उष्णक्षणः) 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 (चातु-रु-ण):—स्कुल्यं, स्कुल्यं; स्कुल्यं from स्कुल्यं, स्कुल्यं formed by द्वि 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.

हस्तिक्षणः मनुष्यः II १७३ II पदार्थः II हस्तः, नुड़ाण्यः, मनुष्यः II

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

The word अन्तर्वचनः is understood here also. Thus अत्याहरं, अत्याहरं, कर्तवीय, कर्तवीय II. So also when मनुष्यः takes व, as महान्यः, महान्यः, महान्यः II. Here by VII. 1. 76, the word अन्तर्वचनः अन्तर्वचनः becomes अन्तर्वचनः, then is added ः by VIII. 2. 16, and we have अन्तर्वचनः मनुष्यः II. The preceding ः is elided. When the stem is not oxytone (antodātta) this rule does not apply: as यूनुइँम ः. The word यूनुइँ has acute on the first syllable, as it is formed from यूनु with the affix ः (Un I. 10) which is यूनु (Un I. 9) so the मनुष्यः retains its anudātta here. So also in the case of महान्यः, the affix does not become acute, though the word महान्यः has acute on the final as the intervening ः makes the ः heavy when the affix is added: the general maxim स्वरविधेय स्वजनमाध्यमान्त दोष दोष दोष दोष does not apply here, because the very fact that ः is only taken as an exception, shows this.

Vārtt.—The affix मनुष्यः becomes acute after the heavy vowel of ः: as अन्तर्वचनः—रामयास्ततः II. There is vocalisation of म of रामः, as रामः ः then substitution of one, as र, ः then गुन, ः.

Vārtt.—The prohibition should be stated after रामः: as चिन्तितेऽत्तत्त्वादितः

नामन्तरस्त्रयः II १७६ II पदार्थः II नामः, अन्तरस्त्रयः II

177. After an oxytoned stem which ends in a light vowel, the genitive ending नामः has optionally the acute accent.
Thus अभगीर्न or अभ्रोलास्, वाल्नम् or वाल्नम्, कर्णास् or कर्णास् (see VII. I. 54). It might be objected, that नाम is not preceded by a short vowel, as is shown in the above examples, then how can the anuvritti of धेन्त्स्त ‘short or light vowel’ be read into this सूत्र? The reply is that the anuvritti of न्तर should also be read into this सूत्र, the meaning being “a stem which has a light vowel when followed by न्तर, will cause the नाम acute, though the light vowel may become heavy before this ending, in its present form”. Otherwise, this rule will apply to forms like तिन्नाम्, चतुर्द्वार, having light vowels before नाम and not to the forms above given. Why do we read नाम with the तु augment (VII. I. 54) and not आम? The rule will not apply to भेंगाम् शक्काम् which get the acute on the final by VI. I. 174. Why do we say ‘after a stem ending in a light vowel’? Observe कुमारिणाम् (the word कुमारि is end-acute by Uṇā III. 138 and so is कुमारि by VI. I. 161). Why do we say after an oxyton word? Observe ज्ञेणाम्, उत्साम् the words घुय and घुद have acute on the first syllable.

178. In the Chhandas, the ending नाम has diversely the acute accent after the feminine affix ही। Sometimes it does not take place, as नाम् परे; नाम् धै।

Thus देससनाम् आभम्म्ज्ञतीनाम्, बल्लीनाम् पिता। Sometimes it does not take place, as नाम् परे; नाम् धै।

179. The case-endings beginning with a consonant, have the acute accent after the Numerals called ज्ञ (I. 1. 24), as well as after भिं and चतुर।

The anuvritti of अभगीर्न ceases, for the present rule applies even to words like द्वेष्य and नाम which are acute on the initial by Phit II. 5. Thus द्वेणाम्, द्वेध्य, द्वेध्य, द्वानाम्, सप्तानाम्, तिन्नाम्; भिं, चतुर। (See VII. I. 55). Why do we say ‘before case-affixes beginning with consonants’? Observe भिंतम्: पद्य (VI. I. 167 and VII. 2. 99).

180. The above numerals, when taking a case-affix beginning with a भ or स, get the acute accent on the penultimate syllable, when the said numerals assume a form consisting of three or more syllables.
The numerals पर, बि and चत्र when ending in a case-affix beginning with a स्व consonant, form a full word (पर), in such a word the penultimate syllable gets the acute accent. The very word penultimate shows that the पर must be of three syllables at least. Thus पुंजिन, सदिन, तितिम्, चतुरिम्।। Why do we say 'beginning with मू and स्र'? Observe, पंचाणिन, साधानान, सम्बन्धान।। Why do we say 'the penultimate syllable'? Observe पुरात, पुर्रात।।

विभाषा भाषायाम्॥ १८१॥ पदार्थि विभाषा, भाषायाम॥
वृत्ति:॥ पद्यविषयः यो हा विभाषितमित्तते पदे उपायमहताति भवति विभाषा भाषायां विपये॥

181. In the Secular language this is optional.

The हस्ति case-affixes coming after the above numerals पर, बि and चत्र may make the words so formed take the acute on the penultimate optionally, in the spoken ordinary language. Thus पुंजिन or पुरात, चतुरिन or चतुत्रात।। In the alternative VI. 1. 179 applies. So also सर्मि or सर्मभ, तितिम or तितुमिष्व॥

न गोङक्ष्यातस्वर्णारुषकृष्णद्रुष्यः।। १८२॥ पदार्थि न.गोङ, द्वन्द, सौ अवणि, राज, अक्, कृष्ण, कृष्णद्रुष्यः।।
वृत्ति:॥ गोङद्वन्द सामवणि सौ प्रथमकवचने सतङ्गानामः राज अकृष्ण कृष्ण हस्ते भयो भुवन तत्तथाति॥

182. The foregoing rules from VI. 1. 168 downwards have no applicability after गोङ, and अकृष्ण and words ending in them; nor after a stem which before the case ending of the Nominative singular has आ or आ, nor after राज, or after a stem ending in अकृष्ण, nor as well as after कृष्ण and कृष्णद्रुष्य॥

Thus गृंज, गृंजाः, गृंजाम्॥ Here by VI. 1. 168, the case-endings would have got otherwise, the accent, which is however prohibited. So also सुक्ल्य, सुक्ल्यां and सुक्ल्याम्॥ Here VI. 1. 169 is prohibited. So also हृत्त, हृत्तें, हृत्ताम्, पपरपान, पपरपान्ति and पपरपानां॥ The word सामवणम् (सौ अवणि) means 'what has आ or आ before गृ (1st. sing.)' Thus सौङ्ग, सौङ्गा, सौङ्गाम्॥ राज = राजाः, राजेः, परसराजा॥ (The word गृंज is formed by कृमु affix): गृंज = गृंजः + कृमु; the prohibition applies to that form of this word wherein the nasal is not elided (VI. 4. 30). Thus गृंज, गृंजाम्॥ Where the nasal is elided, there the case-ending must take the accent; as गृंजा, गृंजाः गृंजांम्॥ कृष्ण is also a कृमु formed word. Thus कृष्ण, कृष्ण, परसकृष्णा॥ कृष्ण is derived from कृ 'to do' or from कृ 'to cut' by कृमु; as कृत्वा कृत and परसकृता॥ Why has the word अकृष्ण been especially mentioned in this sūtra, when the rule would have applied to it even without such enumeration, because in the Nominative Singular this word assumes the form आ and consequently it is सामवणम्? The inclusion of अकृष्ण indicates that the elision of आ should not be considered as śaddha for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, the present rule will not apply to words like मु and मित्र which in Nom. Sing. end in आ, as मा and मित्र after the elision of आ of अभन्न (VII. 3. 94). Thus the Locative Singular of मु will
be नरे by VI. 1. 168, this prohibition not applying, and the affix मुख will get udātta after दिन्त by VI. 1. 176 as दिन्त्वादि || But rule VI. 1. 176 will be debarred by the present in the case of वृषभाय, because वृष in a सावरणी ||

दिन्त् ज्ञान || १९४ || पद्यनि || दिसः, ज्ञान ||

वृषि: || दिस: पया इत्यादिविभिन्नभिसाधना भवचति ||

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

Thus दुष्ट्वाय, दुष्टि: || This debars VI. 1. 168, 171. Why do we say 'beginning with a म or स consonant'? Observe तिस्त, दिस्ते॥

त्र चान्त्यतरस्याय || १८४ || पद्यनि || दु, च, अन्त्यतरस्याय ||

वृषि: || दु इत्येवत्ताया इत्यादिविभिन्नित्यस्यायं श्रेष्ठत्वं भवति ||

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

Thus दुमः or दुधृः, दुमः, दुर्वः, दुम्भाः, दुर्वः, दुर्वः, दुर्वः, दुर्वः || But not so च, च ||

तित्व्यतिरितम || १८५ || पद्यनि || दिस, स्वरितम, ||

वृषि: || तित्व्यतिरितं भवति ||

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

Thus चिद्वक्ष, चिद्वक्ष, formed by धन (III. 1. 97). कार्मिक, कार्मिक with पनम (III. 1. 124). This is an exception to III. 1. 3 which makes all affixes यद्युदात्ता. For exception to this rule see VI. 1. 213 &c.

तास्तमुद्वसून्दरदुपदेशंसाद्व्यायात्तकमुद्वाचार्यिनीसिद्धिदः: || १८६ || पद्यनि ||

tāsa, अनुदिवरसमुदिदुपदेशाय, त्र, सार्थानुत्तकम, अनुदासान, अनु-हुः, इहो; ||

यृषि: || तासेवेतात्तेतोदत्तो नकारात्तोदेशाय, दुष्ट्वायं तत्त्वायं तत्त्वायं च भवति हृद्युः, हृद्य इत्य-

tात्त्वायं परं वर्जयितं ||

186. The Personal-endings and their substitutes (III. 2. 124-126) are, when they are सारवदात्तुका (III. 4. 113 &c), unaccented, after the characteristic of the Peri-

phrastic future (तासि), after a root which in the Dhātupātha has an unaccented vowel or a अ (with the exception of हुः and हृः) as indicatory letter, as well as after what has a final अ in the Grammatical system of Instruction (upadēsa).

Thus तासि: —कर, कर्ता, कर्त॥, ताबश॥, this debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3).

Anudāttet: — as, अस्—मा, वृस्—वृस्ते || दिस्:—हृद्य—हृद्व, धीर्ध—धृते || अतु: उप-

हेश्: — as हृद्वति, हृद्यति, धीर्धति, धृतति: || A root taking शास (अ) is considered as
taught (upadesā) as if ending with an श, as the indicatory letters श and ष are disregarded on the maxim अवस्यन्त्या शैवालिनित्वं (संहववर्त्यं)॥ Thus प्रमाणः; ज्ञानः॥ The augment मुक् is added by भाव मुक् VII. 2. 82 which may be explained in two ways; first, the augment मुक् is added to the final श of the base (anga) when भाव (आनुष्ठानिक) follows; or secondly, the the augment मुक् is added to the base (anga) which ends in श, when आनुष्ठानिक follows. In the first case मुक् becomes part and parcel of श and will be taken and included by the enunciation of श, and therefore अनुष्ठानिक will mean and include an श having such मुक्, on the maxim भवावमाःस्यूँ सर्वाशृणितः भवावम् “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 अनुष्ठानिक. But if secondly मुक् be taken as part of the base which ends in श, then the आनुष्ठानिक does not follow an अनुष्ठानिक, because श 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 (ष) in the last two examples consequently does not prevent the application of the rule. Though the affix शान्तिः has an indicatory च, yet शान्तिः accent (VI. 1. 163) is debarred by this rule, as it is subsequent.

Why do we say after तात्तिः &c. Observe नित्यः: चिन्नित्वः॥ The vikarāṇa मुक् is हुण्ड (I. 2. 4) with regard to operations affecting the prior term, and not those which affect the subsequent. Therefore though मुक् is considered as हुण्ड for the purposes of preventing the guna of the prior term चि, it will not be considered so for the purposes of subsequent accent. Or the word हुण्ड in this sūtra may be taken as equal to हुण्डमुक्तम and not the आत्मात्मात: हुण्ड like हुण्ड॥ Why do we use the word upadesā? So that the rule may apply to प्रचारः, प्रचारः; but not to शान्तिः, हुण्ड: the dual of हुण्ड which ends in श in upadesā. though before तत्त्व and तत्त्व it has assumed the form हुण्ड॥ Therefore हुण्ड: हुण्ड:॥ Why do we use the word हुण्ड (Personal endings)? Observe कत्तिः हुण्डमा निर्माणि हुण्डमा निर्माणि हुण्डमा निर्माणिः (III.2.128),which not being a substitute of हुण्ड, is not a personal ending like शान्ति॥ Why do we use the word सर्वदातुः? Observe सिचिः शिस्ति, शिस्ति, शिस्ति, शिस्ति॥ Why do we say with the exception of हुण्डमा and हुण्ड? Observe हुण्डमा, हुण्डमा, हुण्डमा, शिस्ति॥

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

The word उदात्त is understood here. Thus मा हि कौलियां, मा हि कौलियां; मा हि लक्षिणिः or मा हि लक्षिणिः॥ In the last example the accent is on छ; and the
reason why म् and हि are used in these illustrations, has already been explained in VI. 1. 161. The indicatory छ् of सिद्ध shows that by VI. 1. 163 the acute will be on the otherwise unaccented augment हुः, when it takes this augment. The सिद्ध being a क्लाविक affix will take the augment हुः (VII. 2. 35), and it is a general rule that augments are unaccented; so in the above the हि would have been unaccented, and the accent would have been on the final, but for the indicatory छ् of सिद्ध, which otherwise would find no scope. Thus हि gets acute.

Vert:—An affix having an indicatory छ् (सिद्ध) when coming after an Aorist formed by सिद्ध without the augment हुः (अनित्र सिद्ध) is in one alternative udātta (in the other, it is non-acute). This vārtika restricts the scope of the sūtra with regard to सिद्ध affixes. Thus we get the following two forms, which otherwise would have one form only by dāt-v accent, namely, acute on the first, for सिद्ध is anudātta. Thus माहि कार्यम् or मा हि कार्यम्. But when it takes the हुः augment, there are two forms (1st.) मा हि लाविष्णु as a तिक्तम्, (2nd.) मा हि लाविष्णु accent on हि (VI. 1. 163), but never मा हि लाविष्णु. When however the augment हि is added, the accent falls on this augment (VI. 4. 71).

स्वपदिदिस्तमालम्यनिम् || १८८ || पदानि || स्वपदि, हिसाम, अचि, अनिति ||

श्रुति: || लतायेघातकमालम्यनिम्वेदुरुवंतित तत्तद्वानिति सम्भाविति सासमयते भावति स्वपदीनां हिसामायेभाजा-शाबनिद्यत्व लतायेघातकं परसा न्यत्तसमाकम्रहितेऽथ भावति.

188. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable when a Personal-ending, being a Sārvadhatuka tense affix beginning with a vowel, provided that the vowel is not the augment हुः, follows after स्वप्र &c, or after हिसा ||

The phrase लतायेघातक्के in the locative case is understood here. Thus स्वपदिन्ति or स्वपैन्ति, हिसास्ति or हिसास्ति, हिसास्ति or हिसास्ति || 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 स्वपदिन्ति, हिसास्ति || Why do we say ‘not taking the augment हुः?’ Observe स्वपदिन्ति and भास्ति. || This rule applies to those vowel-beginning affixes which are हिसा; it does not apply to स्वपदि, हिसास्ति ||

अभ्यस्तामालम्यनिम्: || १८९ || पदानि || अभ्यस्तामालम्यनि ||

श्रुति: || अभ्यस्तामालम्यनिभानिति लतायेघातके परसा अर्यस्ताचित्व भावति.

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 हुः) and being a Sārvadhatuka personal ending.

Thus हैवति, हैवति, हैवति, हैवति, हैवति, हैवति, हैवति, हैवति, हैवति, हैवति: || Before consonant affixes: स्वपदि || Before स्वप्र affixes: —श्रुति: || Though the word भाषि 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.

अनुसारे क || १९० || पदार्थ || अनुसारे, क, ||

वृति: || अविनामावसाते च लहरावधूके प्रता स्त्रयातामातीर्थिषो 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 तिरु लिप्र च भूषिते are anudatta (III. 1. 4). This sūtra applies to those personal endings which do not begin with a vowel. Thus प्रवाहिते, वृत्ति, इव्याति, जिहिते, निनिते || The word अनुसारे is to be construed here as a Bahuvrihi i.e. an affix in which there is no udatta vowel, so that the rule may apply when a portion of the affix is elided or a semivowel is substituted: as मा हि सा हैः हैण्ड, and हैण्ड्यायः ||

सप्तस्य चूपे || १९१ || पदार्थ || सप्तस्य, चूपे ||

वृति: || सप्तस्यचूपे प्रता भाविष्याषे भवति.

वाःकृप्र || सप्तस्योऽस्वतितस्यबुद्धिः कालम् ||

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

Thus सः, हि: स्वरे || Why do we say when the case-endings follow? Observe सप्तस्य, सप्तस्य: the acute is on वे || The word स्वरे has acute on the final, as it is so taught in the उन्धादिव list by नियौत्रे || It thus being anudattādi takes the affix मस्त्रे and forms सांस्य (सप्तस्य बिकारः.) This rule applies even when the case affix is elided in spite of the prohibition of न दुहः सताल्गाय (I. 1. 63) || as संख्यतम: ||

Vāst:-The rule does not apply when the affix बुद्धि is put in: as सबरे || Here the accent is on the final by पुर्ब accent (VI. 1. 163).

भीत्र्युक्तजनन्धनवार्द्राजागारं प्रत्यात्मवेष्ठित्यतीति || १९२ || पदार्थ || भी, हि, भू, हु, मद्य, जन, घन, दरित्र, जागराम, प्रत्यात्म, पुर्वेष्ठ, पिति ||

वृति: || भी हि भू हु मद्य जन घन दरित्र जागराम इव्यात्मन्यवसानां लहरावधूके पिति प्रत्यात्मवेश्वरवसानां भवति ||

192. In भी, हि, भू, हु, मद्य, जन, घन, दरित्र, and जागर, in their reduplicates, the acute accent is, before the sārvasvāḥatuka unaccented endings of the three persons in singular, (पिति), on the syllable which precedes the affix.

This debars the accent on the beginning. Thus हि तितिते, गितिते, निनिते, वृत्ति, मद्य: न: परिवा || Here the root मा has diversely taken in the Chhandas the vitarana मा, though it belongs to Divādi class. जर्वायन, ह्यम् || The verb is here हि or the Vedic Subjunctive, so also is the next example. स्वन्तू from घन धात्वे,
the र of ति being elided by III. 4. 97, and the augment वर क being added by III. 4. 94. द्वृत्तिः, द्वृत्तिः, आगासितः. In the case of other verbs we have न्त, न्ति, यस्ति. Before affixes which have not the indicatory यथः (i.e. all endings other than the three singular endings), the accent will be on the first syllable: as ईद्रिकि, ईद्रिकि.

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

Thus चित्तीर्थकः, जीत्यर्थकः: with the affix चित्त्र (III. 1. 133), शैवकिस्विश्चाम् and एवूकार्तितस्मस्: with the affixes विश्चाम् and अन्तः (IV. 2. 54) accent on the क्तिः and रः.

आदिर्वेदव्यस्तस्याम। १९४। पदार्थम्। आदिः, पार्वतिः, अन्तःस्वेतम्।

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

Thus चित्तीर्थकः or चित्तीर्थकः. In the reduplicate form चित्त्र, the second part चित्त्र is unaccented by VIII. 1. 3. The present sūtra makes चित्त्र accent. When चित्त्र is not accented, चित्त्र will get the accent by चित्त्र accent. This rule is confined to polysyllabic Absolutes, namely to reduplicated Absolutes (VIII. 1. 4).

अच्छ: कल्यायिकः १९५। पदार्थम्। अच्छ: कल्यायिकः।

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

The word उपेश्या is understood here. Thus चित्त्र च, चित्त्र च, कल्यायिकः स्वमेव:। चित्त्रियते or चित्त्रियते कल्यायिकः स्वमेव:। When the accent does not fall on the first syllable, it falls on च (VI. 1. 186). This rule applies to जायते, खायते, वन्दे, and आत्: when they get the form जायते, सायते, and खायते; the long आत् (VI. 4. 43) substitute is considered as if these verbs were taught in the Dhātupāṭha with long आत्.

Thus जायते or जायते स्वमेव: सायते or सायते स्वमेव:। खायते or खायते स्वमेव:। Why do we say ‘when ending in a vowel’? Observe भेदिते स्वमेव:। Why do we say “when the sense is Reflexive (कल्यायिकः)”‘? Observe चित्त्रियते कल्यायिकः स्वव्याच्यात्।

थलिः च सेतुर्दद्यतो वा १९६। पदार्थम्। थलिः, च, सेतु, सेतु, वा।

196. The roots which are exhibited in Dhātupāṭha with a final vowel, may optionally have the acute on the first syllable, before the affixes of the Passive (यथः), when the sense of the verb is Reflexive.
196. Before the ending य of the Perfect, second person singular, when this ending takes the augment ध; the acute accent falls either on the first syllable, or on this ध, or on the personal ending.

Thus लहनिय, लहनियध, लहनियधम, and लहनियधम. As धध has an indicatory ध, the syllable preceding the affix may have also the accent (VI. i. 193). Thus we get the four forms given above. In short, with धम termination, the accent may fall on any syllable. When the य is not सू, the accent falls on the root and we have one form only by धम accent (VI. i. 193):—यमधम।

अनित्यार्थित्वादीर्थम् || १९७ || पदार्थ || नित्यि, आदि:। नित्यम् ||

बृति: || नित्यिनि च नित्यार्थार्थित्वार्थित्वार्थि भवति।

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

Thus गाँव्य with धध (IV. i. 105), वांधव्यधम, अंधव्यधम: with धध (IV. 3. 98). This is an exception to III. i. 3. When the affixes are, however, elided, the word loses this accent, i.e., the affix does not leave its mark behind, as it generally does by I. i. 62. Therefore मणि, विष्णु, चन्द्रमा: having lost ग्रं, अध्य, and क्या, have lost their accent also.

आमन्नित्यस्य च || १९८ || पदार्थ || आमन्नित्यस्य, च ||

बृति: || आमन्नित्यथाभावास्य भवति।

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

Thus देवस्य, देवस्य, देवि:। This debarrs the final accent ordained by VI. 2. 148. Though the affix may be elided by a च BitConverter word (चुक, चुड़िया चुट्टा), yet the effect of the affix remains behind in spite of I. i. 63. As तिंतिक-गम्भी ||

पथिमयो: सर्वनामस्यात् || १९९ || पदार्थ || पथि, मधोः, सर्वनामस्यात्

बृति: || पथिमयष्ठाना वास्याविनिमित्तवाति प्रस्यान्तिबाबुशाति तथाः: सर्वनामस्यानि प्रति भाषिक-हश्चाचर्य भवति।

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

The words पथिच्छ and मधिच्छ are derived by the Unadi affix इनि, (IV. 12, and 13) and are oxytone by III. i. 3. They become अद्युद्धात्ता before strong cases. Thus तुः: वेदम्यम्, वेदम्यान्, वेदम्याण्, स्मृतम्, स्मृतम्य, स्मृतम्याण् || Before other cases we have:—पर्य पद्य, मध्य पद्य || The accent is on the final by VI. i. 162, there being elision of the udattā इनि || The rule I. i. 62, about the remaining effect of the affix, does not apply here. As पथिचित्रसः, has acute on the final of the first
word, by retaining its original accent.

अन्तःक्रम तबे युगपत्ति ॥ २०० ॥ पदवानि ॥ अन्तः, च, तबे, युगपत्ति, ॥

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

Thus कृतं, हृतं ॥ This is an exception to III. 1. 3 by which त of तबे 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.

क्रयो निचासे ॥ २०१ ॥ पदवानि ॥ श्रयः, निचासे ॥

२०१. The word श्रय has the acute on the first syllable in the sense of ‘house, dwelling’.

Thus श्रये जागृतः प्रश्नवरः ॥ The word is formed by भ affix (III. 1. 118) and would have had accent on the affix (III. 1. 3). When not meaning a house we have: क्रयेः वर्ते हस्यनाम ॥ The word is formed by अच्छ (III. 2. 31),

जयः करणम् ॥ २०२ ॥ पदवानि ॥ जयः, करणम् ॥

२०२. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of जय, in the sense of ‘whereby one attains victory’.

Thus जयोदयः, but otherwise जयः वर्ते ब्राह्मणानाम ॥ The former जय is by भ affix, (III. 1. 118) the second by अच्छ (III. 2. 31) ॥

वृषादिनां च ॥ २०३ ॥ पदवानि ॥ वृषादिनाम, च, ॥

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

Thus १, २, ३, ४, ५, ६, ७, ८, ९, १०, ११, १२, १३, १४, १५, १६, १७, १८, १९, २०, २१, २२, २३, २४, २५, २६, २७, २८, २९, ३०. 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,
The acute accent falls on the first syllable of that word with which something is likened, provided that it is a name.

Thus चर्चा, द्विवर्तका, स्वर्कुटी, सौर्शी। All these are उपमान words used as names of the उपमेय (the thing compared). The affix कन (V. 3, 96) is elided here by V. 3, 98. It might be asked when कन 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 सूत्रa. The formation of this सूत्र indicates that the प्रशब्दन्त्र rule is not of universal application in the rules relating to accent.

When the word is not a Name, we have अपिर्माण्यक। When it is not an upamāna we have देवकृष्ण। (VI. 2, 148).

निष्क च इत्यजनात इ न २०५ पदानि निष्क च, ध्रुव, अनात। वृत्ति। निष्क स ध्रुव संज्ञायं विषये आयुर्वाचं भवति चेतासिरकृष्णनाथास्वार्थे व भवति।

A disyllabic Participle in त (Nish्थाः), when a Name has the acute on the first syllable, but not if the first syllable has an आ।

This debars the affix accent (III. 1, 3). In non-participles we have देवः, शैवः। In polysyllabic Participles we have चिन्तितः, रसितः। In Participles having long आ in the first syllable, we have, शस्त्रः, आसः। When the Participle is not a Name we have, कुटुंभः, हलसः।

लुक्क्कः २०६ पदानि लुक्कः, लुक्कः। वृत्ति। भाविष्यतः हि त्वस्ति। लुक्कः वृद्ध स्वेदलितादिवात्स्वात्मके भवति।

Also लुक्क and लुक्क have acute on the first syllable.

These are non-Names. Thus लुक्कः and लुक्कः।

आशितः कतः २०७ पदानि आशितः, कतः। वृत्ति। भाविष्यदं नूठा ध्रुवाची आयुर्वाचं भवति।

The word आशित meaning 'having eaten' has acute on the first syllable.
Thus आचितो देवतस्: ‘Devadatta, having eaten’. Here it is used as an active participle. The कः is added to अच्छू preceded by भा, 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 आचितेऽथ देवतसः ‘eaten by Devadatta’. आचितेऽतमस् ‘the eaten food’. The former is भावे कः, the second is कर्मणे कः॥

रिक्रे बिमाया ॥ २०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिक्रे, बिमाया ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ रिक्रात्वं बिमाया भाविकाद्या भवति ॥

208. The word रिक्रेय may optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus रिक्रेय: or रिक्रेय: ॥ This debars VI. 1. 204 and 205.

जुष्टपर्वते च ज्ञानसि ॥ २०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुष्ट, अपित, च, ज्ञानसि ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ जुष्ट भार्तेय इहेत्ये शाश्वेतं ज्ञात्तिः विष्णु बिमाया भावानुसारं भवति: ॥

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

Thus जुष्ट: or जुष्ट: ॥ अपित: or अपित: ॥ In the secular literature the accent is always on the last syllable (III. 1. 3).

नित्यं मत्ते ॥ २१० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, मत्ते ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ जुष्ट भार्तेय इहेत्ये शाश्वेतं मत्तेवियो नित्यमानुसारं भवति: ॥

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

Thus जुष्ट नेवानामविमयं नित्यमानुसारं ॥ Some say that this rule applies only to जुष्ट and not to अपित; in which option is allowed even in the Mantra: so that it has acute on the last in the Mantra even: e. g. तमिलनाडु विनायक न संक्षेपिता: ॥

युष्टद्रम्येऽर्थि ॥ २११ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्टद्र-अस्मदो:-, डृषि: ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ युष्टद्रस्मीद भार्तेयान्यानां नानादास्ते तस्योदितरं परस्त भाविकाद्या भवति ॥

211. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्टद्र and अस्मद्र in the Genitive Singular.

This applies when the forms are मम and तत्व, and not मै and ते ॥ Thus मम स्यम, तत्व स्यम ॥ The word युष्टद्र and अस्मद्र are derived from युष्ट and अस्म by adding the suffix माति (Un I. 139). युष्टद्र + हस्तु = युष्टद्र + अस्म (VII. 1. 27) = तत्व अस्मद्र + अस्म (VI. 2. 96) = तत्व + अस्म (VII. 2. 90) = तत्व (VI. 1. 97). Here by VIII. 2. 5, व would have been udayatta, the present sūtra makes त udātta. So also with मम ॥

ढिपि च ॥ २१२ ॥ पदानि ॥ढिपि, च ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ युष्टद्रस्मोर्थिति बत्सि, भाविकाद्य इति ॥ इत्येतर्गतम् परस्त युष्टद्रस्मोर्थिता भवति ॥

212. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्टद्र and अस्मद्र in the Dative Singular.
Thus त्र्यम् and महाम्, the forms त् and न् are not governed by this rule. The making of two separate sūtras is for the sake of preventing the application of वप्यास्त्रय rule (I. 3. 10). Had the sūtra been युष्मस्त-शिंदशोऽस्म, then yushmad in the Dative, and asmad in the Genitive alone would have taken this accent.

यतोनावः || २१३ || पदानि || यतं, अनावः ||

213. Whatever is formed by the suffix यत्, has, if it is a disyllabic word, the acute on the first syllable, with the exception of नाल्यः from नै॥

The word द्र्यच् is understood here from VI. 1. 205. Thus चं न्यच्, ज्ञं न्यच् (III. 1. 97); श्यचि, श्यचियम् (V. 1. 6). This rule debars the Svarita accent required by लित् (VI. 1. 185) || But नै—नाल्यं॥ The rule does not apply to words of more than two syllables, thus:—निलोच्यम्, ललच्यम्॥

ौद्वदुपांशुसुहुं यथत्: || २१४ || पदानि || ईड्, वन्त्, ध्, श्चस्त्, तुहाम्, यथत्: ||

214. The acute accent is on the first syllable of ईड्, वन्त्, ध्, श्चस्त्, and तुह्, when they are followed by the suffix यथत्॥

Thus ईड्यच्, वन्त्यच्, श्चस्त्यच्, तुह्यच्, तुह्यच् चेदः॥ The two letters य and त् being indicative, the ‘यायत्’ is not included in ‘यत’ of the last sūtra. The accent would be regulated by त्॥ The accent of त् however is debared by this rule. The ध् in the sūtra is ध्यं संविन्य of Kriyādi class: the ध्यं of स्वादि class takes kyap affix. See III. 1. 109.

विसाणा वेणियन्यायोः || २१५ || पदानि || विसाणा, वेणु, इस्थानयोः ||

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

Thus वेणु: or वेणेः; इस्थान: or इस्थानः: or इस्थान:॥ The word वेणु is derived by the Upādi affix य (III. 38), which being a लित् would always have acute on the first. This allows an option. The word इस्थान, if it is formed by चान्य, it will have the accent on the final. If it is considered to be formed by शान्य, the affix being a sārvadhātuka is anudatta, and as it replaces udātta final of the root, it becomes udātta (VI. 1. 161), and thus इस्थान 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 वेणुरिण वेणु, then it is invariably acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 204).
216. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllables of त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, भठ, कथानाम.

Thus त्याग: or रागः, हासः, कुहः, भठः, कथानाम.: These are formed by the suffix and by VI, i. 159 would take acute on the final, this ordains acute on the first syllable also, कुहः or कुहः, भठः or भठः, कथः or कथः, formed by कथः (III, i. 13).

217. What is formed by an affix having an indicator र, has acute on the penultimate syllable, the full word consisting of more than two syllables.

A penultimate syllable can be only in a word consisting of three syllables or more. Thus वर्जीवः and वर्जीवः formed by अन्वीयः (III, i. 96); पन्नालियः, पन्नालियः: by आनीवः (V, 3. 19). This debars III, i. 3.

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

Thus मा हि चर्कर्ताम् or चर्कर्ताम्: The augment शटः is elided by the addition of मा, VI, 4. 74; हि prevents the verb from becoming anudatta VIII, i. 34. Then comes the र्त्त accent of चड़ः: The augmented form with शटः 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 श्वेतः.

मतो: पूर्वमालसंज्ञायां सन्यासः प्रयाम्: पदार्थ: पूर्वः, आतः, संज्ञायाम्, सन्यासः.

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

Thus अनुभवः, उपन्धावः, वर्णवः (IV, 2. 85). The lengthening takes place by VI, 3. 120. चर् र्त्तवः: Why do we say 'the आ'? Observe द्रामन्ती, दमन्ती: The words हुम Un. III, 157 and हुम (V, 2. 108) are end-acute, so accent is on द्राम by VI, i. 176. Why do we say when a name? Observe हुमवः: हुम is formed by क्रृत् and has acute on the first (Un. I, 151). Why do we say in:
the Feminine Gender? Observe दरवाजा। Why do we say when followed by मह? Observe दानायें।

अस्ति स्वतः: इव २२० ॥ पद्यानि: इव अस्ति, अवत्या: ॥

सुनित: इव संज्ञायामिवेद। भवतीर्पणवान्तं संज्ञायामान्तं उदाहरणं भवति।

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

Thus भविष्यति। खऽरिष्यति, वर्तिष्यति, कार्तिष्यति॥ These words being formed by केण would have been unaccented on the final (III. 1. 4). Why do we use भवति and not धं? Then the rule would apply to रजस्ति also, for this word is really रजस्ति ending in भवति, the subsequent elision of न is held to be non-valid for the purposes of the application of this rule (VIII. 2. 2). But the change of न into न (भट्टे-भट्टे) is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

ईवत्या: इव २२१ ॥ पद्यानि: इव ईवत्या:, ( उदास: ) ॥

ईवि: इव ईवस्तेस्वान्तं उदाहरणं भवति बिनां बिंबां संज्ञायां विपये।

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

Thus वासुवति, घरीस्वति, नीवति।

चो इव २२२ ॥ पद्यानि: इव चो॥

चूँ: इव चात्रविश्वास्तेस्वान्तं शुद्धित। तत्त्वस्तेस्वानं स्वास्तेस्वात्तं शुद्धित।

चरित्रादुः। चात्रविश्वास्तेस्वात्तं वर्ज्यस्त।

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

Thus कृष्ण: पन्थ, कृष्ण: छो:। चुः: पद्य, चुः: पद्य। चुः: चुः:।

This is an exception to VI. 1. 161, 170 and VI. 2. 52.

Vārt.:—This rule does not apply before a Taddhita affix. As शापी॥

चापौः:। Here the accent is regulated by the affix (III. 1. 3).

समासस्य ॥ २२३ ॥ पद्यानि: ॥ समासस्य:, ( उदास: ) ॥

सुनि:। सनासास्यान्तं उदाहरणं भवति।

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

Thus रजस्ति: ब्राह्मणस्ति:। काथयस्ति:। पद्यानि:। नीरोवज:। रजस्ति:। ब्राह्मणस्ति:॥

The consonants being held to be non-existent for the purposes of accent, the udatta will fall on the vowel though it may not be final, the final being a consonant. The exceptions to this rule will be mentioned in the next chapter.
BOOK SIXTH.

Chapter Second.

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

The word पूर्वपूर्व means here the accent—whether udātta or śvarita— which is in the first member: प्रक्तत्वa means, retains its own nature, does not become modified into an anudātta accent. By the rule VI. i. 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. i. 158. Thus the first member of a Bahuvrîhi 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 कौशल्यमात्मा।। The word कौशल्यa is derived by the Taddîha affix कौशल्य (IV. 3. 154) from कौशल ‘a kind of antelope;’ and has the निन्द accent (VI. i. 197) i.e. on the first syllable: which the word preserves in the compound also. So also हृदपति; the word शृङ्ग is derived from शृङ्ग by the Unādi affix शृ (Uṇ III. 27), before which the vowel becomes lengthened (Uṇ III. 25) and the affix is treated as निन्द (Un III. 26), and hence the word is acutely accented on the first syllable (VI. i. 197). So also भ्रात्स्वरूपः; the word भ्रात्स्वरूपa has a Kṛit-formed word as its second part, and gets the acute on the final (VI. 2. 139). So also सांतकृपः; the word सांतकृपa is derived by कृप (V. 4. 29) affix and has निन्द accent (VI. i. 197) i.e. udātta on the first syllable. So also शास्त्रप्रकाशa, the word शास्त्रप्रकाशa is accented on the middle as it is formed by a निन्द affix (III. i. 133, VI. i. 193). शास्त्रियनुष्ठवः, the शास्त्रिय being enounced with an indicatory व in Sūtra V. 2. 84 is acutely accented on the first. जन्त्राणामः, the word जन्त्रa being formed by जन्त (IV. i. 161) a निन्द affix is śvarita (VI. i. 185).
The words udātta and svarita are understood in this aphorism. Therefore if *all* the syllables of the pūrṇapada 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. 1. 223. Thus लमभागः, here लम being *all* anudātta, the accent falls on न।

तत्त्वरुपे तुच्छाय्याँतिवाचसम्युपमानावद्यवाहित्याः ॥ २ ॥ पदानिः ॥ तत्त्वरुपे, तुच्छाय्यांतिवाचसम्युपमानावद्यवाहित्याः भव्यांहितावाच ॥

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) दृष्टिभैः, दृष्टिभैः, दृष्टिभैः, दृष्टिभैः, दृष्टिभैः, दृष्टिभैः।

These are Karmadhāraya compounds formed under II. 1. 68: and तुच्छ �being formed by \( \text{अन्तः} \) is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 216). The word सदृष्टि is formed by \( \text{अन्तः} \) (III. 2. 60 Vārt), and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 197 and VI. 2. 139). So also सदृष्टिभैः, सदृष्टिभैः, सदृष्टिभैः। The word सदृष्टि is formed by \( \text{अन्तः} \) added to रुप, and by VI. 1. 197 the accent falls on \( \text{रुप} \) (VI. 2. 139). (2) When the first member is in the Instrumental case, as:—काकला लक्ष्यः = काकलालक्ष्यः, so also विनिर्देशः. II. 1. 30 शंकुः is derived from चंकु + ता। To the root ता is added the affix \( \text{क्रिया} \) with the force of प्रम, and thus the noun ता is udātta; or the whole word शंकुः is a word formed by \( \text{क्रिया} \) affix and hence VI. 1. 165 applies and is final-acute. जिति is formed by the उनादि affix \( \text{हो} \) to \( \text{हू} \) (Un IV. 143), and it being treated as a लिंग (Un IV. 142) has udātta on the final.

(3) When the first member is a word in the Locative case, as:—अर्नेयः श्रीः = अर्नेयः, so also देवदीपः। The word श्रीः is formed by the affix \( \text{थो} \) added to \( \text{अनु} \) (Un III. 65), and is final acute (III. 1. 3). The word पान is formed by \( \text{थो} \) affix added to \( \text{पा} \), and is acute on the first (VI. 1. 193) owing to the लिंग accent. (4) When the first member is a word with which the second member is compared, as:—हर्षीश्लोकः, हुङ्गावस्ते, हुङ्गावस्ते, व्याप्तीपरिष्कर्तुः, हुङ्गाकौमार्गः, हुङ्गाकौमार्गः। These compounds are formed by II. 1. 55. श्रीः is formed by \( \text{थो} \) and is final-acute; कुङ्गः is formed by \( \text{क्रिया} \) affix (क्रि प्रत्येकः = क्रि प्रत्येकः) see III. 2. 5 Vārt: and is acutely accented on the first, or by Phit śūtra II. 3 it has acute on the first. रुप is formed by the उनादि affix \( \text{हो} \) added to रुप.
BK. VI. CH. II § 3]:  
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(Up III. 62), and is finally accented (III. 1. 3). न्यायमिति—न्यायप: formed by भग (III. 1. 134), and त is irregularly changed into द as Pāṇini himself uses this form (VII. 3. 5): and it is accented in the middle. The words दर्ध्यानप, दर्ध्यानप 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, भैणोरा, भैणोर, कह्रमान, कह्रमान, कह्रमान: II नित्यादायति, नित्यादायति, नित्यावह, नित्यामाल: II All these Indeclinable compounds have udatta on the first. they are formed by II. 2. 5 &c.

Vārtt.—In cases of Indeclinable compounds, the rule applies only to those which are formed by the negative Particle त, by त, and by Particles (nīpāta). Though नम्न is one of the Nipātas, its separate mention indicates that नम्न-accent debars even the subsequent ह्र: accent as प्रकरणिः। Therefore, it does not apply here स्नायुकतः which has acute on the final and belongs to Mayuravijnasakādi class.

(6) When the first member as in the accusative case, as:—हृदप्तुन्नुल, दूर्वसूरत्सञ्चारिक्यप, कर्संरायणकारणी, कर्संरायणकारणी: They are formed by II. 1. 29. जहूः belongs to पूर्णानवाले class and is acutely accented on the last. सर्वारण is formed by the samāsahta affix अर्थ and is finally accented.

(7) When the first member is a Kritya-formed word, as, भैणोरा, भैणोर, पानीविदुःसम, हरीयानप (I. 68). भैणोर is formed by यत्र and has svarita on the final: पानीव भैणोर are formed by ननीव, and are accented on the penultimate (VI. 1. 185 and 217) i.e. on हरीयानप वर्णालयोऽस्मात् अने। पद्धतिः II यस्य वर्णः अनेते। यस्य: II प्रक्तम प्रक्तमप, तथसूरसंभा च वस्ते। यस्य वर्णावली पूर्णपरं वर्णावलीविद्यासरवते एतदयस्यात् अनेते। प्रत्ययावर्णस्य वस्ते। प्रक्तिस्वर्थ भविति।

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 पर्यावरणम्। Thus क्रूर्णसारसु: भूतिस्वरसु: क्रूर्णसारसु: क्रूर्णसारसु: क्रूर्णसारसु: क्रूर्ण is formed by नुसू: affix (Up. III. 4) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). लालित is formed by the affix तम् added to हरीयानप (Up. III. 94) and has accent on the first (VI. I. 197).

Why do we say ‘color-denoting word’? Observe परमक्रूर्णम् (VI. 1. 223).

Why do we say ‘with another color denoting word’? Observe क्रूर्णस्वरसु: (VI. I. 223). Why do we say ‘but not when it is पर्यावरणम्’? Observe क्रूर्णस्वरसु, लालितेऽस्य। The compounding takes place by II. 1. 69.

गाजालर्गणनम्: प्रमाणे II IV पद्धतिः II गाज, लालितोऽस्मात् प्रमाणे II वृत्ति: II प्रमाणवलीविद्यासरवते सुरुस्य गात्भवेत् सुरुस्य गाज विद्यासरवते: पूर्णपरं प्रक्तिस्वर्थ भविति।
4. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when the second term is गाथ or घण, and the compound expresses a 'measure or mass'.

Thus दशम्गान्तिकम्, धरि दशम्गान्तिकर् 'water as low or fordable as a Śamba or an Antra i. e. of the depth of an oar or a pestle'. भैलवणः, भैलवणस्थ 'so much salt as may be given to a cow or a horse'. These are Genitive Tatpurusha compounds. शम्भ is formed by adding वृ to शम्भ (U. IV. 94), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). अरिविश is formed by the affix रिश added to व (III. 2. 184), and has acute on the middle (III. 1. 3): मो is formed by व्यो (U. II. 68) and has acute on the final मो; भन्त्र is formed by व्यान्त्र affix added to भन्त्र (U. 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 परमार्थि and परस्वर्णम्.

शायानं दायादे || ५ || पदालि || दायायम्, दायादे ||

षुष्णः || तपुष्णे समसि शायानसांतसरसे शायायसन्धि पुष्णव्य भृतिसत्वं भवति ||

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

Thus निरंशावाः, ध्रंशावाः || The word लिञ्ञा is formed by the affix क्ष्य (III. 3. 99) which is udatta (III. 3. 96). The word धन is derived by adding ध्य to धाम (U. II. 81). Though the Uṇādi Śūtra II. 81 ordains क्ष्य after the root धा preceded by न, yet by बहु (III. 3. 1) rule it comes after धा also when it is not preceded by न and धन has acute on the first (III. 1. 3).

In the forms वियालयात् &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 प्रतिप्रतिप्राप्तानि धरि न समस्ते (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 व्यालय Genitive, and not a प्रतिप्राप्त Genitive. If it is a दशम्गान्त Genitive case, then why the other Geative case is taught in II. 3. 39 with regard to शायाद &c. That śūtra only indicates the existence of the Locative case in the alternative, and does not prevent the Genitive. In fact, had merely Locative been ordained in that śūtra, 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 śūtra indicates the alternative nature of the rule and shows that the Genitive case so taught is not a प्रतिप्राप्त 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 परस्वावर (VI. 1. 223) taking the final acute of a compound.

प्रतिवन्धिः चिरकृत्ययोः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिवन्धिः चिरः कृत्ययोः ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरूषः समासे चिरकृत्ययोष्टत्परसः प्रतिवन्धिवचारः पूर्वपं मृत्तिस्वरं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

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

Thus गमनपरिः समा, गमनकृत्यः, व्याहरणीपरिः य स्वाहरणकृत्यः ॥ The words गमन and व्याहरण are formed by त्वर affix, and have त्वर accent (VI. 1. 193). This compound belongs either to the class of Mayûra-vaânsakâdi (II. 1. 72), or of an attribute and the thing qualified. When going to a place is delayed owing to some defective arrangement or cause, or becomes difficult, there is produced an obstacle or hinderance, and is called गमनपरिः or गमनकृत्यः ॥ Why do we say ‘which experiences a hinderance’? Observe नृत्यकृत्यः ॥

पदे अपरेषो ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदे, अपरेषो ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ अपरेषो व्यास्तदान्विति तत्पुरूषः समासे पदश्चाद्याज्ञपदे य पूर्वपं मृत्तिस्वरं 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 अपरेष means ‘a pretext’, ‘a contrivance’. Thus त्वरपरेष प्रत्येकः उपरांपरेष प्रत्येकः ॥ Gone on pretext of voiding urine or excreta.

The word त्वरः is derived by adding the affix त्वर to the root त्वर, the त्वर being substituted for त्वर of त्वर (Un. IV. 163), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197) or it may be a word formed by त्वर to the root मृत्तिति ॥ The word उपां is also formed by उप and by VI. 2. 144 has acute on the final. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72 or it is an attributive compound.

Why do we say “when meaning a pretext?” Observe विन्यः; पदम् विन्यः ॥

निवाते वातात्राणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निवाते, वातात्राणे ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ निवासनमुष्टिपदे वातात्राणावचारः तत्पुरूषः समासे य पदें मृत्तिस्वरं भवति ॥

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

Thus कृत्ययोऽनिवासं कृत्यनिवासं ‘a hut as the only shelter from the wind’. So also य निवासवासि, कृत्यनिवासं or कृत्यनिवासं ॥ The word निवास is an Avvaȳ-
bhāva compound = वालस्य बनञ्जयः (II. 1. 6); or a. Bahuvrīhi = निन्दो बालस्यस्या।

The words क्रिदिनिवासकर्तरे &c, are examples of compounds of two words in apposition. क्रिदा and निवास are formed by क्रिदा (IV. 1. 41) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). Some say that क्रिदा is derived from क्रिया by adding मत्र with the augment द्रष्टि and treating it as द्रष्टि, is has the acute on the first; others hold that it is derived by the affix द्रष्टि क्रिदा, and the affix has the accent.

Why do we say when meaning ‘a shelter from wind’? Observe राज-निवास = वालस्य, द्रष्टि बालुव्याधिः = ‘he lives under the shelter of the king’; ‘pleasant is the shelter or the protection of the mother’. Here निवास = पार्थ; or vicinity.

शारदे अनातीवे ॥ ॥ पद्रानि ॥ शारदे, अनातीवे ॥

हृदि ॥ द्रष्टि भवनातंवेव। अनाते व्याधिः शारदेशृव्यासंसर्पं तत्पुर्णे समासे सूचिनि प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति।

9. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word शारदेश, having any other sense than that of ‘autumnal’.

The word शारदेश means appertaining to season (क्रिदा) i.e. when the word शारदेश does not refer to the season of शारद or autumn. Thus स्नायुक्तराजशस्वम ‘fresh drawn water’. So also शारदेशाशाचः सन्यासः ‘the saktu flour fresh from the mill’. The word शारदेश means here ‘fresh’ ‘new’: and it forms an invariable compound. The word शारदेश is formed by श affix added to शारदेश (Un. I. 15), the श being elided. The affix श is treated as द्रष्टि (Un. I. 9) and the accent falls on the first syllable (VI. I. 197). The word शारदेश is formed by the augment द्रष्टि and shortening of the vowel of the root द ‘to tear’ (द्रष्टि), and the affix अक्षिक (Un. I. 131) and has accent on the final (III. 1. 3).

Why do we say ‘when not meaning autumnal’? Observe परमशारदेश, उत्तमशारदेश ‘the best autumnal grass &c’. (VI. I. 223).

अध्ययनकाययोजाधिताः ॥ ॥ पद्रानि ॥ अध्ययन, कायायः, जाती ॥

हृदि ॥ अध्ययनकाययोजाधिताय योजाधिताय योजाधिताय योजाधिताय योजाधिताय योजाधिताय योजाधिताय।

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

Thus प्रायत्नकायः, क्रियाकायः, कालस्याकायः। These are Appositional compounds denoting ‘genus or kind’, with a fixed meaning. प्रायत्न is formed by प्रायत्न, and has accent on the first (VI. I. 213). क्रिया is derived by क्रिया affix (III. I. 34), and to it is added the Taddhita affix ज्ञान (IV. 3. 104), in the sense of क्रिया क्रिया (IV. 3. 101), and the affix is then elided by IV. 3. 107. The word कालस्य comes from कालस्य + ब्रह्म (IV. 3. 108) in the sense of कालस्य: (IV. 3. 108).
101), and it would have preserved its form without change before this affix (VI. 4. 164) but for a vārtika which declares that the हृ of कलापिः will be elided (See VI. r. 144 vart). Thus कलापिः gets accent on the final (III. r. 3). So also सार्विकतिकतायाम, उदाहरणसार्विकतायाम, शैवालिकतायाम. These are Genitive compounds. The words सार्विक and उदाहरण are Genitive compounds and have accent on the final (VI. r. 223). The word शैवालिक is formed by ठक affix added to शैव and has acute on the final (VI. r. 165). Why do we say when meaning a 'genus'? Observe, परमाणुः, परमकायः (VI. r. 223).

सत्तामतित्रिपयोः साद्रव्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्ताम, प्रतिरूपयोः; साद्रव्ये ॥

ःकृतिः: सत्तां प्रतिरूपं हृते, व्यवस्थापनमः: सद्याचारिणि तदुपर्य समस्य दृष्टिपर्य मक्तिः स्वर्भवति ॥

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

Thus निन्दुस्तरः, नार्ताकः: I The words निन्दा and नार्ता are formed by उपाधि affix त्रृष्ण (Un. II. 95) and are finally accented. By II. r. 31, सत्ता 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 शास्त्रः: शास्त्रोऽयोऽयम् शास्त्रः: I Here शास्त्री and वृष्टी are finally acute, and the case-affix gets the accent when semivowel is substituted (VI. r. 174), So also प्रतिरूपस्तरः, मानसमििः: I Why do we say 'when meaning resemblance'? Observe मर्मस्तरः, उदाहरण: (VI. r. 223): here the sense of the compound is that of 'honor' and not 'resemblance'.

द्रिगः प्रमाणे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रिगः, प्रमाणे ॥

ःकृतिः: द्रिगाधात्तुपेक्ष प्रमाणविशिष्टाः तदुपर्य समस्य दृष्टिपर्य मक्तिः स्वर्भवति ॥

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

Thus श्रास्त्रसम्बन्धः: and गौर्याधिकासम्बन्धः: I The word समस्यः: समस्य: प्रमाण-मवः, the affix मापन्ध: denoting 'measure' (V. 2. 37) is elided (See V. 2. 37 Vart) प्रायवाचार: समस्यः: प्रायवाचारसम्बन्धः: "an Eastern seven-years old". So also गौर्याधिकासम्बन्ध: or दृष्टसम्बन्धः: प्रायवा has acute on the first; while गौर्याधिकासम्बन्ध: is either accented on the first or on the middle; as it belongs to the Kardamadi class (Phit III. 10). Why do we say 'before a Dvigu'? Observe श्राचिंशधः: I Why do we say 'when denoting measure'? Observe परस्मारसम्बन्धः: I

गतत्वपण्यां बाणिषेऽ ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गतत्वस्य, पण्यस्य, बाणिषेऽ ॥

ःकृतिः: बणिजयाकर्तिकाः तदुपर्य समस्य गतत्वाचारिणि पण्याचारिणि दृष्टिपर्य मक्तिभवति ॥
13. Before the word वाणिज्य ‘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 मद्रासवाणिज्य, कार्यवाणिज्य, गार्भवाणिज्य = मद्रासा त्वर्ण वाणिज्य ‘the Madra-merchants i.e. who trade by going to Madra &c.’ All these are Locative compounds. मद्रास is derived by रक्ष अर्थ (Un II, 13) and is acutely accented on the last (VI. 1. 165). कार्यवाणिज्य belongs to क्रोधदारी class (VII. 3. 109), and has acute either on the first or the second syllable. The word गार्भवाणिज्य belongs to the Kardamādi class, and is consequently acute on the first or the second (Phi III. 10). In the sense of वाणिज्य we have: गोपवाणिज्य ‘a dealer in cows’, अछवाणिज्य: &c. शी is finally accented (Un II. 67): and अछव has acute on the first (Un I. 151) the affix being कृष्ण).

Why do we say ‘the place whither one goes, or the goods in which one deals’? Observe परिवाणिज्य, उत्सववाणिज्य.

मायाप्रेमकृपा भाष्ये नरुसके ॥ १४ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ माया, उपाय, उपक्रम, छायेः, नरुसके ॥

युक्ति: यो माया उपाय उपक्रम छाया एते परमात्मा दुरुस्कर्ताविश्व तत्क्षे समाधे युक्तिं प्रकटिश्वं समाधिं ॥

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

Thus मिनृमानं न स्कंपस्य वाणिज्य: सहृद्यनमं न सर्वोद्भविस्तिनां ॥ तद्विश्वासगुणां विश्वित्वां तद्विश्व गुणां विश्वासगुणां तद्विश्व गुणां विश्वासगुणां तद्विश्व गुणां विश्वासगुणां तद्विश्व गुणां विश्वासगुणां तद्विश्व गुणां विश्वासगुणां तद्विश्व गुणां ॥ The word माया is here synonymous with दुरुस्क, the phrase being मसीहाद्रात्तप्यनम, and is a Genitive compound. The word मिनृमान is derived from मिनृ, by the feminine affix अर्थ (III. 3. 103), and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सहृद्यन has also acute on the final as it is a word denoting ‘a sea’ (Phi ṣūtra I. 2). So also with उपाय, as पाणिनीपतमकालं व्याकरणम्; व्याकरणम् दुरुस्कर्ताविश्व आपि शतपक्षेत गुणाचारं (see II. 4. 21). All these are Genitive compounds. The word प्रेम is derived by अष्ट स्य अर्थ from प्रेम (प्रेमिनस्वसत्वम् = प्रेमिन), and has acute on the final, (III. 1. 3). The word व्याड्दि being formed by दुरुस्क अर्थ has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), so also आपि कहति ॥ So also with उपक्रम, as आपि कहतम मायाः, देर्द्वीषोपक्रमम्, द्वृक्कारः प्रमकम, नार्द्व प्रकमाणि यो तथा ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. The word श्रव्य (सचिवालय व्यवस्थित) is derived from श्रव्य + च + अर्थ affixed with the force of परा, the प being changed to ह the word belonging to वाणिज्य class (VII. 3. 109), and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. The word देर्द्वीष is formed by अन्तिम और has acute on the penultimate न owing to the indicatory य (VI. 1. 217). The word द्वृक्कार has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172. The word नार्द्व is formed by अच्छ (III. 1. 134). The Tatpurusha compounds ending in उपाय and उपक्रम are neuter—by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, as हूण्ड्याज्जा,
The word सुख is derived from रूढ़ by य affix (Un I. 13), and it being treated as नित्त (Un I. 9) the acute falls on र the first syllable (VI. i. 197). The word प्रस्तुत has also acute on the first by फित सुत्रा II. 3. The compound is a Genitive Tatpurusha—रूढ़ान्त छावा; and it is Neuter by II. 4. 22. When the compound is not a Neuter we have कुड़त्ता (II. 4. 25).

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

Thus मननप्रस्तुतम् 'the pleasure of going'. So also रूढ़प्रस्तुतम्, प्रियप्रस्तुतम्, मननप्रस्तुतम्, बचनप्रस्तुतम्, प्रियप्रस्तुतम्, प्रियप्रस्तुतम्. These are appositional compounds. All the above words are formed by सुख 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 परमदुर्वृत्तम्, परमप्रियम्.

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

Thus भ्रामणप्रस्तुतम् पापसं "the sweetmilk desired by or agreeable to the Brāhmanas", चाँचिमिहोन्य: भ्रामण:; भ्रामणमिहोन्य: भ्रामण: and c. The words भ्रामण and छास have acute on the final being formed by the affixes म and ज (V. 4. 62) respectively (III. 1. 3) and कथा has svarita on the final. When not meaning agreeable to or desired, we have राजसुलेल्ग्ग, राजादिकृतम्.

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

Thus चालसारी, चालसारी, चालसारी. The accents of मी, भ्राम and पन have already been mentioned before in VI. 2. 14. When the first member is not a word denoting possession, we have परस्त्रामानी.

प्रत्येकम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदार्थ व पदार्थ, पदार्थ ॥

The accents of पदार्थ, पदार्थ and पदार्थ have been previously mentioned in VI. 2. 14. When the first member is not a word denoting possession, we have परस्त्रामानी.
18. In a Tatpurusha ending in पति when it means ‘master’ or ‘lord’, the first member preserves its original accent.

Thus मुहुर्तसि, सेवानापि, देवसि, धान्यपि: पति. The word मुहुर्त is formed by क (III. 1. 144) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सेवा is a Bahu-vrihi (स क इ न त वर्तते = सेवा), and by VI. 2. 1 the first member retains its accent. The word तर is derived from त ‘to lead’ by the affix त्यु (III. 3. 57) and has acute on the first (III. 1. 4), the word धान्य has svarita on the final (See Phit II. 23 ?) Why do we say when meaning ‘lord’? Observe आङ्गरा इवलीपि: “a Brahmana, husband of a Sudra”.

न मू वाक्चिङ्गितिरितिः ॥ १९ ॥ पदांनि ॥ न, मू, वाक्चिं, विचिं, विधिपि ॥

वर्तिः: पतिषान्नवंतपी ऐद्यावतचिच्चित्पुंशसि समासि मू वाक्चिं विचिं विधिपि इवबचिति प्रक्तिरत्नि प्रक्तिरत्नि न भवति ॥

19. The words मू, वाक्चिं, विचिं and विधिपि, 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 मूतिः; वाक्चिं, पाठे; विचिं, विधिपि: पतिषान्नवंतपी ऐद्यावतचिच्चित्पुंशसि समासि मू वाक्चिं विचिं विधिपि इवबचिति प्रक्तिरत्नि प्रक्तिरत्नि न भवति ॥ All these are Genitive compounds and are finally accepted by VI. i. 223.

वा मूवनम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, मूवनम् ॥

वर्तिः: पतिषान्नवंतपी ऐद्यावतचिच्चित्पुंशसि समासि मूवनसि: पूर्वपि वा प्रक्तिरत्नि: भवति ॥

20. The word मूवन may optionally keep its accent in a Tatpurusha, before पति denoting ‘lord’.

Thus मूवनातिः; or मूवनातिः: पतिषान्नवंतपी ऐद्यावतचिच्चित्पुंशसि समासि मूवनसि: पूर्वपि वा प्रक्तिरत्नि: भवति ॥ The word मूवन is formed by कु (U.n. I. 80), and has acute on the first (VI. i. 197). Though Sūtra II. 80 (Unadi) ordains कु after मू in the Vedas only, yet on the theory of वहन (III. 1. 3), it comes in the secular literature also, as मूवनातिः; आशाक्रावसंगीतस्य संभावने ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशाक्राव, आ बाध, नेद्रीयसः, संभावने ॥

वर्तिः: प्रक्तिरत्नि पूर्वपि तत्तुपहति: वर्तते: आशाक्राव नेद्रीयसः हस्तेर्वेदितप्पेषु संभावनचिच्चिति तत्तुपहति: समासि पूर्वपि प्रक्तिरत्नि: भवति ॥

21. Before आशाक्राव, आ बाध and नेद्रीयस, the first member in a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when it treats about a supposition.

The word संभावनम् = अवस्थायोऽवस्थाय: “the hesitation about the existence of a thing”. Thus गम्यावशास्त्रम् वर्तते ‘one fears the journey’; so also वचनाश्चाँ, व्याहरणाश्चां, &c. Similarly गम्यावशास्त्रम् वर्तते = गमनं बाध्यं इति संभावने “it has stepped in as
an obstacle to journey\textsuperscript{\textdegree}. So also वृष्णार्थम्, भृत्यार्थम्. Similarly गन्ननेत्री&lt;u&gt;ोत्तरूपके लत्तेः, वृष्णार्थम्, भृत्यार्थम्: गन्ननेत्रिति निकटतमिति सामाय्ये. “the journey stands directly before”.

Why do we say when a supposition is meant? Observe परंतनेत्रिति:|| All the above words are formed by ज्ञ&lt;u&gt;त्र affix and have ज्ञ&lt;u&gt;त्र accent. (VI. 1. 193).

पृत्यं भृत्यार्थम् || २२ || पदाशि || पृत्यं, भृत्यार्थम् \textsuperscript{\textdegree}

वृत्ति: || पृत्यं भृत्यार्थम् भृत्यार्थम् तत्तत्वेके सामाय्ये पृत्यं पृत्यार्थम् मक्कतस्या मरणिति ||

22. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent when the word पृत्यम् is the second member, and the sense is “this had been lately——”.

Thus आदेश् पृत्यार्थम्: आदेश्वार्थम्: “formerly had been rich”. The compound must be analysed in the above way. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 57 or it belongs to Mayura-vya\textsuperscript{\textdegree}aśakādi class. So also धनरीस्वरूपम्, सुकुमरीपृत्यम्: ||

Why do we say when meaning ‘had been lately’. Observe परमृत्यार्थम्, दलमृत्यार्थम्, which should be analysed as परमृत्यार्थम् पृत्यार्थम्. If it is analysed as परमृत्यार्थम् 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.

सचिवसचिवसमयादस्येष्यसकादिः सामीः || २३ || पदाशि || सचिव, सनीद, सचिवाद, सचिव, सकादिः सामीः ||

वृत्ति: || सचिव सनीद समयाद सचिव सचिवाद सकादिः सामीः पृत्यार्थम् मक्कतस्या मरणिति ||

23. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when the second ‘member is सचिव, सनीद, सचिवाद, सचिव, and खादेश म in the sense of “what can be found in the vicinity thereof”.

Thus महादेशित्वम्, गान्धारित्वित्वम्, कास्सित्वित्वम्: || So also महादेशित्वम्, महादेशित्वम्, महादेशित्वम्, महादेशित्वम्: ||

The words सचिव &c, are derived from सचि विभया &c, but they all mean ‘in the vicinity’: महादेशित्वम् = महादेश सचिवित्वम्. Why do we say when meaning in the vicinity thereof? Observe सह गान्धारिस्याय नित्तेः = समयादि: सकादि: ‘a field having boundary’. देवस्वस्य समयादि: देवस्वस्य सकादिः “the bounded field of D’. Why do we say सचिव &c? Observe देवस्वस्य सकादि: ||

विभिन्नार्थीनि युनवचनेषु || २४ || पदाशि || विरथप, अदर्थिनि-युनवचनेषु \textsuperscript{\textdegree}

वृत्ति: || विभिन्नार्थीनि युनवचनेषु युनवचनेषु मक्कतस्य्यास्थिति मरणिति ||
24. The words विस्तार &c preserve their accent when followed by an Adjective word in a compound,

Thus विस्तार कठकम्, विशिष्टकठकम्, व्यवस्थकठकम्, विस्तारव्यवस्थ, विशिष्टव्यवस्थ, व्यवस्थलवस्थम्। The compounding takes place by II. 1. 4, and it should be analysed thus विस्तार कठकम् &c.

The words विस्तार &c, are indeed here adjectives, and in conjunction with कठक &c, they denote an object possessing those qualities; and therefore not being in apposition, the compound is not a Karmadhārāya.

The word विस्तार has acute on the first by VI. 2. 49. The word विस्तार is also acute on the first as it gets the accent of the Indeclinable. Some read the word as विष्टार, which being a Bahuvrihi has also first acute. The word विष्टार has svarita on the first by VIII. 2. 4. The remaining words of this class are विष्टार, पद्ध or कठक, परिवर्त, कृत्तित, चप्पल and नियुक्त. Of these, the word संपत्ति has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144; पद्ध is formed by द्र (Uṣṇ I. 18), which being considered as नित्व (Uṣṇ I. 9), it has acute on the first. परिवर्त is formed by स to the root पद-, and is finally acute (VI. 2. 144). कृत्तित has accent on the final being formed by a क्रिया affix (कृत्तित नामि = कृत्तित, ला भाषानि, or Uṣṇ I. 106), चप्पल being formed by a चित्ति affix (Uṣṇ I. 111), has acute on the final (VI. 1. 163), for नित्व is understood in the Uṇadi सूत्रा Uṣṇ I. 111 from सूत्रा Uṣṇ I. 106. The word नियुक्त has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, being formed by क affix added to पुष्टि &c.

Why do we say 'of विस्तार &c' Observe परम्परण, उत्तरसारण, both having acute on the final. Why do we say "when followed by a word expressing a quality"? Observe विस्तारहरणम्: II

अत्यावमकस्मपपवस्तु भाषी कर्मधाराये II २५। पदानि II अथ, अय, अवम, कन्न, पापपवस्तु, भाबे, कर्मधाराये II

कृत्ति: II अथ अयम कन्न र्वेदेषु पापपपवस्त्र्वति चौत्र्यपे कर्मसाधाया समासे भाववाचिषु पूवसः प्रकृति से भवति II

25. In a Karmadhārāya compound, the first member consisting of a Verbal noun (भाव), preserves its original accent before adjective forms built from अथ (V. 3. 60), अय (V. 3. 61) अवम and कन्न (V. 3. 64), and before a form built from the word पाप II

Thus मानसन्निषिद्धम्, ग्रामनसन्निषिद्धम्, व्यवस्थ, व्यवस्थम्, समात्मम्; भावनसन्निषिद्धम्, ग्राम- नसन्निषिद्धम् ग्रामनसन्निषिद्धम् II So also मानसन्निषिद्धम्, ग्रामनसन्निषिद्धम् II All the first members are द्वितीय formed words and have नित्व accent i. e. on the first syllable. (VI. 1. 193.) The words अथ, अय and कन्न are substitutes which certain adjectives take in the comparative and superlative degree, and the employment of these forms in the सूत्रा indicates that the comparative and superlative words having these ele-
ments should be taken as second members, and so also of पाप, the comparative and superlative are taken, for this is the meaning here of the word पापवत्.

Why do we say "अर &c"? Observe गमनाधिष्ठानम्. Why do we say 'a verbal Noun'? Observe गमनेश्वर, where the word गमन is = गम्यते स्वेच्छ 'a carraige'. Why do we say 'a Karmadhāraya compound'? Observe गमनेश्वर: = गमनेश्वर; 

कुमार्। २६। पदानि। कुमार:, च।।

बृहि:। कुमारास्स्तः पूर्ववर्तमाने समाने प्रकृतिस्थेर भवति।।

26. The word कुमार preserves its original accent when standing as a first member in a Karmadhāraya compound.

Thus कुमारः कुल्लक, कुमारः भ्रमण, कुमारः तापसी। The word कुमारः has acute on the final as it is derived from the root कुमार कीवावाम with the affix अस्त्र of प्रभाषि। By II. 1. 70, it is ordained that कुमार is compounded with अश्रम &c. Some commentators hold that the word कुमार must be followed by अश्रम &c. (II. 1. 70) to make this rule applicable. They refer to the maxim स्वाभाविकप्रत्येकब्रह्मणस्य: प्रत्येकप्रत्येकमेव महत्त्व “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 Karmadhāraya compounds of कुमारः।।

आदि: प्रत्येकस्य:। २७। पदानि। आदि:, प्रत्येकस्य:।

बृहि:। कर्मयाचारयाचारी च वाचारी। प्रतिविश्व एव। प्रत्येकात्।। तस्मिनुत्तप्तः कर्म- धारस्वादिश्चिनीम। भवति।।

27. In a Karmadhāraya compound of Kumāra followed by प्रत्येकस्य, the acute falls on the first syllable of Kumāra.

The word प्रत्येकस्य=प्रतिविश्व एव or प्रतिविश्वमणि: वस्त्र। Thus कुमारः के। The word udātta is required to be read into the śūtra to complete the sense: for the construction of the śūtra requires it, and the anuvṛtti of the ‘first member preserves its accent’ would be inappropriate because the word आदि is employed here.

पुष्पस्त्रयाम्।। २८। पदानि। पुष्प, अन्यत्तस्वाम्।

बृहि:। पुष्पमणास्स्त्राचार्मणुतप्तः कर्मयाचारी समाने कुमारः स्वाभाविकत्त्वस्वामनविश्चितः भवति।।
28. The first syllable of Kumāra is acute optionally, when the second member is a word denoting 'the name of a horde'.

The word पूर्ण means 'a multitude, a collection &c'. See V. 3. 112 also. Thus कुमार्यातन्त्र: or कुमार्यात्तक (VI. 2. 26), or कुमार्यात्तकः: II. So also कुमार्यात्तकः or कुमार्यात्तकः or कुमार्यात्तकः: II. So also with कुमार्यात्तकः, कुमार्यात्तकः: II. Here पात्र, &c, are horde-names; and the affix श्या 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 'Kumāra' is not accented on the first syllable, it gets accent on the last by VI. 2. 26, when the प्रतिपक्ष maxim is not applied: when that maxim is applied, the final of the compound takes the accent by the general rule VI. 1. 223.

इगत्तकालकपादभगाल्लारावेषु भ्रिगूः II 29 II पदानि II इगत्त, कान्त, कपाल, संगाल्ल, शरावेषु, भ्रिगूः II

रूपम् II इगत्तकालकपादभगाल्लारावेषु कपाल भगाल श्राव भ्रिगूः च भ्रिगूः समावे पूर्णप्र द्वगतिः भविष्यति II

29. In a Dvīgu compound, the first member preserves its original accent, before a stem ending in a simple vowel, with the exception of ओ (कक्क), before a word denoting time, as well as before कपाल, भगाल and शराव II

Thus वैभवाक्षः, वैशाखः: II The above are examples of Tadhgitārtha Dvígu (II. 1. 52), equal to गंगाथ्रः: गंगामस्य, the गंगा denoting-affix ग्न्तश्व is always elided in Dvígu (V. 2. 3 Vārt.). So also द्वृष्ट्वाक्षा, द्वृष्ट्वास्या: पुष्प नालाय वतो भूतो भावी वा. This is also a Tadhgitārtha Dvígu (II. 1. 52), formed by the affix युध्य (V. 1. 80—82). So also पञ्चवस्याः सङ्क्वः: the affix द्वृष्ट्वाः being elided (V. 1. 88). So also द्वृष्ट्वाक्षाल, द्वृष्ट्वाल, पञ्चबम्बः, पञ्चबम्बः, पञ्चबम्बः, पञ्चबम्बः: II These are also Tadhgitārtha Dvígu formed by IV. 2. 16, the affix भ्रिगूः being elided by IV. 1. 88.

Why do we say "before an हस्तन stem &c"? Observe वैभवाक्षः: पञ्चबम्बः, हस्ताभः: II Why do we say "in a Dvígu Compound?" Observe पराराम्भः, पराराम्भः: II

When these Dvígu compounds, by case-modifications do not end in वृष्ण, vowel, but the vowel is replaced by a semi-vowel or Gunā, the rule will still apply. Thus वैभवाक्षः or वैभवाक्षः: II This is done on the strength of the maxim वस्त्रस्म वहिह्न्तमालर्कः. "That which is bahirangā is regarded as not having taken effect or as not existing, when that which is antarangā is to take effect:" because the substitution of semivowel or Gunā is a bahirangā opera-
tion in relation to accent. Or the substitutes may be considered as sthānivat to the short-vowel which they replace.

30. In a Dvīgu compound, the word बहु may optionally preserve its accent when followed by an ik-ending stem, or by a time-word, or by kapāla, bhagāla and śarāva.

This allows option where the last rule required the accent necessarily. Thus बहुः: or बहुरस्त्र:; बहुतः: or बहुतः:; बहुतः: or बहुतः:; बहुतः: or बहुतः:; बहुतः: or बहुतः:; बहुतः: or बहुतः: The word बहु: has acute on the final being formed by the affix कः (Up I. 29). When the तः is changed to तः, as in the first example, the anudatta तः is changed into svarīta by VIII. 2. 4: when the first member preserves its accent. In the other alternative, the accent falls on the last syllable.

31. In a Dvīgu compound, the first member may optionally preserve its accent, when followed by the words विधि and विविधत्व as second members.

Thus विधित्व: or प्रविधित्व:; दृश्यत्व: or प्रदृश्यत्व:; The affix गात् is elided after the pranāma denoting words dishṭi and vitasti (V. 2. 37).

32. A locative-ending word when it does not denote time, preserves its original accent, when followed by सिद्ध, शृङ्ख, पक and वन in a compound.

Thus सांकास्थितः or सांकास्थितः; काम्यत्वितः or काम्यत्वितः: The words sāmkāśya and kāmpilya have acute on the final, and by Pīṭ Ṛṣṭra (III. 16) in the alternative the accent falls on the middle also. So also निर्धारितः; कर्तः: The word निधन is derived by कः affix added to निधन and has acute on the middle; the word ऊः is formed from ऊः root by the affix कः, and has acute on the final. So also चारणप्रकः; कलङ्कितः; कलङ्कितः: The words Kumbhī and Kalaśi are formed by हः affix and have acute on the final; the word शास्त्र is formed by हः affix, and has acute on the beginning. So also प्रकः: नारणकः: The word chakra has acute on the final, and chāraka being formed by प्रकः has acute on the first.
Why do we say 'when not denoting time'? Observe पूर्वाहंसपित्रेऽः, अनपततालिङ्गः. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 41. The accent of the Locative Tatpurusha taught in VI. 2. 1 was debarred by क्रिय-accent taught VI. 2. 144. The present sūtra debars this last rule regarding क्रिय accent, and re-ordains the Locative Tatpurusha accent when the क्रिय-words are सिद्ध &c.

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 अवययिभावा compound also).

Thus परिक्षितं हृदे देव: "It rained all round (but not in) Trigarta". (See II. 1. 11 and 12). So also परिराविषेषं परिसवसस्य, विशिष्टफल्यः. So also मेयतप्रकङ्गम्, मेवतप्रकङ्गम्, बलप्रकङ्गम्, बलप्रकङ्गम्, बलप्रकङ्गम्, बलप्रकङ्गम्. अपरिक्षितं हर्षीं: अपरिक्षितं, अपरिक्षितं (II. 1. 11 and 12).

By प्रिखु Sūtras IV. 12, and 13 all Particles (Nipāta) have acute on the first syllable. So also upasargas with the exception of अति II. Therefore परि &c, have acute on the first. In a Tatpurusha and Bahuvarli 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 अवययिभावा compounds also. The prepositions अप and परि alone denote the limit exclusive or वर्ण, and it is therefore with these two prepositions only that the second member can denote the thing excluded, and not with प्रति and उप II. 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 भवलिङ्ग वलभ: पतलि. In प्रदेशम् "all round the forest, but not in it", the accent falls on the last by VI. 2. 178, which debarrs this general rule, as well as all special rules which might affect वल in a compound.

राजत्रीवेर्गवनमाणद्वेणाद्यवयक्षणिणिः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदाति ॥ राजत्र, बहु वचन, उपक्र, अन्तःक्र, व्यपिणिः, ( पूर्वपदप्रकङ्गस्वरम् )

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 Vrishni.

Thus भानु, चेरक, बच्छर, विनांबुद्र: II The words Śvāphalka and Chaitraka are formed by अर्ग affix (IV. 1. 114) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). The word खन्न अर्ग has acute on the first syllable, and does not change in denoting Patronymic. Why do we say ‘in denoting a Warrior clan’? Observe हेम्यहेम्य: II Here हेम्य is derived from हेम्य by the affix वन (IV. 3. 10) = हेम्य. Why do we say ‘in the Plural number’? Observe संकर्षणायादेह: II Why do we say ‘in a Dvandva compound’? Observe गुणान: गुणान: = गुणानगुणान: II Why do we say ‘of Andhaka and Vrishni clans’? Observe कुलस्वाला: II

संख्या II 35 II पदावर्ण II संख्या II

बृति: II इन्द्रासमाले संख्यावाचि पूर्णपद प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति.

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

Thus एकादश, श्रीदश, श्वेयोदश तथा श्यादश II The word एक is derived from हुण by क्र अर्ग affix (Uṇ III. 43) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The एक is the substitute of एक (VI. 3. 48) and has acute on the final.

आचार्योपसङ्गन्धान्तेवाची II 36 II पदावर्ण II आचार्योपसङ्गन्धाच: च, अन्तेवासी (प्रकृतिस्वरं)

बृति: II आचार्योपसाङ्गन्धान्तेवाचिः येन इन्द्रासमापद 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 आचार्योपसङ्गन्ध: or teacher-derived name. Thus आचार्य-पाणिनि: पाणिनि: राणि... II The son of Apiśala is आचार्यशिष्य the name of a Teacher or founder of a school—an ācārya: formed by हस्य affix (IV. 1. 95). The science taught by him is called आचार्यालय, formed by adding अर्ग affix to आचार्य: (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 11). The scholars who study the Apiśalam are also called आचार्यालय: the affix denoting ‘to study’ is elided by (IV. 2. 59 and 64). Or the pupils of Apiśala will be also called Apiśalāḥ. Thus in both ways Apiśalāḥ is a scholar name derived from the name of a teacher. The word आचार्योपसङ्गन्ध: 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 पार्थिविनः-वृत्तिः where though the first is a teacher-derived name, the second is not. Why do we say “names derived from the teacher’s”? Observe जनसंबन्धफळ. II Why do we say “a Scholar”? Observe आधिशास्त्रपायिनेव शास्त्र।

कार्तिकौपाल्यव्रतः ॥ १३ ॥ पद्वर्तः॥ कार्तिकौपालय, आदयः, च ॥

वृत्तिः॥ कार्तिकौपालयव्रतः वे हुन्दौतितु पूर्णपूर्ण प्रकृतिसंस परिवति ।

37. Also in the Dvandvas कार्तिकौपालय &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. कार्तिकौपालय (formed by अम् IV. i. 114 in the sense of Patronymic, from कृत and कृप्य these being Rishi names) II 2. सावर्णोपालयेः (sāvarṇi is formed by हृष्ट Patron. affix and माणुष्य by तक्ष IV. i. 119). 3. आचार्यवन्दनः: The word Avanti is end-acute, to which is added the Patron affix न्याय by IV. i. 171, which being a Tadrāj is elided in the plural; अचार्यानां निवासिः जनपदः = अचार्यिः the quadruple significant जन being elided.

4. पैलवापण्येऽ(Paila is derived from Pilâ the son of Pilâ is Paila, the yuvan descendent of Paila will be formed by adding कृष्ण IV. i. 156, which is, however, elided by II. 4. 59.) The word Šyāparna belongs to Bidādi class IV. i. 104, the female descendent will be Šyāparni, the yuvan descendent of her will be Šyāparneya. It is not necessary that the compound should be plural always We have पैलवापण्येः also.

5. कपिवापण्येः: (Kapi has acute on the final. The son of Kapi will be formed by जम् IV. i. 107, which is however elided by II. 4. 64. This compound must, therefore, be always in the plural.

6. सतिकाष्ठापण्येः: (Sātikāksha is the name of a Rishi, his son will be Sātikāksha by अष्ट IV. i. 114, the yuvan descendant of the latter will be formed by हृष्ट which is elided by II. 4. 58. Pāñchāla's female descendant is Pāñchāli, her yuvan descendant is Pāñchāleya. The plural number here is not compulsory. We have सतिकाष्ठापण्येः also.)

7. काटकस्तवापण्येः or काटकस्तवापण्येः: (The son of Kaṭuka will be formed by हृष्ट IV. i. 59, which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 66. The son of Varchalā is Vārchaleya).

8. साक्षांत्येः: (The son of Sakala is Sākalya, his pupils are Sākalāḥ by अम् IV. 2. 111. The son of Śunak will be Śunaka by अम् IV. i. 104, which will be elided in the Plural by II. 4. 64). Some read it as साक्षांत्येः, where the हृष्ट affix after Saṅaka is elided by II. 4. 66. So also दुर्वकस्तवापण्येः:)

9. शनक्षाम्भे: (the son of Babhrū is Bābhrava). 10. आचार्यानां जनपदः: (Archāvinaḥ are those who study the work produced by Richāva, the affix
being added by IV. 3. 104. Mudgala belongs to Kaññādi class IV. 2. III; Maudgalāḥ are pupils of the son of Mudgala). II. कुनिंधवण्ण्या: This a Dvandva of Kunti and Suråśṭra in the plural or of the country-names derived from them like Avanti. Kunti and Chinti have acute on the final. 12. वितिषेश्वरण्ण्या: as the last. 13. तण्णवण्ण्या: (Both belong to Pachādi class formed by अण्ण III. 1. 134, from तड़ ताड़न Bhvādi 300, वस्तुक्त is formed from the same root with the prefix मन, the अण 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 यस्म is elided by II. 4. 64. 14. वर्मत्त्वा: Here also यस्म affix is elided II. 4. 64. 15. अव्य- न्नकामण्ण्या: or विद्वर्ष: Avimatta has acute on the first being formed by the त् particle. Both the words lose यस्म patronymic by II. 4. 66.

16. वाचवशालण्ण्या: The son of Babhru is Bābhra, and the son of Śalaṇku or Śalaṇka of nādi IV. 1. 99 is Śalaṇkāyana.

17. वाचवशालण्ण्या: Dānchyuta takes आण in the patronymic which is elided by II. 4. 66.

18. कान्तोमण्ण्या: Kaṭhāḥ are those who read the work of Kaṭha, the affix गिनि (IV. 3. 104) being elided by IV. 3. 107. Those who study the work of Kalāpār are Kālāpāh, the अण being added by IV. 3. 108, which required the र्व of kalāpān to be retained by VI. 4. 164 but by a Vārtika under VI. 4. 144 the र्व portion is elided before अण.

19. कांवण्ण्या: Those who study the work of Kuthumā are कौण्णा: formed by अण IV. 1. 83 the र्व being elided before अण by VI. 4. 144 Vārt already referred to above.

20. कौण्णोमण्ण्या: Those who study the work of Lokākśha are Laukākshā. Or the son of Lokākṣha is Laukākshi, the pupils of latter are Laukākṣaḥ.

21. खन्तयान्त: Strī has accent on the final.

22. मासे-परल्ला: the son of Muda is Maudi, the pupils of latter are Maudāḥ. So also Paippalādāḥ.

23. मासे-परल्ला: The double reading of this word indicates that Rule VI. 1. 223 also applies.

24. वस्तजर्त: or वस्तजर्त: = वस्त + जर्त: Vatsa has acute on the final.

25. So also सौसूनपार्था: The pupils of Sūruta and Pṛthu are so called they take अण IV. 1. 83. 26. जर्त्या्म, 27. वार्तवार्तक्षे Yājya is formed by यथ, added to यज, the ज is not changed to a Guttural by VII. 3. 66. It has svarita on the final by स्त्र accents (VI. 1. 185). Anuvākya is derived from anu+ vach+ यथ:.

महान् श्रीशरापरायणोऽद्रश्वासजावालभारभारतेदेवीधितिहिदयैरवस्त्रप्रेष्युः || १२ || पदानि || महान्,वीच्छ, अपराह, गृथि, इच्छास, जावाल, भार, भारत, हेलिहिल्ल, तैरव, प्रश्रुषुः, (प्रकटिसिद्वरम् ) ||
38. The word महत्र (mahat) retains its accent before the following: श्रीविं, अपराह्न, श्रीविं, द्विविं, ज्याव्यल, मार, भारत, हैलिव-हिल, रावंव, and प्रव्य।

Thus महानीविं, महामर्किं, महागुक्षिं, महाभागिं, महाज्याव्यल, महामार, महाभारत, महायातिन, महागोपिं, महामुष्क्षिं। Thus the mahat has acute on the final. (Un II. 84) On the पति वेड़ेक maxim already mentioned under VI. 2. 26, this accent will apply to that compound of महत्र 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 महात्र श्रीविं = महानीविं, which has accent on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Q. The word प्रव्य is a Participle formed by क 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.

39. The words mahat and kshullaka retain their accent before the word Vaiśvadeva.

Thus महानीव्यश्वेवम्, and छुलकक्ष्यश्वेज्ञम्। The word kshullaka is derived thus छुलक to which the Diminutive क (V. 3. 73 &c) is added: and the word has udātta on the final.

उद्र: साधुचायिन: || ४० || पद्यानि || उद्रः, साधुः, चायिन: ||

Thus उद्रायिन: || ४० || पद्यानि || उद्रः, साधुः, चायिन: ||

40. The word ‘ushṭra’ retains its accent before ‘sādi’ and ‘vāmi’.

Thus उद्रायिन: || ४० || पद्यानि || उद्रः, साधुः, चायिन: ||

Thus उद्रायिन: || ४० || पद्यानि || उद्रः, साधुः, चायिन: ||
41. The word ‘गो’ retains its accent before ‘sāda’, ‘sādi’, and ‘sārathī’.

Thus गो:साध: or गो साधतः = गोः साधः, गोः साधिः = गोः साधिः, and गोः साधिः. II साध is formed from सुध with the affix प्रा and forms a Genitive compound (गोः साधः). Or from the causative verb साधतः, we get गोः साधः: by adding अः (III. 9. 1) गोः साधः is formed by निन्फ from the same causative root. The Kritis-accent is debarred in the case of साध and साधिः, the Samāsa-accent VI. 1. 223 in the case of साधः.

कुर्सिगार्हिपतिरिक्कुर्क्रुस् तजारत्वङ्गलीलोकदः सप्रेवद्वा तैतिक्कः: पण्वकक्षमलो दासीरामक्षणा च इ II पदानि II कुर्सिगार्हिपत, रिक्कुर्क्रु, असुतजरती, अश्लील- ड़ुपार, परिवद्वा, तैतिक्कः: पण्वकक्षमल: दासीरामक्षणा, च, प्रकारितिस्वरम। II बुधः II कुर्सिगार्हिपत रिक्कुर्क्रु असुतजरती अश्लीलड़ुपार परिवद्वा तैतिक्कः पण्वकक्षमल हृदेवे समाः साक्षियें सादी-राशिमां च पूणप्यक्षुरिले भवति।

वाचिकम। कुर्सिगार्हिपतातिः वचनस्वः II वा II संज्ञांभागिति उच्चच्च। II


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 कुर्सिगार्हिपतम् (कुर्सिगार्हिपत, Kuru is formed by कुर्सि affix added to कुर्सि Uṇ I. 24) and has acute on the final.

Vârt:—So also वृजिगार्हिपतम्, the word Vriji has acute accent on the first.

So also रिक्कुर्क्रु: गुडः = रिक्कुर्क्रु: or रिक्कुर्क्रु: for rikta has acute either on the first or on the second (VI. 1. 208). So also असुताजरती = असुतजरती, अश्लीलड़ुपार = अश्लीलड़ुपार इत्यादि Asûta and asûlā being formed by अः particle have acute on the first: (VI. 2. 2). That which has र्रीत is called र्रीत, the affix फः being added by its belonging to Sidhmādi class, and र changed to र by its belonging to kapilakādi class. So also पारे-वड़वा: this is = वरिष्ठविन्न। This is a सामा with the force of इत्यादि, and there is elision of the case ending. The word पारे belongs to Ghrītādi class, and has acute on the final. तैतिक्कः गुडः = तैतिक्कः, the son or pupil of Titilin is Taitila formed by अः affix. पण्वकक्षमल, panya ends in यु and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 213).

Vârt:—पण्वकक्षमल: has acute on the first only when it is a name. Otherwise in पण्वकक्षमल: compound, the accent will be on the final by the general rule VI. 1. 223. The word पण्व being formed by अः affix (III. 1. 101) is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 213). The word पण्वकक्षमल: is as Name when it means the market-blanket i.e. a blanket of a well known determinate size
and fixed price, which is generally kept for sale by the blanket-sellers. But
when the compound means a saleable blanket, it takes the samasa accent (VI.
1. 223). If it be objected what is the use this Vartika, for the word पण्य being
formed by a kriya affix, will retain its accent in the Tatpurusha, by VI. 2. 2,
we reply that the क्र त व used in VI. 2. 2 relates to pratipadokta kriya compounds
such as ordained by कृत्यतंत्वायाः ब्रजाया II. 1. 68, while here the compound is by
विशेषणं विशेषणं II. 1. 51 and is a general compound. So also दादायत = दादीमात =
The words belonging to Dāsi 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 देव-ज्ञाति, देव-मुनि, देव-वीति,
ब्रह्मोति =। Vasu has acute on the first being formed by a नित्त affix Un I. 9
10). भोजि = भोजयोगिये वस्त्र, formed by कि affix (III. 3. 93), भोज being
formed by चण्ड has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). चण्डमा is formed by अति affix
added to the root मा मात्र preceded by the upapada चण्ड as, चण्ड + मा + अर्थ = चण्ड-मा,
the affix being treated as नित्त (Uṣṇ. IV. 228), and चण्ड is formed by रक affix
(Uṣṇ. II. 13) and has acute on the final.

चन्द्रिका तद्वर्ण = पदार्थ छोटे, तद्वर्णे, प्रकृतिस्वरुपाः
वृत्ति: चन्द्रिकास्तु रूपवानं तवेष्वर्चारीं तस्मात्तथायं चन्द्रिकास्तु चन्द्रिकास्मि न चापि
तत्त्वया चन्द्रिकास्तु परासुधे यदि

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 चन्द्रिका, कुण्डलस्तिमण्यम। The word चण्ड has accent on the first syllable, as it is formed by चण्ड (Uṣṇ III. 27) treated as a नित्त (Uṣṇ III. 26). The
word कुण्डल is formed by कल affix which is treated as नित्त (Uṣṇ. I. 108) and has
acute on the final. So also राजस्त्र, ब्रह्मण्यम। Ratha is first-acute formed by
khan affix (Uṣṇ II. 2). Vallī has acute on the final formed by दीर्घ affix. (IV.
1. 41) Why do we say 'it being suited to the first'? Observe कुण्डलस्तिमण्यम। This
accent applies when the second member denoting the material is modified into
the first by workmanship. The composition takes place by II. 1. 36.

अर्थं छोटे पदार्थं अर्थं, प्रकृतिस्वरुपाः
वृत्ति: अर्थार्थवर्चारीं अर्थार्थवर्चारीं अर्थार्थवर्चारीं अर्थार्थवर्चारीं न चापि

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

Thus माने हें = मानंटयं, देवालयं, अधिवर्षम्। The words माने and हें are
finally acute as taught so in Uṇādi śūtra (Uṣṇ II. 95): देवता being formed by
a नित्त affix (V. 4. 27) has acute on the middle; अवर्ग is formed by दीर्घ affix
and has acute on the first.
The difference between तस्य and अर्थ is that the former, like शर 'wood', विषय 'gold', has not inherent in it the sense of adaptibility, while अर्थ means 'adapted'. Some say that the making of two sūtras, one with तस्य 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 भक्तयार्थ, भूत्युपर्य, &c, though 'grass be suited for the horse' &c.

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

Thus भूपहितम्, मनुष्यहितम्, अप्राचनितम्, गृहिर्दितम्, अर्थदितम्, तापस्तिर्दितम् बनम्।

The compounding takes place by II. 1. 36. The compound गृहिर्दितम् means गृह-भोजितम् and is a sampradana Dative.

46. Before a Past Participle in 'क्ता', the first member; when it itselfis not a Past Participle, retains its original accent in a Karmadhāraya compound.

This rule is confined to the Past Participles and the Nouns specifically mentioned in II. 1. 59; on the maxim of pratipadokta &c. Thus भूमिक्तार, पूर्वक्तार, कर्मक्तार, रिश्वक्तार। The word गृहिर्दितम् has acute on the first as it is formed by the affix रित which is considered नित (Uṇ IV. 51). The word गृह is end-acute as it is formed by the affix गृह (Uṇ I. 124). The word क्तन्त्र is also end-acute (VI. 2. 32). The word निष्ठ ः has acute on the middle. Why do we say in a Karmadhāraya compound? Observe भृष्णक्तन्त्र = भृष्णक्तन्त्र। Why do we say 'when it is a non-nishtha word?' Observe क्तातक्तन्त्र। Here the compounding is by II. 1. 60.

47. Before a Past Participle in 'क्ता', a word ending in the Accusative case retains its accent, when it does not mean a separation.

Thus कान्तित, विषयक्तित; भूमित; Kashṭa has acute on the end, triśakala is a Bahuvrīhi compound (trīṇi śakalāṇi asya), and consequently acute on the first: grāma has acute on the first as it is formed by the नित्र affix.
Samasa-accent.

Why do we say ‘when not meaning separation’? Observe कल्याणविदम्, योजनातिविद्, because one has taken himself beyond कांतारा and yojana.

Vārt.:—This rule does not apply when the Past Participle has an upasarga attached; as सुखवतः, सुखमातः, सुखापतः, सुखापरः (VI. 4. 144). This is an exception to rule VI. 2. 144.

48. A word ending in an Instrumental case retains its accent before the Past Participle in ‘kta’, when it has a Passive meaning.

Thus द्रिष्टतः: or द्रीष्टतः: द्रीष्टतः: द्रीष्टतः: द्रीष्टतः: द्रीष्टतः: द्रीष्टतः: द्रीष्टतः: द्रीष्टतः: The word ‘abhi’ is derived from भू, with the proposition भा which is shortened, and the affix भू (U4 IV. 138), and has acute on the final, according to others the acute is on the first: Rudra is formed by रूaffix (U4 II. 22) added to the causative रू; Mahārāja is formed by the Samāsanta affix भू; nakha is formed by भू affix added to भू (U4 V. 23) or it may be a Bahuvrihi नाथस्वानति = नक्ह, formed by भू (V. 4. 121), and has acute on the final: Dātra is formed by भू (III. 2. 182). Why do we say when having a Passive significance? Observe रघुन वातः = रघुनातः, the ‘kta’ is added to a verb of motion with an Active significance.

49. A word called Gati (I. 4. 60) when standing immediately before a Participle in ‘kta’, having a Passive significance, retains its accent.

Thus द्रेक्षः, द्रेक्षः: Here one of the following rules would have applied otherwise, namely, either (1) the Samasa end-acute IV. 1. 223 (2) or the Indeclivable 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 अभ्युदायतः, सद्यूदायतः, सत्यादायतः: Where the distant Gati words भाव and सम do not preserve their accent, but the immediately preceding Gati, as उर does retain its accent, though it is not the first member of the compound word. Compare also VIII. 2. 70. But in दृष्टः + अगतशः (āgata being governed by this rule) we have दृष्टतः: (II. 1. 39 and VI. 3. 2) where VI. 2. 144 has its scope, though it had not its scope in भाव + उद्देशः = भाव-उद्देशः.” A Kṛt affix denotes whenever it is employed, a word-form which begins with that to which that
Krit affix has been added, and which ends with the Krit affix, but moreover should a Gati or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the Krit 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 कारण is understood here also; as, पक्त: करे देवरत्। This sūtra debars VI. 2. 144.

�ादौ | निति कृत्यतै | ५० | पदानि | तादौ, च, निति, कृति, अ-तौ | कृति:। तकाराये च तुषारवर्तितिनिति कृति परतो गतिनन्तर: पक्तिस्वरो भवति।।

50. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before (a word formed by) a Krit-affix beginning with त, which has an indicator त, but not before त।। Thus पक्ति (with तुम) पक्तिस्वरुः (with तुरु), पक्ति: (with नित्वः)।। This sūtra debars the Krit-affix accent (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say “before an affix beginning with त”? Observe भ्रज्याक: formed with the affix पक्तः (III. 2. 155), and the Gati त, the accent being governed by VI. 2. 139. Why do we say ‘which is नित्वः’? Observe पक्ति formed by तृच्छिड़ affix. When a Krit-affix takes the augment हत, it does not lose its character of beginning with त on the Vartika कदनेश्वो व तायत्विन्दिग्यं। Thus पक्तिस्वर, पक्तितुरुः। Why do we say “but not before त।।” Observe अनन्तादः with the Uṇādi affix तुम।।

तवै चालन्न गुणपत्त। ५१। पदानि:। तवै, च, अन्तः, च, गुणपत्त, (उदात्तः पक्तिस्वरम्)।।

कृति:। तैवच्यत्वायान्त उदात्तो भवति गतिभान्त: पक्तिस्वर हति पत्रः गुणपद्याति।।

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 अनन्तादः, परिष्ठांतेभः, परिशोभान्तिह, अभिलोक्तेभः। All upasargas have acute on the first except ‘abhi’, which therefore has acute on the final. (Phit Su IV. 13) which declares उपसग्य आयुः तत् आभिरवृजः।। This debars तृच्छिड़ accent (VI. 2. 139) and is an exception to the rule that in a single word, a single syllable only has acute.

अनिगतोत्सचैि वस्त्याये। ५२। पदानि:। अनिगतः, अभ्यूच्च, वस्त्याये, (अ- कृतिस्वरः)।।

कृति:। अनिगतो गाति: पक्तिस्वरो भवस्त्यतः पयस्त्येव रतः।।
52. An immediately preceding Gati not ending in र or ः, retains its original accent before अर्ध when an affix having a जू follows.

Thus वर्र, वर्णस, वर्धमन्यः or वर्र, वर्णस, वर्धमन्यः: II The accent is acute and optionally svarita by VIII. 2. 6. So also वत्र, वर्णस, वर्धमन्यः: पराशचारः, पराशचः: वराशचः: II But with धर्म which ends in र, we have धर्म, धर्मस्य, धर्मस्यम्: here by VI. 2. 139 the second member retains its original accent. Why do we say ‘before an affix जू’? Observe जूक्षणः: II When the nasal of ‘ाण्च’ is elided, then rule VI. 1. 222 presents itself; but that rule is superseded when a Gati not ending in र or ः precedes, because the present rule is subsequent. Thus वराशचः: अष्टाशचः: II In some texts, the reading is अष्टाध्यापिकृतः: II The affix जू is like दिनप &c, (VI. 1. 67).

न्यायः जू क ५० पदानि नि, अर्थी, च, (प्रकृतिस्वरूपी।) वृत्तिः: II नि बाथे हस्तव्रती चानुस्त्री सत्को परत: प्रकृतिस्वरूपी भवति: II

53. The Gatis नि and अर्थी, however, retain their original accent before ‘ाण्च’ followed by a जू affix.

Thus जत्र, जत्राची, जन्यः: II The ज becomes svarita by VIII. 2. 4. So also जत्रहोः, जत्राशी, जव्यः, जव्यः जपीः, जपीः, जीवाः, जीवाः: II जत्र्युष्टप्रस्तः जु ५४ पदानि जत्र्युष्ट, अन्यतप्रस्तः, (प्रकृतिस्वरूप) वृत्तिः: II जत्र्युष्टप्रस्तः ज्ञानस्यस्यप्रत्यक्षसाधनः प्रकृतिस्वरूपे भवति: II

54. The word जत्र्युष्ट when first member of a compound may optionally preserve its original accent.

Thus जत्र्युष्टक्ष्रियः or जत्र्युष्टवर्णः, जत्र्युष्टप्रविष्टः or जत्र्युष्टप्रविष्टः: II जत्र्युष्ट has acute on the final. But in जत्र्युष्टमन्यः &c, the Krit-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 जत्र्युष्ट with non-Krit words under II. 2, 7.

हिरण्यपरिमाणं घने ५५ पदानि हिरण्य-परिमाणम्, घने, (प्रकृतिस्वरूप) वृत्तिः: II हिरण्यपरिमाणार्थी पृथ्वीधिन नस्तक्ष्रियः ज्ञानस्य प्रकृतिस्वरूपे भवति: II

55. The first member, denoting the quantity of gold, retains optionally its original accent, before the word घने: II

Thus हिस्स्यम् घने or हिस्स्य-परिमाणम्: II This is a Karmadhāraya compound. हिस्स्योऽपि ज्ञानस्यम् = हिस्स्यम्, तोऽपि घनम्: II It may also be treated as a Bahuvrihi compound, then the accent will be of that compound, as हिस्स्य-परिमाणम्: or हिस्स्य-घनम्: II Why do we say ‘gold’? Observe परिमाणम्: II Why do we say ‘quantity’? Observe काँतिवन्धनम्: II Why do we say ‘घन’? Observe निकालाः: II
56. The word प्रथम when standing first in a compound, retains optionally its original accent when meaning a novice.

The word अचिरपसंपति = अचिरपसंपतिः or अचिरपसंपत्ति. Thus प्रथमवेषार्थः or प्रथमवेषार्थः = संयुक्तवेषार्थमपेक्षा प्रवृत्तः ‘one who has recently commenced to study Grammar’. The word प्रथम is derived from प्रय स by Aṣaṣ (Uṣ V. 68) and by सित accent the acute falls on the last. Why do we say when meaning a Novice? Observe प्रयमित्वार्थार्थः (देयकरणामसाय द्वयो वा तः) ‘the first Grammarian or a Grammarian of the first rank’. It will always have acute on the final.

57. The words कतर and कतम standing as the first member of a compound retain optionally their original accent in a Karmadārāya.

Thus कतरकरः or कतरकरः, कतरकरः or कतरकरः. The word Karmadārāya is used for the sake of the next sūtra, this sūtra could have done without it, as ‘katarā’ and ‘katama’ by the maxim of pratipadokta, form only Karmadārāya compound by II. i. 63.

58. The word आये optionally retains its original accent in a Karmadārāya, before the words ब्राह्मण and कुमार.

Thus आये|कृमादाराय|, आये|कृमादाराय|, प्रकृतिस्वरम| बृत्ति: भार्यासाधः पूर्णपिंडः कृमादाराय वाचार्यायो विद्यार्थीय: कर्माधारी समासे स्वरसवश्च प्रकृतिस्वरम् भविष्यः

According to the Accentuated Text the accent is आये (Pro. Bohlingk).

59. The word राजा retains optionally its accent before the words ‘Brāhmaṇa’ and ‘Kumāra’, in a Karmadārāya.
Thus राजाधरणः or राजाधरणः, राजाधारणः or राजाधारणः; II. The word राजः is formed by the affix कानिंग added to राजः (U. I. 156). But राहोऽ ब्रह्मणः = राजाधरणः 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 राजः runs and not of भार्तः.

पद्धः प्रवेषः सि || 60 || पद्धः पद्धः, प्रवेषः (अन्त्यतरस्याम राजः प्रकृति स्वरूपः) ||

चूँकीः राजाधि वर्तिते, अन्त्यतरस्यानिति च || पद्धः पद्धः प्रवेषः सि अन्त्यतरस्याम प्रकृतिस्वरूपः भवति ||

60. The word ‘राजः’ ending in the Genitive case optionally retains its accent before the word प्रवेषः.

The words राजः and अन्त्यतरस्याम are understood here also. Thus राजः प्रवेषः or राजः प्रवेषः II. The sign of the Genitive is not elided by VI. 3. 21. When भार्तः is not meant we have, राजः प्रवेषः or राजः प्रवेषः; II. Why do we say ‘ending in the Genitive’? Observe राजः प्रकृतिः प्रवेषः = राजः प्रवेषः; no option.

के निःवाचः 61 वर्तिते || पद्धः पद्धः के, निःवाचः (पूर्वःपद्रः अन्त्यतरस्याम प्रकृति स्वरूपः) ||

चूँकीः कान्तः तत्त्वः निःवाचः समाधेपूर्वःपद्रः अन्त्यतरस्याम प्रकृतिस्वरूपः भवति ||

61. A word having the sense of ‘always’, retains optionally its accent before a Past Participle in के.

Thus निःवाचः सि or निःवाचः सि, सततःसि or सततःसि; II. These are Accusative compounds formed under Rule II. 1. 28. निःवाचः is formed by क्ष्यः 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 भवतः being formed by के affix with the force of भवः, has acute on final by VI. 2. 144. If it be considered to have been formed by क्षयः के, then the accent will be on the beginning by VI. 2. 49. Why do we say when the first term means ‘always’? Observe चुःपत्रःपद्रः॥ In the case of निःवाचः: &c the sāmāsa accent VI. 1. 223 was first set aside by the Accusative Tatpurusha accent VI. 2, 2, this in its turn was set aside by के accent VI. 2. 144, which is again debared by the present.

श्रामः शालिपिनः 62 वर्तिते || पद्धः पद्धः श्रामः, शालिपिनः (अन्त्यतरस्याम प्रकृति स्वरूपः) ||

चूँकीः श्रामः शालिपिनः सि अन्त्यतरस्याम प्रकृतिस्वरूपः भवति ||

62. The word श्राम when first member of a compound, optionally retains its accent before a word denoting “a professional man or artisan”.


Thus धामनापितः or धामनापितेः, धामकुलालः or धामकुलालेः. The word धाम has acute on the first. Why do we say “धाम”? Observe परमनापितः. Why do we say ‘a सिप’ a professional workman’? Observe धामरथः; where there is no option.

राजा च प्रशास्तायाम् || ६३ || पदानि || राजा, च, प्रशास्तायाम्, (अन्यतरस्वाम प्रकटिः स्वरम्) ||
बृत्ति: राजमहाक्ष: पूर्वपैं शिल्पिवाचिक्षुस्तरपि प्रशास्तायां गंधर्मानाया मन्त्वतरस्वाम प्रकटितस्वरं मवति. ||

63. The word राजन् followed by a profession-denoting noun, optionally retains its accent, when praise is to be expressed.

Thus राजनापितः or राजनापितेः, राजकुलालः or राजकुलालेः. “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 परमनापितः. Why do we say ‘when denoting praise’? Observe राजनापितेः. ‘king’s barber’. Why do we say ‘a professional man’? Observe राजस्ती ‘a royal elephant’.

आदिरुद्धारः || ६७ || पदानि || आदिः, उदात्तः, ||
बृत्ति: आदिरुद्धार इत्यतस्पष्टिक्षतम् उदात्तं यहस्समस्तत्र पूर्बपल्लस्वास्त्यातीतीतयं सद्विषेषम्. ||

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 पूर्वपृथ्वी will get the acute in the following aphorisms. In short, the phrase ‘अदि उदात्ता’ 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 ह्रण”. To complete the sense we must supply the words “has acute on the first syllable”. Thus स्वेच्छागाः, बुक्रट कार्यपणम्, बालिकाथाः, वेताकरणहस्ती. The word अदि ‘the first syllable’ is understood upto VI. 2. 91, the word उदात्त has longer stretch: it governs upto VI. 2. 137.

सत्समीतारिणि धम्मेः दुहरणे || ६५ || पदानि || सत्तमी, हारिणो, धम्मेः, अहरणे, (आदिरुद्धारम्) ||
बृत्ति: सत्सम्यत्वारिणि च पूर्वपृथ्वीयायापि ह्रणस्वास्त्याक्षुस्तरपि भार्यायां सवति. ||

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 ह्रण.
The word शारिरण means ‘appropriates the dues or taxes’: and प्रमद्यूः 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 धर्मण is formed by बल under IV. 4.91 and 92 and has the sense of both. Of Locative words we have the following examples: —स्तुपः—शासनः, हृदुक्ति—कार्यपििणम, हृद—धिरपििणक, हृद—धिरपििणक, हृदस्ति—मापम्: || 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 हरिः we have the following: —धारितकायः: ‘the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer’. So also हृद वाकारणसीत, भौतकायः, देवस्यायः, प्रशुभुग्: || In some places the established usage is to give a शासन coin in every sacred Tope &c, or to give a horse to a sacrificer &c. Why do we say ‘what is lawful’? Observe सामेजस्मि, अर्थका वाक्षितकायः बाक्षितकाय नाम हृद शृङ्गे शृङ्गे भावन विन्द्वा, स कर्मार्थाय शृङ्गे, अभ्यासः तर्क न कुर्विन्द्विषत, न स्वयं धर्म: || Why do we say “but not before हरण?” Observe वादस्यायः ‘that which is given to a mare’. हरण is that customary food which is given to a mare after she has been covered, in order to strengthen her. The word हरण is a Krit-formed word, its exclusion here indicates that other Krit-formed words however are governed by this rule when preceded by a हरिः denoting word; and thus this सूत्रa supersedes the Krit accent enjoined by VI. 2. 139, so far. Thus वादस्याः: has acute on the first by this rule, the subsequent VI. 2. 139 not applying.

युक्ते च || २६ || पदानि || युक्ते, च, ( आयुर्धारम् ) ||

বৃন্ত: || যুক্তাচ্যুতিং চ সমালি পুৰ্ণপরাধুতাং ভবতি ||

66. The first member of a compound has acute on the first syllable, when the second member denotes that by whom the things denoted by the first are regulated or kept in order.

The word युक्त means ‘he who is prompt in the discharge of his appointed duty’ i.e. the person appointed to look after. Thus गोब्रहस्त: ‘a cowherd looking after cow’: अथ्वाणवन्न, गोवंगिर्वन्न, अथ्वाणविन्न, गोवंगिर्ब: || अथ्वातस्य: || All these word बलस्ति: , मण्डि: , समस्य: &c mean पालक: ‘the protector &c.

বিভাষা ভাষ্যম || ২৭ || পদানি || বিভাষা, অথ্যস্ত, ( আযুর্ধারম ) ||

বৃন্ত: || অথ্যস্তত্যাচ্যুতিঃ বিভাষা পুৰ্ণপরাধুতাং ভবতি ||

67. The acute is optionally on the first syllable when the word অথ্যস্ত follows.

Thus গোব্রহস্ত: or বাপ্রহস্ত: ‘a superintendent of cows’: অথ্যস্যস্ত: or ভাষ্যস্তः: ||

পাপম চ দিলিপি || ৬১ || পদানি || পাপম, চ, দিলিপি, (বিভাষা)(আযুর্ধারত:) ||

বৃন্ত: || পাপমাৎ: দিলিপিভাষ্যস্তর্থে বিভাষা ৫০৬১৮৫৭৫ ভবতি ||
68. The word पप has optionally acute on the first syllable when followed by a word denoting a professional man.

Thus पौपनासिङ्ग: or पौपनासिङ्ग, पौपकुलाक: or पौपकुलाक:।। This rule applies to the pratipadokta samasa of पप in the sense of censure as taught in II. 1. 54, when it is an appositional compound; and not when it forms a Genitive compound. Thus पपस्यनासिङ्गः =पपस्यनासिङ्गः।।

गोत्रान्त्विसिंगवासवाध्राणेषु श्रेष्ठे। ॥ ६९।। पदार्थ: ॥ गोत्र, अन्तःवालि, माणव, आध्राणेषु, श्रेष्ठे, ( वृयवस्के आधुद्वारसः )।।

वृत्त: ॥ गोत्राविसिंगवासवाध्राणेषु श्रेष्ठे माणवाध्राणेषु श्रेष्ठे पदार्थवासिनि समाले पूर्ववस्के वासवाले 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 आध्र, when a reproach is meant.

Thus जनवासिनि: =थो जनासिनि स्वास्त्यमिनि सा: संपत्तवति स:, वन आध्रश्च वास्त्यमिनि पालासिनि क्रियास: सत्यावासिनि: सत्यास्त्यमिनि: उत्तर्ततलामाय: स:।। माणवासिनि: ‘a descendant of Suśruta under the petticoat government of his wife'. The compounding takes place by the analogy of शाक्यअर्धश्र:।। वृयशाद्वाध्राणेषु: (Brahmakrita belongs to Subhrādī class). The above are examples of Gotra words. Now with scholar names. कृष्णार्थस्व: ‘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'. कृष्णार्थस्व: कृष्णार्थार्थस्व: कृष्णार्थार्थस्व: कृष्णार्थार्थस्व: कृष्णार्थार्थस्व:।। भान्तिपिनामिनीया: &c. निशानामिनीया: =निशानामिनि: मणवाश्र: भवति।। वृश्चीवाध्राणेषु: वृश्च्यावाध्राणेषु: मणवाध्राणेषु: =थो वृश्च्यावाध्राणेषु: संपत्तवति।। Compounding by II. 1. 4 where no other rule applies. Why do we say ‘when followed by a Gotra word?' Observe वासीवासित्व:।। Why do we say 'when reproach is meant?' Observe महाध्राणेषु:।।

अध्यानिष्ठ गंगे। ॥ ७०।। पदार्थ: ॥ अध्यानिष्ठ, गंगे, ( आधुद्वारसः )।।

वृत्त: ॥ गंगेवासवासवार्ते वर्णासाचार्य वृश्चीवासवासवार्ते भवति।।

70. The first syllable of the word preceding गंगे, gets the acute, when it denotes the ingredient of the same.

Thus गंगेन्द्रेय: ‘the wine maireya prepared from treacle or molasses'. गंगेन्द्रेय: ‘the maireya prepared from honey'. Why do we say when denoting 'an ingredient?' Observe पलेस्त्र:।। Why do we say "before गंगे?" Observe ईव्यासिनि।। Every sort of spirituous liquor except पुरा is called गंगे।।

ब्रह्मास्त्यास्तद्वेषु: ॥ ७१।। पदार्थ: ॥ ब्रह्मास्त्यास्त, तद्वेषु, (आधुद्वारसः)।।

वृत्त: ॥ ब्रह्मास्त्यास्त तद्वेषाचार्य: शाब्दास्त्यास्तवार्ते आधुद्वारसः भवति।।
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 भिन्नावासः, भन्तकांकः, भवाणक्तः, भन्तीकांकः:। The words like भिन्न, भन्त, &c, are names of food. Why do we say ‘when denoting the name of food’? Observe समाशास्त्रः (the word समाश्=समामां is the name of an ‘action’ and not of a ‘substance’). Why do we say ‘tadartheshu suited to contain that’? Observe निष्ठाप्रियः which is a Bahuvi, and the first member gets acute on the final.

गोविडखालसिम्हलसन्तिपुष्पमाने || 72 || पद्यानि || गो, बिडाल, सिंह, सन्तिपुष्प, उपमाने, (आद्युदराम) ||

वृत्तः || गवाविडखालसिम्हलपुष्पं सन्तिपुष्पमालानं मभवति ||

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

Thus भास्त्रः=गायं गोरितः। The compounding takes place by II. 1. 56, the words गो निमा, 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 पावणां: means पावणक्रुणाय विस्वमत पावणां। So also हरिवंमसः, हरिवंमसिबलसः, हरिवंमसिबलसः, हरिवंमसिबलसः, हरिवंमसिबलसः:। Why do we say “when denoting the object of comparison”? Observe परमाशः।

अके जीविकार्ये || 73 || पद्यानि || अके, जीविकार्य, (आद्युदराम) ||

वृत्तः || अकमश्वान्त उत्सर्पेदे जीविकार्यास्थिनि समासे उत्सर्पमालानं मभवति ||

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 इन्तेल्सकः, नैन्तेल्सकः, अवस्मकालिखः, द्वंप्रमिकाः=इन्तेल्सनाधिनेवां जीविका। The compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say ‘when meaning ‘means of living’? Observe इन्तेल्सनिकाः म भारसित। All affixes which ultimately become अक by taking substitutes, are called अक affixes. Thus युक्त, युक्त &c are अक affixes (VII. 1. 1). Why do we say “ending in the affix अक” ? Observe सप्तेश्वरकाः। Here the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17, and the affix युक्त is added in the sense of sport and not of livelihood.

आचार्य नीर्ज्ञानम || 74 || पद्यानि || प्राचाम, क्रीडायाम, (आद्युदराम) ||

वृत्तः || प्राचां नीर्ज्ञानां वा क्रीडा सदाशिनि समासे उत्सर्पमालानुत्सर्पं उत्सर्पमालानं मभवति ||
74. A compound the second member of which is a word ending in अक्ष affix, and which denotes the sport of the Eastern people, gets the the acute accent on the first syllable.

Thus वैशालवप्रायत्तिक, वीरपुष्पप्रचारिक, शालब्धिक, सानकदिशि || These are formed by युक्त affix (III. 3. 109), and the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say 'of the Eastern Folk'? Observe जीवपुष्पप्रचारिक, which is a sport of the Western People. Why do we say 'when denoting a sport'? Observe तंगपुष्पप्रचारिक 'thy turn for &c,' which is formed by युक्त (III. 3. 111) and denotes 'rotation or turn'.

अणि नियुक्ते || ७५ || पदानि || अणि, नियुक्ते, (आद्यादात्म) ||

बुंदि: || अणिउत्तररूपं तित्वकाशिकां समासं पूर्वप्रथमाध्यायं महति ||

75. A compound, the second member of which is a word ending in the क्रिया-suffix अण्, and which denotes a functionary, gets the acute on the first syllable.

Thus छब्धारय, छब्धाराय, छाएवाहार, छाएवाराय || Why do we say when meaning 'a functionary'? Observe काण्डालाक, शब्दार: ||

शिलिपत्ति चाह्रुक्ष: || ७६ || शिलिपति, च, अक्ष:, (पूर्वप्रथम आद्यादात्म) ||

बुंदि: || शिलिपतिकारिक समासं इण्डि उत्तररूपं पूर्वपरायायां महति स भूषण क्रोधे न महति ||

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 हृद्), the acute is on the first syllable of the first word.

Here also the second term ends in अण् affix. Thus तस्याय: 'स्तव्य:,' तस्याय:,' नाराय: || Why do we say when denoting a work-man or professional person? Observe काण्डालाक, शब्दार: || Why do we say 'but not when the suffix अण् comes after क्'? Observe कुमकारी:,' अस्ताराय: ||

संस्हायां च || ७७ || पदानि || संस्स्यायाम, च, (पूर्वप्रथम आद्यादात्म) ||

बुंदि: || संस्स्यायां विषये उत्तररूपं अक्षम: पूर्वपरायायां महति ||

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 तस्याय: 'a kind of insect, spider'. नाराय: 'the hill Valavaya'. But not so अण् with क्; as रथाय: 'the name of a Brāhmaṇa caste'.

गोतान्तियद्या पाते || ७८ || पदानि || गो, तन्ति, तच्च, पाते, (आद्यादात्म) ||

बुंदि: || गो तन्ति बय हतेवानि पूर्वपरायाम परायायाणि आद्यादात्म महति ||
78. The words गो, तन्त्र and यव get the acute on the first syllable when followed by पाठ.

Thus गीताल्ल, तौलिनाल्ल, श्रेष्ठाल्ल। The word तन्त्र is the rope with which calves are tied. (तन्त्र निसर्गाय गिरिजः।) This applies to words not denoting a functionary, which would be governed by VI. 2. 75. Why do we say गो &c? Observe वालीपछः। Why do we say ‘followed by पाठ’? Observe भीसः।

79. A compound ending in the Krit-affix तिनि (इति) has the acute on the first syllable of the first member.

Thus दृष्टारित्रि, दृश्यारित्रि, दृष्यारित्रि।

उपमानं शाखायः फळतातेव। २०। पदानि। उपमानम, शाखायः, प्रकृति, एव। (आद्यादात्)

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 तिनि 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: शाखायः means ‘expressing a sound’; प्रकृति means ‘root, without any preposition’. Thus दृष्टारित्रि, दृश्यारित्रि, श्रेष्ठारित्रि। 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 तिनि formed word. When the second term is not a word denoting sound, the rule will not apply. As बुक्ताल्ल, बुकृष्टाल्ल which retain kite accent (VI. 2. 139) Why do we say ‘a radical word without any preposition’? Observe गद्यमानित्रि, कोक्षिकलिनित्रि। Here the second terms radically (i.e. chārin and hārin) do not denote sounds, but it is with the help of the Prepositions उद्द and भनि, 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. (शाखायः प्रकृतो ईपानणं चाद्यप्राणं चाद्य- लक्ष्यस्मिद्वै।) As बुक्ताल्ल, for had एव not been used, the sūtra would have run
thus: उपमान शब्दरूपमकर्ता 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 येव 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.

युक्कारोढ़ावध्वः || 81 || पदार्थ || युक्कारोढ़ावध्वः, च (आङ्गरागः) ||
वृत्ति: || युक्कारोढ़ावध्वः समासा आयुष्याचारा भवति ||

81. The compounds युक्कारोढ़ित्र &c, have acute on the first syllable.

Thus युक्कारोढ़ित्र, 2 आङ्गरागः, 3 आङ्गरागः, 4 आङ्गरागः, 5 आङ्गरागः, 6 आङ्गरागः, 7 आङ्गरागः. These are formed by जित्ति affix, and are illustrations of Rule VI. 2. 79. Some say, these delare a restrictive rule with regard to the first and second member of these terms. Thus युक्कारोढ़ित्र must be preceded by युक्क, &c and युक्क &c followed by युक्कित्र &c to make this rule VI. 2. 79 applicable. Thus युक्कारोढ़ित्र though ending in जित्ति does not take acute on the first, so युक्काराजः ||
8 आयुष्याचारा or आयुष्य, 9 शैवेशावः, 10 मित्रभक्ति || The last two are Genitive compounds under Rule II. 2. 9. || आयुष्याचार, 12 आयुष्याचार, 13 शैवेशावः, 14 शैवेशावः, 15 शैवेशावः (गणपति); 16 समासा: || All these are Genitive compounds. 17 युक्कित्र-पारा=एकार्थित्र-पाराकर || This is a Bahuvihi of three terms. The word एकार्थित्र is a Taddhītārtha 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 एकार्थित्र would have acute on the first, as it is a Dvīgu ending in a simple vowel. But the very fact that this word is enumerated here, shows that other Dvīgu compounds in जित्ति are not governed by VI. 2. 29, therefore जित्ति पाद has acute on ति. The enumeration of the एकार्थित्र-पारा further proves by implication that the (एकार्थित्र-पारा शैवेशाचार जित्ति-पाराकर) accent for the application of which a case is present is stronger. (See Mahābhāṣya II. 1. 1.) The class of compounds known as चौथित्रित्र &c, (II. 1. 48) also belong to this class.

I युक्कारोढ़ित्र, 2 आङ्गरागः, 3 आङ्गरागः, 4 आङ्गरागः, 5 आयुष्याचारा (आयुष्याचारा), 6 आयुष्याचारा, 7 आयुष्याचारा (आयुष्याचारा), 8 शैवेशावः, 9 शैवेशावः, 10 शैवेशावः, 11 शैवेशावः, 12 शैवेशावः, 13 शैवेशावः, 14 शैवेशावः (गणपति), 15 शैवेशावः (गणपति), 16 पाराकर ||

वृत्ति: || श्रीपात्रां श्रीपात्रां काश क्रमांश्र वत्र इत्यादि च जमनर्पे आयुष्याचारा भवति ||

I दीर्घाकवस्त्रयावि जे || 82 || पदार्थ || दीर्घकावस्त्रयावि च (आङ्गरागः) ||
वृत्ति: || दीर्घकावस्त्रयावि काश त्रि आङ्ग्र वत्र इत्यादि च जमनर्पे आयुष्याचारा भवति ||
82. When the first member is a word ending in a long vowel, or is कारा, तुप, अर्थ or वर, and is followed by ज, the acute falls on the first syllable.

Thus हुरीजम्, हारीजम्, काराजम्, हुर्जम्, अर्थरज: अर्थरजः: These are formed by the affix ज added to जन (III. 2. 97).

अन्त्यायारथौ वहुच: || 83 || पदनि || अन्त्यायारथौ, पूः, वहुचः (उदाहरण ते) ||

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

Thus वसेन्द्रज, महेन्द्रज, भामलेकीज, and बधेवाजः: (though the last two words have upapadas ending in long vowel, the accent is governed by this śūtra and not the last). Why do we say “a Polysyllabic first member”? Observe र्द्वज़िनि लोकानि ॥

प्रामेवधिवसन्तः: || 84 || पदनि || प्रामेव, अनिवसन्तः: ॥

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

Thus महेशामः, योगिमुनामः: ॥ Here प्रामः is equal to समूहः ‘an assembly’. र्द्व-वासः: वेष्टसालिकः: ॥ Why do we say ‘when not meaning inhabitants’. Observe शाक्तमामः: ‘a village inhabited by the descendants of Daksha’, माहिकामः: ‘a village inhabited by Māhikas’.

घोषाविद्युः च || 85 || पदनि || घोषाविद्युः, च, (पूःपदयुः आशुवायः) ॥

85. The first member has acute on the first syllable when followed by गोष &c.

Thus शास्तिप्रयोः, शास्तिकः, शास्तिनिपतः, शास्तिवल्लः, शास्तिवल्लः, शास्तिवल्लः, शास्तिवल्लः, शास्तिवल्लः, शास्तिकः, शास्तिवल्लः, शास्तिवल्लः, शास्तिवल्लः, और (‘शः: or ‘शः:’), शास्तिचित्रः, शास्तिचित्रः, शास्तिचित्रः, कूद्वयुः, कूद्वयुः, कूद्वयुः, कूद्वयुः, कूद्वयुः ॥

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 anuvṛtti of मन्वसन्तः: in this aphorism, others however read it.

1 घोष, 2 कृषि (घोष), 3 रक्षा (रक्षा), 4 द्राक्षः, 5 बालिका (बालिका), 6 राज्यः, 7 विष्णु: 8 माला, 9 घाँ (घाँ), 10 शाक्त (शाक्त), 11 कृषि, 12 शालिकः, 13 अभिखः, 14 तुप, 15 शिल्पिः, 16 दुर्जः, 17 देवा (देवा: देवा: ॥

啜ःगावः: धारायमः ॥ 86 || पदनि || छांश्यायः, शालायमः, (आद्वारताः) ॥

86. The first member is a word ending in a long vowel, or is कारा, तुप, अर्थ or वर, and is followed by ज, the acute falls on the syllable before the last.
86. The words छाँचि &c, get acute on the first syllable when followed by the word शाला.

Thus छाँचि शाला, ऐि लिलाम, माणिक्षाला.

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 छाँचि लिलाम, ऐि लिलाम.

1. छाँचि, 2. पेपिः (ऐि), 3. भाणिः, 4. भाझि, 5. भास्थिः, 6. भाटि, 7. गामि (भानि)

प्रस्थे जुक्षक्रमकारितविनाम || ५७ || पदानि || प्रस्थे, अर्जुणम्, अर्काक्रोदीनाम,
(पूज्यपदम् आयुष्टरसम्)

वृत्त: मृत्युहावेचापेद अकाक्रोदितविनामपूज्यपदमातुरसा भवति.

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

Thus ईःप्रस्थः, हृःप्रस्थः, हृःप्रस्थः, हृःप्रस्थः. || But not in सप्तसम्, मातिकप्रस्थः which have Vṛiddhi in the first syllable; nor also in कक्षसम्: भविप्रस्थः: &c.

1. कक्षिः, 2. मधी (भाणि), 3. मधकि, 4. कर्क्षु (कर्क्षु), 5. शारी, 6. करी, 7. करुक्र (करुक्र),
8. कवल (कुमल); 9. बा, 10. बाय (बाय).

माणिक्षानां च || २२ || पदानि || माणिक्षानाम, च (आदि: उदात्तः:)

वृत्त: प्रस्थपुत्र वेचापे, प्रस्थपुत्रपेद माणिक्षानामाहिकसातीभवति.

88. The first syllable of माणि &c, gets the acute when प्रस्थ follows.

Thus माणि प्रस्थः, माणि प्रस्थः. || This sūtra applies even though the first syllables are Vṛiddhi vowel. In the words एक and छोगा the letters ए and ओ are treated as Vṛiddhi (I. 1. 75).

1. माणि, 2. शाला, 3. छोगा (छोगा), 4. ब्रासा, 5. ब्रासा, 6. शामा, 7. काल्पि, 8. एक, 9. काम,
10. श्रीमा.

अमहस्वंतं नगरे, सुदीचास || ८३ || पदानि || अ, महत्, नवम्, नगरे, अनुदीचास

वृत्त: नगरभवावविन्दे महस्वावविन्दे पूज्यपदमायुष्टरसा भवति तथेहस्वं न भवति.

89. The first member has acute on the first syllable before the word नगर, but not when it is the word महत्त or नव, nor when it refers to a city in the lands of the Northern People.

Thus ईःनामरस, हृःनामरस, वृःनामरस. || But not in मानमारस and नामभरस.

Why do we say "but not of Northern People"? Observe मानमारस काणीनामरस.
90. A word of two or three syllables ending in अ or आ (with the exception of महा and नव), standing before the word अमें has acute on the first syllable.

Thus दूतामवः, उदात्तामवः, वृज्जगतामवः, वृज्जगतामवः. Why do we say ‘ending in अ (long or short)? Observe बृज्जगतामवः. Why do we say ‘consisting of two or three syllables’? Observe कालामवः. The words महा and नव are to be read here also. The rule therefore does not apply to महामवः and नवामवः.

91. The following words do not get acute on the first syllable, when standing before ‘arma’, viz: भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्द्र, अदम्, कण्जनाम्, (आदुरालात्तिनै)

Thus दूतामवः, अधिकार्मवः, संजीवामवः, मद्द्रामवः, भूतामवः, मद्द्रामवः (because the sūtra shows the compounding of those words in madrāsmam) कण्जनामवः. All these compounds have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Vart.:—In the Vedas the words वन्दीवरस &c, have acute on the first syllable. Thus वन्दीवरसायम् गायत्रि, कुष्ठायाय हर्षायै.

92. In the following sūtras upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive, is to be supplied the phrase “the last syllable in a word standing in the Nominative case has the acute”.

This is an adhikāra aphorism. In the succeeding sūtras, the last syllable of the first member of a compound gets the acute accent. Thus in the next sūtra the word सर्व gets acute on the final. This adhikāra extends upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive.

93. The acute is on the final of the word सर्व standing as first member before an attributive word, in the sense of ‘whole, through and through’.
Thus सर्वेणि: सर्वक्रुणा सर्वमहाः. Why do we say सर्वः? Observe परमेष्ठः here the attribute of श्रेणि pervades through and through the object referred: but the accent is not on the final of परम. Why do we say ‘attributive word’? Observe सर्वत्रीयम् ‘golden’, सर्वजलं ‘silvery’, which do not denote any attribute in their original state but modification. In fact it is not सुधनकाल्यां here at all, but a विस्मात्स्तंयम्. Why do we use the word ‘कार्त्स्या or complete pervasion’. Observe सर्वेणि: श्रेणि:—सर्वेणि: here the compounding takes place by the elision of the affix तर्यḥ denoting comparison, and as it shows only comparative, not absolute, whiteness, the rule does not apply. Moreover, in this example, the “कार्त्स्या” is not that of “गुणा” but of “गुणित”, not of the attribute, but of the ‘substance’. Objection:—How do you form such a compound सर्वेणि: श्रेणि: for it is prohibited by II. 2. 11. Ans. We do it on the strength of the following वार्तिकः गण्यातेऽर्थम् सातहीं व्यक्तिः, तत्त्वोपः.

संस्कारां निरिन्नित्वायोः || ९४ || पदार्थः संस्कारायम्, गिरिः, निकायोः. चूँचः || संस्कारां विपये गिरि निकाय इत्येवविवेच्येत्: परिपोष्योः: धृष्टस्मातीश्च मयिनि ||

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

Thus भृणागिरिः, भृणास्वागिरिः. The finals of अन्जान and भान्ज्ञण are lengthened by VI. 3. 117. धापिणिणिनिकाय, मौणिणिनिकाय, जिल्लिणिनिकाय: Why do we say ‘when it is a Name’? Observe परमगिरिः, भ्रायणिनिकायः.

कुमारिः वनासिः || ९५ || पदार्थः कुमारस्याम्, वनसिः, (पूर्वपद्म अस्तोवाराः) चूँचः || कुमारस्यातस्य च वनसिः गम्भीरे पूर्वपद्मस्तोवाराः मयिनि ||

95. The last syllable of the first member gets the acute when the word कुमारि follows, the compound denoting age.

Thus वृंदकुमारी ‘an old maid’. The compounding is by II. 1. 57. अस्तुकुमारि. This compound is formed by II. 1. 49 with जर्तिः. The words become masculine, by VI. 3. 42 in both examples. Q. The word कुमारि was formed by जर्तिः 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 वृण्डा or जर्तिः; it is a contradiction in terms. Ans; The word कुमारि has two senses; one denoting “a young maiden” and second “unmarried virgin”. It is in the latter sense, that the attribute वृण्डा or जर्तिः is applied. Why do we say “when the compound denotes age”? Observe परमकुमारि.

उद्वेष्ठु कुक्षवेष्ठि || ९६ || पदार्थः उद्वेष्ठु, अ, कुक्षवेष्ठि, (पूर्वपद्म अस्तोदाचाराः) चूँचः. अक्षेपिते गिरिः तद्भाविते साताहीं उद्वेष्ठुस्तात: पूर्वपद्मस्तोवाराः मयिनि ||

96. Before the word उद्वेष्ठु, when the compound denotes a mixture, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.
Thus युक्ति or युक्तिकर्म, तिलोकिकर्म, or तिलीकर्म: When we have already made the द and न acute by this rule, then the svarita accent may result optionally, by the combination of the acute औ of गुड़ा and तिला and the subsequent grave छ of देख, by Rule VIII. 2. 6. The word अक्षेत्र means mixture. When mixture is not meant, this rule does not apply. As श्रीशोकिकर्म, रग्नोकिकर्म.

97. Before a Dvigu, when the compound denotes a sacrifice, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गान्धिराजः, चारीक्रियारः, कुप्रमविद्वद्यारः, गाराण्य विराजः &c. Why do we say ‘before a Dvigu compound’? Observe भतिजारः (गारिमार्गितान्त्रि हि प्राक्षमान्:) which being formed by the Samasan&ntilde affix अर्च (V. 4. 87) has acute on the final (VI. 1, 163). Why do we say ‘when denoting a sacrifice’? Observe वित्तस्वातः = वित्तस्वातः विद्वद्यारः व गाराण्यः.

समायां नरुपकेसे ॥ ९८ ॥ पदार्थी || समायां, नरुपकेः, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तीदाताः)॥

98. Before the word समा when it is exhibited as Neuter, the first member of the compound gets acute on the last syllable.

Thus गोरादेशम्, पशुपालितसंस्थ, श्रीलभम्, श्रीलभ्यम्, गारवालितसंस्थ. Why do we say ‘before समा’? Observe गारिमार्गेशम्. Why do we say ‘when in the Neuter’? Observe गारिमार्गेशम्. The word समा becomes Neuter under Rules II. 4. 23-24: therefore when the word समा does not become Neuter under those rules, then by the maxim of Pratipad&ntilde &c: the accent does not fall on the final of the preceding term as, रमणीयतम्, here the word समा is neuter not by the force of any particular rules, but because the thing designated (अन्यिच) is neuter.

पुरे प्राचाः (पूरे श्राचा मन्त्रादाताः) ॥ ९८ ॥ पदार्थी || पुरे, प्राचाः, (पूर्वपदस्तोत्रायम्)॥

99. Before the word पुरे, when the compound denotes a city of the Eastern People, the final of the first member has the acute.

Thus नगरपुरम्, कालिपुरस्, शिकारिपुरस्, कालिपुरस्, नामपुरम्. Why do we say of the Eastern people’? Observe कालिपुरस्. अरिष्टमौदपरम् च ॥ १०० ॥ पदार्थी || अरिष्टम्, गौड़, पूरे, च, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तीदाताः)॥
100. When the words अरिः and गौड़ stand first, the first member has the acute on the final before the word पुरः.

Thus अरिःपुरः, गौड़पुरः. By the force of the word पुरः in the aphorism, we can apply the rule to अरिःपुरः, गौड़पुरः.

न हासिनफलकमाधीयः: र० १०२ पदानि: न, हासिनः, फलकः, माधीयः (अन्तोदाताः)।।

वृत्त: हासिन फलक माधीय हेवतात्त्व सूपेशानि पुरास्त्र उनकर्म पुरास्त्र नागराधातात्त्व भवन्ति।।

101. But when the words हासिनः, फलकः and माधीयः precede पुरः, the acute does not fall on their final.

This is an exception to VI. 2, 99. Thus हासिनपुरः, फलकपुरः, माधीयपुरः।।

The son of पुरः is माधीयः formed by बिलुः, the word belonging to शुभ्राठः class. The र is elided by VI. 4. 147.

कुसूलकुप्पामक्षा विखे: र० १०२ पदानि: कुसूलः, कुपः, कुम्भः, शालयः, विखे।।

वृत्त: कुसूलः कुपः कुम्भः शालयः पुरास्त्रानि विल्कोवत्तुत्त्व पुरास्त्रानि भवन्ति।।

102. The words कुसूलः, कुपः, कुम्भः and शालयः have the acute on the last syllable before the word विखः.

Thus कुसूलबलमः, कुपंबलमः, कुम्भबलमः, शालयबलमः।। But not so here सर्व-बलमः।। Why do we say 'before विखः'? Observe कुसूलबलमः।।

दिक्षाबः आभामजनपदाध्यायानचानारकैः र० १०३ पदानि: दिक्षाबः, ग्राममज-नपदाध्यायान, चानारकैः।।

वृत्त: दिक्षाबः पुरास्त्रानि अभामजनपदाध्यायानायुर्द्वारकै चानारकैः।।

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 चानारः.

Thus पूर्वकोषमाधीयः, अपरं पूर्वकोषमाधीयः or पूर्वः and अपरः (VIII. 2. 6). The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. पूर्वः ग्राममजनपदाध्यायान, अपरःग्राममजनपदाध्यायान।। Country name.—पूर्वः ग्राममजनपदाध्यायान, अपरःग्राममजनपदाध्यायान।। These are Karmadhārāya compounds (II. 1, 58). Story name.—पूर्वमचिन्तमयः or पूर्वः, पूर्वमचिन्तमयः, पूर्वमचिन्तमयः, अपरःमचिन्तमयः।। So also पूर्वमचिन्तमयः, अपरः मचिन्तमयः।। The employment of the term दिक्षाबः in the aphorism shows that time-denoting हिर्कः words as in पुरास्त्रानि should also be included. The word आभामजनपदाध्यायान is derived from आभामजनपदाध्यायान ग्राममजनपदाध्यायान। (IV. 3. 87).

आचार्यपरिज्ञानान्तेवात्सिनि: र० १०४ पदानि: आचार्यपरिज्ञानः, च, अन्ते-धारितिः।।

वृत्त: आचार्यपरिज्ञानान्तेवात्सिनिः दिक्षाबः अन्तेवात्सिनि भवति।।
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 पूवं पाणिनियाः, अपरपाणिनियाः, पूवंकाशकाल्याः, अपरपाणिनियाः. Compare VI. 2. 36 Why do we say ‘when derived from the names of their Teachers’? Observe पूवंसचात्मक: Why do we say ‘Scholar-names’? Observe पूवंपाणिनियाः शाक्य: (पाणिनिय शाखा पूव चिरस्तन्तम्)

उन्नतपद्धाती सच्च च || १०५ || पदार्थ || उच्चर-पद-व्रूढः सच्च च ||
शृङ्खल: || उन्नतपद्धातीकथिता वा विधिता वृज्ज्ञलिखितसर्वेण सधार्यविधिकृतान्तरोऽसा अवलोकित:

105. Words denoting direction and the word सच्च have acute on the final, before a word which takes Vṛddhi in the first syllable of the second term by VII. 3. 12 and 13.

By the sūtra उन्नतपद्धत्व VII. 3. 10, 12, the Vṛddhi of the Uttarapada is ordained when the Taddhita affixes having ः, ः or क follow, the Purvapada being युः, सच्च and अच्छ: The word उन्नतपद्धत्व: therefore, means that word which takes Vṛddhi, under the rule relating to uttarapada, i.e. under rule VII. 3. 12 and 13. Thus पूवं पाणिनियाः, अपरपाणिनियाः, सच्च शाक्याकारः. These are formed by इत्रूः affix (IV. 2. 125). Why do we say “which takes Vṛddhi in the second term?” Had the word उन्नतपद्धत्व not been used, then the sūtra would have run thus ब्रूढः सच्च च, and would have applied to cases like सर्वभाषा: सधार्यां: where शाक्यः and अच्छः are Vṛddha words not by virtue of VII. 3. 12.

ब्रूढः शाक्येऽशयायाम || १०६ || पदार्थ || ब्रूढः शाक्येऽशयायाम, विभवम, संशयायाम ||
शृङ्खल: || ब्रूढः शाक्येऽशयायाम विभवम संशयायाम विभवम उन्नतरोऽसा अवलोकित:

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

Thus विभवम, विभवम, विभवम. This is an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first member in a Bahuveṛhi would have retained its original accent. Why do we say in a Bahuveṛhi compound? Observe विधेयेऽशयायाम = विधे विधेयाः = विधे विधेयाः. Why do we say ‘when a name’? Observe विधेयेऽशयायाम अवलोकित: विधेयाः. But विभाविक and विभाविक have acute on the final, as they are governed by the subsequent rule VI. 2. 165 which supersedes this. The word Bahuveṛhi governs the succeeding sūtras upto VI. 2. 120 inclusive. The word विधेय is originally acute on the first, as it is formed by the affix कन्ध added to विधेय: This rule has unrestricted scope in विधेय, विधेया: and rule VI. 2. 165 has unrestricted scope in कन्ध, कन्धानेऽ: But in विभाविक: and विभाविक: there is a conflict, as both these rules would apply, therefore by the maxim of vipratisheha, VI. 2. 165 supersedes this.
107. The first member in a Bahuvrihi, before the words उदर, अभ्व, and हु, gets acute on the final syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

Thus बुद्धि, सार्वभ, हम्य, बीवता, चुरापुरेन्दुरु: and नैहुः। This sūtra is also an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first term would have retained its original accent. The word हुः has acute on the first by Phit II. 7. The word शम is formed by मन्नत्त suffix (U० IV. 145) and is first acute; हन्ति is also first acute as formed by हुः (U० IV. 118). The word शम if considered as an undervived primitive, has acute on the first by Phit II. 19. If it be considered as derived from शुघु with the suffix भय, then it is already end-acute and would retain its accent even by VI. 2. 1. The first Bahuvrihi word शुघु has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, the second Bahuvrihi compound शुघुपुरेन्दुः has acute on हु by VI. 2. 1, the third Bahuvrihi with हु gets accent on हु। The word नहित is end-acute by V. 2. 38. Its mention here appears redundant.

क्षेपे ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे ॥

क्षेपे एवमाने उदाहरितप्रकृति बहुव्रीहों समासे संज्ञायं विषयं पुरुषप्रसन्नतां संज्ञायं।

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

Thus शुघुपुरेन्दुः, वन्दः, काहक्षचः, व्यासितस्वरुः, भिन्नारते हुः, चलन्तिः हुः। The word हुः has acute on the first as it is a Neuter name (Phit II. 3), and it would have retained this accent in the Bahuvrihi by VI. 2. 1. but for this sūtra. The word हुः is formed by अच्छ (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 हुः being formed by अच्छ (V. 3. 75) has acute on the first. शमित is formed by the Nishṭā suffix हु। The word भिन्नारत being an avyayābhāva, 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 अच्छ and हुः have acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, which being a subsequent sūtra, supersedes this present, so far as अच्छ and हु are concerned.

नयी वस्पुतिः ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नयी, वस्पुतिः ॥

क्षेपे एवमाने बगुपुरेन्दुः सवाने पुरुषप्रसन्नतां संज्ञायं।

109. In a Bahuvrihi compound having the word हुः as its second member, the first member ending in the Feminine suffix हूः (नयी word) has the acute on its final syllable.
Thus गार्गीवन्दु, शाक्वीवन्दु: II The words गार्गी and शाक्वी are formed by adding कृष्ण (IV. 1. 16) to गार्ग्य and शाक्वेय ending in ध्रु (IV. 1. 105), and therefore, they are first acute. By VI. 2. 1 this accent would have been retained, but for the present सूत्र. Why do we say “a Nādi (Feminine in द) word”? Observe प्रभृवन्दु:, the word नाद has acute on the first syllable as it is formed by मन्न (U4 IV..146) and it retains that accent (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say “before बन्धु”? Observe गार्गीवन्दु: II

निन्दोपसर्गपूर्वमन्त्रतत्त्वसमृ || ११० || पदानि || निन्दा, उपसर्ग-पूर्वस्य, अन्तरसमृ ||

वृत्ति: II बहुवीशी समाये निन्दापरसर्गपूर्वेण पूर्वपथमन्त्रतत्त्वसम्बन्धे भवति: II

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

Thus प्रदैत्तुकः: or प्रदैत्तुकः: (VI. 2. 169), or प्रदैत्तुकः: (VI. 2. 49 and 1)
प्राशालित्तुयः or प्राशालित्तवः: II When the word बृहत means (mouth) then by VI. 2, 167 which is an optional rule, the accent falls on the last syllable तः: II When the other alternative is taken or when it does not mean (mouth) then by VI. 2. 49 the acute falls on आ which accent is retained (VI. 2 1). Why do we say “a Nishṭhā”? Observe प्रदैत्तुकः: which is acute in the middle by the kṛit accent being retained after आ (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say “preceded by a preposition”? Observe प्रदैत्तुकः: which has acute on the first by VI. 1. 206.

उत्तरपदार्थ: II १११ || पदानि || उत्तर, पदार्थ: (उदाहरण: ) ||

वृत्ति: II उत्तरपदार्थात्विकम्यत्तथावर्गम्: यदः प्रभृवन्दुकः कस्मिन्यादित्यम उत्तरपदार्थात्विकम्यत बवस्यार्थ सदैवित्यम्: II

111. In the following सूत्रas, 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.

कर्मचारिकावतः II ११२ || पदानि || कर्म:, च, लक्षणात, (आदि दासम) ||

वृत्ति: II बहुवीशी समाये कर्माचार्यासि लक्षणाचार्याः कर्मचारिकावतर्गात्वात्वातम्: भवति: II

112. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, the word कर्म 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 शुद्धकृतः, शुद्धकृतोऽन्तः, and with mark-name, we have शाखःकृतः शाखःकृतोऽन्तः, the lengthening of च ए and शुद्ध 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 ू. | § 115 | SCGN D TERM FIRST-ACUTE.

Why do we say 'कण'? Observe चतुर्वयः, कुटपृः: here कण being formed by अच (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 श्रोतनयः where श्रोत being formed by ू (III. 2. 149) is end-acute and this accent is retained (VI. 2. I).

संशोपमयोर्भ || ११३ || पदार्थ || संहा, औपम्योः; च ||

दृष्टि: || संहामयोर्भ ू ये बहुव्रीहीनेतरं तत्र कर्णाधि उत्तरपर्यायां भवितं संसायथां ||

113. In a Bahuvrihi the second member कण has acute on the first syllable, when the compound denotes a Name or a Resemblance.

Thus कृंचसर्वोत्साही, मनोरलं: are Names: गोकर्णिः, खरकर्णि: denote resemblance i.e. "persons having ears like a cow or an ass".

कणपुर्जश्रीवाजकः च || ११४ || पदार्थ || कण, पुष्य, श्रीवा, जंघम, च, (आयु-दातानिः) ||

दृष्टि: || कण पुष्य श्रीवा जंघम इत्यातिनि उत्तरपर्यायां बहुव्रीही हस्ताक्षराणि समाते संशोपमयोर्भावातिः भवति ||

114. In a Bahuvrihi expressing a Name or comparison, the second members कण, पुष्य, श्रीवा and जंघम have acute on the first syllable.

Thus Name: लितकर्णिः, नीलकर्णिः: Comparison खरकर्णिः, बहुकर्णिः: Name कणपुर्जश्रीवाजकः, नारूर्जश्रीवाजकः: Resemblance गोपुर्जश्रीवाजकः, अन्तर्जश्रीवाजकः: Name सुभीव: नीलाभिज: इत्यातिनि: Resemblance गोपुर्जश्रीवाजकः, अन्तर्जश्रीवाजकः: रेणानीजश्रीवाजकः: ||

The sūtra कणपुर्जश्रीवाजकः is in Neuter gender, and जंघम is shortened as it is a Samāhāra Dvandva. In the case of सुभीव, the accent would have fallen on the final व by VI. 2. 172, this ordains acute on व ||

सुभीवस्तवायों च || ११५ || पदार्थ || सुभीव, अवस्थायम, च (आयुद्धातिः) ||

दृष्टि: || सुभीव उत्तरपर्यायां संशोपमयोष्ठ बहुव्रीही अवस्थायम भवति ||

115. In a Bahuvrihi denoting age, (as well as a Name or a Resemblance), the second member सुभीव gets acute on the first syllable.

Thus देहस्थानः, बर्यास्थानः, बर्यास्थानः: Here the word सुभीव denotes the particular age of the cattle at which the horns come out, or become one or two inches long. Name: बर्यास्थानः: comparison: श्रीवा, जंघमः: Why do we say when denoting 'age &c'? Observe ू.
116. After a Negative Particle, in a Bahuvrihi, the acute falls on the first syllable of जर, मर, मित्र and मृत.

Thus भारीत, भाग्रे, भूयित: and भूतः। Why do we say after a Negative Particle? Observe राजायामिनि। Why do we say "अरं & c." Observe भारे when the final gets the acute by VI. 2. 172.

सोहोम्यस भोतोम्यसी || १७|| पदानि || लोऽः, मर-असी, अ लोऽम, उपसी ||

Thus सोहोम्यस भोतोम्यसी. || १७|| पदानि || लोऽः, मर-असी, अ लोऽम, उपसी ||

वृत्तः। सोहोम्यस भोतोम्यसी. || १७|| पदानि || लोऽः, मर-असी, अ लोऽम, उपसी ||

117. After the adjective छू in a Bahuvrihi, a stem ending in मू and अस, with the exception of लोम्य and उपस्य has acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुवर्ध्वः, सुर्ध्वः, सुप्रविधः, सुर्ध्वः, सुध्वः, सुध्वः, सुध्वः, सुध्वः, सुध्वः, सुध्वः so also सुध्वः and सुध्वः from the root सृस्तु and भृस्तु with the affix भृव्रासू। The final सृ is changed to सृ by VIII. 2. 72. But this substitution is considered asidha for the purposes of accent, and these words are taken as if still ending in भृमस। Why do we say ‘after छू?’ Observe क्रमस, क्रमवः। Why do we say ‘ending in नम्य and अस्य?’ Observe शुतम्यस and शुतम्यस formed by the affix क्रिवृ(U न. 156), and the accent is on श and म, but with छू, the accent is thrown on the final by VI. 2. 172. Why do we say with the exception of लोम्य and उपस्य? Observe सूध्वः and सुध्वः (VI. 2. 172). The following maxim applies here: अनिश्चत्व भाषामय्ये भाषांशक्ति

The following maxim applies here: अनिश्चत्व भाषामय्ये भाषांशक्ति च तदसुसिद्ध प्रयोजनित समयमयक्ति “whenever अस्य, or हृ or अस्य or म, when they are employed in Grammar, denote by I. 72, something that ends with अस्य or हृ or अस्य or म, there (अस्य, हृ, अस्य and म) 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 अस्य and म, void of meaning are also included here. Thus अस्य is formed by म (U न. 140), but क्रम्य is formed by मन्य (U न. 145), and मध्यम्य is formed by मन्यव्र, affix (V. I. 122) in which मन्य is only a part. Similarly ध्वः is formed by भास्य (U न. 191), and so also सूध्वः (U न. 202); but in सुध्वः सुध्वः from सृस्तु with the affix क्रिवृ III. 2. 76) the rule applies also, though अस्य is here part of the root. But when the samāsānta affix क्रिवृ is added (V. 4. 154), then the accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding क्रिवृ, for there the subsequent Rule VI. 2. 173 supersedes the present rule: thus छुम्यस्य, छुम्यस्य: ||

मन्यमय्ये || १२० || पदानि || कर्त्ताद्यः, च, ||

वृत्तः। कर्त्तानि सोहोरे बहुव्रीहि समासेः भाषामय्ये भवनि।
118. After सु in a Bahuvrihi, the acute falls on the first syllable of क्रू &c.

Thus स्त्र्याः, सुद्धारकः, सुभाषितः, सुवेष्ट्रः, सुभाषि:।

आङ्गुरां सुबृहण्डतसि। १२९। पदानि। आङ्गुरासम, दृष्टेः, द्रवतिः।

बृहत्:। आङ्गुरां भाष वयंपि बहुतिहै समति सीतसर तदाङ्गुरासमिव भवति द्रवति विषये।

119. In a Bahuvrihi 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:—स्वत्वतिमयः सुर्या सुवर्ळस (Rig Veda X. 76. 8). Here सुवर्ळ and सुर्या: have acute on अ and र, which they had originally also, for अर्ध and रध are formed by क्रु (Un I. 151) and क्रुष्य (Un II. 2) respectively and have the लिङ accent (VI. I. 197). Why do we say ‘having acute on the first syllable’? Observe या सुश्रावः स्ववर्ळसि (Rig II. 32. 7). Here या has acute on the final (Un I. 27 formed by य affix and has the accent of the affix III. I. 3). Why do we say ‘having two syllables’? Observe सुष्मतः। स्ववर्ळसः। This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 172.

120. In a Bahuvrihi compound in the Chhandas, after सु, the words बीर and बीये have acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुश्रासिता ते, सुधारते बालिता (Rig IV. 17. 4) सुधारसब्यस्यः (Rig VIII. 13 36) where सुधारिः has acute on शी। So also सुधारेवं पत्रः श्माः। The word श्माः is formed by श अर्ध affix and by VI. I. 213, it would have acute on the first. But its enumeration in this sūtra shows that Rule VI. I. 213 does not apply to श्माः। The word श्माः has svarita on the final in the Chhandas, by Phit IV. 9. In the secular literature it is अध्यूदा।

क्ष्यातीस्तुल्मुद्रान्त्यक्षमङ्ग्यांभिमा ये॥ १२१। पदानि। क्रूः, तीर, तूढः, सुधः,

शाला, अश्चर, समम, अव्ययामाते॥

बृहत्:। क्रूः तीर तूढः सुधः शाला अश्चर समम इत्यानि उत्तरायानि अव्ययापरिवास्मातस्यायुस्मानि भवति॥

121. In an Avyayibhāva compound, the following second terms have acute on their first syllable: क्रूः, तीर,

तूढः, सुधः, शाला, अश्चर and समम॥

Thus परित्रेवः, उपकूल्मः, पार्श्विनः, उपकूलसम्ब, उपकूलसम्ब, परित्रेवः, परित्रेवः, उपकूलसम्ब,

परिधालिः, उपकूलसम्ब, उपकूलसम्ब, पद्मसम्ब, सुधःसम्ब, विषयमसम्ब, लिङसम्ब and दुष्ममस॥ These last four are to be found in Tishthadgu class of compounds (II. I. 17). Why do we say ‘क्रू अस्थिति’? Observe क्रूःसम्ब॥ Why do we say “in an Avyayibhāva
compound?" Observe परमकृतम्, उत्तपकृतम्. After the prepositions परि, मति, उक and भव, the words कृत &c would have become accentless by VI. 2. 33, the present सूत्र supersedes VI. 2. 33, and we have accent on कृत &c and not on the Prepositions.

कसमस्या, उपयात्यकाण्ड्विद्विग्राही || १२२ || पदानि || कस्त, मन्य, शुष्क, पाप्य, काण्डम, द्विग्राही ||

ङ्गि: || कस्त मन्य हुए पाप्य काण्ड इसेतानुसारपसन्न हिंग्री समस्या, शुष्काचानि मध्ये ||

122. In a Dvigu Compound the following second members get acute on their first syllable:—कस्त, मन्य, शुष्क, पाप्य and काण्ड.

Thus विकृतम, (हाम्य कस्तान्त्वा कीत: the suffix द्विग्रा V. 1. 25 is elided by V. 1. 28) विकृतम, द्विग्राह, (the suffix द्विग्रा V. 1. 19 is elided by V. 1. 28) गिर्निभ, विकृतम, (the suffix गिर्निभ V. 1. 26 is elided) विकृतम, विपात्य, विकृतम, विकृतम, विकृतम. Why do we say in a Dvigum? Observe परस्मापिन्य, उत्तपकृतम:.

तत्पुरुषे शालायणे नपुरुषे || १२३ || पदानि || तत्पुरुषे, शालायणे, नपुरुषे ||

ङ्गि: || शालायणे, नपुरुषे समाते नपुरुषकलिकी उपस्तवमाध्यसंलल्य मध्ये ||

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

Thus शालायणे, विशिष्यान्त्वम. The compound becomes Neuter by II. 4. 25. Why do we say "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe हर्षालम् ब्राह्मणकृतम् which is a Bahuveli compound and therefore first member retains its accent VI. 2.1, and as the first member is a Nishṭā word, it has acute on the final. Why do we say "the word शाला?" Observe ब्राह्मणसिद्धम. Why do we say 'in the Neuter'? Observe ब्राह्मणसिद्धम. Compare VI. 2. 86.

कन्या क || १२४ || पदानि || कन्या, क ||

ङ्गि: || तत्पुरुषे समाते नपुरुषकलिकी कस्तादा उपस्तवमाध्यसंलल्य मध्ये ||

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

Thus सौतान्त्रम्, आद्भूतम्, चापक्षम्. The word सौतान्त्रम् denotes the descendant of सतानं (सतानं: सतानं यथा) भाषा is formed by the preposition भाषा with the verb हुस्त्र and the suffix क्ष (III. 1. 136) The compound is Neuter by II. 4. 20. These are Genitive compounds. When the word is not Neuter we have शालकाद्यम्

आदिविधिहणार्थानिम् || १२५ || पदानि || आदि', विधिहणार्थानिम् ||

ङ्गि: || कन्यानि तत्पुरुषे समाते नपुरुषकलिके विधिहणार्थानिमाविषयानि मध्ये ||

125. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्या, the first syllable of चिह्न &c have the acute.
As विष्णुक्षमः, भृजक्षमः, रूढरक्षमः. The repetition of the word भाई in this sūtra, though its anuvṛtti was present, indicates that the first syllable of the first member gets the acute. The word विष्णु is derived from the root चिन्तत्त with विः which gives चिन्तु and हन is formed by adding अच्छ (III. i. 134) to हन. चिन्तु + हन = विष्णु the elision of तः is irregular.

चेत्रसेत्रकटुकाण्डे गाह्यायम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेत्र, सेत्र, कटुक, काण्डे, गाह्यायम् ॥

वृत्तः ॥ चेत्र सेत्र कटुक काण्डे इत्यताम्यतरापानि तत्परं समाते गाह्यायं गम्यानायाम्यामायाचायामि भवति ॥

126. The words चेत्र, सेत्र, कटुक and काण्डे at the end of a Tatpurusha have acute on the first syllable, when a reproach is meant.

Thus पुष्पचैः लक्ष, भार्याचैः तप, उपासनैः देव, नागरैः देव, (लक्ष हन तुणामान, सतं दुहलं वपायत् ) सर्वप्रकृतं (कहकनम्बत्र) उद्धिन्तकज्ञक, भूतकर्मण् (काण्डमिति तथान, तथया तलपिः बालक में वूमार्य) प्रजाकायेषु ॥ The reproach is denoted of the sons &c by comparing them to चेत्र &c. The analysis will be पुष्पचैश्च पुष्पचैश्च and the compounding takes place under II. i. 56: the Vyaghrači class being an akṛti-gaṇa. When reproach is not meant, we have परस्यचैश्च.

चीरसुपमामाय ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चीरम, उपमानम ॥

वृत्तः ॥ चीरसुवियतपमानवचि तत्परं समाते भायुष्णाचं भवति ॥

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

Thus प्रधान चीरमित् = प्रधानचैः, परक्षीरस्, कम्बलचैः रस् ॥ Why do we say 'when comparison is meant?' Observe परस्यचैश्च.

पलतसुपपशाण्डे चित्रे ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलत, सुप, शाकम्, चित्रे ॥

वृत्तः ॥ पलत सुप शाक इत्यताम्यतरापानि विष्णवाचि तत्परं समाते भायुष्णाचायामि भवति ॥

128. In a Tatpurusha ending in पल, सुप and शाक the acute falls on the first syllable of these, when the compound denotes a food mixed or seasoned with something.

Thus सुखकत्रियमः, प्रसुखकत्रियमः, प्रसुपुरुः, गुलकर्मण्, गुलकागिक, गुलकाकः = गुलक मिष्ठे पलते &c. The compounding takes place by II. i. 35. Why do we say 'when meaning mixed or seasoned?' Observe परस्यचैश्च.

कृतसम्पर्वत्खरणोऽसंहायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत, सुप, स्थल, कह्यः, संहायाम् ॥

वृत्तः ॥ कृत सुप स्थल कह्यं इत्यताम्यतरापानि तत्परं समाते संहायां विष्ये भायुष्णाचायामि भवति ॥
129. The words छूट, छूद, स्थल and कथे have acute on their first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha denoting a Name,

Thus शतिन्त्रादक, भासिकोक्स्मु, हर्षिन्त्रा, भासीकोक्स्मु, भासिकोक्स्मु, भासीकोक्स्मु, शासिकोक्स्मु, शासिकोक्स्मु. All these are names of villages. The feminine of स्वात is taken here, formed by दीर्त (IV. 1. 42). When not a name we have परमकृतय्.

अकमेधार्ये राज्यम् ॥ १३०॥ पदानि ॥ आ, कमेघार्ये, राज्यम् (अमुद्वारस्य)॥
भूष्टि: कमेघार्ये वार्तिते तदुपयो समासे राज्यमिवेदुर्यसरसमाब्रु हर्ति ॥

180. The word राज्यम् has acute on the first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, which is not a Karmadhāraya.

Thus भाज्यामार्फ्यः, शिष्यार्फ्यः. In a Karmadhāraya we have परस्परार्फ्यः. The accent taught in VI. 2. 126 to 130 is superseded by the accent of the Indefinable taught in VI. 2. 2, though that rule stands first and this subsequent, as भाज्यामार्फ्यः, शिष्यार्फ्यः.

द्रष्ट्या दुःश्च ॥ १३१॥ पदानि ॥ चर्मार्फ्यः, च (आदुवातानि)
भूष्टि: चर्म इच्छुकात्मनुपर्भावात्मकमेघार्ये तत्त्वाने समासे आदुवातानि हर्ति ॥

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

Thus वाज्यामार्फ्यः, शाज्यामार्फ्यः, जस्वानिवर्गः, शाजस्यार्फ्यः. In a Karmadhāraya we have परस्परार्फ्यः. The words वर्षे &c are no where exhibited as such; the primitive words वर्षे, पूर्ण, मन्त्र &c sub-divisionof हिमाग्नि (IV. 3. 54) are here referred to, as ending with वर्षे affix,

पुज: पुज्यः ॥ १३२॥ पदानि ॥ पुजः, पुज्यः (आदुवातास: )॥
भूष्टि: पुजःस्मायु पुज्येश्वरस्तुपुजः समासे आदुवातासो हर्ति ॥

132. The word पुजः coming after a Masculine noun in a Tatpurusha has acute on the first syllable.

Thus भाज्यामार्फ्यः, भाज्यामार्फ्यः, भाज्यामार्फ्यः. Why do we say ‘a पुजः’? Observe भाज्यामार्फ्यः. Why do we say ‘after a masculine word’? Observe भाज्यामार्फ्यः.

नाच्यामीरजीर्र्विक्ष्रुवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रित्ताळायतनवक्ष्रि
133. The word पृथ्वी 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 भाषावर्ग means 'teacher', राज 'prince, king', धार्मिक 'a sacrificing priest', संबंध 'relations through the wife's side' as दग्ध 'brother-in-law' &c; सति means 'all kinsmen related through father and mother or blood-relations'. The word भाषा shows that the rule applies to the synonyms of 'teacher' &c, as well as to particular 'teacher' &c. Thus भाषावर्ग, दायित्ववर्ग, शास्त्रवर्ग, राजवर्ग, धार्मिकवर्ग, व्यतित्ववर्ग, (VI. 3. 23) संबंधवर्ग, सतिवर्ग, धार्मिकवर्ग, अभिवर्ग (VI. 3. 23). Here the special accent of पृथ्वी taught in the last sūtra being prohibited, the accent falls on the last syllable by the general rule VI. 1. 2 23.

चूरूण्डीर्म्भाषावर्गः || १३४ || पद्भिः || चूरूण्डीर्म्भाषावर्गः, अ, भाषा, पहुँचः, ( भाषावर्गः ) ||

सतिः || उत्तरप्रभावितं वर्णः तपस्यक्षिपति || 

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 प्राचीन, पश्चादिरी, but पन्नपुर्व, where the first term is a living being, and the other सन्दर्शन where it is not Genitive. Another reading of the sūtra is चूर्णमस्स्तायुपप्रपातं, the word उपपाद being the ancient name of पहुँच given by old Grammarians.

1 चूर्ण, 2 कारिक, 3 कारिण, 4 शाब्दिक, 5 धार्मिक, 6 भाषा, 7 नृस्त, 8 कुतुम (कुतुम), 9 एक, 10 चक्र, 11 चक्र (चक्र चक्रवति), 12 चक्र ||

The word पृथ्वी is derived from the root पृथ्रि श्च (Div 50) with the affix कः; करिक and कारिण are formed with the upapada कारि and the verbs कः 'to go' and चर 'to protect' respectively, and the affix कः (कारिप्रभावित = कारिक) (III. 2. 3); चक्र with the affix दन्त added diversely (Uṣ II. 56); एक with अध्ययन (Uṣ IV. 81) gives एक; this with अध्ययन (तक्षिण) gives अध्ययन; धार्मिक सति = धार्मिक (Prishodaradhi); द्वस्त (द्वस्य) with क द्वस्त gives द्वस्त the penultimate being lengthened; the word कुतुम is formed by the affix विशप added to the root हु with the upapada कः (कुतुमवर्ग कुतुमवर्ग या उपपादति) the augment हुँ विशप being added to कः || कुतुम निर्माणित = कुतुम; हुः का विशप (कुतुम हुः का विशप कुतुम हुः का विशप) are added to का and reduplication. पृथ्रिप्रभावित = पृथ्रि ||
135. The six words काण्ड, चीर, पलट, सुप, शाक and कुण्ड of Śūtras VI. 2. 126–129, preceded by a non-living genitive word, have acute on the first syllable.

As चर्मक्षेत्रम्, कुण्डक्षेत्रम्; चर्मितिस्वरम्, कुण्डितिस्वरम्. In the last two examples चीर is not used as a comparison, that case being governed by VI. 2. 127, तिलपललम्, मूकमकारिणर्, मुखपुष्पः. Here पलट, सुप and शाक do not denote mixing, which is governed by VI. 2. 128. तिलपललम्, कुण्डक्षेत्रम्, here the compound does not denote a Name, which would be the case under VI. 2. 129. Why these 'six' only? Observe झज्जसत्.

कुण्डव वनस्ति || १३६ || पदानि || कुण्डव, धनम् (आयुर्वाचतः) ||

कुण्डव वनस्ति कुण्डसात्स्यनां वनेन वर्षेत्. कुण्डामितिस्वरपर् वनवाविष्ठं तथ्युष्म समासे आयुर्वाचतं भवति.

136. The word कुण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'a wood or forest', has acute on the first syllable.

The word कुण्ड here denotes 'a wood' by metaphor. Thus चर्मक्षेत्रम्, कुण्डक्षेत्रम्. Why do we say when denoting 'a wood'? Observe धन्यकुण्डं. 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 सहस्र, i.e. शारणसदुपायः = शारणसदुपाय. प्रकृत्या मगाद्यम् || १३७ || पदानि || प्रकृत्या, मगाद्यम्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ||

प्रकृत्या मगाद्यम् तथा तटुष्म समासे प्रकृतिस्वरम् भवति.

137. The word मगाध at the end of a Tatpurusha, preserves its original accent.

The synonyms of मगाध are also included. As कुम्भीनगालम्, कुम्भीनक्षेत्रम्, कुम्भीनक्षेत्रम्. The words मगाध &c., have acute on the middle. Phit II. 9. The word कुण्ड governs the subsequent śūtras upto VI. 2. 143.

मित्रीखंव बहुव्रीखंवध बहुव्रीखंवसत् || १३८ || पदानि || मित्रीखंव, नित्रीखंव, बहुव्रीखंव, आसंसत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ||

मित्रीखंव मित्रीखंवपर्य नित्रीखंव नित्रीखंवध बहुव्रीखंवपर्य नित्रीखंवध समासे तत्वप्रकृतिस्वरम् भवति.

138. After वित्रि, a word retains in a Bahuvarihi its original accent, when it is always of not more than two syllables, with the exception of मस्त्रु.
Thus शिलास्, शिल्स्त्, शिलेल्गः - The word शिल्कल्कत्व belongs to वृक्षालिक class (VI. I. 203) and has acute on the first, and अंसः and ऋत्तः being formed by सत्त (Un V. 21) and युर्त (Un II. 4) affixes, have acute on the first (VI. I. 197). Why do we say ‘after शिल्कल्कत्व’? Observe शेषादिराजः: which being formed by the affix अनीर्वत्त न अर्नेचालिक शक्तिः, for though कण्ठत्व is here of two syllables, it is an abbreviated form of कण्ठत्व, the final त्र being elided in denoting condition of life (V. 4. 146), in compounds other than those denoting ‘age’, we have शिलाकण्ठत्व, hence this word is not such which is always of two syllables. The word शिल्कल्कत्व has acute on the first syllable, by भ्र. II. 10, and retains this accent in the Bahuvrihi (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say ‘abavach or not many-syllable’? Observe शिलासत्वतः: Why do we say in a Bahuvrihi? Observe शिलासत्वतः: प्राप्तः=शिलासत्वतः: Why do we say ‘with the exception of शल्लुत्त’? Observe शिलासत्वतः: This sutra is an exception to VI. 2. 1.

गतिकारकाकथितान्तर || १२९ || पदानि || गति, कारक, उपपदान्त, शल्लु, (प्रशिलासत्वत्र) ||

शल्लुः: तत्तद्वष्टितं च न व शल्लीश्वरिति. गति: कारकाकथितान्तर कुत्तकुत्तरपूर्वे तत्तद्वष्टितं समापते महकस्य समवित्त ||

139. In a Tatpurusha, a word ending in a Kritisuffix 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 मक्कौकरकः, मक्कौरणाः, मक्कौरणां || The compounding is here by II. 2. 18. With karaka-word we have:—हर्षव्रतेन: पतलशालानि: दम्पतुक्लेन: (III. 3. 117). With upapada words, we have:—हर्षवक्तः हर्षवक्तः हर्षवक्तः || All these are formed by लिंक affixes and the accent is governed by VI. I. 193. i.e. the word प्रयत्न is formed by सुखु (सुखु प्रयत्नः प्रयत्न: येन); so also with शल्लु (लालिन शल्लुत्त: येन श शल्लु:); so also with कण्ठत्व (कण्ठत्व: कण्ठत्वानि येन: येन श कण्ठत्वः) Why do we say “after a Gati, Kāraka, or an Upapada word?” Observe देवदस्यकारकः = देवदस्यस्तकारकः Here the Genitive in देवदस्य does not express a kāraka relation. The genitive is here a देव लक्षणा पदी denoting a possessor and not a कमल्कल्कत्व 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 शल्लु 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 krit-formed word, if there is to be a samasa. For two sorts of affixes come after a root (dhātu) namely सिंत्त and शल्लु || A samāsa can take place with krit-formed words, but
not with tiṣṭanta words. So that without employing कृत in the sūtra, we could have inferred that कृत was meant. Therefore, it is said the ‘कृत’ is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness. According to this view we explain the accent in पञ्चातितासूभि, पञ्चातितानभि, by saying that first compounding takes place with अ० and the words पञ्चातिति and पञ्चातिति ending in त्वन्ति and त्वन्ति and then भाष्य is added and the accent of the whole word is regulated by भाष्य by the rule of सातिताकिल (see V. 3. 56. and V. 4. 11). According to others, the कृत is taken in this sūtra, in order to prevent the gati accent applying to verbal compounds in words like पञ्चातिति श्रेष्ठि and पञ्चातिति वशीयि (V. 3. 67), or पञ्चातिति (V. 3. 66). The accent of these will be governed by the rule of the Indeclinable first term retaining its accent.

उभे वनसप्ताहितिः युगपति॥ १४०॥ पदानि । उभे, वनसप्ताहितिः, युगपति, पञ्चातितिः।
(पञ्चातितिः)॥

श्रुति:॥ पञ्चातिति पदानि । वनसप्ताहितिः समस्थि द्वे पौरोषपपि युगपति पञ्चातितिः भवति:॥

140. In वनसप्ति &c., both members of the compound preserve their original accent simultaneously.

Thus वनसप्ति, both वन and द्वम have acute on the first syllable, and युगः augment comes by VI. 1. 157. (2) युगपति: or युगपति: युगः पति: (VI. 1. 157) The word युगः is acutely accented on the final, some say it has acute on the first. (3) चासनिः (Sachi being formed by ध्रेण), some make Sachi acute on the first चासनिः, by including it in Sarangrava class (IV. 1. 73). (4) समुद्रपति (तनु being formed by कुं, Un I. 80 has acute on the final, according to others it has acute on the first and नापति-ना पाति or na pata with कुं | and has acute on the first). (5) तरासनिः तरा अधितासनिः: शासनिः or तरा एव शासनिः (nara is formed by अनि and has acute on the first, Sañsa is formed by सन्, the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137). (6) युगः: युगः: युगः शासनिः is a Bahuvarhi: the Genitive is not elided by (VI. 3. 21. Vârt.), and both have acute on the first. (7) शासनिः both ‘Sanda’ and ‘Marka’ being formed by पञ्चातिति has acute on the first; the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. (8) ख्रा: पञ्चातिति Trishṇa has acute on the first, भ्रमणिः has acute on the final. The lengthening here also is by VI. 3. 137. (9) बम्बासानिः is बम्बासानिः Bamba is finally acute, and viśva by VI. 2. 106 has acute on the final, as viśvavayas is a Bahuvarhi. The lengthening takes place as before by VI. 3. 137. (10) नमः: मर is formed by श्रव affix and मर has acute on the final. The words governed by this sūtra are those which would not be included in the next two sūtras.

देवताद्रेणच ॥ १४१॥ पदानि । देवता, द्रेण, च ॥

श्रुति:॥ देवताद्रेणिः द्वे देवतासनिः समस्थि द्वे पौरोषपपि पञ्चातितिः भवति:॥

141. In a Dvandva compound of names of Divinities, the both members retain their original accent.
Thus द्वंद्वीय, द्वंद्वेशी, द्वंद्वेषपति। The word द्वंद्व has acute on the first (by nipatana), सोम is formed by मस्त्र (U. N. 1. 140), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), द्वंद्व is formed by द्वन्द्र (U. N. III. 53) and by VI. 1. 197 has acute on the first. द्वंद्वित्ति has two acutes by VI. 2. 140, and Indra-Brihaspati has three acutes. Why do we say “names of divinities”? Observe द्वंद्विनेत्रिकिय। Why do we say ‘a Dvandva’? Observe द्वंद्विनेत्रिकिय।

लोकार्थम् महादलाचार्यशीष्यप्रलयरूपमानिष्य || १४२ || पदार्थि || न, उत्तरपदे, अनुदतारादि, अ पृथिवी, र्द्र, पृष्ठ, मन्थिन ||

पृथि: || उत्तरपदे महादलाचार्यशीष्यप्रलयरूपमानिष्य || दशतायन्त्र मोभेम् द्वेषपतितिसे भवतः ||

142. In a Dvandva compound of the names of divinities, both members of the compound simultaneously do not retain their accent, when the first syllable of the second word is anudatta, with the exception of पृथिवी, र्द्र, पृष्ठ, and मन्थिन।

Thus द्वंद्वीय, द्वंद्वेशी, 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 द्वेषपति, or द्वंद्वavedya has acute on the first, ‘prthivi’ being formed by ‘nīsh’, has acute on the final. रुद्राघितो, Rudra is formed by ‘rak’ affix (U. N. II. 22.), and has acute on the final. द्वंद्वाराजमी, Pūshan has acute on the end. (U. N. I. 159) द्वंद्वाराजमी, the words Śukra and manthi have acute on the final.

अन्तः: || १४३ || पदार्थि || अन्तः: ||

पृथि: || अन्तः द्वाराजमी यथतः ऋषमनुद्याकिम्यायमस्त द्वाराजमी यथार्थम् द्वाराजमी तथ्ययम् ||

143. In the following sūtras up to the end of the chapter, should always be supplied the phrase “the last syllable of the second member has the acute”.

The application is given in the next sūtra.

हाथवाच्चकाज्ञितकांकाम || १४४ || पदार्थि || थ, अथ, वस्त्र, क, अवृ, अथ, हस्त, काणाम, (अन्तः उदारसः: ||

पृथि: || थ अथ वस्त्र क अवृ, हस्त क हाथवाच्चकाज्ञितकांकामण्यां गतिकारकोपपत्रेषुपातुर्म उदारसः भवति ||

144. The last syllable of the second member has the acute, in the verbal nouns ending in थ, अथ, वस्त्र, क, अवृ, आथ, हस्त and क, when preceded by a Gati, a Kāraka or an Uparada (VI. 2. 139).
Thus ज्ञानिनः, वधवः formed by कृष्ण affix (Uṣṇ I. 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. अथ—अवस्यां, उपवस्यां formed by अभय affix (Uṣṇ III. 116). पञ्च—पञ्चेच, काव्येच, रुखेच: || कः—करामातः, Here क has the force of कर्म, and the gati आ is would retain its accent (VI. 2. 49) therefore, भारत is first acute; this accent would have been retained when compounded with the कराक word दुरा, but for this sūtra. विद्यम: भारतवृवः: || अश्रु (III. 3. 56) :—प्रवचः, प्रजयः, the words श्रव्य ‘dwelling’, and जय ‘victory’ are acute otherwise on the first (VI. 1. 201, 202). अथ—पलबः, पलबः: || इत्र—गनविरिम, पलविरिम, || क—कलिवः: काव्यः:—गां विरिस्त, गां विरिस्त (III. 2. 5 Vart): अश्रुः; प्रहरः; (क being added by III. 1. 135). The word अश्रु has acute on the first as it belongs to प्रवच class (VI. 1. 203). When the preceding words are not Gati, कराक or उपापदा, this rule does not apply: as ज्ञानुम भवत, भारतवृव भवत, where ज्ञ and भव being कर्मप्रवचानित्य, the words get the accent of the Indeclinable.

वृषभासुदः || १४५ || पदान्ति || अश्रु, उपमानात, काः, || वृषि: || अश्रु इत्यदमानुवृत्तां परं स्त्रादेतप्रदमानायम भवनि ||

145. The Participle in क has acute on the final, when it is preceded by अश्रु or by a word with which the second member is compared.

Thus ज्ञानिनः, वधवः, ज्ञानिनः || With Upamana words we have—प्रकाश-हुमः, वधवः, राहुक्षमः, तिलक्षमित्समुः || This debars VI. 2. 49 and 48. When ज्ञ is not a Gati, the rule does not apply, as ज्ञानुम भवत ||

संस्कारान्तिकादिरिनः || १४६ || पदान्ति || संस्काराः, अनाचितादिरिनः ||

वृषि: || संस्काराः विशेषे चतुष्कालिकारथमानं कान्तवृद्धिपमानासहायं भवति अभिवर्तितादिादिदिविश्च ||

146. The Participle in ‘kta’ has acute on the last syllable, when preceded by a Gati, or a कराक or an उपापदा, if the compound denotes a Name, but not in आचित &c.

Thus संस्कृताः सामालण:; उपहरः: बालस्यः, पतिज्ञां: कौमेन्द्रः: || This debars VI. 2. 49, ज्ञानुम नास्ति, हुमः, बालस्यः, नास्ति, हुमः, भवनि: || Here VI. 2. 48 is debarrèd. Why do we say “when it is not आचित &c” Observe आचितम् &c.

1 आचित, 2 पार्श्वित, 3 भार्त्यापिष, 4 परिवर्तित, 5 निराक्ष, 6 प्रतिवर्त, 7 भार्त्यापिष, 8 प्रर्तित, 9 उपहरत (उपहर) 10 उपस्थित, 11 संहितागात: (संहितागात् यथा गोर्गर्द्य संहिता तपस्तासातः भवति || वयस्क गोः: संहिता तस्तार्थाय यथा ||

The word संहिताः 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.

प्रवचारिनः || १४७ || पदान्ति || प्रब्राह्मनाः, अश्रु (अन्तोदास्य) ||

वृषि: || अश्रु प्रवचारिनः || कान्तवृद्धिपमानायम भवति ||
147. The words भ्रूः and c. ending in 'kta' have acute on the final.

Thus भ्रूः यानुः, भ्रूः सुपतः, भ्रूः सक्तः, भ्रूः भृकुटिः, भ्रूः भोजेश्वरः, कविनार्थः। It is an Akriti-gaṇa. 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 Akritigana we have युक्तस्वरूपं यानोत्तरं, दुन्मिश्यको यथा &c.

1 युक्तस्वरूपं यानम्, 2 युक्तस्वरूपं युष्मान्, 3 युक्तस्वरूपं or युक्तस्वरूपं: सक्तः: 4 भ्रूः भृकुटिः, 5 भ्रूः भोजेश्वरः, 6 खुद्दरः: 7 कविनार्थः, कविनार्थस्मृतिरथमिति।

कारकात्त्वद्वृत्तयोगस्वादिशिपिः ॥ १९८ ॥

पदार्थम् कारकात, दुष्ट, भृकुटिः, पुंजः, आशियिः।

शुचिः। संस्तनागार्थस्मृतियोगस्वादिशिपिः कारकात्त्वद्वृत्तयोगस्वादिशिपिः ॥

148. The final of Part Participles द्वस्त and शृुत 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 द्वस्त एकस्वरूपःः, शृुतशणयो शृुताः शृुतशणयोः।

Why do we say "of us and us"? Observe वेभवलिः (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 क is preceded by a kāraka, and the compound donates a benediction and a Name, the accent is not on the final, as required by VI. 2. 146, but such a word is governed by VI. 2. 48, unless the Participle be Datta and śruta, when the present rule applies. The word kāraka indicates that the ru'e will not apply when a gāti or upapada precedes. Why do we use द्वस्त (alone)? So that the restriction should apply to 'kāraka', and not to 'Datta' and 'Śruta'. For the words 'Datta' and 'Śruta' will have acute on the final even after a non-kāraka word. As संखृप्तं, विस्तृप्तं: ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'? The rule will not apply where benediction is not meant. As द्वस्त: त्वस्तः इवतः इवतः: ॥ This rule applies to Datta and Śruta after a kāraka-word, only when benediction is meant. It therefore does not apply to द्वस्त कारकात्त्वद्वृत्तयोगस्वादिशिपिः, which is governed by VI. 2. 48.

इत्यथ्युत्तेन क्षत्मिति च ॥ १७९ ॥

Padaśe इत्यथ्युत्तेन क्षतम्, शृति, च, (अन्नोदशाम्म) ॥

शुचिः। ह्यं महाकार्यार्थम् इत्यथ्युत्तेन: इत्यथ्युत्तेन क्षतमित्वादिस्मृतिः एव नामादिको वस्तुतः त्वत्: फिन्युत्तेनपरस्मिनार्थम् भवति।

149. The Participle in क has acute on the final, when the compound denotes 'done by one in such a condition'.
The word हत्यात्मक means ‘being in such a condition’. Thus हत्यात्मकतिः, हत्यात्मकरणित्वं, हत्यात्मकानित्वं, विष्णुपुरुषोऽस्मि as Adjectives and Abstract verbal nouns. This is an exception to VI. 2. 48. When the words प्रतिपित and others are used to denote Noun of Action (भाव, then by VI. 2. 144 they get of course acute on the final.

अनो भावकर्मचयनः || ५१० || पदानि || अनं, माथ, कमाचयनः, (अन्तोदास्याम) ||
प्रतिपित: || अन प्रति भावादत्तस्याबायचयनं कर्मचयनं च कार्यालयस्यास्यामज्ञानं भवति.

150. After a कराक 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 भावानात्मकः शख्म, प्रायतः शख्म, प्रति भावित्वकानित्वं शख्म. || All these are examples of भाव or Abstract Verbal Nouns. शान्तिनां शान्ति, ग्रामान्यानां ग्रामान्यानि व-सांस्कृति, are examples of कर्मचयन or Passive Adjectives. These are formed by हस्त under III. 3. 116. For the सूत्र III. 3. 116 may be explained by saying that (1) हस्त is applied when the Upapada is in the objective case and भाव is meant, (2) as well as when object is to be expressed. When the first explanation is taken, the above are examples of Bhāva; when the second explanation is taken, they are examples of Karma. Why do we say “ending in अन”?

Observe, हस्ताःपदानि || Why do we say “when expressing an action in the abstract (भाव), or an Object (karma)”?

Observe हस्ताःपदानि, here हस्त is added after an Instrumental कराकाः (III. 3. 117). Why do we say “after a कराका”?

Observe हस्ताःपदानि, अन्तोदास्याम. || In all the counter-examples, the second members retain there original accent,

मद्याक्षेत्रस्यन्यात्मकान्योजनायास्याकारादिकारितता: || ५११ || पदानि || मत्र, फिन- त्रो, व्यास्यान, शयन, आस्यान, स्थान, याज्ञाकारः, क्रिया: ||
प्रतिपित: || मन्त्र फिन-त्रो व्यास्यान शयन आसन स्थान इवेतात्मि याज्ञाकारः क्रियावस्य स्थानस्यास्यामज्ञानं भवति.

151. The words ending in मत्र or फिन-त्रो affixes, and the words व्यास्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान and क्रिया as well as याज्ञक and others, have acute on the final, when at the end of a compound, preceded by a कराका word.

Thus मत्र—थत्मकम्, शाक्तवर्गम् || फिन—पायावर्गम्, वासिल्लालिकत: || व्यवस्यान— 
वर्गवस्यान्यायाम्, चन्द्रोऽस्मि व्यवस्यान्याम् || शत्रु—उत्साहस्याम्, शत्रुवस्यान्याम् || शत्रु—उत्साहस्याम्, शत्रुवस्यान्याम् || याज्ञाकारः words are those which form Genitive compounds under II. 2. 9, and those compounds only are to be taken here; as भाज्ञाकारः, शत्रुवस्याम्, शत्रुवस्याम् || याज्ञाकारः words are those which form Genitive compounds under II. 2. 9, and those compounds only are to be taken here; as भाज्ञाकारः, शत्रुवस्याम्, शत्रुवस्याम् || याज्ञाकारः This is an exception to VI. 2. 139. and in the case of क्रिया, rule VI. 2. 48 is superseded. The words व्यास्यान इव and do not denote here भाव or कराक, had they done so, rule
VI. 2. 149 would have covered them. When the first member is not a kāraka, we have प्रवृत्तिः and प्रवृत्ति:.

1 शायरकः, 2 पूजकः, 3 परिसारकः, 4 परिपरेकक परिपरेकक 5 भ्रातक भ्रातक 6 भ्रात्यक, 7 वसात्मक (वसात्मक) 8 वसात्मक, 9 होतु, 10 भूतु, 11 रथनाथक, 12 पालनाथक, 13 पूछु, 14 होतु, 15 वसात्मक.

सत्त्वयाः पुण्यम् II १९२ II पद्गानि II सत्त्वयाः, पुण्यम् II 

152. The word पुण्य has acute on the final when preceded by a noun in the Locative case.

Thus भ्रात्यनम् पुण्यम् = भ्रात्यनम् पुण्यम्, वेदुपण्यम् II The compounding takes place by II. 1. 40 by the process of splitting the sūtra (yoga-vibhāga), taking सत्त्वम् there as a full sūtra, and शायरकः another. Here by VI. 2. 2, the first member would have preserved its accent, the present sūtra supersedes that and ordains acute on the final. The word पुण्य is derived by the Uṇādi affix बु (Uṇ V. 15) and would have retained its natural accent (VI. 1. 213) and thus get acute on the first syllable by krit-accent. (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'a locative case'? Observe वेदुपण्यम् = वेदुपण्यम्.

उपायविधिः तृतीयायाः II १५२ II पद्गानि II उनाथेः, कलंकेः, तृतीयायाः II 

153. The acute falls on the final of words having the sense of दन, and of कलंक, when they are second members in a compound, preceded by a term in the Instrumental case.

Thus मार्गानम्, कार्यानाम, मार्गानिकलम्, कार्यार्थकिलम्, वासिकलेः, वाक्कःः II 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 दन in the sūtra means the word-form दन, so that the aphorism would mean—"after an Instrumental case, the words दन, अयः, and कलंक, get acute on the final". The examples will be in addition to the above;—प्राणेनायाः = पाणेनायाः II If this be so, then the word-form दन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विकल &c. To this we reply, that दन will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word अयः II By sūtra II. 1. 31, दन, अयः and कलंकalways take the Instrumental case, so we could have omitted the word तृतीयायाः, from this sūtra, for by the maxim of pratipadokta &c, उपायविधिः would have referred to the compound ordained by II. 1. 31. The mention of तृतीयाः here is only for the sake of clearness.

सिंहः चामापत्तिकसंधीः II १५४ II पद्गानि II सिंहः, च, अनुपसंगम, असंधः II 

153. The acute falls on the final of words having the sense of दन, and of कलंक, when they are second members in a compound, preceded by a term in the Instrumental case.

Thus मार्गानम्, कार्यानाम, मार्गानिकलम्, कार्यार्थकिलम्, वासिकलेः, वाक्कःः II 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 दन in the sūtra means the word-form दन, so that the aphorism would mean—"after an Instrumental case, the words दन, अयः, and कलंक, get acute on the final". The examples will be in addition to the above;—प्राणेनायाः = पाणेनायाः II If this be so, then the word-form दन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विकल &c. To this we reply, that दन will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word अयः II By sūtra II. 1. 31, दन, अयः and कलंकalways take the Instrumental case, so we could have omitted the word तृतीयायाः, from this sūtra, for by the maxim of pratipadokta &c, उपायविधिः would have referred to the compound ordained by II. 1. 31. The mention of तृतीयाः here is only for the sake of clearness.
154. The word निष्क्र 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 देवनिष्क्र, तिलानिष्क्र, तिश्विष्क्र: Why do we say निष्क्र? Observe देवनिष्क्र: Why do we say ‘not having a Preposition’? Observe देवनिष्क्र: The employment in this sūtra of the phrase ‘anupasargam’ implies, that wherever else, the word misra is used, it includes misra with a preposition also. Therefore in II. 1. 31 where the word निष्क्र is used, we can form the Instrumental compounds with निष्क्र preceded by a preposition also. Why do we say ‘not denoting a compact’? Observe राजानिष्क्रो राजा = राजानि: यह संहित ऐकाधिमारस्तिय: The word संहित 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 निष्क्र 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 राजानिष्क्रो राजा: While in the examples देवनिष्क्र: &c there is no possibility of separating the two.

नसो युक्त्विष्क्रे संयादहिततालस्तालित: II १५५ II पदानि II नम्, गुणः, प्रतिष्क्रे, संपादि, अहः, हित, अर्थम्, अर्थ:; तानित: II दृष्टिः II संपादि अहः हित अर्थम्: वेत्तियथे व तानीतास्तत्स्तायुत्तिपणि नाम हुण्यमितिपेषे व तानानात्लः तिः वर्णित: II

155. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes denoting ‘fitted for that’ (V. 1. 99), ‘deserving that’ (V. 1. 63), ‘good for that’ (V. 1. 5), ‘capable to effect that’ (V. 1. 101), have acute on the final, when preceded by the Negative Particle नृ, when it makes a negation with regard to the above mentioned attributes.

Thus संपादि ‘suited for that’ (V. 1. 99):—भकार्यप्रदत्तिकस्तु सुखम् = न कामे वेद- किर्तिः (कर्ज ब्रह्मद्याय जयावधि)॥ The affix is दम्: अहः ‘deserving that’ (V. 1. 63):—
संहिताकस्तु: = न ट्रिवि कः (केश्वमिति). The affix is दम् (V. 1. 64 and V. 1. 19): हित ‘good for that’ (V. 1. 5):—अर्थम्: = न वस्ति न: II The affix is दम् व. I. 1: अर्थम् ‘capable to effect that’ (V. 1. 101):—अर्थमितिकस्तु: = न संहिता: II The affix is दम् (V. 1. 18) Why do we say ‘after नृ’? Observe गर्भगतिकस्तु = गर्भगतिकस्तु, विगर्भगतिकस्तु, 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 गर्भगतिकस्तु: = गर्भगतिकस्तु: The word गुण here means the attribute denoted by the Taddhita affix, and not any attribute in general. Thus भकार्यप्रदत्तिकस्तु: सुखम्—
Why do we say 'in the sense of sampādi &c'? Observe पाणिनिशिवंतिः = पाणिनिः; न पाणिनिः = अपाणिनिः. Why do we say "Taddhita affixes"? Observe कृत्यां सांवतिष्ठित = कृत्यानेव, न बल्कुलः = बलवेदः. Here a krit affix is added in the sense of 'deserving' (III. 3. 169).

156. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes य and यत when not denoting 'useful for that', have acute on the last syllable, after the particle नम, negating the attribute.

Thus धारानां सत्यं = पाद्यं, न पाद्यं = बपाद्याः, So also अन्वयवः (IV. 2. 49). द्वितीयत् भवं = द्वित्तिम्, न द्वित्तियः = अद्वित्तिम्, अद्वित्तिष्ठ (V. 1. 6). Why do we say 'atadārthā:- not useful for that'. Observe पाद्याणुदकः = पाद्यम्, न पाद्यम् = बपाद्यम् (V. 4. 25).

This rule does not apply when the affixes are not Taddhita, as अन्वयम formed with the krit affix यत. There must be negation of the attribute, otherwise नयानवयत् = नयानवयम्. The affix य and यत, one without any anubandha and the other with the anubandha र being specifically mentioned, excludes all other affixes having य as their effective element, such as उष &c. (IV. 2. 9), thus न काल्यवष्यं = न काल्यवष्यम्. See IV. 2. 9.

अन्वयमयमशालकों 157 II पदानि || अच्छ, कौ, न शाक्तः ||

157. A word formed with the krit affix अच्छ and कौ, preceded by the particle नम, has acute on the final, when the meaning is 'not capable'.

Thus अपवेश्यं = य पेश्यं न शाक्तति, so also अशामितः, अपशिष्यं, असविनिष्यं (III. 1. 134 &c). Why do we say when meaning 'not capable'? Observe अपवेश्यंशालितः, अच्छं परत्रिज्ञकः. A शालित and a परत्रिज्ञ 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.

आफ्रोशे च 158 II पदानि || आफ्रोशे, च ||

158. A word formed by the krit-affixes अच्छ or कौ, preceded by the Negative particle, has acute on the final when one abuses somebody by that word.

Thus अन्वयमयं जालम्: '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 अपवेश्यं जालम्, so also अवशिष्यम्, अविनिष्यम्.

संभायम् 159 II पदानि || संभायम् (अच्छ दाताम्) ||

159. संभायम is the form of the Taddhita affix अच्छ with the Negative particle, having अच्छ परंतरं संभायम् वचनमानमयताः भवति ||
159. When abuse is meant, a word preceded by नम, has acute on the final, in denoting a Name.

Thus भ्रणस्वरः: 'No Devadatta, not deserving of this name' भ्रणस्वरः, अनिध्वस्तम:॥

क्षतोऽक्षुचार्यिनि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ शन्यः उकः, इश्युचः, वार्तवः, च ॥

वृत्तः ॥ क्रमं एकं इश्युचं हस्तवलमन्त्रान्वयस्व नम जन्तुस्तऽनिमात् भवति ॥

160. After the Negative particle, the words formed by the क्रिया affixes (III. 1. 95), by उकः, and इश्युचः, and the words शन्यः &c. have acute on the final.

Thus क्रिया:—असक्तस्यमः, अक्शरिग्यमः, उकः—अभागायुक्तमः, अभागपलयुक्तमः ॥ इश्युचः—
अनलंकारितमः, अनिराकारितमः ॥ The affix इश्युचः includes क्षण्युचः also: अनाध्येभवरितमः, शन्यः—
अभागायुक्तमः ॥ शन्य शन्य &c.—अभागायुक्तमः, अभागायुक्तमः, अभागायुक्तमः, अभागायुक्तमः (double negation).
अनलंकारितमः (double negation), The words वज्ञातम, विध्यातम, वैवक्तम, वैप्रमाण्यम, वैप्रमाण्यम, वैप्रमाण्यम, and वैप्रमाण्यम preceded by अ (नमः) when denoting names have acute on the final. अनिध्वस्तमः, अनिध्वस्तमः, and अनिध्वस्तमः (विक्रमः and सद्धः taken jointly & separately). अनिध्वस्तमः, अनिध्वस्तमः: भर्तराजः and भर्तराजः in the Vedas only. In the Vernacular they have the accent of नमः, i.e. udātta on the first.

1 बनाः, २ सापः, ३ वैधिकः (वैधिकः) ४ अनन्मेतरः, ५ विध्यातम ६ अनलमः, ७ विध्यातमयमां—
भानमांचित्रमाणांचित्रमाणांचित्रमाणांचित्रमाणां (कियामाः कियामाः) संज्ञायः, ८ विध्यातमयमां व्यवस्थे
समस्ते (भविकारः, अन्वविकारसत्रुः), ९ सुम्बहि, १० सuja, ११ रजजीदे-स्त्रिलोकः.

विभाजन तुष्टस्तीलक्षुचितमः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाजन, तुष्ट, अन्तः, तीक्षः,
शुचिः, (अन्तोवावः) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ तुष्टतः भर्तराजः वाच्यमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमुक्तमु
Thus हुई प्रयगम गमन भोजन या इत्यादि: ‘this is the first time of going or eating’. हुई हितिकोः, हुई सुतीकोः, एतवद्भिः, एतवद्भिः, एतवद्भिः: समवत्तयाः, सधिकत्वयाः: तत्र चूतार्ये: II Why do we say ‘in a Bahuvarhi?’ Observe अनेन मधया: इत्यादिस। II Here the first member being in the third case retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say “after idam &c”. Observe यथपदम: = मधया एवाः, here the first term retains its accent by VI. 2. 1. Why do we say ‘of prathama and the Ordinals? Observe तान्तर बहुत्स्वय: = तद्द्रुतः: II Why do we say ‘in counting an action’? Observe अथे मधया एवाः: तद्द्रुतः मधया: II Here substances are counted and not action. Why do we say ‘in counting’? Observe अथे मधया एवाः: मधया: i. e. इत्यादि: II and the word मधया means here ‘foremost’, and is not a numeral. When the क्षण affix is added, the acute falls on the last syllable preceding क्षण: II As इत्यादि: प्रदेयम: II The Bahuvarhi governs the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 2. 178.

संक्षयाया: स्तन: II १६३॥ पदार्थिः॥ संक्षयाया:॥ स्तन:॥ शृण्टि:॥ संक्षयाया: पर: स्तनशब्दोऽवहुत्रीहि समालेकाहाती भवति॥

163. In a Bahuvarhi, after a Numeral, the word स्तन has acute on the final.

Thus हितानि, मित्रानि, चतुरस्तानि: II Why do we say after a Numeral? Observe हितान्यस्ताना: II Why do we say ‘स्तन’? Observe हितानि: II

विभाया छट्टसिद्धि: १६४॥ पदार्थिः॥ विभाया, छण्डसिद्धि: (अन्तोदास्ततः:)॥ शृण्टि:॥ चतुरस्तानि विप्रेष्य बहुत्रीहि समालेकाहाती संक्षयाया: पर: स्तनशब्दोऽवहुत्रीहि समालेकाहाती भवति॥

164. Optionally so, in the Vedas, the stana after a Numeral has acute on the final.

Thus हितानि or हितानि, चतुरस्तानि or चतुरस्तानि॥

संक्षयाया मित्रार्जितायोः: १६५॥ पदार्थिः॥ संक्षयाया: भ्रत्र, अभिज्ञायो: (अन्तुद- ब्राह्मण: )॥

शृण्टि:॥ संक्षयाया विप्रेष्य बहुत्रीहि समालेकाहिः मित्र भ्रजिताहि हेयत्वोपस्तपक्योर्तत उपहासो भवति॥ ब्राह्मणस्य॥ हितान्यस्तानि शृण्टि॥

165. In a Bahuvarhi, ending in भ्रत्र and अभिज्ञ, the acute falls on the last syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

As वेदान्तिः, प्राणिः, पुराणिः, कूटाणिः: कृताविनः॥ Why do we say ‘a Name’? Observe धिबानिः, महाबिनः॥

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of भ्रत्र when the name is that of a Rishi. As विभायिः: which is governed by VI. 2. 106 II

व्यवस्थेयो भ्रत्रम: १६६॥ पदार्थिः॥ व्यवस्थिः, अन्तरम: (अन्तोदास्ततः: )॥

शृण्टि:॥ व्यवस्थी व्यवस्थाता:। भ्रजिताः॥ परन्तरं बहुत्रीहि समालेकाहाती भवति॥

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166. In a Bahuvrihi ending in अन्तर, the acute falls on the final, after a word which denotes 'that which lies between'.

Thus श्रवणरोप ‘through an intervened cloth or drapery’, प्रायः रोप, कशवल-रोप=श्रवणरोप यवथायस्य शब्द तथा ... Why do we say 'when meaning lying between'? Observe आलापनस्य श्रवणरोप: आलाप समावेशस्याद्वायुः।

मुखः स्वाध्यः || १६७ || पदानि || मुखः, स्वाध्यः, (अन्तराद्यानम्) ||

पृष्ठ: || इत्युतरते स्वाध्याये बहुधीहि: समाते अन्तराद्यानम भवति ||

167. In a Bahuvrihi 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 मालकः, मनुष्यः। Why do we say 'an actual part of a body'? Observe होमस्थः शान्तः। Here हुः means "entrance or door". The word स्वाध्य means "a non liquid substance actually to be found in living beings तथा". as explained in III. 4. 54.

नामयादिकःकशङ्कारोमहस्यस्यमुद्धिपूवत्तेयः || १६८ || पदानि || न, अवयः, दिक्षायः, गो, महतः, स्थूलः, मुद्धिः, पृष्ठः, वस्त्रेभ्यः ||

पृष्ठः || अवयः दिक्षः गो महतः स्थूलः छोटे पृष्ठ पदानि: इत्येऽपि: परं हुः स्वाध्याये बहुधीहि समाते नामयादिकः सदास्यतः भवति ||

168. In a Bahuvrihi, the acute does not fall on such मुख denoting a real mouth, when it comes after an Indeclivable, and a name of a direction, or after गो, महतः, स्थूलः, मुद्धिः, पृष्ठः and वस्त्रः.

Thus: अवयः—उपमानः, नीचेहः:। The words उपमः and नीचेहः are finally acute and retain their accent. विखः—मार्गः; पश्चः इत्येऽपि:। The word मालकः has acute on the first by VI. 2, 52, and पश्चः is finally acute by VI. 3. 130. गो &c.—गोः, मनुष्यः, स्वाध्यः: || पृष्ठः: इत्यादिपः इत्यादिपः:। In these the first members of the Bahuvrihi preserve their respective accents under Rule VI. 2. 1 and in the case of compounds preceded by गो, हुः and वस्त्र, the optional rule taught in the next sūtra is also superseded by anticipation, though the words may denote comparison.

निद्रस्मानानान्तरस्याम् || १६९ || पदानि || निद्रा, उपमानः, अपूर्वतस्याम् ||

पृष्ठः || निद्रानानानादिकः इत्यादिपः हुः स्वाध्याये बहुधीहि: समानानानादिकः सदास्यतः भवति ||

169. In a Bahuvrihi, the word मुख denoting 'an actual mouth', has optionally the acute on the final, when preceded by a participle in न, or by that wherewith something is compared.
Thus प्रकृति: or प्रकृतिः or प्रकृतिः:। 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:—

- सिंहः or सिंहः; व्याप्तः or व्याप्तः।

- जातिकालिकसुविद्याय अनान्याद्रादस्तत भूल्मविशिष्टाय श्रद्धातिरीतिपास्य।। 977। द्राधिना।

- जातिकालः सुविद्या: अनान्याद्रादस्तत: कः अन्तरात्मतिरीतिपास्य।।

- युनिव: जातिविवेचन भाषाशास्त्रविचारात् कालविवेचन: सुविद्या: परं कानं अन्तरात्मतिरीतिपास्यां जातिकालिकसुविद्याय समान्तानि भूल्मविशिष्टाय युनिव:।।

- 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 कः has acute on the final, in a Bahuśrīhi, but not so when the participles are कः, मिति and प्रतिपन्न।।

- Thus सार्दुःस्य: पद्यातुस्तवीति: सुखपीति:। कः: नासार्दुः: सरसरादस्तत: व्याप्तः। युनिव:। सुख: &c: सुखार्दस्त: कः: सुखार्दस्त:। Why do we say “after a Species, a time or सुख &c. word”? Observe पुष्पातः (II. 2. 37), the participle being placed after the word Putra. Why do we say ‘when not meaning a garment’? Observe सरसरादस्तः सरसरादस्तः: from the root वस with the affixes युनिव and सुख respectively. Why do we say “when not कः &c.”? Observe कः त्र्यः: कः त्र्यः। कः 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 sutra 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. I. 18.

- 1 सुख: 2 दुः: 3 त्र्यः द्वितौ: 4 कः: 5 अतः 6 भावः 7 अत्ये: 8 प्रदीपः 9 कः: 10 कः 11 सोदः 12 माहः।

- चाजाति।। 971। पदाति।। चा, जाति:। (अत्तौदाता:)।।

- युनिव:। जातिकालिकसुविद्याय चाजाति। चाजाति:। जातिकालिकसुविद्याय।।

- 171. After a species (with the exception of garment) or a time denoting word, or after सुख &c. in a Bahuśrīhi, the word जाति has optionally acute on the final.

Thus इत्यादिः: इत्यादिः सरसरादस्तः: सरसरादस्तः: मासार्दुः: मासार्दुः: सरसरादस्तः। The words इत्यादिः and सरसरादस्तः are first-acute by Phit II. 6; भाव is first-acute by Phit II. 15. सरसरादस्तः is finally-acute by Phit I. 7. बहिकोऽस्तिः स्यादांस्यानस्य वदन्तायम् “words ending in वहिं, वस्तः, ति, शतः and य are finally acute”, as वहिं: सरसरादस्तः: सरसरादस्तः। वहिं: सृद्धः। The words सुखः and दुः are end-acute by Phit I. 6.
172. A Bahuvrīhi formed by the Negative particle न or by च has acute on the last syllable of the compound.

Thus अभये, युक्ते, अवलोक्ये, अन्याये, उल्लेखे, श्रीकृष्णे, श्रीकृष्णे: इ. 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 samāṅanta affixes. Thus अनुच: (formed by the samāṅanta 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 न or च gets the acute, then there would have been no necessity of the next sūtra, for the present would have covered the case of हृदयानाय &c because कप is not a part of the second term (उत्तरपद) कपार but of the compound (Samasa) हृदयार; and therefore, if we translated the present sūtra, by saying that the end of second term gets acute, the accent would have fallen on हृ in हृदयार: even by this sūtra. But this is not intended, because of the accent of the samāṅanta words अनुच: and चूँच: इ. There is necessity of the next sūtra, because a samāsa includes not only the simple samāsa, but one ending with a samāṅanta affix. Therefore, had not the next sūtra been made, the accent would have fallen on क and not on हृ, for the affix कच is considered part of the samasa and not of the uttarapada समासाण: समासायिकावर्ण नेतरपर्म ||

कपि पूर्वम् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदार्थिणि कपि, पूर्वम् ॥

हृतिः: इ. नमस्त्राणां कपि परस: पूर्वानन्तराच भवति इ.

173. A Bahuvrīhi formed by न or च and ending in the affix कप (V. 4. 153) has acute on the syllable preceding the affix.

By the last sūtra the accent would have fallen on कप, this makes it fall on the vowel preceding it. Thus अकुमारी कारेसि, अयुत्तले, अभावग्रीसि, हृदयारे, हृदयारे, हृदयारे: इ. हस्तान्ते अन्त्यापूर्वम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदार्थिणि हस्तान्ते, अन्त्यात, पूर्वम्, (उत्तरपद):

हृतिः: इ. इत्यादि दृष्टे तत्र वर्ण इत्याधाराच समासो वा, तत्त्रान्त्याविद्यार्थ स्वात: कपि पति नष्ट: भव: च चार्यानाहि समांति इ.

174. When the compound ends in a light vowel, the acute falls on the syllable before such last, in a Bahuvrīhi preceded by न or च to which कप is added.

Thus श्रेयसाः, अन्त्याये, अन्त्याये, उल्लेखे, उल्लेखे, उल्लेखे: इ. 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, ख् and क or कृ). Therefore, in भूतक and भूतक, the acute is on the syllable preceding कृ by VI. 2. 173, because it has here no antyāt-purvam.

175. A Bahuvrihi with भू, has the same accent as भू, when it denotes muchness of the object expressed by the second member.

In other words a Bahuvrīhi with the word भू in the first member, is governed by all those rules which apply to a Bahuvrihi with a Negative Particle such as Rules VI. 2, 172 &c. when this gives the sense of multiety of the objects denoted by the second member. Thus भूत्वर्त्तव्येऽपि, भूत्तैहि; भू­­त्तिनः the same as VI. 2. 172. भूतववकः, भूत्तैहि, भूतण्यकः by VI. 2. 174. भूतजः, भूमारः, भूमारः, भूत: by VI. 2. 116: these examples of VI. 2. 116 are not given by Dr. Bohdingk.

Why do we say ‘uttara-pada-bhumī—when multicity of the objects denoted by the second member is meant’? Observe भू मनोद्वस्य = भूमना भवस् (VI. 2. 1).

न गुणाद्वयो भवया: || राॅ ॥ पद्यनि || न, गुणाद्वयः, अवयः: (अन्तोद्वताः):
ब्रुति: || गुणाद्वयो भवयावस्याशेसेहोऽभुवहोऽन्तोद्वताः भवति ||

176. In a Bahuvrīhi, after भू, the acute does not fall on the final of गुण &c. when they appear in the compound as ingredient of something else.

Thus भूगुणः: रहुः, भूत्वर्त्तव्येऽपि, भूत्तैहि, भूतण्यकः, भूत्तववकः: (VI. 2. 1). गुणिः is an Akṛti-gana. Why do we say “when it denotes an avayava or ingredient”? As भूगुणः: अव्ययमुङ्गूर्तस्याद्वर्धोऽव्ययम्: ||
1 गुण, 2 अध्यय, 3 अव्यय, 4 सुकृत, 5 छन्दोमान, आशोकगण.

उपस्तवां स्वाङ्कं भूवम् || राॅ ॥ पद्यनि || उपस्तवान्त, स्वाङ्कम्, भूच, अप्य, (अन्तोद्वताः) ||
ब्रुति: || उपस्तवांत स्वाङ्कं भूचं पर्यवाधितर्तमलोकवस्तु माति भूत्तैहि समासे ||

177. A word denoting a part of the body, which is constant (and indispensable), with the exception of पर्व, has, after a Preposition in a Bahuvrihi compound, the acute on the last syllable.
Thus प्रत्य, चेतन, प्रवृत्त, सततं वस्त्र प्रगतं पूंछः भवति च प्रत्यः। Why do we say ‘after a Preposition’? Observe वर्णालोकः। Why do we say ‘part of the body’? Observe प्रयोगः। Why do we say ‘dhrusa—constant and indispensable’? Observe उद्धारः। कौशल्यः। Here the hand is raised up only at the time of cursing and not always, so the state of उद्धारः is temporary and not permanent. Why do we say with the exception of १५५? Observe ऋतुलयः, विषयः। (VI.2.1).

चानं समासे। १७५॥ पदानि। वनम्, समासे, (अन्त्योदात्तमः)॥
बहुः॥ समासातः वनामकेशुतुष्टवदशस्यवर्गात्मकस्थापने भवति॥

178. After a preposition, वन has acute on the final in compounds of every kind.

Thus प्रत्रणं कद्रयम्, निविष्णु मनिष्यातः, the न changed to ं by VIII. 4. 5. The word ‘समासा’ is used in the sūtra to indicate that all sorts of compounds are meant, otherwise only Bahuvrihi would have been meant.

अन्तः॥ १७६॥ पदानि॥ अन्तः॥
बहुः॥ अन्तदशाब्दादुतः वनमन्तरात्मकं भवति॥

179. After अन्तः the acute falls on the final of वन॥

Thus अन्तदशां हेशः॥ This sūtra is made in order to make वन oxytoned, when a preposition (upasarga) does not precede.

अन्तः॥ १८०॥ पदानि॥ अन्तः, व॥
बहुः॥ अन्तदशाब्दादुतः पदश्च रात्रित्वंस्मात्मकेन स्वतः॥

180. The word अन्तः has acute on the final when preceded by a Preposition.

Thus प्रत्यः, प्रवृत्तः॥ This is a Bahuvrihi or a प्रवृत्तः compound.

न निविष्णुम्॥ १८२॥ पदानि॥ न, नित, विश्ववाम्, (अन्त्योदातः)॥
बहुः॥ न नित विष्णुम् भक्तवर्गात्मकः नाममहानी भवति॥

181. The word antar has not acute on the final, after the prepositions नि and नी॥

Thus नेनः, नेनः, here the first member retains its acute, and semivowel is then substituted for the vowel न, then the subsequent grave is changed to svarita by VIII. 2. 4.

परंतुमतोभवति तपः॥ १८२॥ पदानि॥ परे, अभिध-भवि, तपः॥
बहुः॥ परंतु मतोभवति तपः॥ तपः चालूपाढ़ा 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 परिवृत्तम, परिवृत्तम, परिमण्डलम॥ This is a Bahuvrihi or परिवृत्तम 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. भावित्वः = उदयतः ‘on both sides, भावित्वार्थस्यस्यतिः = भावित्वार्थस्य ‘that which has both sides: namely those things which have naturally two sides such as ‘banks’, ‘hores’ &c.

183. After म्र a word, which does not denote a part of body, has acute on the final, when the compound is a name.

Thus ग्रेकोट्यम्, ग्रेमुग्न, ग्रेमार्। Why do we say ‘not denoting a body part’? Observe देशस्य, देशहः। Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe प्रेमस्यः।

निर्दुक्कादिनि च || 184 || पदार्थि || निर्दुक्कादिनि, च, (अन्तोदातामः) च

Thus निर्दुक्कादिनि || निर्दुक्कादिनि च ||

1 निर्दुक्क, 2 निर्दुपत निर्दुपः 3 निर्मितिकान्त 4 निर्मितिकान्त 5 निर्मितिकान्त 6 निर्मितिकान्त 7 निर्मितिकान्त 8 निर्मितिकान्त 9 निर्मितिकान्त 10 निर्मितिकान्त 11 निर्मितिकान्त 12 निर्मितिकान्त 13 निर्मितिकान्त 14 परिश्रमपादवेशणः

These may be considered either as भावित्वम् or भावित्वम्. If they be considered as avyayi bhāva compounds then they are end acute already by VI. I. 223. The word निर्दुक्कादिनि = निर्दुक्कादिनि कालकानि, is a प्राविक-समासा with the word काल ending in the affix काल।

The word देशस्यः is thus formed: to the root देश is added the affix यो and we have देश (U. III. 158); देशस्यः || निर्दुक्कादिनि च। The word निर्दुक्कादिनि is formed by adding the affix काल to the भावित्वम्. The words हस्तः, हस्तः कथान कथान have acute on the final after पार्व, अर्थात्, अर्थात्, अर्थात्, अर्थात्, अर्थात्, and अर्थात्.

अभेदार्थग्राम || 185 || पदार्थि || अभेदार्थग्राम, (अन्तोदातामः) च

Thus अभेदार्थग्राम च has acute on the final when preceded by अभेदार्थग्राम.

As, भावित्वम् || It is a Bahuvihi or a प्राविक 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 भावित्वम् would have oxytone after an upasarga, the present śūtra makes the additional declaration that भावित्वम् is oxytone even when the compound is not a Bahuvihi, 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 भावित्वम् शाला।

अभेदार्थ || 186 || पदार्थि || अभेदार्थ, च, (अन्तोदातामः) च

Thus अभेदार्थ च has acute on the final.
186. The word गुल has acute on the final, after the preposition अथ

Thus भास्म, अपस्त्रः इ. The compound is in one case Avyayibhava also, when rule VI. 2. 33 will be superseded. The separation of this from the last sūtra, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism, in which the anuvṛtti of अथ only goes.

सिंहपुत्रीमाणिकृतिसिरनाम नाम च १८७ I पदार्थं I सिंह, पूत, वीण, अख, उच्चम कुक्ष, सीर नाम, नाम, च,

ूसिः I सिंह पूत वीणा अखजु उच्चम कुक्ष इत्यादि उपर्युक्तार्थार्थ वीणासिरनाम नामावलिकयादिराज्यादृश्यादि-प्रत्ययादि मवति ।

187. The words सिंह, पूत, वीण, अख, उच्चम, कुक्ष, नामाद् and a word denoting ‘a plough’, have acute on the final when preceded by अथ

Thus भास्मात्, अपस्त्राच्छ, अपस्त्रान्त्याच्छ, भास्मात्, अपस्त्राच्छ (This ordains acute on the final where the compound apādhwā does not take the samsānta affix अष्ट by V. 4. 85, when it takes that affix, the acute will also fall on the final because अष्ट is a विनु affix.) This further shows that the samsānta affixes are not compulsory. (अन्तिम समासात्), अपस्त्राच्छ, अपस्त्राच्छ, अपस्त्राच्छ, अपस्त्राच्छ, अपस्त्राच्छ ॥ These are प्रार्थ compounds or Bahurvihi or Avyayibhavas. Some of these viz. सिंह, पूत and कुक्ष will be end-acute by VI. 2. 177, also when they denote parts of body and a permanent condition and the compound is a Bahurvihi. Here the compound must not be a Bahurvihi, nor should these words denote parts of body and permanent condition of these parts.

अधिकपरिस्थितम् ॥ १८८ ॥ पदार्थं I अथ, उपरिस्थितम्, (अन्तोद्धातम्) ॥

ूसिः I अपिवयापुरिपरिस्थितिम् अन्तोद्धातम् मवति ।

188. After अथ, that word, which denotes that thing which overlaps or stands upon, has acute on the final.

Thus भाच्छात् इत्यादि बोधिलोकोदन्त्यात् जाते 'a tooth that grows over another tooth'. भाच्छात्, भाच्छात् ॥ These are प्रार्थ samāsa or an appositional compound in which the second member has been dropped. Why do we say when meaning 'standing upon'? Observe भाच्छात्. Here the acute is on the krit-formed second member retaining its accent (VI. 2. 139).

अन्तोद्धातमकानियसि ॥ १८९ ॥ पदार्थं I अनो, अष्टम, कानियसि,

(अन्तोद्धातम्) वृसिः I अनोतरस्यात्मानवाच्छ कानियसिंहाद्वैतसं मवति ।

189. After अथ, a word which is not the Principal, as well as कानियसि has acute on the final.

The word अथ means a word which stands in a dependant relation in a compound. Thus अनुत्रोधसा स्वेष्यम् = अनुत्रोधसा, अनुस्वयम् ॥ These are प्रार्थ samāsa
In which the first member is the principal or Pradhana. अयुगतः कर्त्तिवादेः = अयुगक-भौगोलम्, here the second member is the Principal: the word कर्त्तिवाद is taken as मात्र. Had it been non-pradhana, it would be covered by the first portion of the सूत्र, and there would have been no necessity of its separate enumeration. Why do we say "अयुगम्"? Observe अयुगतः क्रेष्णः = अयुगक्षेत्र, where क्रेष्ण is the Principal.

पूर्वाधानवादिष्टः || १९.० || पदार्थः || पूर्वः, च, अन्वादिष्टः ||
बृः: || पूर्वः चाक्ष्यः न्यायवादार्थं प्रार्थतिर्यते भवति.

190. After अयुग, the acute falls on the final of पूर्व, when it means a man of whom mention was already made.

The word अन्वादिष्ट means ‘of a secondary importance, inferior’, or ‘mentioned again after having already been mentioned’. Thus अन्वादिष्टः पूर्वः = अयुगक्षेत्रः; but अयुगतः पूर्वः = अयुगक्षेत्रः.

अतेरूढऩ्यः || १९.१ || पदार्थः || अते, अक्षुऩ्यः
बृः: || अते, अतेतः पश्चातः प्रार्थतिर्यते भवति.

पासिकम् || अशिक्षान्तः परस्परिकारणात्मक अन्तऩ्यः.

191. After अयुग, a word not formed by a krit-affix, and the word पदः, have acute on the last syllable.

Thus अयुगक्षेत्रः शास्त्रः न्यायः अयुगक्षेत्रः अन्तऩ्यः. Why do we say ‘non-krit-word and पदः’? Observe अन्तिकारणः.

Vart.:—The rule is restricted to those compounds in which a root has been elided. That is, when in analysing the compound a verb like कष्ठः is to be employed to complete the sense. Therefore it does not apply to शोभनी मायः = अयुगक्षेत्रः. But it would apply to अन्तिकारणः, which when analysed becomes equal to अयुगक्षेत्रः कष्ठः.

नेत्रिकारणः || १९.२ || पदार्थः || नेत्र: अन्तिकारणे, (अन्तित्वादारम्) ||
बृः: || नेत्रः परमसत्तास्मातः मात्रति.

192. After अयुग, the second member has the acute on the last syllable, when the sense is of ‘not laying down’.

The word निधानः = अयुगक्षेत्रः ‘not making manifest’. Thus निमलः, निकः, नित्यः, नित्यः. These are either Bahuvrhi or prādīsamāsa. In the case of their being Avyayābhāva, they would have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223. Why do we say when meaning ‘not laying down’? Observe निधानः = निधित्वादकः as निधित्वः; निधित्वः = निधित्वादकः; निधित्वः = निधित्वादकः. The force of अयुग is that of निधान here.

प्रतेषाद्वादस्तुपूर्षः || १९.३ || पदार्थः || प्रते, अयुगक्षेत्रः, तत्पूर्षः, (अन्तित्वादारम्) ||
बृः: || प्रतेन्त्राद्वादस्तुपूर्षः समस्ततिर्यते मात्रति.

193. In a Tatpurusha compound, the words संधु एव have acute on the final when preceded by प्रति.
Thus प्रतिकृष्ठ्य, प्रतिनिधिः, प्रतिराम्यः. In the case of राजन this rule applies when the SamAsanta affix तुष्य is not added, when that affix is added, the acute will also be on the final by virtue of तुष्य which is a सिन्य affix.

1 अंध्य, 2 जन, 3 राजन, 4 रुष्य, 5 खेतक ( खेतक ), 6 भार्ज, 7 भार्य, 8 भार्य, 9 भार्फ्य, 10 भार्ष, 11 पुर ( भार्ष हन्न्य हर्षुर् )

The word अंध्य is formed by the affix कु under the general class मुग्: ( Uṇ I. 37 ), राजन is formed by the affix कान्तिः ( Uṇ I. 156 ), तुष्य by adding तुष्य to तुष्य ‘to burn’. ( Uṇ IV. 162 ), खेतु+मुद्य=खेतक ; भार्ज is formed by भिरस ( Uṇ I. 53 ) अ+भार्ज ( III. 3. 106 ), with the augment अ+तुष्य=तुष्य, तुष्य+तिकत=तुष्यका ( Uṇ III. 147 ) तुष्य+भार्ज ( III. 1. 134)=भार्ज ; पुर+तुष्य=तुष्य

Why do we say ‘in the Tatpurusha’? Observe प्रतिगता भंकोऽस्या=प्रति-शरमिाः

उपादृः खर्जनलिनम्बौरः=ः ( अन्तवरायम् )

बृक्तः: उपादृतः खर्जनलिनम् पालासः भवति तत्पुले समाते गौतर्मीन्जन्यिताः

194. In a Tatpurusha, the words of two syllables and अन्तिम have acute on the final when preceded by उप, but not when they are गौर and the rest.

Thus उपगतो हवः=उपवेरः, उपवेरः, उपसोऽः, उपसोऽः, उपामिनः. But not so in उपगारः, उपामपः &c.

1 गौर, 2 नेप ( नेप ) 3 वेल, 4 लेट, 5 लोट, 6 दिल्ल, 7 कुण्ड्र ( कुण्ड्र ) 8 कन्या, 9 कुण्ड्र ( कुण्ड्र )

10 कुल्र, 11 पट

Why “in a Tatpurusha”? Observe उपगतः नोऽस्या=उपसोऽः

सौरदत्तः=ः ( अवस्यवः)

बृक्तः: दशयतहरूयास्य तत्पुले समाते गौतर्मीन्जन्यिताः भवति अवस्यवः गौतर्मी

195. After तुष्य, the second member has acute on the final in a Tatpurusha compound, when reproach is meant, in spite of the addition of तुष्य which denotes praise.

Thus हवः खर्जनलिनम्, हुर्स्यत्येति तुष्यतंत्राः हुर्स्यत्येतिः. The word हवः here verily denotes praise, but it is the sense of the whole sentence that indicates reproach or censure. Why do we say “after हवः”? Observe हुर्स्यतः: Why ‘when reproach is meant’? Observe होभमेश हुर्स्य=हुर्स्यः

विमाणोऽनुभुतः=ः १९६ ॥ पदानि विमाण, उत्पुछः, ( अन्तवदासः )

बृक्तः: दशयतहरूयास्य विमाण उत्पुछः भवति

196. In a Tatpurusha, the word उत्पुछः may optionally have acute on the final.
Thus रस्कान्: पुंसात् = हर्षुचितः or द्रुतुचितः: (VI. 2. 2)। When this word is derived by the affix ज्ञु from पुंसात् = हर्षुचितः, then it would always have taken acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, the present सूत्र ordains option there also. The rule does not apply to a non-Tatpurusha: as, द्रश्यं पुण्यं = हर्षुचितः।

ब्रिहिष्ममां पादर्युचितः सु, बहुतीहैः ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रः, बिष्याम्, पाद, द्रः, 
मुः सु, बहुतीहैः।

बृत्तं:। द्रः ब्रिहिष्माय द्रचरेशु पादद्रः द्रुध्वैः इत्येकूर्दशः सुष्टिः विभाषा नल उवाचो 
भवति।।

197. In a Bahuvrihi, the words पादः, द्रः and सुअः have optionally acute on the final after द्रः and मुः।

Thus श्रो पादद्रस्त = श्रीवः or श्रिवः, बिवः or बिवः, द्रिवः, or द्र्वः, विवः or 
विवः, द्रिवः or द्र्वः।। The word पादः is पाद with its म अ elided, (V. 4. 140) द्रः is 
the substitute of द्रः (V. 4. 141) and मुः retains its म 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 कार्थि is here 
the Bahuvrihi compound, and this is only a part of it. Thus द्रिवः, द्रिवः।। 
Why after द्रः and मुः? Observe कार्थि (V. 4. 194) here the first member is middle acute 
by Phit II. 19 and this accent is retained VI. 2. 144. Why ‘पादः &c’? Observe 
बिष्याम्, बिष्याम।। Why ‘Bahuvrihi’? Observe क्यामध्यः=क्यामध्यः।।

सकूः चाहावानात् ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सकृतः, च, अ अन्तात्, (अन्तोदासः)। 
(विभाषा)।।

बृत्तं:। सकृतमिति कलसमासानं: सकृतमिति चक्कालाये विप्राचारः चक्कालाये भवति।।

198. The word सकूः has acute on the final optionally, when preceded by any word other than what ends 
in क।

The word सकूः is the samāsanta form of सकृतः (V. 4. 113.). Thus गोर्तकृणः: or गोर्तस्तकृणः, 
क्षीरसकृणः: or श्लोकसकृणः। The word गोर्त being formed by प्रक्षेपित्य ज्ञु 
and शेषेन by कलसमासानं (U III. 10) are both end-acute. Why ‘not after 
a word ending in क’? Observe शक्तसकृणः which is always oxytone as it is formed 
by प्रक्षेपित्य (V. 4. 113) a द्रा affix.

पराविश्वकर्तिसु भुद्वम् ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पराविश्वकर्तिसु, भुद्वम्।।

बृत्तं:। भुद्वमिति विष्येच पराविश्वकर्तिसु भवति भुद्वम्।।

Karika—पराविश्वकर्तिसु पुराविश्वकर्तिसु द्रद्वम्।।

पूवार्तव्र द्रद्वम् ब्राह्मणो वहुले तत्।।

वार्तिकम्।। अन्तोदासानि चिन्तकारीधारीणानं पुस्तसंसाभायम्॥

वा।। पूवार्तव्रायामपनकारायेआपमः भुद्वमसंसाभायम्॥

वारं।। पूवार्तव्रायामपनकारायेव Indians भुद्वमसंसाभायम्॥
199. The first syllable of the second member is diversely acute, in the Veda.

The word पर् “the second member” refers to स्त्रेय, as well as to any other word in general. Thus जनविनयः, त्रिचित् च चित्रादि न्यायिति. In the non-Vedic literate 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 वार्तिका—In the Veda, चिन्तक &c have acute on the final of the second term. As चिन्तकः, चिन्तकः, चिन्तकः, चिन्तकः, चिन्तकः, चिन्तकः; निष्कृत्यास्याः.

As to where the final of the preceding takes the acute, we have this वार्तिका:—The words महाद्वार &c in the Vedas have acute on the final of the first term. As महाद्वारः and महाद्वारः.

As to where the first syllable of the preceding takes the acute, we have this वार्तिका:—In the Veda, the words विशेषाः &c have acute on the first syllable of the first member. As विशेषाः तः सामाय ते.
BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER THIRD

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 अल्लक्, 'there is no elision', and उच्चरणे "before the second member" are to be supplied in the subsequent sūtras. Both these words govern the sūtras upto VI. 3. 24, jointly; while उच्चरणे extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अल्लक् (VI.4.1). Thus sūtra VI. 3. 2 says "the affixes of the Ablative after 'stokā' &c". The present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. "the affixes of the Ablative after stokā &c are not elided before the second member of the compound". Thus स्तोकालक् मुक्तः स्तोकामुक्तः, अल्लकमुक्तः II Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्काललक् स्तोकालक् =निष्कालक् II The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

2. The Ablative-ending after स्तोक &c is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकामुक्तः, अल्लकमुक्तः, अन्तिकालकमुक्तः अपाताशास्तः, विमुक्तः, विमृक्तः, क्रममुक्तः II By I. 2. 46, a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called pratipadika, and by II. 4. 71 the endings of a Pratipadika are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकमुक्तः, 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 स्तोकमुक्तः, स्तोकमुक्तः 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 स्तोकांलंक: being one compound word will have one acute (VI. 1. 158, VI. 2. 144), the word स्तोकांलंक: being treated as two words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 11. 39.

Vārt:—The word ब्राह्मणाम्बुरिसिन्द should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणाम्बुरिसिन्द शंकाति = ब्राह्मणाम्बुरिसिन्द “a kind of Ritvik priest”.

ोजः सहस्रस्मसस्तृतीयायः: II 33 II पदानि प्रजास्, सहस्र, अम्बस् तमस्:, द्रुतीयायः: (अत्रूक्स:) II

शृङ्गः: ओजस् सहस्र अम्बस समस्त उस्तेत्यथा उस्तरस्तस्तृतीयायः अरुपयमर्त उस्तत्पे II

शाषिकतः II अभ्यर्त उपसंख्यानम् II वायु II पुंसादः जनाधनेः हर्ति बक्स्याः II

3. The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्र, अम्बस्क and तमस्क are not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus ओजम्बुरिक्तम्, सहस्रांकृतम्, अभ्यर्त शंकातम्, तमसांकृतम् II

Vārt—अभ्यर्त also should be enumerated. Thus अभ्यर्तांकृतम् II

Vārt:—The compounds पुंसादः and जनाधनेः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसाः हेतुनासः = पुंसादः II जनाधनेः = जनाधनेः II The word जनाधनेः is another name of जन्म ‘birth’.

मन्व: अंत्यायाम् II 4 II पदानि मन्वः, संभायाम्, (अत्रूक्स:) II

शृङ्गः: मनस् उस्तरस्तस्तृतीयायः: संभायामांकृत: II

4. After मन्व, when the compound is a Name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसाकुला, मन्वायुक्ता, मन्वासंगता II Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe मन्वकुला, मन्वायुक्ता II

आशायिनिः च II 53 II पदानि आशायिनिः, च, (अत्रूक्स:) II

शृङ्ग: आशायिनिः चत्वरे मन्व उस्तरस्तस्तृतीयाय: अरुपयंक्त: II

5. Also before आशायिनिः, the Instrumental endings of मन्वः are not elided.

Thus मनसायामांकृतम् = मनसायामांकोत्र शृङ्गाकृतम् II

आत्मनः पूर्णेः II 6 II पदानि आत्मनः, च, पूर्णः, (अत्रूक्स:) II

शृङ्गः: आत्मन: उस्तरस्तस्तृतीयायः: पूर्णमांकुलांकृत: पुर्णमांकृत: II

6. The Instrumental endings after आत्मनः are not elided when an Ordinal Numeral follows.
Thus आलमना पत्तच, आलमनाद is: The Instrumental case here takes place under the वांटिका शृंगारायम् प्रक्रियाधिकारादेशयायम् (II. 3. 18 वांटि). And compounding takes place by II. 1. 30, by separating शृंगार of that aphorism and making it a separate सुत्र or in this way:—आलमना क्रृत: परम्: = आलमनापत्तच। How do you explain the form आलमनाद in जनार्दनस्तरायम् एव? It is a Bahu- vrthi compound = आलमा पत्तुर्थस्येव। The word पुरुष is a later addition of the वांटिकाराद।

7. The Dative case ending is not elided after आलमनत्र when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आलमनीिम, आलमनादा॥ The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhaga of सुत्र II. 1. 36, and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha.

8. The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus परस्परम्, परस्तनाया॥

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 दुःशिः, श्चिः गविः; गविः॥ Though गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of VIII. 3. 95 (सिवाधिः नयेः) which shows by implication that गाव गो is governed by this rule. So also अ ending words: as अदभिकारः, असर्गाम्यकः, बनकेतुकः, बनानिहिः, सत्यांवचनकः, पुरात्तेव-ङ्कोषयकः, धूमविषयकः॥ Why do we say “after a word ending in a consonant or अ”? Observe नयेः कुकुतिकः = नवीकुकुंकुतिकः, भूषयाः पासा: = भूषधिपासा॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe अश्रायः॥

Vārt.—The Locative ending is not elided after हरू and वित्रा; as: हसूषकः, विनिसः॥

कार्णान्ति च प्राचां हलादौ॥ १०॥ पदाति॥ कार्णान्ति, अ, आलम्, हलादौ, (असूकः)॥
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 सूचिकारः, हर्षिकारः, हलाविकारः, हलानिकारः. 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 अवध्यानुिप्राप्तः: कथार्थिसः:। It is the name of a duty or dues, but not of a 'tax'. Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe सुध्यषः: = सम्यः:। Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe अतिक्रमकः। So also नाथ तोहनी = नाथोहनी। For accent of these words see VI. 2. 65.

11. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when शुद्र follows.

As, मध्यसः।

Vārt:—So also after अन्धः; as अन्तेशुसः।

अध्ययःस्तकायम् स्वाजात्रकायम्। १२। पदानि। अ मूर्खः, मस्तकात्, स्वाजात्, अकामे। (अन्धः।)

ब्रृत्ति:। मूर्खस्तकायःविषाचारः। सार्था भक्तानवस्तः। ामः।

12. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्खः and मस्तकः), before every word other than काम।

Thus कर्णम् कालोष्यः = कर्णकालः, भरस्त्वामूः, भरस्त्रि:। But मूर्खिष्यः, मस्तक-विषः, मुखः कामोष्यः = मुखकामः। When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply: as अभस्त्रीणः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अतिक्रमकः, जहृशायः।

बन्धे च विभाषा। १३। पदानि। बन्धे, च, विभाषा। (अन्धः।)

ब्रृत्ति:। बन्ध इति पञ्चायो। तात्समन्तुस्तः स्वाजात्रस्तः। सार्था विभाषा ामः।
13. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before यथा।

Thus हस्तवर्मण: or हस्तेवर्मणः, पतङ्गवर्मण: or चक्रवर्मणः। This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrihi when the first member is a स्त्रीलिङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19, when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्त्री or not. The word कथा: is पद्धतृ formed word. When the first member ends in a vowel (other than ओ), the rule does not apply. As गृहितप्रक:।

तत्पुनं कृति वहुतम: १४ ॥ पद्धाचि ॥ तद् पुनः, कृति, वहुतम:, (अलुक्तः) ॥

कृति: ॥ तत्पुनं समाने कुस्तनत्वस्थः समस्या वहुतमहुकस्मिन:।

14. In a Tatpurusha compound, when the second member is a word formed with a क्रिया affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved.

As स्त्रीलिङ्गः, कर्मरुपः, but also कुर्जस्वरः, मद्धयः।

मानुष्यपतिः कालविधि े ॥ १५ ॥ पद्धाचि ॥ मानुष्यः, शरस्तः, कालः, विवाहः, जः (अलुक्तः)॥

कृति: ॥ मानुष्यपतिः कालं विच्छिन्न श्रेष्ठः सि उत्तरप्रेयस्य अहुकस्मिन:।

15. The Locative ending is retained after मानुष्यः, शरस्तः, कालः and विवाहः when जः follows.

Thus मानुष्यमितः, शरस्तम्, कालितः, विवाहितः। This sūtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sūtra.

विवाहम् वर्षकालशरस्तरः ॥ १६ ॥ पद्धाचि ॥ विवाहम्, वर्षः, क्षरः, शरस्तः, जः (अलुक्तः)॥

कृति: ॥ वर्षः क्षरः शरः यस्य उत्तरस्य समस्या जः उत्तरस्य विवाहस्य सहस्त्रभवति।

16. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्षः, क्षरः, शरः, and जः when जः follows.

Thus वर्षम्: or वर्षः; क्षर: or क्षरः; शरस्तः: or शरस्तः; जः or जः।

घनकालतमं कालस्यः ॥ १७ ॥ पद्धाचि ॥ घ: कालः, तन्त्रस्य, कालः नास्ति: (अलुक्तः)

कृति: ॥ घनकालस्य कालस्य तन्त्रस्य च परस्त: कालस्य उत्तरस्य समस्या विवाहस्य सहस्त्रभवति।

17. The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time ending in a consonant or अ when तरं or तमं, or the word काल or the affix तन follows.

The affixes तरं and तमं are called घ (I. 1. 22). Thus घ:—पुरांतरं स्ये or पुराःस्य तरं, पुरांतरं तमं or पुरांतरं तमं॥ कालः:—पुरांकाले or पुरांकाले॥ सन:—पुरांशतने or पुरांशतने॥ Why do we say 'after a time—name'? Observe घध्येन: घध्येन॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in घध्येन:॥
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 (प्रथमवृहणं दस्यां त विभिन्त स्वस्वर्णिः लाभतस्य बाहणु)। Therefore the word या, अधि &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in य affix &c. But in this chapter, so far as the jurisdiction of दस्यां goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the following maxim: उत्तरसाधिकरः प्रथमवृहणेन न तस्य ध्वनिः; on the contrary the affix denotes its own-form. Thus तरा, तम and तन here do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in सूत्र VI. 3. 50, the author declares "हृद is the substitute of हृद when the word लेख, and the affixes वदि, वदि, and सूत्र follow". Had the affix वदि here meant the word-form ending in अर्थ, then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the सूत्र, as लेख is formed with the अर्थ affix. The word सूत्र in the aphorism means the word-form सूत्र। See सूत्र IV. 3. 23 for the affix तन।

18. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वस्त्र and वस्त्र when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ। Thus शेषाशयं, or शेषाय, भावश्चात्र or भावश्चात्र, मानवश्चात्र or मानवश्चात्र। After a time-name we have पुर्णश्चात्र। After a vowel ending word (other than या) we have सूत्रश्चात्र।

Vārt.—The Locative case-affix is retained after अर्थ when वदि, or the affix दर्श or दर्श does not. Thus अर्थवदि, अर्थदर्श, अर्थदर्शस्य। The affix दर्श is added by treating अर्थ as belonging to the विभाषण class (भव्य भव्य, IV. 3. 54).

प्रस्तुतिः च || 19 || पदार्थे || न, न, निर्द, विद्यालिङ्ग, च, (अर्थक) ||

19. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in हृद, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from बन्धु।

Thus श्याठायारिः, शाकाश्यायिः, कामिल्यासिः, चक्रवर्त्यकः, चक्रवर्त्यकः। The compounding takes place by yoga-vibhāga of सूत्र II. 1. 40. Some use the word चक्रवर्त्यकः as an illustration under this rule: बन्धु then is derived by बन्धु of III. 1. 134. The बन्धु ending in बन्धु is governed by VI. 3. 13. This सूत्र is an exception to VI. 3. 14.

20. The Locative ending is not preserved before र्थ in the spoken language.
Thus विनयः, कृतिः, पतन्यः। इत्यकिं ते in the Veda, as in कुशोत्सवः। श is changed to श by VIII. 3. 106.

पञ्चन्याआकोशः॥ ॥ वदारिः॥ पद्याः॥ आकोशः॥ (अन्तः)॥

वृन्दः॥ आकोशः गम्यानां उत्तरपि पञ्चन्यावा अद्वैतः॥

वार्तसंहितः॥ वदारिः॥ विनयाधिकारः दुस्तिसिद्धार्थस्वरूपः॥ वार्तसंहितः॥

वार्तः॥ आदुपवासुधापुष्पिकादुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥ वार्तसंहितः॥

वार्तः॥ देवानां मिश्र इत्यः॥ पञ्चन्यावा अद्वैतः॥

वार्तः॥ देवपञ्चन्यावा गुलेपुणः॥ भास्मातः॥ पञ्चन्यावा अद्वैतः॥

वार्तः॥ विश्वास संसारः॥ पञ्चन्यावा अद्वैतः॥

21. The Genitive case affix is retained when the compound expresses an ‘affront or insult’.

Thus वृन्दयञ्चक्म, वूस्तस्तक्म। Why do we say when insult is meant?.

Observe ब्रह्मणकुलम्॥

वार्तः॥ The Genitive is not elided after ब्रह्मः when followed by युक्तः, after विनयः before दुस्तः, and after पद्याः before हर॥ असः, वायोदबः, विनयाधिकारः, पदवदसः॥

वार्तः॥ The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आदुपवासुधापुष्पिकादुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥ आदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥ अदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥ अदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥ अदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥ अदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥ अदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥ अदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥ अदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥ अदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥

वार्तः॥ The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानाम्प्रिया॥ देवानाम्प्रिया॥ There is no authority for this, either in the महाबलवाभया or the कस्तलका। This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch आसोका, who would not have adopted it, had it meant ‘a fool’. The phrase शिस्तत च मूले has been added by भट्टोजी दिक्षित through ब्राह्मणिक अविश्वास.

वार्तः॥ The Genitive affix is not elided after ब्रह्मः when ब्रह्मः, पुष्पः and आदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः follow it:॥ ब्रह्मः॥ पुष्पः॥ आदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥

वार्तः॥ The Genitive affix is not elided after विनयः when विनयः follows: as विनयमासः॥

पुष्पः नृत्याभ्यासः॥ ॥ वदारिः॥ पदारिः॥ पुष्पः॥ अन्तः॥पदारिः॥ (अन्तः)॥

ब्रह्मः॥ पुष्पः॥ अन्तः॥ पदारिः॥ आदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥ आदुपवासुधापुष्पिकावतः॥

22. The genitive affix is optionally retained when insult is meant, when पुष्पः follows.

Thus शिस्तत:॥ पुष्पः॥ or शिस्ततः॥ पुष्पः॥ शिस्ततः॥ पुष्पः॥ or शिस्ततः॥ पुष्पः॥ But when insult is not meant we have ब्रह्मणकुलम्॥

श्रद्धार्थः॥ विनयोदितसमक्षेत्रः॥ पदारिः॥ श्रद्धार्थः॥ विनयः॥ श्रद्धार्थः॥ समक्षेत्रः॥ (अन्तः)॥

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23. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in **क्र** and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus होतुत्वादित्स्य, हेतुः पुः, पितुत्वादि**ष्ट्र** or पितुः पुः: **Why do we say a word ending in **क्र**?** Observe शास्त्रशेषमुखः, मातुदुः: **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 हेतुवचनः, पितृचनः, हेतु शुभः, पितृशुभः.**

विभाषा स्वत्रुपथः: **24** पदार्थं विभाषा, स्वश्रु, पथोः: (अस्वः).

वृचिः: स्वश्रु पति इत्थेतस्थतापद्वेष्ट्रकाराणेऽऽधिक विभाषास्वभावाभिच्यो विभाषा अद्वेष्ट्रवतः.

24. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in **क्र** when स्वश्रु and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Thus मातुश्चर्स्य or मातुश्चर्स्य or मातुश्चर्स्य, पितुश्चर्स्य or पितुश्चर्स्य or पितुश्चर्स्य. When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to श by VIII. 3. 85; and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII. 3. 85). So also हेतुः पति: or हेतुःपति: नमान्तः पति: or नमान्तःपति:.

अन्नः भूतः भूतः **25** पदार्थं आन्नः, भूतः, भूतः

वृचिः वङ्काराणाः विभाषायःसङ्गवेश्वराचिन्याः यो इत्थलाभानातप्ततुपः पुर्वपश्चानकादेशः भवति.

25. In a Dwandva compound of words ending in short **क्र** and expressing a relationship through study or blood, the आन्नः is the substitute of the **क्र** of the first member.

Thus हेतुसामायः, मेदामायः, प्रश्चासामायःमातापितः, मातानातारः: The substitute is really श्च, the श is useful only to prevent the application of I. 1. 51, by which a श comes after every simple vowel substitute of **क्र**.

Why do we say 'both words ending in **क्र**'? Observe निद्रित्तमाणेऽः The anuvṛtti of पुः is understood here, so that the **क्र** of the first member is changed to श्च before पुः also, though it does not end in **क्र**. As निद्रित्तमाणेऽः, मातापितः.

देवतान्नः च **26** पदार्थं देवता भूतः, च, (आन्नः)

वृचिः देवतापितः यो इत्थलाभानातप्ततुपः पुर्वपश्चानकादेशः भवति.

वङ्कासः उत्तमः विभाषायः विभाषायः वर्णः

26. The आन्नः is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dwandva compound of the names of the Devtas.

Thus रञ्जामहः, रञ्जास्मोऽः, रञ्जास्मस्मस्ती, निद्रित्तमाणेऽः The repetition of the word Dwandva in this सूत्र, in spite of its anuvṛtti 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 भ्रमणः, श्रवणः. In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

Vārtt.:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to यथा in both cases, whether first or last, as अन्तः or यथा.

1. ईद्र्ये: सोमवर्णविरोधः। ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्त, अन्तः, सोम, वर्णयोः। ॥

2. उद्दित्: सोम वरण ईद्र्यतोहवावावहे यथा राव्यावशयोऽभावतः। ॥

27. For the final of अभिप्रयोग, is substituted the long Ꞑ, when सोम or वरण follow in a Dvandva.

Thus अर्थसमावेश, अर्थवस्त्रवर्णः। तद् ह्यो द्वादशी ॥ अतः is changed to Ꞑ by VIII. 3. 82.

इद्र्ये ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्त, उद्दित्।।

उद्दित्: ईद्र्यतोहवावावहे न्यार्थावशयोऽभावतः।।

गङ्गा. ॥ ईद्र्ये विवशयः: विवशयः वादः।।

28. The short Ꞑ is the substitute of the final of अभिप्रयोग in such a Dvandva in which both members take the Vṛddhi.

Thus भाषावस्त्रवर्ण, which would have required long Ꞑ by the last rule: भाषावस्त्रवर्ण, which would have required व्रान्त by VI. 3. 26. Thus भाषावस्त्रवर्ण-मन्त्रावस्त्रवर्ण, भाषावस्त्रवर्ण कर्त्तव्य व्रात्त, भाषावस्त्रवर्ण (IV. 2. 24), takes the Taddha affix, and by VII. 3. 21, both members of the compound take Vṛddhi. When both members do not take Vṛddhi, the rule does not apply: as भाषावस्त्र (भाषावस्त्र ह्य), because ह्य does not take Vṛddhi, by VII. 3. 22.

Vārtt.:—Prohibition must be stated when the word विवशय follows: as

विवशय यथा ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विवशय, यथा, (देववाहनः)।।

उद्दित्: विवशयः यथा ईद्र्यते ईद्र्यते ईद्र्यते ईद्र्यते।।

29. For विवशय is substituted यथा in a Dvandva of the names, of the Devatas.

Thus यथावर्णः, यथावर्णः।।

विवशयः पृथिविशयः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विवशयः, च, पृथिविशयः, (देववाहनः)।।

उद्दित्: पृथिविशयः ईद्र्यते ईद्र्यते ईद्र्यते ईद्र्यते पृथिविशयः ईद्र्यते।।

30. For विवशय is also substituted विवशय (as well as यथा) when पृथिविशय follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatas.

Thus विवशयपृथिविशयः, विवशयपृथिविशयः।। The word विवशय is exhibited in the aphorism as विवशय ending in च, in order to indicate that the च of विवशय is not changed to ૃ or a visarga or upadhamaniya when followed by पृथिविशयः।। Following is an
anomalous use there being no Dvandva compounding here. भाषा विशेषेण पृथिवी नयेः॥

उपासोपस: ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपास, उपसः, (द्वेयतात्वन)॥
चूः: ॥ उपस उपासता इत्ययमेऽशी भवति द्वेयतात्वन उदारपैः॥

31. For उपसू is substituted उपासा in a devatā-dvandva.

Thus:—उपासातृयू, उपासानन्ता॥

मातरपितापुरुषाचाम ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातर, पितरी, उदीवाम,॥
चूः: ॥ मातरपितापुरुषाचारानापायाणं मतेनाराधेऽशी मात्राकस्तम् निपातवै॥

32. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरी is a valid form.

This is formed by अत्र substitution of the क of मात्र ॥ The other form is मातापितपै॥

पितरामातारा च चुन्नविसि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितरा, मातारा, च, चुन्नविसि,॥
चूः: ॥ पितरामातारा हि छन्नविसि निपातवै॥

33. In the Vedas the form पितरामातारा is valid.

In the ordinary language मातापितरी is the proper form. The Vedic form is derived by adding छन्न to the first member, and छन्न is added to the second by VII. I. 39: and then Guna by VII. 3. 110. Thus भा भा गर्भा पितरामातारा ॥

क्रिया: पूर्वाघ्रितपुंकातृदुः, समानाधिकरणे क्रियापूर्णीपिनाविदु॥ ३४ ॥
पदानि ॥ क्रिया:, पूर्वत, भायितपुंकात, अनुः, समानाधिकरणे क्रिययाम, अपूर्णी,
मियादिरि,॥
चूः: ॥ भायितपुंकातृदुः, क्रियापूर्ण सुधाख्येत छन्ने भवति समानाधिकरणरूपसरः क्रियापूर्णीपिनाविदु–
वियिर्वै॥

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 ऊः, 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 मिय &c.

The words of this sutra require a detailed analysis; क्रिया: ‘for a feminine word’, ऊः ‘like the masculine’; i.e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भायितपुंकात = भायितपुणायायान, by which a masculine is spoken of i.e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspond-
ence must be in the form (भावति) and the connotation (भायाम) of the two words; that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same objects, but of different genders. A word which has not the affix रूप is called भावस्तु. That feminine word which does not end in रूप and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भावितृप्तकार्याचरण वीचनम्. The word भावितृप्तकार्याचरण is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously. Of such a भावितृप्तकार्याचरण 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 (विवास) of the feminine gender: with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूर्ण) and of विवास &c.

Thus श्रानियमायम्: (श्रानियानाथाय वस्त्र). Here श्रानियम् is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, श्रानियः; moreover this feminine does not end in the affix रूप, but in the affix वर; it is followed by another feminine word भायाम which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the विवास class; hence this word श्रानियम् is changed to the corresponding masculine word श्रानियः. So also इत्यक्षणयुः; श्रीयंतिियुः: ॥ Why do we say श्रीयां: ‘for a feminine word’? Observe श्रीमणि इत्यक्षणयुः भायाम=भायामाधा: ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine (भायामुच्यः:) ? Observe श्रीयामाधा: ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of श्रा: ॥ Why do we say “of the same connotation and form समानाधिकरणात्”? Observe श्रीणीयामाधा:, the masculine word श्रा: has not the same significance as श्रीणीयामाधा: ॥ The words गर्भिनाम्यः, प्रभुर्मार्यः, and प्रजालिनायः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in रूप? Observe श्रीणीयामाधा: ॥ Why do we say ‘both words being in the same case and referring to another person’? Observe कल्याणामाता=कल्याणीपिताता “the mother of Kalyानि”. Why do we say श्रीयाः ‘followed by a feminine word’? Observe कल्याणी प्रभुर्मार्यः=कल्याणीपितामाता: (श्रा:) ॥ Here the second member प्रभुम is a Neuter word. Why do we say ‘not being an ordinal Numeral’? Observe कल्याणी प्रभुमार्यः बदलता=कल्याणी प्रभुर्मार्यः, so also कल्याणीपितामाता: ॥ The Ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणप्रभुर्मार्यः: ॥ The samasanta affix अस्त्र (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 अस्त्र ॥ Why do we say not before श्रा &c. Observe कल्याणीपितामाता: ॥

1 मिया, 2 नानोत्तर, 3 कल्याणी, 4 स्रीमान्, 5 दुर्भेगा, 6 भावि, 7 लक्षि, 8 स्ता (स्ता:), 9 कान्त, 10 श्रामा, 11 सामा, 12 व्यचत, 13 दुर्भेगा, 14 वामा (सामा) 15 तन्या, 16 अम्बा ॥ The compound दुर्भेगिता: is anomalous.

तस्यादिविश्रृधिकथाः: ॥ ३५ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ तस्यादिविश्रृधिकथाः: ॥

३५: पदार्थः तस्यादिविश्रृधिकथाः: प्रस्तुति संख्याय: क्रियाधार्यत्िप्रमेयस्याभित्रेव प्रस्तुति

स्तोत्राभिन्नपुष्कर्णिक्रिया: पुष्कर्णिक्रिया: ॥
35. A feminine word not ending in the affix उँ, and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तासिन्द्र्य  
&c (V. 3. 7) and ending with खंखा (V. 4. 17).

Thus तत्त्वः—तत्त्वः, तत्वा=तत्वः, वस्त्रा=वस्त्रा, वस्त्रया=वस्त्रया; तत्
The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: न and तत्, 
क्रमः and तत्, क्रमः, तत्, क्रमः, तत्, क्रमः, मालम, चचा, मालम, मालम, मालम, मालम; तत्, तत् &c. All other affixes do not affect the gender. Thus तत् तत् &c श्रीनीवरः, 
श्रीनीवरः, पहुँच, पहुँच, पहुँच; श्रीनीवरः, श्रीनीवरः, श्रीनीवरः, श्रीनीवरः.
क्रमः खंखा =क्रमः, खंखा=क्रमः, खंखा=क्रमः, खंखा=क्रमः; तत्, तत् &c.

Vārtt.—The feminine of खंखा and खंखा is changed to masculine before the 
Taddhita affix खंखा;—वाच्यः—वाच्यः, वाच्यीवरः—वाच्यीवरः; अवस्था—वेदी—वाच्यीवरः—वाच्यीवरः.

Vārtt.—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine before the 
affixes खंखा and तत्; As पद्यन्या भावः—पद्यन्यो भावः or पद्यन्या. Why do we say ‘an ad-

Vārtt:—The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita 
affixes, except ख, when the word gets the designation of न. Thus शहस्तिनित्रयः 
क्रमः = शहस्तिनित्रयः. Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनित्रयः having lost 
its ख (VI. 4. 148), the word न of हस्तिनित्रयः would not be elided be fore the Taddhita 
affix, because the lopa-elision being sthānivat, would have prevented the ap-
lication of the rule VI. 4. 144, ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So 
the form would have been something like हस्तिनित्रयः instead of हस्तिनित्रयः. Why 
do we say ‘with the exception of ख’? Observe द्वारः, द्वारः: the masculine being 
क्रमः and तत्. The word भावः (क्रमः द्वारः भावः श्यानीपराक्रमः) is an excep-
tion to this rule.

Vārtt.—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes खंखा and 
खंखा. As भावः भावः = भावः; भावः;

Vārtt:—36. A feminine word not ending in उँ, and hav-
ing an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed into 
masculine before the Denominative खंखा, and the affix मानिवः.

Thus from एनी—एनायते, एनायते—एनायते मानिवः;—श्रीनीवरः भावस्यः: “He 
esteems her as handsome”, श्रीनीवरः मानिवः मानिवः;—(श्रीनीवरः भावस्यः: “She esteems her as 
handsome’. The word मानिवः is employed for the sake of non-feminine and 
non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words;—श्रीनीवरः मन्यते द्वारः द्वारः 
क्रमः =
Masculisation.

For non-appositional words:—as, देवनीया मनःसे देवतास सबासता देवासु्ता =देवनीया मनःसे देवमसता।

न कोपधाया: ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क, उपाधायः, ॥

वृद्धि: ॥ कोपधाया: सिखिया: पङ्खाड़े न भयति ॥
पालिकाः ॥ कोपधायानिष्ठेचे दु तद्दर्थदर्शण कर्तव्यम् ॥

37. A Feminine word having a penultimate क, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पालिकामायिः, कारिकामायिः, वृजिकामायिः, मद्रिकामायिः, मद्रिकापल्ला, मद्रिकावते ॥
मद्रिकाते, मद्रिकामानिणी, मद्रिकामानिणी, कैलिपिक (कैलिपिकाया धम्मः)। This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36: and not only to VI. 3. 34.

वर्त:—The rule applies to the क of the affix हु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पकामायिः, पकामानी: ॥ The word पक्का means “young”; and पक्की means ‘action’.

संज्ञापूर्णपौष्ष: ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, पृष्ठयोः, च, ॥

वृद्धि: ॥ संज्ञाय: पृष्ठयम् विश्रावः पुंजायाने न भयति ॥

38. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numerical.

Thus इत्यामायिः ॥ इत्यामायिः ॥ इत्यामायिः ॥ इत्यामायिः ॥ इत्यामायिः ॥
इत्यामानिणी । इत्यामानिणी । इत्यामानिणी । इत्यामानिणी । इत्यामानिणी ।
इत्यामानिणी ॥ इत्यामानिणी ॥ इत्यामानिणी ॥
इत्यामानिणी ॥

वृद्धिनिनित्तम्य च विद्वत्स्यार्कविकारे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिनिनित्तम्य, च, ताँतिकस्य, अर्कविकारे, ॥

वृद्धि: ॥ वृद्धिनिनित्तम्यस्तदि: च यथि रक्षे विकारे च न विहित, तद्दर्थस्य व्रीणवस्य न पुंजायानि ॥

39. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix, which causes the Vṛddhi of the first syllable, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning ‘colored therewith’, and ‘made there of’.

Thus सौन्दर्यामायिः, मायूरीमायिः, मायूरीपाशा, मायूरीपाशा, सौруд्यिते, मायूरीवेदते, सौर्द्धीमानिणी and मायूरीमानिणी ॥

Why do we say ‘which causes Vṛddhi’? Observe मण्डमायिः (मण्डे भय =मण्डमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8 which does not cause Vṛddhi). Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe काण्डलामायिः (काण्डे लुमालिः =काण्डलायी with वयस्क (कर्मवयसं) and दिवस̣i). Why do we say, when not meaning ‘colored there with’ or ‘made thereof’? Observe. काण्डलाया रक्षा =काण्डली, काण्डली वृद्धिका वयस्क =काण्डलायवृत्ति:। लेख्ये विकारोलाहि लेख्ये इत्या वयस्त्र रक्षा =लेख्ये (IV. 3. 134). The word वृद्धिनिनित्तम्य should be explained as a Bahuvarhi, and not a Tatpurusha, i.e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like क or च or क &c which causes
Vṛiddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to सावक्षः, वाक्षः (तत्ततीय भाष्य यस्य &c). Here the affix बृहः V. 2. 39 added to ते does not cause Vṛiddhi by its own force, but by VI. 3. 91.

स्वाजातेऽर्थता अमालिनि II ॥ ॥ पदार्थनि || स्वाजकः, च, इत्यः, अमालिनि, II ॥

वृत्ति: || स्वाजातेऽर्थता य ईर्षेयाः स्वाजातेऽर्थता अमालिनि परस्त: ॥

40. A feminine in ह ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine, except when the word मानिन्य follows.

Thus श्रीरकेशीभर्यः, द्राक्षेशीभर्यः, श्रीरकेशीभर्यः, द्राक्षेशीभर्यः, श्रीरकेशीभर्यः, द्राक्षेशीभर्यः, श्रीरकेशीभर्यः, द्राक्षेशीभर्यः, श्रीरकेशीभर्यः, द्राक्षेशीभर्यः, श्रीरकेशीभर्यः, द्राक्षेशीभर्यः, श्रीरकेशीभर्यः, द्राक्षेशीभर्यः. But not denoting any bodily member), अक्रियाः (अक्रिया भाषा, not ending in long ह ), and श्रीरकेशीभर्यः. The exception अमालिनि has been added from the Värтика and is no part of the original सूत्रa.

जातेऽश्च ॥ ॥ पदार्थनि || जातेः, च, ( न ) ( अमालिनि ) II ॥

बृत्ति: || जातेऽश्च भ्रात्रिय न द्वृत्तवर्ति अमालिनि परस्त: ॥

41. A feminine noun expressing a class or kind does not become masculine.

Thus कहीर्यः, बहुचिस्तः भर्यः: कहीपाथः, बहुचिस्तः भर्यः, कहीयस्तः, बहुचिस्तः भर्यः ॥ But not so when मानिन्य follows, as कहमालिनि, बहुचालिनि ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीता सहस्रः = हस्तिक्षणः ॥

पुंस्कर्मादार्यांजीतेऽदेशियुः ॥ ॥ पदार्थनि || पुंस्कर्मा, कर्मादार्य, जातीय, देशिययः, ॥

बृत्ति: || कर्मादार्यांकेशीभर्यः जातीय देशिययः हस्तिक्षणः मद्योपमःपिपुंस्कर्मादार्यांनिः द्वृत्तवर्ति ॥

वाचिकं || कुरुक्कुपितानांपिपुंस्कर्मादार्यां हस्तिक्षणः द्वतयः: ॥

42. The feminine (unless it ends in ॐ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhāraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

This सूत्रa is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding सूत्रas. Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37). Thus पापकृपितानां, पापकृपितानां, पापकृपितानां ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. Thus इक्त्यानां, इक्त्यानां, इक्त्यानां, पंपकृपितानां, पंपकृपितानां, पंपकृपितानां ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39: श्रीप्रिम्पालिनि, श्रीप्रिम्पालिनि, श्रीप्रिम्पालिनि ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, as अमालिनि, अमालिनि, अमालिनि, अमालिनि ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 41, as कहमालिनि, कहमालिनि, कहमालिनि ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine (भाषितंस्त्रकः). So the rule does not apply बहुचिस्तः भर्यः, as बहुर्यः has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ॐ; as बहुचिस्तः भर्यः ॥

Vārt.—The words कुकुटः ए &c become masculine before अण्ण &c: as, कुकुटः अण्णः = कुकुटः अण्णः ॥ यहा:प्रदे: = यहापदे, यहा:शीर्षः = यहाशीर्षः. कालः: शासः = कालः
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 indicator ख, or the affixes सर and सम &c (VI. 3. 43) follow, the final long vowel of the first term becomes short instead of its becoming masculine. As कालिमरमानं नवस्ते कालिमर (compare VI. 3. 66) ह्यवरगनम्या, पद्धतिस्स, पद्धितस्स, पद्धिकल्प्या, परीक्षिता, श्रविका || We have said that the rule does not apply to the feminines in ऋ. || The words स्रविरि, स्रव, पूष्प and उविम are 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 स्रविरि, श्रविरि, &c. Thus ऐविविरश्रविरि, अश्रविरश्रविरि ||

गरुपकत्वऽवल्यवेद्वगमंतमदेतुः श्र्वोऽनेकाचाँ हस्यः || ४३ || पद्धानि || य, रूप, कल्प, चेल्ल, हुष्ट्र, गोत्र, मत, ह्रदेतुः, कद्वं, अनेकाचाँ; हस्यः, ||

वृत्तिः || य रूप कल्प चेल्ल बुष्ट्र गोत्र मत हत ह्रदेतुः परस्य भावित्युक्तास्यारो यो डेशायत्वस्तवत्स्यानेकाचाँ हस्योऽनेकाछो भवति ||

43. Before the affixes तर, तम, रूप, कल्प, before चेल्ल (with the feminine in हृ), हुष्ट्र, गोत्र, मत वर्तमान, a word ending in the feminine affix हृ becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus य—आद्राणितरा, आद्राणितमा आद्राणिकल्पा, आद्राणिकल्प्या, आद्राणिचितिः, आद्राणिज्ञ्या आद्राणिज्ञाप्यः, आद्राणिज्ञानत्वा and आद्राणिकत्वा || य, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेल्ल &c are words as second members; हुष्ट्र is formed by अखु (III. 1. 134) added to हृ, guna and वर्तमान substitution being prevented anomalously. Why do we say the ending in हुष्ट्र (हृ)? Observe कुश्ताला, कुश्ताला || 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 आधद्वीतिः द्वैतज्ञता, द्वैतज्ञता, where आधद्वीतिः and द्वैतज्ञता have no equivalent masculine forms.

नद्यः श्रेप्यान्यतरस्याम || ४४ || पद्धानि || नद्यः, श्रेप्य, अन्यतरस्याम, ||

वृत्तिः || नद्यः श्रेप्य धातुरि पर्यं इसी भवित अन्यतरस्याम || कथ देवः || अधिकं य व नसी वं स्थाने य यष्टे ||

वाचिकम् || कुश्यः प्रतिच्छो वक्तव्यः ||

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 रेख or the remnants? Those feminines which are not formed by long ए (ए), and are called Nadi; and those feminines which end in long ए but consist of one syllable. Thus ग्यावन्याया or ग्यावन्याग्ना भाषक्ष्याया or ग्यावन्याया, ग्वित्त or ग्वित्ता, ग्वित्तान or ग्वित्तानाम ॥

Vārd.:—Nadi words formed by अण्ड affixes are excepted: as नाधीनाम, नाध्योतासा formed by the Uṇādi affix ए (Uṇ. III. 158, 160)

उगित्तच ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगिता, च (हस्त: ) (अन्यतरस्याः ) ॥

वृत्ति: उगित्तच परस्या नव्या पाधिदु अन्यतरस्यां इद्दो मययति ॥

45. The feminine ए (ए) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory ऐ or अण्ड, is optionally shortened before the ऐ &c (VI. 3. 43).

Thus अन्यतिया or अन्यतीतिया, or अन्यतार, विन्दुतिया or विन्दुअतिया or विन्दुतिया ॥ The first is formed by the Taddhita affix इंतुनु, and the second by अण्ड ॥ In one alternative, there is masculisation also when we get the forms अन्यतिया &c. Or this latter form may be considered to have been evolved from अन्यतिया, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

आम्महान्त: समानाधिकरणजातीयाऽ: ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतृ, महातृ, समाना-

धिकरण, जातीयाऽ: ॥

वृत्ति: समानाधिकरणवतिरप्स: जातीयाऽ: महातृ: परस्य आतृ: असाध्यादेवो सहयति ॥

वाचिकम् महातृ: पापाधिविया वितिविद्यायाम् इंतुनुम महात्मानाधिकरणां प्रयोगम् ॥

वाणो ॥ भन्ते ॥ वपाले विव्यक्तिविश्वासायां ॥ वाणो ॥ गवि: च उदसे कीण उत्संज्ञान कविच्याद् ॥

46. For the final of महातृ, is substituted आतृ (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीयाऽ ॥

As महाश्रेष्ठः, महाशाम्यः, महाबाहुः, महाबलः, महाजनवः ॥ But महातृ: दुर्योक्त: = महात्रुष्ठ: “the son of the great man”: the two words are not in apposition. The compounding with महातृ takes place under II. 1. 61. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvarhi, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहु: ॥ In fact this is the object of using the word samānādhikarana in this sūtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurasha compounds of mahat taught under II. 1. 61 but not to Bahuvarhi. In महानुर्वकान्तम् = समानान् महात् संपत्, the long आ is not substituted , as the sense of महातृ is here secondary.

Vārd.:—आ is substituted for the final of महातृ before चास्त, कर्ण and विद्विस्त, the feminine महातृ being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महाश्रेष्ठा: महाशायं, महावः कर्ण: महाकर, महाविद्विस्त: महाविद्विस्त: ॥

Vārd.:—आ is substituted for the final of महातृ: before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अहाचापाले च निवेद्यत् ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अहाचापाले वाय्यनस्य।
Vārt:—ya is substituted for the final of अध्यं before गी, when the meaning is that of ‘yoked’. As, सत्तावेन अध्यं. But अध्यं अध्यं, where ‘yoking’ is not meant. The त्रिं in गी is for the sake of distinctness.

47. आ is substituted for the final of चि and अध्य when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrihi or before अस्तीति.

Thus हास्य, हास्यानि, हास्यानि, अटर, अटर, अटरानि, अटरानि. Why do we say चि and अध्य? Observe श्रव्यः. Why do we say ‘when followed by a Numeral’? Observe है नातुः, नातुः. Why do we say ‘not when the compound is a Bahuvrihi, or the word अस्तीति follows’? Observe द्रिः, द्रिः, द्रिः, द्रिः.

Vārt:—This rule applies up to one hundred. Therefore not here, विभाि, विभािं, ब्रह्माण्यं, ब्रह्माण्यं. Why do we say चि and अध्य? Observe श्रव्यः. Why do we say ‘when followed by a Numeral’? Observe है नातुः, नातुः. Why do we say ‘not when the compound is a Bahuvrihi, or the word अस्तीति follows’? Observe द्रिः, द्रिः, द्रिः.

48. For चि is substituted अस्तः when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrihi or before अस्तीति.

As, चयोः, चयोः, चयोः, चयोः. But not in चयोः (the second word not being a Numeral), nor in विभाि which is a Bahuvrihi, (II. 2. 25) अस्तीति. This substitution takes place up to hundred: not here, विभािं, विभािं.

विभाि चत्वारिंशत्रूत्तश्च संवेयाम् || ४८ || पदाति || चत्वारिंशत्रूत, चत्वारिंशत्रूत, प्रभृती, संवेयाम, ||

बुद्धि: || चत्वारिंशत्रूतश्च संवेयामवस्तर् अवहर्णीस्थिति: संवेयाम ब्रह्म द्रिः है स्तेयाम यहुः तद्विभाि भवाति. ||

49. The above substitution in the case of all (चि, चि and अध्य), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत्रूत and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus विभाियानि or हास्यानि, विभाियानि or हास्यानि, ब्रह्माण्यानि or ब्रह्माण्यानि. This also before hundred: as, विभािं and ब्रह्माण्यं. विभािं.

इत्यस्य है स्तेयामवस्तर्तस्य || ५० || पदाति || इत्यस्य, है, लेख, यत, अष्ट, लासे शु, ||

बुद्धि: || इत्यस्य हास्यानि भवाति लेक ब्रह्म लास है स्तेयामवस्तर्तस्य परस्त: ||
50. ह्रू is substituted for हद्य, before ढेख, and the affixes यत्र and अण्ड and before वास.

Thus हद्यं निष्कर्त = हद्येत। हद्यप्य निधं = हद्यम, हद्यस्येवण = हद्यम, हद्यस्य लघो = हद्याप। The word लेख is derived by लण affix from लिख। Before the word लेख formed by पश affix, this substitution does not take place, as हद्यपल्य। The inclusion of लेख in this sūtra proves the existence of this maxim "उद्यर्पस्तु-
पिकर्ते प्रवर्मणेन न तहतपहणम्।" See VI. 3. 17.

51. ह्रू is optionally the substitute for हद्य, when the words दोक्ष, and रंग or the affix ध्रू follows.

Thus ह्रूशकं or ह्रूशालं, सौभारं, or सौवहनम्। Here ध्रू is added as हद्य belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class V. 1. 0. When ह्रू is substituted there is Vṛddhi of both the members ऋ and ऋ by VII. 3. 19. So also ध्रूणम् or ध्रू-रचन। All these forms could have been got from ह्रू which is a full word sūri

52. पद्म is substituted for पद, before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत।

Thus पराजि = पालाभामभाग। पराजि = पालाभामभाज। भाजि and भाजि are formed by हृ from अं and अं (Uṣ IV. 131), and irregularly अं is not changed to ऋ though required by II. 4. 56; before this affix. So also पद्म = पालाभर्य गच्छति; पदाप्य = पालाभर्य गच्छति। पद य belongs to Vṛśādi class (VI. 1. 203) and has therefore acute on the first syllable, the पद substitute however has acute on the final, only in the उपस्य (VI. 1. 171), therefore in पदाप्य, पद त retains its accent (VI. 2. 48), and it becomes acute on the final. While पराजि, पराजि: and पद त have acute on the final (VI. 1. 223 and kṛt-accent).

53. पद्म is substituted for पद before the affix यत्व used in any sense other then that of "suited there to;"

Thus पराजित्वाघातं = पदा: धनर्य: पराजि: कर्षका। When यत्व has the force of "suited there to" we have पराजि = पालाभर्य (see IV. 4. 83 and V. 4. 25).
Vart.—Before the affix हृ, in the sense of ‘he walks there by’, पद is substituted for पारं; as पारंभोऽष चताति = प्रक्रिक (IV. 4. 10) by हृ affix. The word पारं in this śūtra means ‘the actual foot’, a part of animal organism. Therefore पद is not substituted before the ब्रम्ण of V. I. 34, as दिलापय, विपासय because पारं here denotes ‘a measure’.

हिमकापितहतिषु च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिम, कापि, हतिषु, च, ( पद ) ॥

वृत्ति: हिम कापि हति हलेयेव पालक्रिकः पविल्यमधिस्यो भवति ॥

54. पद is substituted for पारं before हिम, कापि and हति ॥

Thus पविल्यमु (सत्य शीति) पविल्यमधिस्यः (=पविल्यमधिस्यः) as in सत्य पविल्यमधिस्य यावतः, and पविल्यमधिस्यः (पविल्यमधिस्यः हस्तिस्य: ॥

पद: शो ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद: शो ॥

वृत्ति: अहसङ्करे पालिस्ये हो परसं: पविल्यमधिस्यो भवति ॥

55. पद is the substitute for पारं before the affix शास्त्र, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पश्चात् गायत्री शङ्कावति पारं पारं शङ्काति, the affix शास्त्र being added by V. 4.

43. Why do we say ‘when meaning a Hymn’? Observe पारं: कायार्थे शा यतः ॥

वा धीमानि शृणु ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, धीम, मिश्र, शति ॥ ( पद ) ॥

वृत्ति: धीम मिश्र शति हलेयेव पालिस्ये पालिस्या पविल्यमधिस्यो भवति ॥

वारिकम् ॥ निजे स्मृति वाक्यम् ॥

56. This substitution of पद for पारं is optional before धीम, मिश्र and शति ॥


Vart.—So also before निष्क: as परमेश्वर: or पविल्यमु:।

उद्क्रमणः: संज्ञायम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्क्रमणः, उद्क्रमणः, (उद्क्रमणः)॥

वृत्ति: उद्क्रमणः संज्ञायम् विके उद इलयमधिस्यो भवति उद्क्रमणः परस्तः: ॥

वारिकम् ॥ संज्ञायमान्यक्ष्य उद्क्रमणः उदिति भवति ॥

57. उद्य is substituted for उद्क्रमण when the compound is a Name.

Thus उद्येश्व धीमानि उदेश्वरः "a person named Udamanah." The well-known Patronymics from these उदेश्वरः धीमानि: ॥

Why do we say ‘when it is a Name’? Observe उद्येश्वरः:।

Vart—उद्य is the substitute for उद्क्रमण when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name: as, लोहितोऽधी, नीलोकः, शृंगेश्वरः।

पविल्यमानि विश्वाय च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पविल्यमु, वास्त, वाहन, चित्रु, च, ॥

वृत्ति: पविल्यमु वास्त विश्वाय विश्वाय पविल्यमु विश्वाय इलयमधिस्यो भवति ॥

58. उद्य is substituted for उद्क्रमण before विश्वाय, वास्त, वाहन, and विश्वाय।
Thus उड़िया निवासि formed by यमुना by III. 4. 38; उष्णाभः = उष्णाभसः, so also उष्णाभसः. II उड़िया भीतिलिमिन्सः = उड़िया ‘a water jar’.

एकहलावऽ धृतिकर्मणे अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि एक, हलावऽ, पूर्णितवऽ, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्ति: हलात् भवितायोर्वर्तमानसः एकहलावऽसतिष्ठते। कहलावऽ पूर्णितवऽच्यतन्त्र सतिष्ठता उद्विग्नमावेऽषे भवति ॥

59. उठ is optionally substituted for उड़, before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उड़कुम्भः, or उड़कत्तुम्भः; उड़पांम् or उड़कपांवः. II The word एकहलावऽ means ‘a word beginning with a single simple consonant’. The rule does not apply to उड़कत्तुम्भः as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant: nor to उड़कपांवः; as the र्त is not a vessel which is to be filled.

मन्याेनसस्तकृतिकर्मणे भवितायोर्वर्तमानसः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि मन्त्र, ओदवः, स्तुकु, विन्नस बजः, भारः, हारः, बीयवः, गाहेनु, च।

वृत्ति: मन्त्र भोजन सतुविन्नस बजः भारः हारः बीयवः गाहः इति वर्तमानसेऽयुक्तः उद्विग्नमावेऽषे भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

60. उठ is optionally substituted for उड़, before मन्त्र, ओदवः, स्तुकु, विन्नस, बजः, भारः, हारः, बीयवः, and गाहः ॥

Thus उड़कत्तु मन्त्रः = उड़कत्तु मन्त्रः or उड़कत्तु मन्त्रः; उड़कपांवः, ओदवः or उड़कपांवः; सकुतु ।

उविज्ञन सकुतु, उविज्ञन सकुतु= उविज्ञन सकुतु; बिन्न, बिन्नु; बिन्नु; बिन्निन्दु, बिन्निन्दु; बिन्निन्दु, बिन्निन्दु । बिन्नु। बिन्नु; बिन्निन्दु, बिन्निन्दु; बिन्निन्दु । बिन्नु। बिन्नु; बिन्निन्दु, बिन्निन्दु; बिन्निन्दु; बिन्निन्दु, बिन्निन्दु; बिन्निन्दु, बिन्निन्दु; बिन्निन्दु, बिन्निन्दु ।

वत्सु: उविज्ञन सकुतु= उविज्ञन सकुतु; निहारः, निहारः; निहारः, निहारः; निहारः, निहारः; निहारः.

इत्यथा हसोष्यो गाठवस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि इकः, हसः, अकः, गाठवस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्ति: इत्यथा हसोष्यो गाठवस्याच्यतन्त्र मन्त्रायत्नस्याम्।

वासिकथः भस्मादित्यान्यानिर्भविते दस्यै।

61. According to the opinion of गालवा, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second member, for the long ईक्ष्य vowels (ई, ओ, ए), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine suffix ई (आ).

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine suffix ई (आ) and for ओ, a short ऐ and ऐ are substituted in a compound before the second member. Thus मामिद्यः or मामनीद्यः; यामधयः or यामनधयः; ... Why do we say ईक्ष्य vowels? Observe बाबुपारः, मामातः, निहारः; II Why do we say ‘not the long ई of the Feminine suffix आ’? Observe गार्गियः, वासिकथः; II The name of गालवा is mentioned pujārtha for the anuvṛtti of ‘optionally’ was present in this sūtra. It is a limited option
pujārtha, (vyavasthita vibhāsha), and does not apply to कार्यगम्यपाठि &c which are governed by VI. 3. 139.

\textit{Vart.}—It does not apply to Avyayibhâva compounds, nor to those words which take हस्य or उस्त augment in their declension, as श्रीकुलम्, श्रुतलम्, काण्डिलीबत्, कुज्जिभुज्जत्, छुज्जीभुज्जत् &c.

\textit{Vart.}—It does however apply to श्रुतस् &c, as श्रुतस्; शुद्धि: & Others say य is substituted for य &c as चक्षुः and चक्षुः:

एक तद्विन्ते च || 62 || पद्धारि || एक तद्विते, च, (हस्य:) (उस्तरपदे) ||
बृति: || एकाशयस्थि तद्विते उस्तरेण इस्लो भवति.

62. The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकायतं भावादि = एकस्यम्, एकमस्य, एकस्य भावं = एकस्य, एकता || So also एकस्यः शैरि = एकशैरि, एकदृश्यम्. || The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका, having the affix आ || When एक is an adjective (हस्यस्यम्) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculation, such as VI. 3. 35, i.e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means ‘alone’, then those rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sutra without any case-affix as a Chhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the final letter, and not to a vowel situated in the body of a word.

उच्चापोः संहारसंबंधास्य हृद्घ्रुम् || पद्धारि || उच्चापोः, संता, छल्सोः, बहुः ||
बृति: || उपपलस्यस्य न पं संहारसंबंधास्य हृद्घ्रुमे भवति.

63. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (ढी and आप) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As रेविन्युः, रेविन्युः, मरणविन्युः || Sometimes not, as नान्यनकः, नान्यवाचः, नान्यविवाहः. || So also in the Vedas, as नुमारेलवा, प्रश्वासः; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as काल्याणस्यभेराति, जम्तिन्न: || ज्ञा ending words in Name: चिलवद्ध, चिलवद्धम्; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लेमकाहृत्य, लेमकाहृत्यम्. || So also in the Vedas:—नक्षत्रोऽहोति, कल्पस्य पृथिवी विक्षपायतस्य || Sometimes there is no shortening, as, उण्यास्यायु वनयो वग्नति.

त्वे च || 64 || पद्धारि || त्वे, च, (हस्य:) ||
बृति: || त्वपल्ये परते उच्चापोऽस्य हृद्घ्रुमे भवति.

64. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व.

Thus अज्जाय भवः = अज्जत्व or अज्जाय्य, रेविन्युः or रेविन्युः. || These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व.
65. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in इधका before चित, in इधीका before तुल, and in माला before मारित.

Thus इधकाचितम्, इधीकातुलम्, और मालांबारितिक यस्या. The rule of tadanta applies to इधका &c, so that the compounds ending in इधका &c are also governed by this rule: as पक्काचितम्, हुमाजीकातुलम्, उपलमारितिक यस्या.

विन्यायस्यास्य [[66]] पदार्थी, अनव्यास्य (हस्त:)

व्रत: || विन्यायस्यास्य अनव्यास्य हस्ती हमति.

66. A short is always substituted for the final of the first member, when the second member is a word formed by an affix having an indicative ख, but not when the first member is an Indeclinable.

Thus कालिमन्य‌, हरिलिमन्या। The augment हुः does not prevent the shortening, had it done so, the rule would have been unnecessary. But होऽारमन्याः, हिवास्यारस्त्रि, where होऽा and हिवा are Indeclinables there is no shortening. The above words are formed by खः (III. 2. 83). The phrase anavyayasya indicates by implication that the word हिवा here means हिवास्य, contrary to the maxim enunciated in VI. 3. 17 उसारस्यायाकारी राज्यायन्ति सत्रत्वविप्रवेशविषयः। For an Avyaya can never take a हिवा affix which are ordained only after dhatus.

अर्धिप्पवाजनस्य सुम || 67 || पदार्थी, अर्धस्, हिप्पत, अजन्तस्, स्मु,।

व्रत: || अर्धस् हिप्पत हस्तबोजनस्या च हिवास्यास्य भाष्यार्थां भाष्यार्थां भाष्यार्थां.

67. सुम is the augment added immediately after the final vowel, of अर्धस्, हिप्पत, and of a stem ending in a vowel, unless it is an Indeclinable, when a word formed by a हिवा affix follows.

Thus अर्धतुः, हिप्पत, कालिमन्या &c. See III. 2. 35, 39, 83. The स् of अर्धस् and the त् of हिप्पत are dropped by VIII. 2. 23.

Why do we say ‘of अर्धस् &c’? Observe हिवास्या। Why do we say ‘not an Indeclinable’? Observe होऽारमन्याः, हिवास्यारस्त्रि। Why do we use the word खः in अजन्तस्, when merely saying अर्धस् would have sufficed by the rule of tadanta-vidhi? This indicates that the shortening taught in the preceding सूत्र does not debar the हुः augment, nor does हुः debar the shortening. So that हुः is added after the shortening has taken place.

इच्छ एकाचे मृत्युवंच || 68 || पदार्थी, इच्छ: एकाचः, अम्, प्रत्ययचतुः, च,।

व्रत: || इच्छाचतु: हिवास्यास्य स्मागमी भवति भाष्यायान्ताहितकायकिंचनवच भवति।
68. A monosyllabic word, ending in any vowel other than अ, when followed by a word formed by a खूँ अग्लिक, receives the augment अम, which is added in the same way as the affix अम of the Accusative singular.

The word अम is to be repeated here thus, हृ एकाचार्ययम, अमस्यायवच ||
Thus गाम्य, श्रीम्य, or विवेंत्य, विवेय, श्रीम्य, || By force of the atideśa अमस्यायवच, 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 हुव्ध and उव्ध As आ—गाम मन्यः (VI. 1. 93); शुम्भवर्णम् as श्रीम्यः (VI. 1. 107); guṇa, as,—नर्म्यः (VII. 3. 110) and हुव्ध and उव्ध, as विवेयम्, विवेंत्यः (VI. 4. 81 &c). Why do we say "ending in a vowel other than अ (हृ)? Observe श्रीम्यः || Why do we say ‘a monosyllable’? Observe हृक्षत्वः गाम्यः: ||

The affix अम is elided after a Neuter noun (VII. 1. 23), therefore, will this अम also be elided when श्री is treated as Neuter? As विवेयस्यायम् मन्यते गाम्यकृते = विवेंत्यपिम् or श्रीम्यपिम्? The second is the valid form according to Patanjali.

बाँचम्यपुरूङ्कै च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाँचम्यम्, पुरूङ्कै, च, ॥
बृजः: ॥ बाँचम्य पुरूङ्कै हेलेती निपालिते ॥

69. बाँचम्यम and पुरूङ्कै are irregularly formed.

Thus बाँचम्यम: आस्थि (III. 2. 40 खूँ अग्लिक). पुरूङ्कै वास्थिति = पुरूङ्कै: (III. 2. 42). The shortening of यम and अर takes place by VI. 4. 94.

कारे सत्यात्वस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारे, सत्य, अग्लस्य, ॥
बृजः: ॥ काराध्वस्यप्रथमः सत्य अग्लव इत्यत्वस्योहिताग्लिको भवति ॥
बार्तिकः ॥ भुज्मत्तादत्वस्य काराध्वस्य वन्तवत्वः ॥ बा० ॥ भुज्मत्ताविति कारे हुव्ध वन्तवत्वः ॥
बा० ॥ चेत्यम्भवत्वाः हुव्धवत्वः ॥ बा० ॥ लोक्य पृण खम्यवत्वः ॥
बा० ॥ हृव्ध नम्भशास्त्रविववस्यवत्वः ॥ बा० ॥ चाष्टादायोत्तिर्भुव्धवत्वः ॥
बा० ॥ गंगादेविकर्तिवत्व खम्यवत्वः ॥ बा० ॥ गंगादेविकर्तिवत्व खम्यवत्वः ॥
बा० ॥ उणम्भेंवत्वः कारे हुव्धवत्वः ॥ बृजः: ॥ उणम्भेंववस्य तथ्य उत्तरस्य दुर्विश्ववस्य पुरूङ्कैदेवो ॥

70. हुव्ध is the augment of सत्य and अग्ल when the word कार follows.

As सत्यकारे = सत्यकारोति or सत्यकारेऽकतः ॥ So also अग्लकारे: ॥

Vārt:—So also of श्री, as श्रीन्तुकारे: ॥

Vārt:—So also in Vedas, of भव्ध before कारे.—e. g. भव्धकारे, in secular language भव्धकारे: ॥

Vārt:—Of घृत before भव्ध, e. g. घृतभव्धकारे ॥

Vārt:—Of लौक before ग्रृह, e. g. लौकग्रृहकारे ॥
Vārt.:—Of अनमय्याः before ह्र्स्य as अनमय्याशास्तिः।
Vārt.:—Of भ्रं ज and अग्नि, before ह्र्स्य, as भ्रंग्न्याशास्तिः; अग्निशास्तिः।
Vārt.:—A word before गित takes ह्र्स्य augment, unless it is also गित
e. g. तितिश्या; but गितिश्या।
Vārt.:—So also before गितिश्या, e. g. तितिश्या।
Vārt.:—Of उष्ण and महर्ष before करण, e. g. उष्णकरण, महर्षकरण।
Vārt.:—ह्र्स्य is optionally the substitute of ह्राह्स्य when the words सुह्म, उष्ण, राज, भ्रं, and सह precede it e. g. सुह्मसुह्माः सुह्मसुह्मिल्ला, उष्णसुह्माः उष्णसुह्मिल्ला, राजसुह्माः राजसुह्मिल्ला। Some read ह्र्स्य in the Saran
garavādi class (IV. i. 73), and then this word has its feminine पुष्य। This
is seen in other places also, e. g. चैल्लुश्य।

देवेनतिस्य पाते भे। ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानिः देयन, लिष्ठस्य, पाते, भे, ॥

Draft: देयन तिस्यायेत्योऽपि पातार्जुर्वचनप्रवेच अयस्मे मांग्यनि भवति।

71. सूम is the augment of the words देयन and लिष्ठ, before पात, when the affix अ is added.

Thus देयनपातार्जुर्वचनाः कौड़ियाः=देयनपाताः, कौड़ियाः। See IV. 2. 58. Why do
we say before अ? Observe देयनपाताः।

राघृ: कृति विभाखा। ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानिः राघृ: कृति, विभाखा, (सूम)।

Draft: राघृ कृतवर्णाच्येत विभाखी श्रम्यभवति।

72. The word राघृ optionally takes सूम before a word formed by क्रि-affix.

As राघिभय: or राघिभय, राघिमत: or राघिभय:। This is an aprāpta-vibhāshā.
The augment is compulsory before a क्रि-affix having an indicatory ख, अस, राघिमवः।

न्योपि न्यः। ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानिः न, लोपः, न्यः, (उत्तरपदः)।

Draft: न्योपि न्यायस्य लोपः न्यायस्य पदः।

सांस्कृतम्। न्योपि न्योपि व्यवहारे तिन्द्रहस्यसंस्कृतम्।

The न of the Negative particle न्यः, is elided when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अन्धाश्रयः, अन्धारपः, अन्धापः।
Vārt.:—The न of न्यः is elided before a verb also, when reproach is meant: as, अन्धाश्रय श्र्य ज्ञानः; अन्धास्य श्र्य ज्ञानः।

तस्मानान्ति विधि। ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानिः तस्मात्, तुद, अचि, (उत्तरपदः)।

Draft: तस्मानान्ति तस्मात्समानदीपः। तस्मात्समानदीपः।

74. After the above न-elided न्यः (i. e. after अ) is added the augment तुद, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अन्धाश्रयः, अन्धारपः, अन्धापः। Why do we use तस्माद “after such a न्यः”?
Otherwise तुद would have been the augment of न्यः, and not of the subsequent
word for: the sūtra would have read thus तुमाचे. Adding तुम to नम्र or rather to अ, we have तुम (granting that तुम is not to be added before अ but after it, against I. 1, 46). Now अर्थ + अर्थ will be अर्थ: and not अर्थः: for VIII. 3. 32 will cause the doubling of the final अ of अर्थ. Hence to prevent this contingency, तुम is ordained with regard to the second member and not with regard to क or नम्र.

75. The Negative particle remains unaltered in तम्र, न पयः, न वेदस, नासवाना (dual), नमुचे, न मुक्त, न मुख, न पुंसक, न क्षत्र, न क्षित्य, न नाकक, न नाक. Upto नासवाना the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative! तम्रावते = तम्र, formed by द्वितीय and नसय composition. न पाति = न पाति formed by द्वितीय affix. न वेदित = न वेदित, formed by अर्थ. सत्तु भाषाः = सत्तु, न सत्तु = भाषा, न भाषा = नासवाना. न शुचित = न शुचित, formed by कि affix (Unādi), नासवान खमसति = नासवान. नासवान खमसति = नासवान. नासवान खमसति = नासवान. न खरी न प्रमाण = न प्रमाण. न खरी न प्रमाण वा = न खरी न प्रमाण. न खरी न प्रमाण = न क्रम भवति = न क्रम भवति = न क्रम. भवति.

76. The Negative particle remains unaltered in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अर्थ (अर्थ).

Thus एकत्र न विविधति = एकादिविविधति, एकादिविविधति. These are Instrumental compounds. The augment अर्थ is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकादित्र न विविधति and एकादित्र न विविधति by VIII. 4. 45.

77. The Negative particle is optionally retained unaltered in नम्र, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नम्र: or अर्थ: 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix त्र is added to गृह्य. Why do we say when not referring
to animate beings. Observe अगः: बृहतः शीतनः। No alternative form is allowed here.

सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदार्थि सहस्य, सः, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृन्ति: स सहस्यसः ्हि हवयमार्दशो भवति संज्ञायां विपचे ॥

78. सः is substituted for सह, in a Name.

Thus सवधस्यः, सवलदा, ससुधमप् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहुद्वा, सहक्षा ॥ The word सः has acute on the first syllable, because all Particles have acute on the first syllable. The substitute स in coming in the room of the acute स and the grave ्ह will have an accent mid-way between दः acute and ह grave, namely, it would have the svarita accent. But, as a matter of fact, it has the acute accent. As हँउँ; हँभँयः। These are Bahuṛṣī. In Aavyayibhāva, the samāsa-accent will prevail (VI. 1. 223.), as सेँचः, सप्पूनभः ॥

प्रायःतात्विके च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदार्थि प्रथ्यान्त, अधिके, च, ॥

वृन्ति: प्रथात हिचे शवभाग्यसः सहस्यसः ्हि हवयमार्दशो भवति ॥

79. सः is the substitute for सह, when it has the sense of ‘upto the end’ (in connection with a literary work), or ‘more’.

Thus सःकः=कलः येवतिषिष्मधेयः। So also सहुँदिस्थः=( सःहुःसःसः) ॥ स समछ (=समष्टितः) श्वाकरणमधेयः। These are all Avayayibhāva compounds by ° बन्न-वचने (II. 1. 6). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सः 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 सत्रेणालारी: समायः कार्यपणः सकार्किन्द्ररो मातः ॥

ब्रित्येचानुपायेः ॥ ८० ॥ पदार्थि ब्रित्येचानुपायेः, च, अनुपाये, ( सहस्यसः ) ॥

वृन्ति: ब्रित्येचानुपायेः सहस्यसः ्हि हवयमार्दशो भवति ॥

80. सः 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 ब्रित्येचाचारित: That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपाय, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाय, i.e. what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, सः is added to such second word. Thus साखः (करोऽि: ‘a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place somewhere’. सिन्धाचा बाला “a storm-wind which announces the Piśāchas”. सरसोलका चाला ॥ Here the fire, the Piśācha or the Rākshasas are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon &c.
81. स is the substitute of श्र, in an अवयायभाव when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सच्च, मदुर गाजिः, but सहस्त्राघ्रणम् the second member being a time denoting word (II. i. 5).

82. स is optionally the substitute of श्र, when the compound is a Bahuvrthi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपस्तर्जन—is a उपस्तर्जन, and the Bahuvrthi is such a compound, because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood. Thus सुपु: or सहस्र:, सच्च: or सच्च:। Why do we say of a Bahuvrthi? Observe सहस्त्र, सहस्त्र। The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrthi like सहस्त्राघ्रणम्: or सहस्त्राघ्रणम्।

83. The word श्र retains its original form when the sentence denotes benediction, except when it is गो, वत्स or हुः।

Thus स्वस्ति वैदिकाय सहस्त्र, सहस्त्राय, सहस्त्राय, सहस्त्राय। But optionally here, as स्वस्ति भवति सहजः or सहजः, सहस्त्राय or सहस्त्राय, सहस्त्राय, or सहलाय। The phrase भन्ति नहीं is no part of the original sutra, but has been added by the Kāśikā from a Vārtika.

84. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas, but not before सुधन, प्रमृत्ति and उद्कः।

Thus सहस्त्रायात् समाम्, अंतुस्था समाअम्। श्रेयः: सबूतः। (See IV. 4. 114). समानोऽमानः = समानः, स्वयं भवः = समानः: formed by समा affix IV. 4. 114. But समानवृत्तयः, समान-प्रतियाः, समानृताः। This substitution takes place in secular literature also, as सप्तवः; साप्तवः; साप्तव; &c.
85. This substitution of स for समान takes place before ज्योतिः, जनपद, राज्य, नामित, नामित, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान-श्रेणी, व्यस्त, वचन and वन्य्य in the common language also.

Thus सज्ज्योति, सज्ज्योति, सरानित, सरानित, समान, समान, समान, सभूप, सभूप, सभूप, सभूप, सभूप, सभूप, सभूप, सभूप, सभूप.

चरणः सहारधारिणः (उत्तरपदे) पदार्थः चरणः, सहारधारिणः, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे)

86. स is substituted for समान before सहारधारिण when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समानः सहारधारी = सहारधारी। सहार means the Vedas. The vow of studying the Veda, is also called सहार। He who is engaged in the performance of that vow is called सहारधारिण। समान refers to the vow, the vow of studying being common to both: i.e. समानः सहारः = सहारधारी। According to Bhattoji Dikshit चरणः in the सूत्र means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study. He who has a common (समानः) branch (चरणः) is a सहारधारी.

87. स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थे when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीद्रोणः = समानः तीर्थे वाली (IV. 4. 107): ‘a fellow-student? विवाहिणंदे तीर्थे चरणं च समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे)

88. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदार when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सोहय्यः उदारः (IV. 4. 108).

89. स is substituted for समान, before दक्ष, दश and the affix वचन.

Thus सदक्षः, सदशः। The affixes क्षः and वचन are added to दक्ष दश under III. 2. 60. Vārt:- which give as the forms दक्षः and दशः। Vārt:- So also before दशः as सदशः। दक्ष is formed by क्षः affix under III. 2. 60. Vārtika. The affix वचन is taken for the sake of the subsequent सूत्रा.

इद्विक्ष्मिरुपभवः ९०। पदार्थः दक्षः, दसः, क्षः, (हगहास्वत्तुः)। बुद्धि:। इद्विक्ष्मिरुपभवः की इद्विक्ष्मिरुपभवः। वासिक्षः। इद्वि च चैत्य वचन:।
90. है is substituted for हन्म and की for किम before the words हन्म, हन्म and the affix चत्र.

Thus हन्म, हन्म and हन्म, कीहैं, कीहैं and कीहैं. हन्म and कीहैं are changed to ह + हन्म and का + हन्म by V. 2. 40 and the long है is elided by VI. 4. 148: and we get हन्म and कीहैं.

Vārt.—So also before हन्म, as हन्म and कीहैं.

आ सर्बनास्त्र: || 9.1 || पदानि || आ, सर्वनास्त्रः, ( हन्मचत्रतुष्क )

व्रृत्तिः || सर्वनास्त्र आबाकाराच्छों भवति हन्मचत्रतुष्क ||

पालिकम् || दहे स्वतिः पञ्चायम्.

91. आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (I. 1. 27) before these words हन्म, हन्म and the affix चत्र.

Thus ताहैं, ताहैं, ताहैं, ताहैं, ताहैं, ताहैं.

Vārt.—So also before हन्म, as ताहैं and ताहैं.

विभववर्यायों देवायात्रोऽतै ( ता ) चार्यये || 9.2 || पदानि || विन्यक, देवयोऽ, च, दे:, अद्री, अव्री, अपरये ||

व्रृत्तिः || विन्यक्ते देवो देवेत्यो: सर्वनास्त्र देववर्यायायों भवति अव्रीतीस्व देववर्यायात्त्वस्यर्दये.

पालिकम् || अन्नस्य प्रेतिः बहुनितिः पञ्चायम.

92. In the room of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विन्यक्त and देव, is substituted अद्री, when अव्री with the affix च follows.

Thus विभववर्यायों = विन्यक्त्. This form is thus evolved. अव्री + किम = अव्री + 0 = अव्री + ुष्क (VII. 1. 70). Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant अव्री, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the visarga affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. अव्री is changed to अव्री and we have अव्री which with विन्यक्त् gives the above form. देवऋष, देवऋष, देवऋष. अद्री and अप्री (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (nipātān) in order to prevent the krit-accent and when अव्री is changed into अव्री the following vowel becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 4). Why do we say of विवर्य and देव? Observe अव्रीच्छ = अव्रीमयः, the feminine भीय being added by IV. 1. 6 Vārt. The अ of अव्री is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अव्री is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when अव्री follows'? Observe विन्यक्त्. Why do we say 'when the affix च follows'? Observe विभववर्यायों. The च is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अव्रीच्छ (अव्रीच्छतावर्यायेः). It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वर्यये or अव्रये 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 अव्रये not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when aṅch followed, but when aṅchana ending in युष्क also followed. The maxim अत्तवर्यें तस्सम विभववर्याय इल्लात्त्व इल्लात्त्व अव्रीकंत अव्रीकंत and
for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that visarga is changed into व when क follows. There the क denotes not only the root क but a word derived from क, therefore which begins with क, such as कार: and कृत:। Therefore the rule applies to forms like अवस्था which is followed merely by the verb क; as well as to forms like अवस्थान।।

Vārt:—In the Vedas, diversely before the feminine nouns: thus in “विभावी च एवावी च” there is no substitution in विभावी, but in कार्ज्जीची there is this substitution. कार्ज्जीची is derived from किंय + कार्ज्ज = कार्ज्ज + कार्ज्ज।। Then is added कृत: and then like विभावी।।

93. वर्ण is substituted for सम, before this अवस्था when no affix (or व अवस्था) follows.

Thus सम्बन्ध, सम्बन्धी, सम्बन्धः।।

94. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अवस्था when no affix (or व अवस्था) follows, provided that the अ of अवस्था is not elided.

Thus तिरस्, तिरस्वी, तिरस्वच्।। Why do we say ‘when there is no elision’? Observe तिरस्, तिरस्।। Here अ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word बलीये in the सूत्र is ambiguous. It may mean elither (1) “where अ is elided” or (2) “Where there is no elision”. The latter meaning should be taken however.

95. सम्बन्ध is the substitute of स, before अवस्था followed by no affix (or व अवस्था).

Thus सम्बन्ध, सम्बन्धी, सम्बन्धः; and साप्तः, साप्तः।। See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

96. स is substituted for स च in the Veda, when मात्र and स्य follow.

Thus सम्बन्धायूः साप्तः; साप्तः।। Another example is बाला दृष्टो हस्यो युज्यन्ना, अभावाः शताः वंशु। (Rig III. 3. 7) सहस्तरातित दृष्या अभावः।।

इकायाःयाः युज्यम् शताः वंशु।। दृष्यम् अस्त्र्य, उपस्त्र्य, अप्त, इंतः।।

इकायाःयाः युज्यम् शताः वंशु।। इश्वरायाः युज्यम् शताः वंशु।।

वास्तवः युज्यम् शताः वंशु।। वास्तवः इश्वरायाः युज्यम् शताः वंशु।।
97. After हि, अन्तर् and Prepositions, long दः is the substitute of अपूः

By I. 1. 54, दः replaces the first-letter of अपूः viz दः only. Thus हिः, अन्तरः, नीपः, नीपः, समीपः. The samāsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74.

Vārt.—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समापः नाम समापः नाम वेंस्यवाचनमः. Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long दः substitution does not take place. Thus गापि, परपि. The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अरूः; here however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra. It means दः &c.

उदाहरनेवेंद्रः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ उत्तरः, अन्यः, देशः, ॥

98. After असुः उः is substituted for (the अ of) अपूः, when the sense that is of a locality.

Thus असुः देशः, but अन्नविपः when locality is not meant. The long दः is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed; as असुः उः = असुः दः. The form असुः could have been evolved with a short दः also, as असुः + उः = असुः दः. But this analysis is not intended.

अवस्याद्वुतीयाधिकार्यस्य दुगाविश्लेषणश्राविश्लेषतो कर्तोतिकार्यरूपे भ्रस्तिकर्मम् ॥ १३७ ॥

पदार्थः ॥ अपरातः, अन्तरायाधिकर्म, अन्तरः, उदः, आशीः, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्तुकः उत्तुकः, कारण, कारण, रागः, चेष्टा, ॥

ौतिषः ॥ अन्तरायाधिकर्म वाच्याब्रविष्टा यथावैटिक दुगाश्रमणे भ्रस्तिकर्मम् भ्रस्तिकर्मम् भ्रस्तिकर्मम् वट्टुकः उत्तुकः कारण रागः छ इत्येव वर्णः ॥

Kārikā—हुगागमी अविनेविदा वत्सवः कारकाधिकः ।

पत्रीवृत्तीर्थमनेंद्र आशीराहितु समस्तः ॥

99. अन्यः, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment तुकः (दः), before आशीतः, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्तुकः, अतिः, कारण and रागः, as well as before the affix छः (दः).

Thus अन्यः आशीतः = अन्यः आशीतः, अन्यः आशा = अन्यः आशा, अन्यः आस्था = अन्यः आस्था, अन्यः आस्थितः = अन्यः आस्थितः, अन्यः उत्तुकः = अन्यः उत्तुकः, अन्यः अतिः = अन्यः अतिः, अन्यः कारणः = अन्यः कारणः, अन्यः रागः = अन्यः रागः. So also with छः, as अन्यः, अन्यः, अन्यः. It takes छः because it belongs to गहित class (IV. 2. 138.)

The word अन्यः belongs to गहित class (IV. 2. 138). Why do we say when not in Genitive or the Instrumental? Observe अन्यः आशीतः = अन्यः आशीतः, अन्यः आशीतः = अन्यः, अन्यः आस्थितः = अन्यः आस्थितः &c. With regard to the word कारण and the affix छः, the तुकः augment is universal, though अन्यः may be even in the Genitive case &c: as अन्यः कारणः = अन्यः कारणः, अन्यः एवः = अन्यः एवः. The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sūtra (अष्टि and अष्टुतीया), implies this,
100. **कु** is optionally the augment of **अन्य** when **अर्थ** follows.

As **अन्य**  = **कु**

:\[कः, कत्तुपुरेः \textit{कु} \textit{ची} \textit{को} :\]
\[कत्तुपुरेः, अन्य, \textit{कु}.

\[\textit{कु} हीवर: कहिंमांवेशी मवांति हीवर: समासे उजावादलसः\]
\[\text{राज्यसंख्याम्} \text{हः सुपुरसः}.

101. **कु** is substituted for **कः** in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As **कः**, कहः, कहः, कहः, कहः. Why do we say in a Tatpurusha? Observe कुः राजा कहः. Why do we say “when the second member begins with a vowel”? Observe कुःराजः, कुःपुरः.

\[\text{वृद्ध:} = \text{कुः} \text{is substituted before रथ}, \text{as कः} = \text{कुः}.

\[\text{रथवर्धेऽकः} \text{कः} \textit{रथ, चदर्यः, च,}\]
\[\text{कुः} \text{रथ वर्धेऽकः चदर्यः कः, कहिंमांवेशी मवांति.}

102. **कु** is substituted for **कः** before रथ and चः also.

Thus कः, कहः.

\[\text{तृणे च जातो} \textit{कुः} \textit{रथ, च, जाती,}\]
\[\text{कुः} \text{तृणशादवर्धेऽकः जातासंख्याम् कः, कहिंमांवेशी मवांति.}

103. **कु** is substituted for **कः**, when **तृण** follows denoting a species.

As कः नाम जातिः कुः. But कुःजातिः समासाः कुः.

\[\text{का पवथकः} \textit{कः, पवथ, अकः,} \textit{कुः}.

\[\text{कुः} \text{पवथः अकः पवथकः अकः कः हीवर: कहिंमांवेशी मवांति.}

104. **का** is the substitute of **कः**, before पथितः अन्यः.

Thus कःपथितः और कः.

\[\text{ईपः} \textit{ईपः} \textit{ईपः अपः} \textit{ईपः अपः} \textit{ईपः अपः}.

\[\text{कुः} \text{ईपः वर्धेऽकः कः हीवर: मवांति}

105. **का** is the substitution for **कः**, when the meaning is ‘a small’.

As कः पवथः, कःपथितः, कः

As चाकाम्याः, चाकाम्याः, चाकाम्याः

Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101: as कः भूतः.

\[\text{विमाणः पुरः कः} \textit{विमाणः, पुरः,}\]
\[\text{कुः} \text{पुरः वर्धेऽकः विमाणः कः हीवर: मवांति.}

106. **का** is optionally substituted for **कः**, when the word **पुरः** follows.
Thus कारुप्प: or क रुप्प: II This is an aprapta-vibhāshā. In the sense of 'a little ईः', the substitution is compulsory; as ईः पुरुषः = का पुरुषः II

कवच्चरणे II १०७ II पद्यानि II कवमः, च, उण्ये, II

वृस्ति: II उण्यशाखासुचरि कः कवच्चरणार्थशय्ये भवति का च विभाषा II

107. का and कवच्च are optionally the substitutes of ई when उण्य takes follows.

As कवच्चरणम्, का, वर्णम् or कवच्छरणम् II

पद्य चच्चरणे II १०८ II पद्यानि II पद्य, च, चन्द्रिसि, II

वृस्ति: II पद्यशाखासयुक्ते चन्द्रिसि विश्वेये कः कवच्च च इत्यतावशय्ये भवति क च विभाषा II

108. This substitution of का, and कवच्छ for ई takes place in the Veda, before पथ II

Thus कवच्छः, कावः and कुप: II

पूरोदराश्चरणे यथोधिप्रियम् II १०२ II पद्यानि II पूरोदराश्चरणे, यथोधिप्रियम्, II

वृस्ति: II पूरोदराश्चरणे शब्दव्यमाणे शुद्ध लोपगमित्वम् विकाराः शाख्यम् न विहिता हृदयनः च तानि वर्णोप-

विठरणार्थशय्ये भवति II

वारिकम् II विकारशय्ये उत्तरसंग्रही स्त्रीलिङ्ग नाम भवेक या भवति II

वार II वारेया सदृश्यं च न भाषाचार्यशपथ्ये विश्वेये II

वार II शब्दान्ते स्त्रीलिङ्ग शरणसुचरितम् च II

वार II उत्तराश्चरणार्थशय्ये वस्तुद्ध विश्वेये II

वार II श्वेता राहतो छुपासुचरितम् वस्तुद्ध्यम् II

वार II वीरोदपूर्वसनातीनां च होणे वक्ष्यये:

Kārikā—वर्णमेते वैभवन्यै भूतः चापरीरी वैभवविशिष्टानाची II

वारात्मकप्रतिविद्ययतां वेगसतुद्धे विश्वधिवं निरूपयम् II

109. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पुष्पार्द्र &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 वर्णविप्रियम्=विद्वा पराविश्वेया। Thus पूरुप्रदोषी वस्त्रः=पूरुप्रदोषम्, पूरुप्रदोषी उदाहरणे वस्त्रः=पूरुप्रदोषानि। Here there is elision of हः। So also वाचवाल: = वाचवालः, here वाचिर is replaced by वः, and ह replaces व of वाचवालः; वीवस्थ मूलः = जीवस्थ मूलः, here जी has been elided; शाबाजः शाबायानम्; here हः replaces शः; and शाबायानम् हः शाबायानम्, here हः replaces शः, and शाबायानम् शाबायानम्। Here स्रः takes the affix उद्ध in the locative, and हः is replaced by हः। नागः रातिः = नागः। Here मः is replaced by मः, and the final of हः is elided before the affix अः। And so on with वर्णवाल, कवच्छ &c.

Vārta—तारी becomes optionally सार after a word denoting direction, as विचितार्थम् or विचित्रार्थम्, उच्चारितम्, or उच्चारितम् II

Vārta—Before the Patronymic हः affix, यामाय, becomes यामायाल आर, यामायाल आर

स्त्रापये = यामाय ाति: II

Vārta—The final of हः is changed to हः before हः, हः, and ता (meaning
Some Substitutes.

1. The first letter of the second member is changed to य or द. Thus प्रेतम् यत् क्षणाः सो योग्य; प्रेतम् योग्य कुरु। The addition of य is optional here. The putting of प्रेतम् in the plural number indicates that प्रेत has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नामांक्यम्). In fact it has the force of an affix here. The rule therefore does not apply to these:—प्रेतं व्यासि or व्यासि = प्रेतं

Vyart.—The final of दुष्ट is changed to दृ, before शश, नाश, भन्ति and व्यासि and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus द्रेण वास्यते, नायते, भचे दृः = कृदाशा, कृदाशा, कृदन्ति. In the last (भन्ति) there is elision of the nasal also. दृष्टं व्यासि = कृदाशा। Here is added the affix क to the root भन्ति (व्यासि) preceded by the upapada दृ, by III. I. 136.

Vyart.—र is substituted for the final of सारं when the verb अहं follows in the Vedas: as एवहि जातिः राहिः (राहिः is Imperative Ist. Pers. Dual).

Vyast.—The final of पीठस्, पदस् &c. is elided in the Vedas, as पीठस् वसंभानां, पदस्यवसंभानां.

संक्यांविचाराः प्रस्तयाः चालनन्तरसयां डृः || ११० || पदानि || संक्यां, वि, सारं, पूर्बस्य, अहंस्य, अहं, अन्तरस्यस्य, डृः ||

वृत्तं: || संक्या वि सारं ह्रोयप्रस्तयाचालसयां स्थापिने अहनित्यमावेशी भवन्त्रन्तरसयां डृः परतः: ||

110. अहं may optionally be substituted for अहं in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or सारं precedes it.

Thus बह्योद्वस्याः = बह्य:; बह्यः; || The Locative singular of these are बह्यः or बह्यानि, बह्यः or बह्यानि || So also बह्यः, बह्यः || With वि—ययः, ययानि or ययः; सारं—सारायथ, सारायथ, सारायथः || These are एकसंस्करवयाः, and this very सूत्र is an indicator that अहं may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or सारं || Thus we have मह्याः=महंमयः: (II. 2. 1). But पुस्ताम् and अप्रत्याम् only.

दृपलोपे धृतस्य दीर्घं परिण: || १११ || पदानि || दृपलोपे, पूर्बस्य, दीर्घं, अण: ||

वृत्तं: || ब्यास्ति-श्वयमायः विभिन्न ग्रहः; तत् पूर्वस्याः दीर्घं विभिन्ति ||

111. When द् or द is elided, for the preceding य, द and द a corresponding Long vowel is substituted.

Thus सीढ़म्, सीढ़म्, उष्मूद्रम् || र्योन्द्र-गार्ग्य-स्तपम् = नृन्द्रम्, अभिन्द्रम् = अभग्निर्द्रम्, उष्मूद्रम्; पुनः स्तम् बसम्; पाल्या राज्यक: || For the elision of द see VIII. 3. 13, and for the elision of द see VIII. 3. 14. But अष्ठम्, the क्ष्य is not lengthened because it is not included in the pratyahāra अण which is formed with the द of अघः द् श्.

सहितोद्वारवर्तस्य || ११२ || पदानि || सहि, बहोः, ओतिः, अघः, अघः, ||

बृत्तं: || सहि बहोः ह्रोयप्रस्तयाचालर्याः भविष्ये विभिन्ति ह्रोपलोपे ||

112. When द् or द is elided, there is the substitution of ब्य for the य or अण of the verbs सहि and बहोः.
Thus सोधा, सोधुः, सोध्वम्य, सोधा, सोधुः and सोध्वम्य. Why do we say of श्र or श्र? Observe उय, उयाण्. Why do we say अवग्न which includes long श्र also? The rule will apply even when the short श्र of श्रह and श्रह is changed to श्र by व्रिद्धि: as उद्वीद्ध, उद्वीद्ध. Had merely श्र been read into the sūtra, instead of अवग्न then coming after the तृ of त्रत्र, it would have denoted only short श्र (सत्वग्न पर: सत्व: I. 1. 75).

साक्षे साद्ध्रा साहसित निगमे || ११३ || पदार्थ || साक्षे, साद्ध्रा, साह, सा, त्रसि, निगमे ||
बुचि: || साक्षे साद्ध्रा सा दति निगमे मित्वान्ते ||

113. साक्षे, साद्ध्रा and साहा are irregularly formed in the Vedas.

Thus साक्षे सर्वानी, साद्ध्रा दशः. The latter is formed by त्वा affix, the श्र substitution not taking place. In the other alternative त्वा is changed to श्र. साह is formed by तृष्ण affix. In the secular literature सोधा and सोधुः are the proper forms.

संहितायाम || ११४ || पदार्थ || संहितायाम, निगमे ||
बुचि: || संहितायाममविद्वानस्वाधिकारेष: श्रति अद्वैतमुक्तमिविद्वाम: संहितायामिवाएव देशितद्विषयः निगमे ||

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 “श्र at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns”. Thus विद्वानियव विद्वाहि श्र मनाम. The word संहितायाम should be read into that sūtra to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have श्र, त्वा, साह, श्र, त्वा, साहा।

कण्ण लक्षणस्यविद्यापथः मणिभिषेधचिन्तनस्यविद्यास्यस्तिकस्यः || ११५ || पदार्थः
कण्ण, लक्षणस्य, अ विद्य अप्य, पण्ड, मणि, सिंह, छिन्न, छिन्न, सत्व, स्वस्तिकस्य (दीघे:): ||
बुचि: || कण्णेषु उपर्यस्त तत्त्वावधिशिच्छिन्नम: भवति धिक्क अष्टम प्रणकारण्यं मणि मित्र छिन्न छिन्न सत्त्वस्तिककादेशामिवः दीघे: ||

115. Before कण्ण, 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 विद्य, अप्य, पण्ड, मणि, सिंह, छिन्न, छिन्न, सत्व and स्वस्तिकः.

Thus शास्त्राकण्णः, विद्याकण्णः, विद्याकण्णः, श्राक्षयाकण्णः, श्रुताकण्णः. The word मणिकण्ण 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 शामर्कर्णः। Why do we say ‘with the exception of विधि &c’? Observe बिधकर्णः। अतिरिक्तः, प्रति-रक्षितः, शिष्यकर्णः, दिष्यकर्णः, सवर्गकर्णः, स्थानिककर्णः and मणिकर्णः।

नविधिरित्विविध्यविधिश्चसहितिनिषु को || ११६ || पदार्थः || नहि, उद्वि, उद्पि, व्यमि, द्विचि, सहि, तत्निषु, कौः, ||

वृत्तः || निति वृत्ति व्यमि शर्य शाह तति श्रवितेषु विषययवानानुसारपरेषु पूर्वव्यस्तः श्रीयोऽविषयी भवति सं-हितायां विषये ||

116. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नहि, उद्वि, उद्पि, व्यमि, द्विचि, सहि and तति, when these roots take the affix क्रिया भिन्नः।

Thus उपासनः (उपासनः Nom. S.), so also, परीक्षा, नीति, उपासनः, (with विष्ण) माधुर्यः, उपासनः, (with विष्ण) माधुर्यः, द्विचि, व्यमि, (with विष्ण) माधुर्यः, नीति, अवसायः, (with रुचि) वर्तावः, (with sah) सितितः (with tan). The nasal is elided after ग्रु्द्र before क्रिया (VI. 4. 40), by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तति also. Why do we say when क्रिया भिन्नः? Observe परिवहनम्।

वृत्तिः: संज्ञायां कोटरकिन्युक्तकार्यानाम || ११७ || पदार्थः || वन, गितः, सं-शयायाम, कोटर, किन्युक्तकार्यानाम, ||

वृत्तः: वन गितः इति वृत्तिः संज्ञायां कोटरानाम किन्युक्तकार्यानाम श्रीयोऽविषयी भवति संज्ञायां विषये।

117. For the final vowel of कोटर &c. a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किन्युक्ति &c. before गितः, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटरानामः, सिन्युक्तानामः, सितितानामः, सार्वज्ञानामः।

So also किन्युक्तानामः, अवस्यानामः, &c.

The न is changed to ज in वन by VIII. 4. 4. But असित्राकारणः, and कृप्प-गितः as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 मित्रक, 3 यमित्रक, 4 अुर्य (पुर्यक्र), 5 शारिक (सारिक)।
2 किन्युक्ति (किन्युक्ति), 2 शाल्व (साल्वक), 3 नादः 4 अठान, 5 भाजन, 6 लीति, 7 कुकुटः।

वृत्ति: || ११८ || वृत्तिः || वर्ते, (पूर्वव्यस्त श्रीयोऽविषयी)।

चालितः || वर्ते परतः पूर्वव्यस्त श्रीयोऽविषयी भवति।

चालितः || अदुर्लभापनमितिः।

118. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix वर्ते।

Thus आधुनिकः, कुपीवः, इस्तानः। These are formed by the affix वर्ते (V. 2. 112).

Vṛt:—Not so, of उस्ताह, श्राह and वितः; as उस्ताहः, भावः and वितः।

मती बद्धो अनुजितार्दीनामः || ११९ || पदार्थः || मतः, बद्ध चः, अनुजितार्दीनामः,

(संज्ञायामः)।

वृत्ति: || मतः परतः बद्धतः अनुजितार्दिस्वरूपः श्रीयोऽविषयी भवति संज्ञायां विषये।
119. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the suffix मन्त्र, when it is a name, but not of the words अञ्जरिः &c.

Thus ब्रह्माराजः, मरणारसी, वर्ज्ज्यवासी, युक्तारवसी, अमरावसी। These are formed by the suffix मन्त्रः (IV. 2. 85) The मन्त्र is changed to वर, by VIII. 2. 11. Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables'? Observe श्रीमित्रः। Why 'with the exception of अञ्जरिः &c'. Observe अञ्जरिः, अञ्जरिः, अञ्जरिः, अञ्जरिः, अञ्जरिः, अञ्जरिः, अञ्जरिः। When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening, as वल्लरसी।

1. अञ्जरिः, 2. सहीरिः, 3. पुलिनः, 4. हस्तः, 5. कार्ण्डः (कंसकार्ण्डः) 6. चक्राकः।

शाराधीनः च १२० धाराधीनः, च, (षौः+:)॥

बृहस्पतिः। शाराधीनः च मतो श्रीमितिः मतविश्व संज्ञायाः विषयेः।

120. The final vowel of शार &c. is lengthened before मन्त्र when it is a Name.

As शारावती, वंशावती। The म of मन्त्र is changed to व because it is a Name (VIII. 2. 11). But not so after श्रीमित्रः &c as these belong to श्रवण ि class (VIII. 2. 9).

1. शरः, 2. बंशः, 3. पूमः, 4. भांि, 5. कपिः 6. मधिः, 7. हुनि, 8. शुचि, 9. रुदः।

इतय वचः यपनिः: १२१ पदानि: इकः, वचः, अपिलोः।

बृहस्पतिः। इगतिरूष्य पूर्ववस्थ श्रीलवच्चार्यतवस्थ वहलवच्चार्यस्य श्रीमितिः। वासिकः। षौपूर्ववच्चार्यतवस्थ।

121. The final ि and the ज of a word, with the exception of पीहः, are lengthened before वह ||

Thus विष्णुवहः, कपिवहः, हुनीवहः। Why do we say 'ending in िकः vowels'? Observe विष्णुवहः। Why not of पीहः? Observe पीलवहः।

Vyāk.:—It should be stated “with the exception of श्रुति and the rest.” As श्रवणः।

उपसंग्रहः घाथामनुष्ये बहुधः १२२ पदानि: उपसंग्रहः, वशः, अमनु-व्यः, बहुधः,।

बृहस्पतिः। उपसंग्रहः घाथामनुष्ये अमन्त्रमानिते बहुधः श्रीमिति:।

122. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the krit-affix घाथः, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus नीक्रेः, नीपारः, अपारः। It does not take place, as मतिवेः, प्रसारः। It is lengthened before सहः and कारः, when building is meant, as प्रसारः: and प्राकारः, otherwise प्रसारः: and प्राकारः। Optionally in वेश &c. as मतिवेः: or मतिवेः: मतिरेः: or मतिरेः:। When human beings are meant, there is no lengthening, as निपानः मन्त्रः।
123. A Preposition ending in ि, or द lengthens its final before का:

As तीर्थका: तीर्थका: भक्तका: का: is formed by भक्त (III. 1. 134). Why do we say 'ending in ि or द'? Observe भक्त: where the Preposition does not end in ि

दृष्ट: १२४ । प्रस्त: दृ:, र्त:, कः (दृ: उपसंग्रहः)

दृष्ट: ता दृष्टद्वित्तियस्य प्रस्तावसिद्धान्त इन्द्रायायायार्थ श्रेयः भवति: II

124. A Preposition ending in ि or द lengthens its final vowel, before the verb दा:, when the latter is changed to त: II

Thus नीत: त: नीत: पैर: See VII. 4. 47 for the change of दा. to त: II But नीत:, नीत:, where the prepositions do not end in ि or द: II Why do we say 'आ is changed to त:'? Observe निःस्वार्थ्यः निःस्वार्थ्यः II Why do we say 'आ is a substitute of आ, beginning with a त:'? Observe दृष्ट: , here दृ is the substitute of आ (VII. 4. 46).

अघ्न: संजायायम: १२५ । प्रस्त: अघ्न:, संजायायम:, (दृ: ) II

दृष्ट: अघ्नियशोभस्यस्य संजायायम् सन्दिभवति II

125. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अघ्न before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus दृष्टकः, दृष्टपुर: दृष्टपार्श्वः II But दृष्ट: , दृष्टान्यः where the compounds are not names.

छन्दसिः च १२६ । प्रस्त: छन्दसिः, च:, (दृ: ) II

दृष्ट: छन्दसिः निःपदः दृष्टान्युपर्येः सन्दिभवति II

वार्षिकम: गदी शुक्ली भाषायामहो श्रेयः भवतीति वल्क्यम् II

126. In the Veda also, the long vowel is substituted for the final of अघ्न before a second member.

Thus भागवनंदाक्षिणस्य निःस्वार्थः, भागविन्यस्य श्लोकः, भागवी खंडः ह्यूमती: II The form भागवी is the feminine in श्रेष्ठ (IV. 1. 8) of भागवन: (V. 4. 138 the श्रेष्ठ of श्रेष्ठ being elided in a Bahuvihi), पर् being substituted for पारः by VI. 4, 130.

Vārt—The final of भागवते is lengthened before त: even in the vernacular, when yoking is meant. Thus भागवत्वेष्व शक्तम् II

चिते: कपः १२७ । प्रस्त: चिते: कपः, (दृ: ) II

दृष्ट: चितेश्वरनाम कपः पर्यं श्रेयः भवति II

127. The final vowel of चिते is lengthened before the affix कपः II
Thus एकाधितीकः, चित्तिकः, चित्तिकः: ॥
विभवस्य बसुरादोऽ: ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभवस्य, बसु, रादोऽ: ( दोर्धे: ) ॥
वृत्ति: ॥ विभवशायस्य बसु पावित्रवचस्यशर्मस्य भावितो भवति ॥

128. The final vowel of विभव is lengthened before चसु and रादो (the form assumed by राजः).
Thus विभवचसुः, विभवरादोऽ ॥ The rule applies to the रादो form of राज in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form: as विभवराजः,
विभवरा: ॥

नरे संख्यायम् ॥ १२९, ॥ पदानि ॥ नरे, संख्यायम्, ( दोर्धे: ) ॥
वृत्ति: ॥ नरसाधुष्ठवचः संख्याय विभवस्य हीणों भवति ॥

129. The final of विभव is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a Name.
Thus विभवराजः, बैण्यारि: (the son of Vishvârnara). But विभवरा: =विभव नर बसु when it is not a name.

मित्रे चर्: ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्रे, च, शुद्री: ( दोर्धे: ) ॥
वृत्ति: ॥ मित्रे भोजनपरे शुद्रविनिषेधे विभवस्य हीणों भवति ॥

130. The final of विभव is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.
As विभवमित्र: ‘the sage Visvamitra’. But विभवमित्र: ‘a boy called Visvamitra’.

मने सोमाधिक्षेत्रविभवहद्वस्य मतोऽ: ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मने, सोम, अश्व, हिन्द्रय, विभवहद्वस्य, मतोऽ: ( दोर्धे: ) ॥
वृत्ति: ॥ मनविनिषेध गृह अवर हिन्द्रय विभवहस्य हेतुष्यां मदुप्यत्वे परस्ती हीणों भवति ॥

131. In a Mantra, the final vowels of सोम, अश्व, हिन्द्रय and विभवहस्य are lengthened when the suffix मता follows.
Thus संभवती, अभवती, हिन्द्रयवती, विभवहवती ॥

ओष्ठेष्य विभवाधमयायम् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओष्ठेष्य, च, विस्तारः, अघ-
थमायम्, ( मने: ) ॥
वृत्ति: ॥ ओष्ठेष्यविभवः विभवाधमयायां परस्ती हीणों भवति ॥

132. In a Mantra, the final of ओष्ठेष्य is lengthened before the case-endings, but not in the Nominative.
Thus ओष्ठेष्यतिस्यवतः, नर्: प्रववि नमः ओष्ठेष्यः ॥ Why do we say ‘before case-endings’? Observe ओष्ठेष्यस्ते ॥ Why do we say ‘but not in the Nominative’? Observe विभवस्योष्ठेष्यः ॥

कृिच्छु तुनुेदमुखातः कु िोदः ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृिच्छु, तु, च, मनु, तः, कुि, उरुष्यायम्, ( दोर्धे: ) ॥
वृत्ति: ॥ कृिच्छु विस्ते तु च मनु तः कुि उरुष्य इतेष्यां हीणों भवति ॥
133. In the Rig-Veda, the finals of the particles तु, त, घ, मध्य, the tense-affix तः, कृ, the ending च and the word वर्ण्य are lengthened.

Thus तु:—पाण्डुन रिज़ (Rig IV. 32. 1) तु—तू करें॥ च:—चत वापा स्वालानु॥ मध्य:—मध्य गोमत्नर्गीमें॥ तः:—भरस जातेवतसम् (Rig X. 176. 2). तू is the substitute of या, when it is treated as हिंदू, therefore it does not apply here, मृणीत शास्त्र:। (I. 2. 4). कृ—कमन्दः; च—अणा नारः; उद्ध्वत जोगी॥

दक: सुभि॥ 134 || पदार्ति मक: सुभि, (दीर्घ: )॥

वृत्ति:॥ कृ० नियतो उः । इन्त्रस्य छुट्टि परसी मन्त्राविपक्षी श्रीयो भवति॥

134. In a Mantra, the finals of the preceding member ending in र or द are lengthened before the particle रु॥

Thus अभी दृ: न: सकिनाम (Rig. IV. 31. 3) दर्शे रु दण वतेय (Rig I. 36. 13). The र is changed to र by VIII. 3. 107: and न changed to न by VIII. 4. 27.

ब्रह्मचर्दितकः:॥ 135 || पदार्ति र्वचः, अति, तिकः, (छुट्टि दीर्घ: )॥

वृत्ति:॥ ब्रष्टसहितस्यानात् कवित्वेण श्रीयं भवति॥

135. A tense affix ending in च is lengthened in the Rig-veda, when the Verb consists of two syllables.

Thus विद्या हि लङ समाल छूँर गोमन्य &c. See Rig III. 42. 6, विद्या हि तस्य पितरम् &c. But not here एवं सह नः गाजन:; as the verb consists of more than two syllables: not also here या लङ विषय कर्ता च; as the verbs do not end in च॥

नियतस्य च:॥ 136 || पदार्ति नियतस्य, च, (छुट्टि ) (दीर्घः: )॥

वृत्ति:॥ नियतस्य स्य क्रिात्येऽय्य श्रीयेऽय्य भविष्यो भवति॥

136. In the Rig Veda the final of a particle is lengthened.

Thus एवा ते, कंताते, कंता जातारः (R. I. 2. 2).

अन्त्येषामिपि हद्यते॥ 137 || पदार्ति अन्त्येषामिपि अपि, हद्यते, (दीर्घः: )॥

वृत्ति:॥ अन्त्येषामिपि श्रीयणि हद्यते स विभिन्नेवातः। इत्यय्य श्रीयणिः न विभिन्तं हद्यते प्रवाणेः तदनेन कर्ष्यायम्॥

व्यासकामी॥ दृष्टो हन्तारप्रणालनक्षत्रासाधिपतपूषः॥

137. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

Here we must follow the usage of the Sिस्थास. 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 बृहस्पतिः, समाचारिः, गाजनस, मांकः, पूर्वः॥
138. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अखः, when it assumes the form च, having lost its nasal and the vowel.

Thus श्रीपर्व: प्रत्यक्षीपर्व: श्रीपर्वः प्रत्यक्षीपर्वः प्रत्यक्ष: प्रत्यक्षः प्रत्यक्षः। The nasal of अखः is elided by VI. 4. 24, and the अ by VI. 4. 138. In श्रीच+अखः the च is not changed to its semivowel, though that is an antaranga rule, because the present sūtra ordains specifically long च, and so also श्रीच+अखः and श्रूच+अखः। See also VI. 3. 92.

वंग्रस्तारमाणस्य: 139. पदार्थविश्लेषिताः संप्रसारणस्य: (उस्तरपदेन दोषपाः)।

139. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कार्तिकामिज्रेपुषः: कार्तिकामिज्रेपुषः: कार्तिकामिज्रेपुषः। See VI. 1. 13. कार्तिकामिज्रेपुषः=कार्तिकामिज्रेपुषः। (च 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 परस्तरः, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI. 3. 61 is superseded by VI. 3. 139; and the rule VI. 3. 61 can not be revived by the maxim पुनः परस्तरः विद्यान्वितां “occasional by 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 संक्षमत:। विभिन्नपरेषयामितिः तद्यातित्तेव “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.”
BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH

अद्व्रयः ॥ १ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ अद्व्रयः, ॥

पूर्वः ॥ अधिकारोऽभासस्माभासार्याःपरिसमासः ॥ दशित उद्देश्यानि वाक्यां वेच्येत् ॥

1. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyāya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikāra sūtra. Thus in VI. 4. 2 is taught the lengthening of the vowel of a samprāsāraṇa: as ऋुतः, चीतः, सौरितः ॥ That means that the vowel preceded by a consonant belonging to the stem is lengthened. Therefore in निरं+वेत्य+निल्लिन्तः, the vocalised vowel न is not lengthened, as निर्द् is upasarga and not stem. So हुस्तः ॥ Similarly VI. 4. 3, teaches the lengthening of the final before नाथ, as भस्मीनाथः याय्यानाथः ॥ But किथिनाथः, बध्रानाथः, पाम्रानाथः, गर्वानाथः, as ग्री and ग्री are not the end-portions of a stem. The stem is किथिनाथ and बध्रानाथ ‘a female having किथक or बध्रक’, formed by न suffix (V. 2. 100). The forms किथिन ाणाथ and पाम्रानाथ are Accusative Singular. Similarly VII. 1. 9 teaches that after अ, भिस्स क is changed into ऐसु ॥ As वृषेः, वृषे: ॥ There also, the अ must be the अ final in an aṅga or stem: hence not here भायानामिस्स, बोद्धादिभिस्स, the भिस does not follow an aṅga. भिस्स means boiled rice and भिस्स means श्रिष्ठि: ॥

The maxim of अर्थवृत्तमध्ये नामपर्यक्तम does not apply here; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of making this sūtra. For example, in the sūtra नाथि (VI. 4. 3), the suffix नाथ having a meaning would have been meant, and not any other नाथ: ॥

The word अद्व्रयः must be read in the following sūtras, otherwise there would arise incongruity: first; sūtras teaching the lengthening of the vowel when स्र or Samprasāraṇa follows, thus: VI. 4. 16 ordains the lengthening of vowel before स्र, as निविद्यत; but not here श्रद्ध सन्नित for श्र of श्रद्ध is not that of aṅga. So also in Samprasāraṇa, but not in निल्लिन &c as shown above.
2ndly—For the purposes of एवै in sūtra VI. 4. 68. The optional change of आ into ए must refer to anga, as र्मायत or र्मायत, but not here निर्मायत धार्म or निर्मायत, for here ए is not part of the अंग, and so ए cannot be considered a conjunct part of anga.

3rdly—For the change of तू to तारू in VII. 1. 35. There also तू must be portion of the अंग, and not the particle तू, therefore, तीव्रत or तीव्रत, but hot here तीव्र तू िम।

4thly—For the substitution of द्वििििण्ड्य and द्वििििण्ड्य in VI. 4. 77. Therefore not here द्वििििण्ड्य and द्वििििण्ड्य।

5thly—For the sake of द्वि augment in VII. 1. 54. But not here कुमारि भासित आह।

6thly—For the sake of shortening of vowels. Thus VII. 4. 13 ordains the shortening of अर्ध vowels before क। It refers to the अंग-वोकल, as कुमारि। But not here, कुमारि कलेऐ स्मृतित or कुमारि: क िर्सिन्त कुमारसि। And lastly for तव or ते substitution. Thus VII. 4. 48 ordains the change of ए into तू in the case of अर्थ before भ। It refers to अंग, as अर्थ। But not here अभासित, for अर्थ here is not अंग.

To sum up in Sanskrit: सत्त्र सम्प्रसारण शर्यंवैशालाताभयुक्तहृदय ह्स्यत तवेि ष आग्नेयविधिकार प्रयोजनेन।

The word आग्नेय is in the Genitive case. But the force of Genitive is here not only that taught in I. 1. 49 (स्थले हेतु:), but of mere relation-ship. Or आग्नेय may be considered as a mere प्रतिपदika, 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 अर्थो भिन्त ऐम् (VII. 1. 9) आग्नेय should be read in the ablative case: अर्थारणात्त आग्नेय भिन्त: ऐम्। The Genitive case has force of यवणिम्य in sūtras like ह्स्यतेज, where the whole of आग्नेय is replaced (VI. 4. 36). It has the force of अववयप्रसिद्ध in sūtras like ऊँधप्पाया गोह: (VI. 4. 89). It has the force of निविन्तिमिनिमाति सम्बन्धि in यवणिम्य (VII. 1. 1). Or the Genitive case in आग्नेय may be changed into any other case, as already shown.

ह्स्य: ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्स्य: (अर्ध सम्प्रसारणम् दृष्टि: ) ॥
बृति: ॥ अर्थाववयावज्ञे ब्रह्मवर्त सम्प्रसारण सत्त्रवस्त्याक्षिः ह्स्यों भवति ॥

2. The long vowel is substituted for a vocalised half-vowel अ, ए and ऐ at the end of a stem, when it is preceded by a consonant which is a portion of the stem.

Both the words श्लोष and अश्ल from VI. 3. 131, and सम्प्रसारण from VI. 3. 139 are understood here. Thus ह्स्य: from ह्स्य, आदि: from आदि, संवैत: from संवैत ॥ Why do we say ‘preceded by a consonant’? Observe उत: and उत्तरानात्र from वेज्य्य। Why do we say that the preceding consonant should be a portion of the stem?
Observe निष्ठ, here र is not an integral part of the stem, but a portion of the upasarga निरं and therefore र is not lengthened. Why do we say 'at the end of a stem'? Observe निर, चित्र: from यस्य and अस्य; here the vowel र is in the middle of the stem. Why do we say 'अ, र and श substitutes of semivowels'? Observe तृषी: Here चि has been vocalised into तृ चि being substituted for च before the affix शी (V. 2. 55). The चि will not be lengthened. Or the absence of lengthening in तृषी is an irregularity countenanced by पाणिनि himself in सूत्रas like II. 1. 30 &c. The word अर्द्ध should be repeated in this सूत्र, first to qualify the word हल, and then to qualify the letters अर्द्ध and शी.

नाम || 3 || पदानि || नामि, (अक्रमस्य शीर्षे:) ||

वृचि: || नामित्वेत्वादिवत्वायं चन्द्रम भागादकवं वृहते || तस्मात्स्वरस्तोक्रमस्य हीर्षों भवति इ।

Kārikā—नामि शीर्ष अम्बि वेष्ठावाक्त हीर्षे न तृ चि तृ चि ।

ब्रजनाथाय तत्सहित, नाप्तायाय अन्तमाना ||

3. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम (having the augment तृ). Thus अन्नमानि, दुधमानि, कुन्यमानि, हर्षमानि। The anuvṛtti of अष्टि (VI. 3. 111) ceases. The augment तृ (VII. 1. 54) in नाम is for the sake of the subsequent सूत्र; like VII. 4. 7, and the lengthening takes place after the addition of तृ to the genitive affix शी। For if the lengthening took place before the addition of तृ, there would be no occasion for तृ which comes only after short stems.

न तिष्ठचतुष || 4 || पदानि || न, तिष्ठ, चतुष, (नामि शीर्षे:) ||

वृचि: || तिष्ठ चतुष ईस्वेयानो तिष्ठों न भवति इ।

4. The finals of तिष्ठ and चतुष are not lengthened before नाम।

As तिष्ठमानि, चतुषमानि। The very fact of this prohibition proves by implication that the final चि of these words is not changed to र before a genitive plural, VII. 2. 100 notwithstanding. In fact तृ 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.

छन्दस्युमया || 5 || पदानि || छन्दसिं, उमय था ||

वृचि: || छन्दसि विषये तिष्ठचतुषानामि परत उमयथा द्वितेये, हर्षावचार्ये।

5. In the Veda, the finals of तिष्ठ and चतुष are found in both ways, before the Genitive plural नाम।

In some places they are seen as lengthened, in others not. As तिष्ठमानि द्वितेये तिष्ठमानि। So also चतुषमानि and चतुषमानि।

चि || 6 || पदानि || चि, ||

वृचि: || चि ईस्वेयाय नामि चतुषमाना || भवति इ।
6. So also व्र before the Genitive Plural नाम is lengthened optionally.

As लं नृणां वृत्ते, and लं नृणां वृपिते। According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others, it extends to secular literature also.

नोपवायः ॥ ७ ॥ पद्यनि ॥ न, उपवायः, ( नामि दीर्घः ) ॥

This नामि व्र वालस्वाभावाय नामि परतो शीर्षों भवति ॥

7. In a stem ending in व्र, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नामः ॥

Thus पृथ्वी + नामः (VII. 1. 55) = पृथ्वाव + नामः (VI. 4. 7) = पृथ्वावामः (VIII. 2. 7); सत्सानार्क, नवतार्क, शानार्क ॥ Why do we say ‘ending in व्र’? Observe भद्राछलः ॥ But not in ज्ञानाय, where the affix is not नामः but आमः without दुः ॥

सवेनामस्थाने च संतुव्रः ॥ ८ ॥ पद्यनि ॥ सवेनामस्थाने, च, असमव्रः ( नोपवायः: दीर्घः: ) ॥

This सवेनामस्थाने च परतो संतुव्रः नोपवायः शीर्षों भवति ॥

8. In a stem ending in व्र, the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

As राजा, राजानो, राजान्, राजान्, राजानो ॥ So also सामानि तिथिनि: राजा was राजान्, the र was elided by VI. 1. 68, and र by VIII. 2. 7. Why do we say ‘in strong cases’? Observe राजानि (Loc-Sing); सामानि (Loc. Sing). Why do we say ‘but not the Vocative Singular’? Observe हे राजान्! हे तक्ष्ण! ॥

वा धूर्वः निगमे ॥ ९ ॥ पद्यनि ॥ वा, च, धूर्वः, निगमे ॥

This धूर्वः धूर्वःस्वाच्छौ नोपवायः निगमस्वाच्छौ सर्वामस्थाने परस्तो संतुष्टो या शीर्षों भवति ॥

9. The lengthening of the penultimate vowel of a stem ending in व्र, before the affixes of the strong-case, is optional in the Veda, when व precedes such a vowel.

Thus च तस्तायां न तस्तायां, निदंस्तायां विनयः। ब्रस्नायाः न ब्रस्नायांनिधंस्तायाः ॥

Why do we say ‘in the Veda’? In the secular literature we have तस्तायां, तस्तायां तस्तायां: always.

सान्यमहतः संयोगस्यः ॥ १० ॥ पद्यनि ॥ सान्य, महतः, संयोगस्य, ( दीर्घः: ) ॥

This सान्यमहतः संयोगस्य चो नाकारः: महतः तस्त्योपनाभा शीर्षों भवति सर्वामस्थाने परस्तो संतुष्टो ॥

10. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in व्र, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महतः ॥
That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant न्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases. Thus भ्रान्, भ्रानीत्, भ्रानस्, भ्रानित्, पत्रानि, पत्रानीत्: नसि—महान, महानसि, महान:। बति हे भ्रान्, हे महान in Vocative Singular. The Nasal is inserted by VII. 1. 70.

अन्तःअन्तःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःनामोपनामानुप्रस्तुतस्त्राःप्राथमानान्यां।।१२१॥ पदानि॥ अष्टोत्तर, तृतीय, त्र०, स्वत्, नत्, नेत्, वचन्, क्रृत्, होत्, पोत्, प्रशास्त्रानां।।

सूचना:॥ अष्टोत्तर स्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपः।

11. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative Singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अष्टोत्तर, in stems formed by तृतीय and त्र० affixes, and in स्वत्, नत्, नेत्, वचन्, क्रृत्, होत्, पोत् and प्रशास्त्रानां।।

Thus भ्रान: बिन्नित्।। Some would have it even in compounds; as भ्रानि त्वादानि।। The Samāsānta rule is not applied here, because it is anitiya. If it be considered nitiya, then also there is lengthening, but without the addition of the nasal. भ्रानि त्वादानि बिन्नित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।। निवयित्।।

If the words नत् &c. be considered as क्रृत्, 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 Ugadi affixes, then their enumeration is for the sake of nitiya (restriction), so that other words formed similarly are not to be governed by this rule. अगुणित्, अगुणित्, अगुणि, महान:।। Why do we say 'not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे कर्त्, हे कर्तान्।। In the above examples भ्रान् is substituted for भ्रान् by VII. 3. 110.

इन्तःनामान्यतःशीर्।।१२२।। पदानि॥ इन्तः, हन्तः, पूरा अर्थमान्, शीर्, (शीर्:।।)

12. The penultimate vowel is lengthened before the affix-शी (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in इन्तः, or हन्तः, or पूरा or अर्थमान्।।

According to the maxim (See VI. 4. 14 also) that "अष्टोत्तर, हन्तः, पूरा, अर्थमान् स्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपःस्वरूपः।।"

As regards the rest (हन्त &c.), the affix शी (Neuter Pl.) is never added to them alone, but when they are parts of a compound. Thus हन्तः is a noun formed by the addition of
the affix विन्न to the root हृ; and the affix Kvīp is added to it only then, when it is preceded by another word like “Brahma” &c. See III. 2. 87. Similarly the words पूप्प and अर्धमन्न are masculine and cannot take the Neuter Plural affix शि in their original state. They must be parts of a neuter compound, to admit this affix. Hence we have used words “when the stem ends in हृ” &c.”

Thus बहुरुप्पिन्न and बहुरुप्पिन्निन्न बहुरुप्पिन्निन्न बहुरुप्पिन्निन्न बहुरुप्पिन्निन्न बहुरुप्पिन्निन्न बहुरुप्पिन्निन्न बहुरुप्पिन्निन्न बहुरुप्पिन्निन्न

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 श्विन्न, छिन्न, बुध-ह्न, पूप्प, अर्हम्नी

Kārīkā:—Regarding the rule of lengthening taught about हृ &c here, let the wise reader, after making a restrictive rule with regard to छ HDR (sarvanāmas thanā) affixes in general, make again another rule regarding the affix शि in particular, (i.e., make a yoga-bibhāga). By so doing, the form छुण्णनेह (Loc. sin.) of the Achārya, will not be found fault with.

2. (But if yoga-vibhaga be not made) then I rule that the anusvṛtti of हृ being dropped, let the rule be made with regard to शि affix in general (without regarding it as a Sarvanāmasthāna affix). And as the rule of lengthening applies to penultimates, there would arise no fault, if the vowel of हृ is lengthened before the demonstrative affix शि (in words like बुधह्नसेनेह=बुधह्न इथ भाष्य). This refers to VII. 4. 25).

3. Or if the anusvṛtti of हृ (Sarvanamasthāna) be taken into this Sūtra, because of the context, then the mention of शि in this Sūtra, (would be redundant, because the word Sarvanāmasthāna 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 Sarvanāmasthāna does not apply. That is, the Sarvanāmasthāna will be restricted with regard to हृ &c to the affix शि and not to हृ affixes generally.

Note:—शि is the affix of the Nom. and Acc. Pl. in Neuter (VII. 1: 20). It it a Sarvanamasthāna by I. 1. 42. But the word Sarvanamasthāna may be read into this sutra from the proceeding VI. 4. 8. What is then the necessity of employing शि in this? The above kārīkā answers this.

In the case of हृ ending words, the subsequent rule VI. 4. 15, which required the lengthening of the penultimate vowel before an affix having an indicator क or हृ, is however debarred by the present restrictive rule. Thus the Locative Singular (शि) is बुधह्न, and छुण्णनेह. How do you make this? By splitting up the present sutra into two parts, the first part being हृ हृ पूप्पिन्निन्न, and the second being शि. It would then mean:
(1) The penultimate vowel is lengthened, in strong cases only and no where else, when the stem ends in द्व, or म्व, or in रूप्त or भजस्तुम। (2) So also it is lengthened before the strong case भि 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 तुच्छपावते, तुच्छपावते denominate verbs in तुच्छ।

Or even though the Sarvanāmasthāna may be read into the sūtra by anuvṛtti, yet this may be considered a Restrictive Rule in general, and not only with regard to भि considered a Sarvanāmasthāna or a Neuter affix भि is the Sarvanāmasthāna affix of the Neuter: which has no other Sarvanāmasthāna, therefore, it is a general Niyama and not only a Sarvanāmasthāna or a Neuter niyama. Therefore in this niyama the word “नूलकाल”—“of the Neuter”—is not to be taken.

For if it be taken, then the Sūtra would mean, the neuter stems in द्व &c are lengthened in भि only and no where else. The result would be that in examples like भूमि भाग्यमुक्ति (loc. sin), there would be no lengthening at all (i.e. we shall never have the form भूमि in loc. sin. by force of VI. 4. 15); moreover, by so doing, there would arise this anomaly also, that words other than Neuter also not be lengthened,

The force of the definition of Sarvanāmasthāna applies to Neuter also in certain cases, therefore, any rule (niyama) made with regard to Sarvanāmasthāna would apply to Neuter also.

सौ च || १३ || पदानि || सौ, च, ( उपपाया: दृष्ट: )

शृण्य: || सावस्यस्तिनि पत्र इङ्गुष्टक्षणाप पर्याप्त शीर्षोऽविष्ठिः

13. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in द्व, द्व, द्व, द्व, द्व, द्व, are lengthened before the affix द्व of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus दुःधिः, दैत्थ, दूप, अर्थेन। The दू is elided by VIII. 2. 7, and the case-affix by VI. i. 68. In the Vocative singular we have हे बिर्भ, हे वृष, हे वृष, हे अर्थेन।

अत्त्वस्तन्त्रय घायातोः || || पदानि || अतु, अस्त्य, अधातोः ||

वृष्टि: || अन्तु अन्तु अन्त्यवस्त्रय घायातोः सावस्यस्तिनि पत्रोऽविष्ठिः

14. In the Nominative Singular (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is lengthened in a stem ending in अम, and अम when the consonant (अम) does not belong to a root.

Thus महाद्र, (with द्रस्त्र Un i. 63 from मा to shine), क्रष्ण, (with क्रष्ण); सामान, and क्रष्ण, (with महूः)। The द्र (ष) is added to the above by VII. i. 70, after the elongation has taken place, for if added before elongation, the
vowel no longer being *penultimate*, will not be lengthened at all. अःः—स खप्णे, खप्णा, खप्णोता:। Why do we say ‘not belonging to a dātu’? Observe निष्पदम्: where द belongs to the root मद (पिष्पेत मदस्ते), so also चर्म स: (चर्म चले)। The अःः having no significance as an affix &c is also included here, on the strength of the maxim “whenever भम् or द्रु or अत् or सम्, 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”. (अनिवार्य इत्यादिन अण्वैर्य शास्त्रान्ते ज्ञानम्प्रेर्य परिणामादिन्)। The word अन्त in the sūtra indicates whatever *ends* in अतु whether when first enunciated (उपरेष), such as उपतु, कातु &c, or which assumes the form अतु in grammatical inflection, such as मतुस्तः which in upadeśa ends in मतुस्तः, but becomes अतु in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गोमहरे, हे खप्णे: this rule not applying there.

अतुस्वतिकः क्रियातः: क्रियाति || १५ || पदानि || अतुस्वतिकः, क्रि, खप्णोः, क्रियाति, (दीर्घे:)।

हृदि: || अतुस्वतिकःनात्मकः दात्मायाः शिरोः मति विशेष्येऽपि सत्योऽसुः || क्रियाति ||

15. The penultimate vowel of a stem, ending in a nasal, is lengthened before the affix क्रि, and 'before an affix having an indicatory क or क्र, which begins with a consonant other than a semivowel or a nasal.

Thus मात्र and मत्र from the roots ज्ञम् and मत् by VIII. 2. 64. So also before an affix beginning with a हृद् consonant (any consonant but a nasal and a semivowel). As शाल: (with कः), शालवानः (with कतु), शाल्या (with कथा), and शाल्यि: (with किञ्च). These are all formed with किञ्च affixes. As to किञ्च affixes we have हास्यान्त: and तत्तत्त: formed by तत् 3rd Person Dual added to the Intensive roots ज्ञम् and मत्। सम् is हृदि by I. 2. 4. Why do we say ‘ending in a Nasal’? Observe ात्रा, पक्ता, पक्तान्। Why do we say ‘before क्रि and jhalādi affix’? Observe ग्राम्य, राम्य। Why do we say a हृदि or a किञ्च affix? Observe गाय एव राम्य।

अतुस्वतिकः स्वति || १६ || पदानि || अतु, हृद्, गमाम्, सवि, (बा दीर्घे:)।

हृदि: || अतुस्वतिकःनात्मकः हिन्दूम्योऽभि वनि हपतिए परेबो बाह्यान्तथार्थिळ।

16. The lengthening of the vowel takes place in the case of a stem ending in a vowel, as well as of हृद् and गम्, when the Desiderative affix सत् being jhaladi (i.e. not taking the augment हृ) follows.

Thus of roots ending in vowel we have:—विधित्व, दुष्पलित्व, शिक्षित्व, निश्चित्व, (VII. 1. 100); of हृद् and गम्, वाचित्व, and अधिविद्या।


**Vārt**:—The rule applies to that गम, which is the substitute of हृ (II. 4. 48)'to study'. Therefore, not here, संबिस्मते कस्तो मात्रा (cf. VII. 2. 58); In the Veda we read त्वम् लोकं समस्मिताम्, where though गम means ‘to go’ and is not, therefore, the substitute of हृ, the lengthening takes place by the rule VI. 3, 137. Or the word गम should not be added in the सूत्र at all: which should be read as हनमानं सानि meaning “There is lengthening of the stem when the Desiderative तान 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 गम also, in this way:—“A stem ending in a vowel is lengthened in the Desiderative, and so also of गम which is a substitute of the vowel-stem हृ” II. In this way, we may see, that there is no necessity of the Vārtika.

17. The lengthening of the stem of तन्द्र is optional, before the Desiderative सत्त्र, when it does not take the augment हृ.

Thus तिसाति or तिसाति II. But in तिरिक्षः there is no alternative is allowed, as हृ is added to सत्त्र by VII. 2. 49 Vārt: optionally.

कामवे करि II १५ II पदानि II कम, च, करि, (करि) II

18. The penultimate of कम is optionally lengthened, before the affix ज्ञा, when it is without the augment हृ.

Thus कन्या or कास्या; but कन्या only, with हृ augment. But when का is replaced by स्या, the rule does not apply: as प्रकाम, स्यकाम II. This is on the maxim अन्तःध्रुवादिति विशेषी वहिज्ञाश्च शायम् ‘a bahiranga substitution of ल्युर सुपersedes even antaranga rule’.

क्लो: शुद्धुतनासिके च II १६ II पदानि II क्लो, च; शुद्धुतनासिके च, (किष्ठेऽ) II

19. For त्व (including the augment त्वत्) is substituted त्र, and for त्र is substituted त्व, before an affix beginning with a Nasal, as well as before किं and jhalādi डिं and किं affixes (VI. 4. 15).

Thus गम, निश्चि from प्रत्युष्ट and बिक्षु, with the affix न (III. 3. 90) the त्द being replaced by त्र II. Similarly from the root त्स्य have स्यान: thus: स्यात् + न (Un III. 9). =स्यात् + त्र + न =त्स्यात् + न =स्यान: (VII. 3. 84). Here the त्र is added to the stem prior to the scope being given to the guna rule of VII. 3. 86, otherwise the form would be स्यात् + न =स्यात् + न =स्यात् + त्र + न II. Having thus added त्र,
before scope could be given to the guṇa rule VII. 3. 86, we make sandhi of \( \text{स} + \text{अ} = \text{र} \), because semivowel substitution is antaranga operation and of wider scope than guṇa, and the maxim of \( \text{नार्योवाडः} \) बलीवा भवति has no scope here. “An operation which is taught in the Arghādhikāra, and affects the अंग or stem, possesses greater force than an operation which concerns a combination of letters (i.e. is taught in a sandhi rule).”

With ह्यु we have चक्तिस्वरूपा formed with क्रिया (Upani. 57) added to क्रिया, there is no vocalisation of the semivowel र, and there is lengthening of अ, and चा changed to श. So also गानिराप. II

Of the change of व into क we have the following:—अक्षराप, हिन्मुक्तमुऽः (विश्व + क्रिया = विश्व + क्रिया = क्रिया) II. Here the क substitution is Bahiranga, and विश्व + क्रिया = क्रिया, the change of व into क is antaranga, therefore on the maxim of अविश्व बलराजः मनस्तः (a bahiranga is non-existent for the purposes of an antaranga), there should be no change of व into क, for क is non-existent. That maxim is however set aside by नागानदत्वेः विश्वम् भवस्ति: “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 ज्हलादी affix; as प्रस्थ + क्रिया = प्रस्थ, प्रवयव (क्षत्रह), प्रश्व (क्षत्रह); here च्छ is changed to श, there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, and श changed to प by VIII. 2. 36.

So also व is changed to क as, दूतः, दूतवान, दूतवा II. When the affixes are not विश्व or क्रिया, the rule does not apply: as दूतवान, दूतिः II. Some do not read the anuvṛtti of क्रिया and क्रिया into this sūtra, and explain दूतवान and दूतिः by VI. 1. 131: दूत short being substituted for व of क्रिया II. In “च्छायः प्” (VIII. 2. 36) the letter छ should not be taken, because by the force of the present sūtra, श is ordained to come every where in the place of छ II.

The indicatory र in श्न्ध्न is for the sake of distinguishing this र in sūtras like अस्व श्न्ध्न. र्ह (VI. 1. 89). In the sūtra चाह श्न्ध्न (VI. 4. 132) there is also indicatory र II.

ज्वरत्वयमध्यविविधामुपपत्तिः प्राचर्य || २० || पदानि॥ ज्वर, त्वर, ध्रिक्रिया, अधिक्रिया, उपप्राचर्यः, द्रव्यः (किस्मितों कव्य वस्य) ||

चूँकि: उपर वर्तमान अव मध्यविविधानां विकारस्य उपप्राचर्यः उपप्राचर्यः उपप्राचर्यः उपप्राचर्यः उपप्राचर्यः उपप्राचर्यः उपप्राचर्यः उपप्राचर्यः उपप्राचर्यः

20. In ज्वर, त्वर, ध्रिक्रिया, अधिक्रिया, and मध्य, before the above-mentioned affixes (क्रिया, a Nasal or a jhalâdi ‘क्रिया’ or ‘क्रिया’) there is the single substitution of ज्व्र for the ज्व्र and the vowel preceding the final consonant.
Thus छ् छो, छोर्, छर्, छंति: || छव्—हू, तूर, सूर, तूषि: || विद्वि—हू, सुहू, सुह, सूति: छूत्वान, छूति: || अत्र—हू, सूर, सूति: || मव—हू, सूति: || सुति: || स्वरस्वर्या-स्रोपा वञ्चारनु त्वरा, ब्रह्म बनन्ति पूर्शा ||

In छि and छ अ the छ replaces छ as well as the छ which follows छ; and in ब्रह्म अत्र and छि it replaces the छ and the vowel छ and च which precede छ. Another reading is छिव. ||

रात्रिः—२१ || पदार्थि || रात्रि, लोपः (किष्टिः) ||

बृत्ति: || रात्रिंतसर्वयालोऽभिभ भवति को गतो इत्यादि कौक्षित च चरति: ||

21. After छ there is the elision of छ and छ before 'कित' and 'कल्द' 'कित' and 'कल्द' affixes.

Thus from हुर्य—मू, हूर, हूर, मूर्त्वाच्च, मूलि:; the छ of Nishthā is not changed into छ by VII. 2. 57. So also from हुर्य we have हू, हूर, हूर, हूर-यात्रा, हूयति: || So also the च is elided, as from हूर्य—हू, हूर, हूर, हूर, हूर-याच्च, हूयति: ||

असिद्धवद्यात्ति मात्र || २२ || पदार्थि || असिद्धवत, अत्र, आभारः ||

बृत्ति: || असिद्धवत्वयुगिताः करति कार्त्तिकेयस्यभाषा भा भाषायपरिसंस्तप्रदकार असिद्धवद्यात्ति: ||

बायिकम्: || बायिकम्: साधो भाव इति सत् तत्त्वम् ||

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. Bohlingk. According to Kāsiṅa the असिद्धवद्यात्ति 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 Abhīya, 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 आभारः means 'up to ि' i.e. upto VI. 4. 129, in which last sūtra the word ि occurs: i.e. in applying the rules taught upto VI. 4. 129. The word अत्र shows that the two rules must have the same भाव 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 'adeśa' or substitution taught by another rule should not be considered to have taken effect in applying the special rule. Thus in forming उर्ध्रि and शायि (Imperative 2nd person)
is first substituted for त्यस 'to be' by VI. 4. 119, and या for शास्त्र by VI. 4. 35 and then is चित added by VI. 4. 101. The latter rule says that चित is added in the Imperative, only after those roots which end in a consonant of छ्र class. Now वशस and शास्त्र end in a ज्ञa consonant, and can take चित, but their substitute र and शा end in a vowel and not a consonant and should not take चित. The present rule helps us here, and for the application of चित (VI. 4. 101) the substitution of र for वशस or शा for शास्त्र should be considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect. Similarly in आमाछि (Vedic Imperative, शत्र being elided by II. 4. 73) and जाहि from गृह and हृ, the nasal being elided in the case of गृह, VI. 4. 36 and ज being substituted for हृ (VI. 2. 36) we have the stems आमि and जि, which ending in जि would require the elision of चित by VI. 4. 105. But since the change of जि &c is not regarded as having been accomplished, the elision of चित does not take place.

Why do we say आमाजि 'up to VI. 4. 129'? In applying any other rule the changes ordained by Abhiya rules would not be considered as asiddha. Thus आमाजि and राम from भृि and भृज. Here the nasals of rañj and bhañj have been elided by VI. 4. 20-28 and 33 before the affixes प्रम and विध respectively, and we have the stems रज् and भृज, to which rule VII. 2. 116 applies and we have विधdhi of त 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 विधdhi, as it would not then be वधया or penultimate.

Why do we use the word अच in the aphorism? The rules are asiddha to each other with regard to a common place of operation and not otherwise. Thus चि + वशस (क्रिया) + अस (शास्त्र Acc. Pl.) = पवि + वशस + अस (VI. 4. 131 vocalisation of श). If this श substitute be considered as asiddha for the purposes of sūtra VI. 4. 64, then we cannot elide the आ of पाय, because आ is not then followed by a vowel (अ being non-existent). द however is not considered as asiddha, and आ being thus elided, we have पपेः in पपेः: पपेः. Similarly चि + वशस + अस = पिधि + वशस + अस. Here also द is not considered asiddha, and we apply rule VI. 4. 82, and substitute य for द as चित्य: पपेः. Similarly चूि + वशस + अस छूि + वशस + अस = छूिपेः. Here also च is not considered asiddha, and we change the ज of च into ज्ञ by VI. 4. 77. In all the above three cases, the elision of ा, or change of च to च, or of ज to ज्ञ, takes place in reference to वशस, while the samprasāraṇa of य takes place with reference to the Accusative plural case-ending अस which makes the stem Bha. So they have not the same आमाचि. Nor does the maxim of अमाजि अमाजि 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.
Vārtt.—The substitute तुक (VI. 4. 88), and तृत (VI. 4. 63) should however be considered as not asiddha, and rule VI. 4. 77 teaching उवर्त, and VI. 4. 82, teaching श substitution should not be applied simultaneously with them. Thus तृत—बूतस, बूतसुत: बूतस्व: with तृत, and उपस्वैः, उपस्वितां, उपस्वीति with तृत of VI. 4. 63. In the case of तृत, when तृत is added, there is not the addition of तृत्त, and in the case of बूतस्त, when तृत is added, there is not तृत्त.

The न in आभृतत has the force of limit inclusive, so that, the asiddha rule applies to the sūtras governed by न.

आभृतत: || २३ || पदार्थ: || आभृत, न लोपः: ||
शृंगतः: || शृंगतिः श्राःययुस्हतस्यन्तरगुणः द्विगुणः तत् उच्चस्य नकारस्य लेपी भवति.

23. After न, which is added to the roots of the seventh class as a characteristic (i.e. the vikaraṇa श्रम), there is the elision of the following न.

Thus नमनक् and नमक्ष from त्वग्न 'to anoint', and भज्ञ 'to break'. Thus त्वग्न + त्वग्न + त्वग्न (I. 1. 47)= त्वग्न+त्वग्न (VI. 4. 23)= त्वग्न. So also हिंसितह from हिंसित (हिंसित) 'to injure'. Why do we say ‘after श’ and not merely ‘after न’, without the indicator श? Observe व्यासायु, व्यासायु, where the न of नायु is not elided after the न of नायु and नायु, the lengthening of न by VII. 3. 102 being sthānitav would not have prevented the elision. In the case of व्यासायु त and मायायु (formed by तिथिं + नायु and मायु + नायु) also, the न of नायु is not elided after श of तिथिं. For the श of the sūtra is the technical श of the vikaraṇa, and not any combination of the letters श and न. The pratipadokta maxim applies here.

अनिधितां हल्ल्पपात्या: कृंतितः || २६ || पदार्थः || अनिधिताम, हल्ल्पपात्या: कृंतितः

तुष्टिः: || अनिधितामः आभृताः आभृताः आभृताः नकारस्य लेपी भवति कृंतितः प्रस्थे परस्त: ||
बार्तिकम् || अनिधितां नेपायं नलोक्यम्योपपतायस्यरामायस्यसंभृतां कर्तव्यम्.
वासः || रज्जेस्पृशिंधस्यसंभृतां कर्तव्यम् || वासः || प्रितिः च रज्जेस्पृशिंधस्यसंभृतां कर्तव्यम् ||
वासः || रज्जेस्पृशिंधस्यसंभृतां कर्तव्यम्.

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 श (VII. 1. 58)—the न is elided when an affix having an indicatory श or श follows.

Thus from भ्नम् and भ्नम् are formed भ्नस्: and भ्नस्: with न, भ्नस्: and भ्नस्: with श्न, भ्नस्यस्य, भ्नीस्यस्य: with श्न: the न being added by VII. 4. 84. But भ्नस्यस्य and भ्नस्यस्य, the न is not elided, the root being written in the Dhātupātha as भ्नस्यस्य, and न being added by VII. 1. 58. Why do we say ending in a consonant? Observe नेलेः, नेलेः from नी which has a penulti-
mate nasal, but ends in a vowel. Why do we say ‘penultimate’? Observe नाहों, नाहिंहों। Why do we say having an indicatory क or र? Observe खासनाः, खासाद् with खुद्।

Vārt:—The roots लथू (लपिः) and कम्पु (कविः) are exceptions, where meaning ‘to feel pain or difficulty’ and ‘a disease of the body’. These, though exhibited in the Dhātupātha with an indicatory य, are treated as exceptions to the rule of अनिमिताः: thus विलभित: and विकापित:; when not having the above meanings, we have बिलभित: and विकापितः।

Vārt:—The causative of the root रज्जु, loses its nasal when meaning ‘to hunt deer’: as, रज्जयति घुगाय, ‘he hunts the deer’, but रज्जयति वस्त्राणि ‘he colors the clothes’.

Vārt:—रज्ज loses its nasal before the affix विदुष, as रजमी।

Vārt:—The words रज्जा:, रज्जम, and रज्ज: are formed from रज्ज by the elision of the nasal.

दंदासःस्वहः शापि ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्गा, सतः, सज्ज, सज्जाध, शापि ॥

Vृत्ति: ॥ दंदा सज्ज श्वरुि इतिवृत्ता गाणां शापि परं उवाहा नकारस्य लोपी भवति ॥

25. The nasal of दंदा, सज्ज, and सज्जाध is elided before the vikaraṇa शय of the roots of the 1st class.

Thus श्वरुि, सज्जति and पारिवहिते for the change of the शू of सज्जाध to श see VIII. 3. 65

रज्जेः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रज्जेः, च, ॥

Vृत्ति: ॥ रज्जेः शापि परत उपाध्या नकारस्य लोपी भवति ॥

26. The nasal of रज्ज is also elided before शापः ॥

As रज्जति, रजिः, रजिः। The separation of this from the preceding is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛti of rañj only runs and not of dañs &c.

गजि च मावकरणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गजि, च, मावकरणयोः ॥

Vृत्ति: ॥ मावकरणयाविंचिताः गजि परत रज्जेत्त्वाया नकारस्य लोपी भवति ॥

27. The penultimate nasal of रज्ज is elided before गजि, when the word formed with it expresses a state or an instrument.

Thus गजः: ‘passion, color, or the coloring stuff’. Thus गजः: गजः: विचिव गजः: denote भाव, while रज्जेत्त्वामिति गजः: denotes instrument. The श्वू. is added by III. 3. 121; and च changed to श by VII. 3. 52. But गजः: =रजि तस्मिन् ‘a theatre;

श्वदेः जचे ॥ २८ ॥ श्वदः, जचे, ॥

Vृत्ति: ॥ जचे अभिचे श्वद्र दृशि पर्यं निपताते। खेत्रशास्त्रेऽसृजः।

28. The word श्वद is formed by गज in the sense of ‘speed’.
This word is derived from स्खन्न, the nasal is elided, and the Vṛiddhi prohibited irregularly. Though the ārdhadhātuka affix यम् causes here the elision of a portion of the root, viz of ध्र of स्खन्न, yet rule I. 1. 4 does not apply here. That rule prohibits Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, only in case of शक् vowels, here the Vṛiddhi is prevented with regard to श। The prevention of this Vṛiddhi is irregular and not governed by I. 1. 4. Thus गोत्सव: अथवा: meaning “cow-speed,” “horse-speed,” but गौत्सव: अथवा: meaning “dripping of oil or ghee”.

अवोदौपासपद्यहिमसख्य: ||२९|| पदार्थ || अवोद,पध,आधा,प्रध,हिमसख्य: वृत्ति: || अवोद एव अधिपत्यम पद्य हिमसख्य इत्यते निरालो ते ||

29. अवोद, पध, आधा, प्रध, and हिमसख्य are irregularly formed by the elision of ्न।

Thus ्न्न—अन्न + ्न्न्न = अन्न; ्न्न्न् = एष, the guṇa is irregular, for I. 1. 4 applied here, and prevented guṇa. ्न्न + ्न्न्न् = आङ्ग (Uṇadi मन्). म + अन्न्न्न् = प्रध (The want of Vṛiddhi is the irregularity). So also हिमसख्य: ||

नाजेठू: पूजायाम || ३० || पदार्थ || न, अन्चे:ू, पूजायाम, ||

वृत्ति: || अन्चे:ू: पूजायामेन नकाराव लोपे न भवति ||

30. The nasal of ्न्न is not elided when the meaning is to honor.

Thus महिष्ट्वता सन्त गृहः, महिष्ट्वतम पिसरो वहति || The हृ augment is added by VII. 2. 53. When the sense is not that of ‘honoring’, we have हस्तकु窟कः हुष्ट्वत् “the water was drawn from the well.” Here the हृ is prohibited by VII. 2. 15.

किं स्कन्दनि स्वन्दोः: || ३१ || पदार्थ || किं, स्कन्दिं, स्वन्दिं; ( न लोप: ) ||

वृत्ति: || किं नकारावेन परतं स्कन्द स्वन्द हेविविकालेवोऽर्जोऽपि न भवति ||

31. स्कन्द and स्वन्द retain their nasal before the affix क।

Thus स्कन्द, and स्मित्वा or स्मित्वा, the हृ being added when स्मित्वा is considered as having an indicatory ् in the dhatupatha. When हृ is added, स्मित्वा is no longer किं तु by virtue of the rule I. 2. 18, and elision would not take place, for no rule of elision would apply in that case.

जातननां विभाषा || ३२ || पदार्थ || जात्त, नशाम, विभाषा ( न लोप: ) ||

वृत्ति: || जात्तननां नशामवेय परतो विभाषा नकारावेयो न भवति ||

32. The nasal may be optionally elided before ्का in a root ending in ्क and in ्न्क||

Thus हस्त्वा or स्त्वा, महस्त्वा or महस्त्वा, नम्न्त्र or नम्न्त्र See || VII. 1. 60 for the augment म्य in म्य। When हृ comes, we have महिष्ट्वा ||

महिष्ट्वा चिनिणि || ३३ || पदार्थ || महिष्ट्वा, चिनिणि, ( विभाषा न लोप: ) ||

वृत्ति: || महिष्ट्वा चिनिणि परतो विभाषा नकारावेयो भवति ||
33. The nasal may be optionally elided in मा before the third person Passive of the Aorist in चिन (ह्र)

Thus अमाजि or अमोजि. This is an aprāpta vibhāsha, and teaches for the first time the elision of न in a certain contingency.

शास्त्र इद्र्द्द्वलोः ॥ ३४ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ शास्त्रं, इत्या, अन्या, हलोः; (केजिति) ॥
वृत्ति: ॥ शास्त्र उपपाया इद्र्द्वलोऽभि अष्टि पर्यं हलोऽन्या च केजिति ॥
वासिकम: ॥ क्षणे ॥ शास्त्र हस्य भवति संक्षम् ॥ वारो ॥ किन्युष्ट्र स्थायि भवति संक्षम् ॥

34. Before the Aorist in अक्ष्य and before an affix beginning with a consonant having an indicatory क् or क्त, there is the substitution of ह for the vowel of शास्त्रः॥

Thus भवासिपत्त, भवासिपसाम and भवासिपसा, so also विस्त्र: (with क), विस्त्र्यभासः
(with क्षः), तीव्र: वचनः: (with the tense-affixes हं and हः which are किन्यु by I. 2. 4). The स is changed to स by VIII. 3. 60. Why do we say 'before the affixes of अरो Aorist and consonant affixes'? Observe शास्त्रि, शास्त्रि, शास्त्रि: ॥

Vart:-There is the substitution of ह for the vowel of शास्त्रः before the affix किन्यु॥

As आर्याविः = आर्यावि शास्त्रः॥ So also विन्यु:॥ The form is thus evolved, शास्त्रः + किन्यु = सिन्युः + विन्युः = शिन्युः = शी: (the short ह being lengthened by VIII. 2. 76.

The root शास्त्रः is that root which takes अक्ष्य aorist; namely the second Adādi शास्त्रः (शास्त्र अक्ष्यिते), and not the Bhvādi and the first Adādi शास्त्रम् (अक्ष्य शास्त्रम् इद्र्द्वलेष्यः)॥ Therefore not here भासास्त्रः, भासास्त्रामः:॥

Vart:-But before किन्यु, this शास्त्र also is changed, as बासात्रि: बासात्रि: बासात्रि:॥

Or this is an irregular form indicated by the author in the word तियाश्रि: used in VIII. 2. 104.

शा ही: ॥ ३५ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ शा, ही: ॥
वृत्ति: ॥ शास्त्रो ही: पर्यत: शा इवमाध्यिको भवति ॥

35. Before the Imperative affix हि, शा is substituted for शास्त्रः॥

Thus अमाजि, प्रामाजि:॥ The हि is changed to हि by VI. 4. 101. See VI 4. 22. The anuvṛtti of उपपाया: is not here; so शा is substituted in the room of the full word शास्त्रः and not only for the penultimate vowel of शास्त्रः.॥ The anuvṛtti of किन्यु and किन्यु also is not here. Therefore, when this हि is treated as हि (III. 4. 88), then too the substitution takes place, though a हि Sārvadhātuka is not हि (I. 2. 4). Thus शास्त्रि is also found in the Vedas as having acute on the first syllable, which can only be when हि is हि and consequently anudātta (III. 1. 4)

हन्तेजः: ॥ ३६ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ हन्तेजः, जः: (ह्र्) ॥
वृत्ति: ॥ हन्तेजः इवमाध्यिको भवति ही पर्यत: ॥
36. ज is substituted for हनु before हि।

Thus जाहि हनू।

अनुदत्तापदेशवचनितततोत्यक्तीनामङ्गुनासिकततोपो श्रद्धि कृत्तिति। 37। पदार्थि।

अनुदत्तापदेश, वनति, तनोधारीनाम, अनुमानिक लोपः, श्रद्धि, कृत्तिति।

वृत्ति। अनुदत्तापदेशायामानां वनति तनोधारीयां श्रद्धायामानासिकततोपो भवति हस्तलेषे कृत्तिति गतेष्य परस्। 37।

37. The final nasal of those roots which in the Dhātupātha have an unaccented root-vowel, as well as of बन and तन &c., is elided before an affix beginning with a consonant (except a semi-vowel or nasal), when these have an indicatory क or ख।

Thus खु gives us बला (with सत्), बत (with ज), बल्वार (with जन्तु), याइः (with लित्). Similarly खु gives us रसा, रसः; रस्वार, रसः। याइः। घ्रु, रघु, यागु, यद्रु and मन्त्र which end in a nasal are to be considered as unaccented roots, though taught as accentted in the Dhātupātha. So also of खूः: i. e. याइः: with लित्: with लित्: the nasal is not elided as यत्; (VI. 4. 39): and before other jhalādi affixes य, retains य as all those affixes take the augment हूः। The वा नाथिर roots belong to the eighth class. Thus तत्: तत्तवः: The Tanādi roots are ten in number, तत्, दत्, श्रण्, चित्, अश्रण्, ग्रुष्, द्वर, ग्रुष्, ग्रुष्, द्वर, ग्रुष्, ग्रुष्। Of these द्वर takes long अ also (VI. 4. 45). कणु—क्षण्, क्षत्रवार, क्षण्—क्षत्रवार, क्षत्रवार; द्वर्ण—द्वर्ण, द्वर्ण; द्वर्ण—द्वर्ण; व्ययावल; व्यय—व्यय, व्ययावल; मन्त्र—मन्त्र, मन्त्रावल।

Why do we say before a जित् affix? Observe भरत्, भरथः। (I. 2. 11 these affixes are जित्:) So also not in शार्त; शार्तवार; ताल्प्र; ताल्प्र; शाल्प्र; शाल्प्र; शाल्प्र; शाल्प्र; not being anudatta in the Dhātupātha. If the root does not end in a nasal, the rule does not apply, as in पक्षः, पक्षवारः। If the affix does not begin with a jhal consonant, the rule does not apply: as गम्ये, गम्ये। If the affix is not जित् or जित् the rule does not apply: as, बनता, बनत्वय। Why do we say “anudatta by upadesa”? So that the rule may apply to गम् root, as गाति:, but not to यम्, as यम्मः: यम्मवारः। For जित्: is formed by जित् affix and is accentted with udatta on the first, but it is a secondary udatta and not of upadesa or dhātupātha, and does not prevent the elision of म of गम्। Similarly यम्म is udatta-upadesa though in शाल्प्र it has become अनुलयम्। The former though taught in the Dhātupātha as udatta, has been specifically mentioned above as anudatta, and यम्म is taught as udatta in the Dhātupātha, and no where else taught as anudatta.

ता व्ययि ॥ ३८॥ पदार्थि ॥ चा, व्ययि, ॥

श्रद्धि। व्ययि परसे हनुपयोज्यनितततोत्यक्तीनामङ्गुनासिकततोपो तव नवति। ॥

38. The nasal of the above roots (i. e. anudatta ending in a nasal, and बन and तनाधि) is optionally elided before the Absolutive affix द्वगु॥
This is a vyavasthita-vibhāṣā. The option applies to roots ending in म. In the case of roots ending in other nasals, the elision is compulsory. Thus मन्त्र or मन्त्र, मन्य or मन्य, मन्य or मन्य, आचार्य आचार्य, but no option in भाष्य, मन्य, मन्य, मन्य, मन्य, मन्य.

न किंचि दीर्घশः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदार्थी ॥ न, किंचि, दीर्घंः ॥ च ॥

३९. Before the affix किंचि, the above roots neither drop their nasal nor lengthen their root-vowel.

The above roots i.e. anudāttopadesa, ending in a nasal, and वन and वनादि, do not lose their nasal before किंचि. Thus वनि, वनि, वनि: ॥ The lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 15, when the nasal was not elided: that also is prohibited.

गम: क्री ॥ ५० ॥ पदार्थी ॥ गम:, क्री, (अनुनासिकऽखोः;) ॥

४०. The nasal of गम is always elided before क्री: ॥

Thus गम्बागतः, कलिगम्बतः, अथवातः हतसं: ॥ The त is added by VI. 1. 71.

Vārt.—It should be stated of गम and the rest. The elision takes place here also सयः, परीतः: ॥

Vārt.—The nasal of गम &c. is elided before क्री: यस्य, अभेषः, अभेषः: ॥

विन्दुनारुनासिकस्तथः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदार्थी ॥ विन्दु-नासिकस्तथ: ॥ अनुनासिकस्तथ: आतः ॥

४१. A stem ending in a nasal, and followed by the affix विन्द or वन, always substitutes long आ for its nasal.

Thus अव्याज्ञा, गोज्ञा, ब्रजज्ञा, अंज्ञा, गोपा: (e.g. गोपा हन्नोद्व्या भति Rig V.),

कृष्णा:, शतक्ष::, साहस्क्ष:, विधिक्ष:, अभेष उदेतुणाम्: ॥ The affix विन्द (which is totally elided) is added under III. 2. 67. The त of तत्व is changed to त by VIII. 3. 108. in गोपा: ॥ With the affix वन we have the following:—विज्ञाया, अभेष्याया (III. 2. 75). The repetition of the word अनुनासिक in this sutra shows that the limitation of anudāttopadesa &c. which applied to the अनुनासिक of sūtra VI. 4. 37 does not apply here.

जनसन्नन्यान सन्नन्यान: ॥ ४२ ॥ पदार्थी ॥ जन-सन्नन्यान सन्नन्यान: ॥ (आत) ॥

४२. The long आ is substituted for the final of जन्म, सन्न and सन्न before the consonant beginning Desiderative affix सन्न, and before any other affix beginning with a jhal consonant, which has an indicative क or ख: ॥
Thus जात्, जात्वा, जाति, सत्, सात्वन्, साति:, सिपात्ति; खात्; खात्वा, खाति;||

In ज् and ख् the Desiderative does not begin with a consonant, but takes the augment ह्, the थ is not therefore elided, as जिजाविपति, जिष्याविपति || In the case of the root स्, the Desiderative takes ह्, so we have two forms जिपात् and सिसाविपत्ति (VII. 2. 49). The Desiderative has, therefore, been mentioned in the aphorism, only for the sake of the root स्.||

If the phrase सनम् तो be taken to mean ‘the Desiderative beginning with a consonant’, then we should read the anuvṛtti of शलि कांविति from the preceding sūtras, to complete the sense of this; and if the phrase means “when the Desiderative of a jhalādi affix follows”, then we should qualify the word Desiderative by the word jhal from the preceding sūtras. Or we may divide the sūtra into two (1) Before a कित् or कित् jhalādi affix long आ is the substitute of the भ of ‘jan’, ‘san’ and ‘khan’. (2) And so is the case, when the Desiderative affix follows, not having the augment ह्, for then also the भ of ‘jan’, ‘san’ and ‘khan’ is replaced by long आ.||

The भ of the root स् 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 विदिकेष्य परं काठ म् (I. 4. 2). In fact, though in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22) one rule is considered as asiddha for the purposes of the operations of another rule, yet one rule supersedes another by the maxim of vipratisedha. That that maxim applies in this section also, is to be inferred from the employment of the term ह् in VI. 4. 66, which supersedes the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64, and substitutes instead the long ह्.||

ये विभाषा || ५३ || पद्यानि || ये, विभाषा, (जनसनाभनाभ आत्.) ||

बुस्ति:|| बकारस्य दृढ्दि प्रयवे परतो जनसनाभादभाकार आदिशी भवति विभाषा.||

43. There is optionally the substitution of long आ for the finals of ज्, स् and ख् before an affix beginning with थ and marked with an indicatory क or क्.||

Thus जावेत् or जावेत् (with यक्) जावावेत् or जावावेत् (with यक्). So also सावेत्; सावेत्, सावावेत्, स्वावेत्, or स्वावेत्, चावावेत् or चहस्वावेत्.|| Before the vikaraṇa भ्वर् of the Fourth class, which is खर्, according to I. 2. 4; the आ is always substituted for जन् by VII. 3. 79. No option is allowed there.

तनोत्यथः || ५४ || पद्यानि || तनोत्, यथः (विभाषा आत्.) ||

बुस्ति:|| तनोत्यथः परतो विभाषा आदाकार आदिशी भवति.||

44. The long आ may be optionally substituted for the final of त् before the Passive characteristic यक्.||

Thus सावेत् or सावेत्; but no option is allowed in सावेत् with यक्.||

सन्: किचि लोपशास्यान्तरस्याम् || ५५ || पद्यानि || सन्:, किचि, लोप:,
च, अस्य, अन्तरस्याम, ||

बुस्ति:|| सानोत्त्वस्य किचि प्रश्वे परत आदाकार आदिशी भवति लोपशास्यान्तरस्याम.
45. The long ā is optionally substituted for the final of सन् before the affix कियः; and there is also elision optionally of the Nasal.

Thus we have three forms सांतः; सतः; and सति: || The word अन्वतरस्याम् ‘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 anuvṛtti. Lest any one should doubt, that the anuvṛtti of विभाषा had ceased with the last aphorism, this word अन्वतरस्याम् is employed here.

46. From this upto VI. 4. 68 inclusive, is always to be supplied “before an affix called ārdhadātuka (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 ārdhadātuka”. Thus VI. 4. 48 teaches “the ā standing at the end of a verbal stem is elided”. To complete the sense we should add: “before an ārdhadātuka affix”. Thus the final ā of the verbal stem निकीर्देश is elided before the ārdhadātuka affix हु, as निकीर्देश, निकीर्देश, but the final ā is not elided before a sārvadātuka affix, as the ā of मात् in मात्; मात्: || The luk-elision of शृङ्ग after roots of अवस्व class, implies that there is never लोपा of शृङ्ग. ||

The following purposes are served by this sūtra, i.e. an ārdhadātuka affix causes the following special changes (1) अस्तिप्रच—The elision of अ of a stem, as shown above, in निकीर्देश, निकीर्देश, (2) यास्ति—The elision of य by VI. 4. 49, 50: as वैविषिक, वैविषिक, वैविषिक from वैविषिक the Intensive stem. Before Sārvadātuka, we have भविष्यते, वैविष्यते. || (3) विनोदस्य प्रयोजनम्—The elision of नि by VI. 4. 51, as कारणा हरणा पारष्यते (पर्याभ + युक्त + ते = पर्याभ + युक्त + ते), वायुते. || In Sārvadātuka, पारष्यते, वायुति, कारणति, हरणाति. || (4) अस्ति—The elision of अ, VI. 4. 64— as पर्याभ; पर्याभ: पर्याभ; In Sārvadātuka, भावति, भावति (5) इत्यादि—The substitution of long ह for अ in some roots, VI. 4. 65 as भीते, भीते; in Sārvadātuka भावताद्, भावताद् (6) इत्यादि—The substitution of ए for अ, VI. 4. 68; as लोका, लोका; in Sārvadātuka, लोकात्, लोकात्. || This is confined to the Preceptive (Asśīra). (7) षिष्यद्वारानं सीरुदि, the treatment of the Preceptive like Aorist Passive in षिष्य, by VI. 4. 62. as कारिपी, कारिपी. || In Sārvadātuka, क्रियेत, क्रियेत. ||

Kāśikā—अस्ति, लोका श्रवणव विनोदस्य प्रयोजनम्.

भ्रस्तो रोपयोरमयतरस्याम् || 47 || पदानि || भ्रस्तः, र-उपयोगः, रम्, अन्यतरस्याम्.

भ्रस्ति: || अस्ति रोपयोरमयतरस्याम् रमति.
47. In the room of the र and the penultimate letter स्त्र of the root भ्रस्त्र, there is optionally the substitute ट्स्र, when an अर्धद्वातुका affix follows.

The र and स्त्र cease to exist and ट्स्र takes their place. The substitute having an indicatory र comes after the final vowel (I. 1. 49). Thus भ्रस्त्र + र = भ्रजित + र = भ्रजित ज being changed to य by VIII. 2. 36, and त to ट by VIII. 4. 41. The other form will be भ्रजित; so also भ्रस्त्र and भ्रजित, भ्रस्त्रम् and भ्रजितम्, अजानम् or अज्जानम्. But भ्रजित: and भ्रजितम् by VI. 1. 16, in spite of this rule. The word वर्नेन (VI. 4. 37) is understood here also. The rule therefore applies to the simple root भ्रस्त्र as originally taught in the Dhatupāṭha, and not to any Derivative root from it. As the Intensive (व्य) is वेस्त्रत्ने॥

अतो लोपः॥ धै॥ पदानि || अतः, लोपः; (आध्यात्मक)॥

सूचि:॥ अकारान्तस्याद्वातुके लेपे भवति।

यासिनिः॥ वृक्षिस्वर्णस्तैः सूचः; उपनिषतिः॥

48. The घ standing at the end of a stem is elided before an अर्धद्वातुका affix.

Thus विष्णूर्यित्सत, विष्णूर्यित्सत, and विष्णूर्यित्सत, from the Desiderative stem विष्णूर्यित्सत. So also विस्तु: and विस्तु: from the roots विस्तु: and विस्तु: thus, विस्तु: + च (III. 1. 80) = विस्तु: + श + च (III. 1. 80) = चित्व + त्र (चित्त्र being elided before the अर्धद्वातुका च) = चित्व, the 3rd Personal dual of it is चित्वत् ॥ The addition of च by III. 1. 80 and its subsequent elision by the present sūtra, may appear a redundancy, but the elided च being sthānīvat, prevents guṇa of च॥ So also क्रुद्धत:॥ See sūtra III. 1. 80. Why do we say “the अ is elided”? Observe चेता, लोपा here र and च have not been elided. Why do we say, “अतः with a च”? The long अ will not be elided: as याता, याता॥ Why do we say ‘before an अर्धद्वातुका’? Before a Sārvadhātukā there will be no elision of अर्ध nor before a Taddhita: as वृक्षिस्वर्णम् and चित्वत॥

Vārt:- The elision of such अ takes place even to the supersession of the subsequent rules relating to Vṛiddhi and lengthening. As विष्णूपकः, विष्णू पकः, विष्णूपकः ते and विष्णूपकः॥

यस्य हृदः॥ धै॥ पदानि || यस्य, हृदः॥

मृतः॥ इस उत्तरस्य वास्तवार्द्धातुके लेपे भवति।

49. When a consonant precedes the final य in a verbal stem, this य is elided also before an अर्धद्वातुका affix.

Thus विष्णूसित, विष्णूसित, विष्णूसितम् from the Intensive stem विष्णूसिता॥ In the sūtra यस्य is given, which is the Genitive singular of य namely of the letters छ य॥ By the rule of अद्वात्मूल (I. 1. 52), the अ of य ought to be elided.
and not य; but that rule is evidently inapplicable here, since the elision of क would have taken place by the preceding rule: the present rule therefore teaches the elision of य (ya). Or the word हृतः may be considered as in the ablative case, and then by I. 1. 54, the first letter would be elided namely य। Why have we taken [the two letters (संपश्य) conjointly viz.] य and not य? Observe स्त्रियता, दशियता, द्वियता from the simple roots द्वैत, मत्य, and स्नित्य। Here य not being followed by क, is not elided (see Bhvadi 541—546). Why do we say ‘when preceded by a consonant?’ Observe लघुपित्या, पापुपित्या।

क्षयम् विभाषा। ॥ ५० ॥ पद्याणि ॥ क्षयम्, विभाषा, ( आर्धानुक्ष) ॥

२४४।। क्षयम् हृतं उत्तरं विभाषा नेत्यं भवति भार्धानुक्ष।

50. The elision of य of the Denominative stem (क्ष्य) is optional, when preceded by a consonant and followed by an ārdhadhātuka affix.

The क्ष्य denotes the affixes क्ष्य्य and क्ष्यः। Thus सनिभिष्यति or सनिभिष्य, उपविष्यति or उपविष्यति meaning सनिभिष्यति रस्तुति or सनिय रस्तुत, &c.

... ॥ ५१ ॥ पद्याणि ॥ गृः, अनिति, ( आर्धानुक्ष) ॥

२४५।। क्ष्यम् विभाषानुक्षानुक्षानुक्षानुक्षषे भवति।

51. The ह of the verbal stem formed with the affix फिं, is elided before an ārdhadhātuka affix which does not take the augment हृः।

This debars हय, the semi-vowel य, the guṇa, Vṛiddhi and the long substitutions. Thus अतत्सत्, अरसत्, भाविकत्, भाविकत्, कारण, गुण, कारक, हास्य, कारक, हास्य, कारक, हास्य, and शीतपति (see VII. 4. 1 for the shortening of the stem of the Aorists in these). Why do we say ‘not having the augment हृ?’ Observe कारविता and हारिता।

निष्यायणं लेण्ट्रेत ॥ ५२ ॥ पद्याणि ॥ निष्यायणं, सेन्ट्रेत।

२४६।। निष्यायणं सेन्ट्रेत परतो पेरे भवति।

52. The affix फिं is elided before the affixes क्ष्य and क्ष्यु when these take the augment हृः।

Thus कारित्यत्, हारित्यत्, गारित्यत्, हारित्यत्। Why do we say “before an ārdhadhātuka affix having the augment हृः”? Observe सनिभिष्यति पहुँ।। This is the part participle of the causative, the ह being the sign of the causative. By VII. 2. 15 read with VII. 2. 49, हृः is a root which takes no हृ augment in the Nishṭhā. It may be objected that VII. 2. 15 preventing हृ augment applies to verbs of one syllable (VII. 2. 10), and the causative हिः being of two syllables will always have हृ in the Nishṭhā, and so it is useless to use the word सेन्ट्र in the sūtra. The word सेन्ट्र in the sūtra fixes the time when the elision of फिं should take place. Namely, first there should be added the
augment \( \text{हृ} \) and then, there should take place the elision of \( ढ \)। Otherwise we shall have this difficulty कार्+त, here let us elide the \( ढ \) first: and we get कार्+त, now we cannot add \( हृ \) to \( ढ \), for कार् being a verb of one syllable will not take \( हृ \) by VII. 2. 10. Therefore, the reverse process must be adopted, We must elide \( हृ \) first. For \( ढ \) see also VII. 2. 27.

जनिता मले \( ॥ ५३ ॥ \) पदानि \( ॥ \) जनिता, मले \( ॥ \)

बुक्ति: \( ॥ \) जनितेषति मन्तवरे इवाहेष जिलेषेष निपायते।

53. In a Mantra, the word जनिता is formed irregularly by the elision of ढ before the affix हृ with the augment हृ।

Thus ढृः निसा जनिता। Otherwise जनिता in secular literature. It is an exception to VI. 4. 51.

शामिता यवे \( ॥ ५४ ॥ \) पदानि \( ॥ \) शामिता, यवे \( ॥ \)

बुक्ति: \( ॥ \) यत्कार्मणिः शामितेति हवाहेष जिलेषेष निपायते।

54. शामिता is formed irregularly by the elision of ढ before an हृ augmented affix, when meaning a sacrificial act.

Thus शृः हृः। शामित:। It is formed by हृः and is in the Vocative case. Why do we say 'when referring to a sacrificial act'? See शृः हृः: शामित:। See Satpatha Br. III. 8, 3, 4 and 5.

अयामन्तावच्चापविनिविविविष्युः \( ॥ ५५ ॥ \) पदानि \( ॥ \) अय, आम-अन्त-आलु-आल्य-हल्य-हल्य।

बुक्ति: \( ॥ \) आम, अन्त, आल्य, आल्य, हल्य, हल्य। आलु-हल्य, गर्वते गर्वते भवले।

55. अय is substituted for the हृ of ढ, before the affixes आम, अन्त, आल्य, आल्य, हल्य, and हल्य।

Thus कार्यं शुक्क, शुक्क शुक्क, शुक्कहल्यः। शुक्कहल्यः (formed by the Uṇādi affix हल्य, हृ=अन्त, added to the roots गंड and में) भाल। सूक्याल्यः। इल्य, शूक्याल्यः, शूक्याल्यः। हल्य-सत्मान्तः। हल्य-सत्मान्तः। इल्य-सत्मान्तः। इल्य-सत्मान्तः। इल्य-सत्मान्तः। इल्य-सत्मान्तः। इल्य-सत्मान्तः।

Thus śūtra could have been well dispensed with; for the हृ of ढ would take गुप्ता हृ which will be changed to भाय by the rules of Sandhi, be fore these affixes. This substitution of भाय for हृ is for the sake of the subsequent śūtra however, because there हृ could not be changed to भाय by any sandhi-rules.

व्यपे \( युहुपूर्वाणि) \( ॥ ५६ ॥ \) पदानि \( ॥ \) लूपिः, लूपु पूवांत ( \( \) ये: अय)।

बुक्ति: \( ॥ \) यविः परस्य युहुपूर्वाणि यविः निवासेषो भवति।

56. अय is substituted for the हृ of ढ, before the Absolutive affix लूप, when the vowel preceding the हृ is light.

Thus प्रायम्य: गतः, गत: गत: प्रायम्य: प्रायम्य:। प्राय: प्राय: प्राय: प्राय:। बुक्ति: \( ॥ \) प्राय: परस्य लूपुपूर्वाणि यविः निवासेषो भवति।

Thus प्रायम्य: गतः, गत: गत: प्रायम्य:। प्राय: प्राय: प्राय:। But प्रायम्य: गत: the vowel preceding the हृ being long. Here VI. 4. 51 applies. The shortening, the
elision of ए and the elision of अ should not be considered as asiddha, as their place of operation is not the same. Thus शाप + विविध = शापित; this अ is shortened by VI. 4. 92, and we have शामि. This shortening is not to be considered as asiddha, for if asiddha, there being no laghu पूर्व, the present rule would not apply. Similarly वेदिष्ठ is the Intensive root, its ए is elided by VI. 4. 49, this elision is not considered as asiddha, if it were asiddha, the अ of शिष्ठ would not be laghu. Similarly the elision of अ in भाग which is a root which ends in अ, (see Dhâtupâtha Churadi 309), is not considered as asiddha for similar reasons.

विभाषा, सूपः || ५७ || पदार्थः || विभाषा, आपः; ||

वृत्ति: || भाप उत्तरस्य चेतनोऽपि विनायक द्याधिशेषोऽभवति ||

57. अष्ठू is optionally substituted for the अ of शिष्ठ before the affix लघु, after the verb आपः.

Thus प्राप्तयो or प्राप्त्य भवः. This however does not apply to the भाप substitute for हृद, as प्राप्तयो भवः (VI. 1. 48, VII. 3. 36). The maxim of Prati-padokta applies here.

युक्तवोक्ष्याः हस्त्ययोः संशोधितः || ५८ || पदार्थः || यु-पुनःयोः, श्रीमचि, छन्दसिः, (लघुपि) ||

वृत्ति: || यु ब्युद्धस्यत्सवेश्चेति विनायक स्वरस्यः भवति ||

58. In यु and श्र्यु, long is substituted for ए, before लघु in the Veda.

Thus शत्यजयुः विषय; वचा ध्वे शस्त्रया परिबुध्य. Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe सूपः, भापः in the secular literature.

श्रिय: || ५९ || पदार्थः || श्रियः, (श्रीमचि: लघुपि) ||

वृत्ति: || श्रीमचि श्रीमचि भवति श्रिया परस: ||

59. A long is substituted for the अ of श्रिय before लघु.

As प्रशीय, उष्कशीय.

निष्ठायमण्डवर्थः || ६० || पदार्थः || निष्ठायमण्डवर्थः, अ-प्रयवर्थः, (श्रीमचि:) ||

वृत्ति: || यथः क्यतः चेतनोऽपि चाप्त्ययोऽभवति यथा ततः श्रीमचि मिश्रोऽभवति ||

60. A long is substituted for the अ of श्रिय before the Participle in फः, when it has not the sense of the future Passive Participle in प्रस्तुतः.

The force of यथू is to denote condition (Impersonal action) and object (passive). When the Past Participle has not the force of यथू, the vowel of श्रिय is lengthened. Thus यथाशीयः, प्रशीयः, परस्परशीयः: all used in the active sense. The फः is added to the Intransitive श्रिय to denote the agent (III. 4. 72). Thus प्रशीयःसेवै देवशत्रयः 'this is the spot where Devadatta perished'. Here फः is used with a Locative force (III. 4. 76). Why do we say 'not having the force of


61. The long is optionally substituted, for the इ of विन्न, before the Past Participle क, not having the sense of the Future Passive Participle विन्न, when the word means ‘imprecation’ or ‘a miserable plight’.

Thus विन्यायिनि or विन्यायिनी, विन्यास: or विन्यासः, विन्यासस्तिः तपस्वी, ग्रीकीकरणस्तिः तपस्वी। When not having the sense of cursing or miserable condition, we have one form only, as विन्यासः।

62. Before the affixes विन्न (First Future and Conditional), विचः (S-Aorist), सीधृः (Benedictive) and तासि (the Praphrastic Future), when there are used in the Impersonal (भवः) and Passive (स्तोत्रः) Voices, (1) the verbal stems ending in a vowel in the Grammatical system of instruction (उपवेशः), as well as the verbs (2) हृद (3) भ्रम and (4) दर्शु are treated optionally in the same way as in the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिन्द्र, and when so treated, they have the augment हृद।

The augment हृद is, of course, added to the affixes विन्न, विचः, सीधृः and तासि and not to the stem. What are the special objects served by this atideśa aphorism? They are given in the following verse:—

Kārikā चिन्द्रः द्रुमः श्रीः श्रीयः प्रयत्नः
श्रीयः लोकः श्रीः श्रीयः च श्रीयः
हृदार्थः स्त्रियाः स्त्रियाः द्रुमः प्रबलः

First:—The Vṛddhī takes place as in विचः (VII. 2. 116, VII. 3. 34), secondly, there is the addition of दर्शु augment (VII. 3. 33), thirdly श्री is substituted for the श्री of हृद (VII. 3. 54), fourthly, the roots having indicatory श्री
(Bhuādi 809 to 873) optionally lengthen their vowel (VI. 4. 93), and lastly the addition of the augment हृ being considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect by VI. 4. 22, the rule VI. 4. 51 applies and the causative affix हि is elided: and this हृ is added irrespective of the conditions and limitations of VII. 2. 35 &c.

(1) Roots ending in a vowel in the Dhitopāṭha with the affix स्य as, स्य:—साधित्वत or चेष्टते, भाषाणित्वत or अवचेष्टत, भाषाधित्वत or अवचेष्टत II. So also with श, श as, शाविष्टे or शालस्य, शालाधित्व or शालस्य.

In शामि there are three forms, the two शामित्वते or शालित्वते, शाशाधित्वत and अशाधित्वत being given by the elision of the causative ending by VI. 4. 51, in spite of the हृ augment which is considered as asiddha: and शष्ट being a root of सिद्ध class, the शष्ट is lengthened optionally by VI. 4. 93. The forms शसा, दाहित्वत and अब्धाधित्वत are given when not treated as भिरु, the causative is retained, the penultimate being shortened by VI. 4. 92. With the affix स्य:—अवचेष्टतालाम, अवचेष्टतालाम, अवचेष्टतालाम, and अवचेष्टतालाम II. With the affix सिद्ध:—पाविष्ट or पाचित, शाविष्ट or शाॅष्ट and शालित्वत and शालित्वत II. With the affix तालीश:—तालीश, शालीश, शालीश and शालीश. The स्य अरोर model of these roots is अचार्य, अशार्य (VII. 3. 33), and अब्धानि (VII. 3. 34) or अब्धानि (VI. 4. 93).

(2) हृ:—Fut. भाविष्टे or हिन्िष्टे; Con. भाविष्टत or भानित्वत; Aor. भाविष्टालाम or भाविष्टालाम and भाविष्टालाम (II. 4. 44); Ben भाविष्ट or भाविष्ट; Per. Fut. भावित or हिन्ित II. The स्य model is भावित.

(3) मह:—Fut. माहित्वते or माहित्वत; Con. भाविष्टत or भाविष्टत; Aor. भाविष्टालाम or भाविष्टालाम (अवचेष्टतालाम)? ; Ben. माहित्वत or (भाविष्ट)? माहित्वत, Per. Fut. माहित or माहित II. The lengthening of हृ takes place by VII. 2. 37. The स्य model is भावित II.

(4) िह:—Fut. िहित्वते or िहित्वते, Con. िहित्वत or िहित्वत; Aor. िहित्वतालाम or िहित्वतालाम; Ben िहित्वत or िहित्वत; Per. Fut. िहित or िहित II. The स्य model is िहित.

Why do we say before स्य &c? Observe चेष्टत्व, शालिवष्ट मह: Why in the Impersonal and Passive? Observe चेष्टते and शालस्य मह: Why in Upadeśa? The rule applies to कारिष्टे also, though कार (after guṇa change) ends in a consonant, but in its original enunciation it ends with a vowel. The atidesa rule being enunciated with regard to stems (अग्न), prevents the substitutions of हृ and िह and िह मह: Thus हानित्वते, पाविष्टे, अवचेष्टते, अवचेष्टते or अधाधित्वते मह: The substitutes शष्ट or गा (II. 4. 42, 43; 45; 50) do not come according to the Kāśikā, when these roots are treated as बृह मह:
63. युत्र is the augment after शीर्ष, of an अर्धधातुका affix beginning with a vowel and having an indi-

catory क or य. II

Thus श्रृवतीयम्, श्रवियतये and श्रवियिते II The Personal ending is कित् by I. 2. 5. श्रृः 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 क or य? Observe उपसमं ।

आतो तोष इति च II २४ II पदानि II आत:, तोष:, इति, च, ॥

मृति: II इवासाता तातुके कृकिति भाकालान्तस्व लोपे भवति ॥

64. The final आ of a root is elided before an अर्धधातुका affix with the augment इत् as well as when it begins with a vowel and has an indicator क or य ॥

Thus पंपिष्य and लस्यम् II Here the affix has the इत् augment. पप्रः, पपः, तस्यमः, तस्यः II Here the affixes are कित् by I. 2. 5 गोष्ठ, कम्बलतः with the affix क (III. 2. 3). So also मसा (fem), मथा (fem) by अक्ष III. 3. 106. Before शर्वाद्धातुका affixes, we have बानंति, बानि, बानेरे and बानिते II The two latter are the Imperfect 1st Pers. Sing. Atm. of रा and ला with the affix इ (इत्). When it does not begin with a vowel, we have ल्याते, ल्याती ॥

इत्या इति २५ II पदानि II इत्य, यति, ॥

मृति: II इत्यार आवेशो भवति आवकालान्तस्व लिंग परसं ॥

65. The final आ of a stem is changed into इ before the Krit-affix यद् ॥

Thus देवम्, देवन्, देवम्, and शेवम् II The Guṇa takes place according to VII. 3. 84.

धुराश्चातापातजहातित्सः हिंदि । ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु, मा, यथा, गा, पा, जाहाति

स्माः, हिंदि ॥

मृति: II इवासातात्सातां मा यथा गा पा जाहाति सा इवतेष्यं हल्ले कृकिति मल्येव परसं हित्यारेशी भवति ॥

66. For the final of the roots of the form of या and या (यु), as well as for that of the roots मा, रथा, गा, पा, हा (जाहाति) and सा (सौ), there is substituted इ before an अर्धधातुका affix beginning with a consonant, which has an indicator क or य ॥

Thus शीते, शीते with यक, शेषीते, शेषीते with यक ॥ So also शीते नमीते स्थीते, शीते, बीते, अर्थात्, अर्थात्, अर्थात्, सीते, सीते, सीते, सीते, सीते, सीते, सीते, सीते, सीते ॥

The या 'to protect' of Adadi (47) is not meant here. be come the
vikarana शुद्ध is elided in roots of that class. Its form will be पर्यते. It is Bhvādi या ‘to drink’ that is taken here. So also यज्ञिते is not to be taken here. Its form is यज्ञिते।

Why do we say ‘before a consonant’? Observe शुद्ध, शुद्ध। Here had शुद्ध not been used in the sūtra, the या of या would be replaced by है by the present सूत्र, even before a vowel-affix अतु: ० उत्र; for the lopa of या taught in VI. 4. 64 is prevented by this subsequent sūtra teaching है substitution. In fact, the employment of the word शुद्ध in the aphorism is a jītāpaka that the rule of vipratisheṣha (I.4.2) applies in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22), and the lopa of या is superseded by the present rule substituting है instead. So also शुद्ध and यज्ञिते before non-किर्तन and non किर्तन affixes.

पाठिक वि ६७। पदानि वि प्रथम, लिखित, वि। वृत्ति: पर्यन्त स्वर्ण्यानुष्ठानस्त्राणां लिखि परत एकार्थे भवानि।

67. या is substituted for the या of the above roots in the Benefactive mood Active.

Thus यथात्, मथात्, मथात्, मथात्, मथात्, मथात् and अस्वेजात्। Before non-किर्तन and non-किर्तन या have यज्ञिते and यज्ञिते। By the word लिखि is here meant the ज्ञातिस्थित or the Precative mood; the Personal endings of which mood are अर्थद्रातुक्ता by III. 4. 116. More-over by III. 4. 104 the Parasmaipada affixes only of the Benefactive are किर्तन, so the present rule does not apply to the Atmanepada affixes of the Precative.

वा भाग्यस्य संयोगादे: २६। पदानि वा अन्यस्य-संयोग, आदे:। (लिखित)। (आत:):।

(वृत्ति:। पर्यायिकार्थो भाग्यस्य संयोगार्थपालः पर्यायिकार्थो भवानि लिखि परत:)।

68. For the final या of any other root than those mentioned in VI. 4. 66, या may optionally be substituted, in the Benefactive active, when the root begins with a conjunct consonant.

The या 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 भाग्यस्य। Thus यथात् or यथात्, मथात् or मथात्, but only यथात् (VI. 4. 66), and अथात् (not commencing with a double consonant). The phrase लिखित is understood here and therefore the rule applies to Parasmaepada affixes (III. 4. 104). Thus भाग्यित in Atmanepada. The root considered as an ananga, should consist of a double consonant, therefore in निर्वाचात् (from निर + वा), या is not to be considered as a root having a double consonant, for या is no part of the ananga, but of the preposition.

न लिखि ६९। पदानि न, लिखि, शुमागापाञ्जहातिसाम।
69. The \( i \) substitution for \( a \) under rule VI. 4.

does not apply when the absolutive affix \( \text{त्वप्} \) follows \( घा \), र्धा, \( प \), \( ष \) and \( त् \).

Thus प्रवचन, प्रधान, प्रवर्तक, प्रवाह, पदार्थ, प्रयोग, प्रस्तुत, प्रविष्ट and अवसाद. The affix \( \text{त्वप्} \) as the substitute of वा, is a किंतु affix by I. 1. 56.

70. \( i \) may optionally be substituted for the \( a \) of मा, (अवति) before \( \text{त्वप्} \).

Thus अवतिन or अपनाय.

71. \( a \) acutely accented is the augment of the verbal stem in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus धार्यार्थ, धार्यानि, धार्यां, धार्यत् and धार्याधिन्यत्, धार्यगत्यत्.

72. \( a \) acutely accented is the augment of a verbal stem beginning with a vowel, in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus सिद्ध, दिक्ष, उत्तम, अत्तम, उत्त्रम, अत्त्रम and उत्तत्रम.

The Vṛddhi takes place by VI. 1. 90.

The Passive Imperfect (तक्ष्य) of \( यत् \), वर्य and वर्य are अत्यत्, अवत्यत् and अविभास formed by अत् and not अत्. First, the affixes of the Imperfect are added and then the Passive characteristic तक्ष्य is added to these roots, which causes the vocalisation of the semi-vowels, and we have इत्यत्, उत्तम, and उत्तत् stems (VI. 1. 15). The stems having now assumed a form in which they begin with a vowel, take अत्. The addition of tense-affixes being an antaranga operation precedes the addition of augment. After the affixes have been added, the vikaraṇa तक्ष्य, being nitya, is added and precedes in order the augment, the latter being so far anitya; after तक्ष्य addition the roots assume a form in which we can add अत्. Why अत् is considered anitya depends on the following maxim:—

"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."
The Augment आ also.

It is found there before the roots beginning with a vowel as well as before consonant roots. Thus आय, आनक, and आयूनक. आय is the Aorist of रू, the affix being elided by II. 4. 80. आनक from नृ (II. 4. 80), and आयूनक is the Imperfect of रू.

न मायोगे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदार्थ || न, माय, योगे (नृ छृ लृ झू) ॥

In connection with the prohibitive particle मा, the augment अ or आ is not added in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus मा भवत कार्पि, मा भवत हर्पि, मा सा वरेत, मा वा हर्द, मा भवतीहि, मा सा वा भवतीहि, मा सा भवतीहि॥

वहूँ छन्दस्यमायोगे प्रपि ॥ ७५ ॥ पदार्थ || वहूँ, छन्द, अ माय योगे, अपि ॥

वृत्ति: छन्द; विपये मायोगे प्रपि वहूँमायोगे माय: भमायोगे प्रपि न भवत: ॥

There is diversity in the Veda: the augment अ or आ is added even with मा, and sometimes not added even when there is no मा.

Thus खन्यिया उम: (Rig X. 73. 1), कामगृहयित्र (Rig I. 53. 3) and कामगृहीतः: the augment is not added though there is no मा. In मा व: खण्डे परविगायतम्यार्थः, मा खण्डियाः, मा खण्डे: the augment is not elided, though the particle मा is added.

इर्ये रे ॥ ७६ ॥ पदार्थ || इर्ये, रे, (वहूँछन्दसि) ॥

वृत्ति: हे इस्ता छन्दसि विद्ये वहूँ रे इन्यायमायोगे भवति ॥

रे is diversely substituted for हे in the Veda.

Thus हे स्विदेष्यं यथं हे आप: (Rig X. 82. 5) या स्य परिधिः. इन हे, the आ of मा is elided before the affix हे by VI. 4. 64, the रे substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of the elision of मा. Sometimes the substitution does not take place, as परमाया विवेचणमार्णिं चकिते: Here हे augment is first added to हे after the वेश roots and the affix thus becomes हे, then हे is substituted again for हे by this sūtra, thus the affix is brought back to its original condition. To show this repetition—रे—हे—रे the sūtra has exhibited the word हस्य: in the dual number.

अचि इन्द्रायतसूवल्य च्वरिहितवल्य || ७७ ॥ पदार्थ || अचि, हृ, वाल, सुचाम, य्वोः, इन्द्र, उच्योः, ||
78. **Iṣṭāṇ and Uṇāṇ are substituted for the Ṣ and U of a reduplicate, before a non-homogenous vowel.**

Thus Ṣeṣa, Ṣeṣaṭ, Ģaḥaṭi, (VII. 4.77) but Ṣaṣṭi: and Ṣuṣṭi: and Ṣasti: before homogenous vowels and Iṣṭāṇ and Uṇāṇ before a non-vowel.

**Śrīya:** 79. **Padaṇi || Śrīya:** (अवति इष्टक) ||

**Śrīya:** ख्रित्तित्व त्वेंत्रावर्त्तिभि परमा परत: इष्टाहिस्यो महति ||

79. **Iṣṭāṇ is substituted for the Ṣ of Śrī before an affix beginning with a vowel.**

As Śrī, Śrīya, śrīya; but śrīyaṃ the ū being added by a subsequent rule, supersedes this rule. The making this a separate sūtra is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

**Iṣṭāṇaṃ:** 80. **Padaṇi || Va, Ṣam, Śaṣṭi: (Iṣṭāṇ śrīya:) ||

**Śrīya:** भाविता परत: स्रीयित्र या यज्ञारितो महति ||

80. The substitution of **Iṣṭāṇ** for the Ṣ of strī is optional before the accusative endings Ṣam and Ṣaṣṭi (অসṭ) ||

Thus Śrī Pāṇḍ or śrīya Pāṇḍ, śrī: Pāṇḍ or śrīya: Pāṇḍ: ||

**Iṣṭāṇaṃ:** 81. **Padaṇi || Ṣaṣṭi: Ṣaṣṭi: (अवति अवति) ||

**Śrīya:** इष्टकान्ता यज्ञारितो महति अवति परत: ||
81. For the  of the root  (पति) is substituted a semivowel (व), before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus यति, यत्त, आयत | This supersedes श्वे substitution, and is itself superseded by VII. 2. 115, and VII. 3. 84 which ordain Vridddhi and Guna: on the maxim नभेथे अपवादः पूर्वाँ विनिहार वाचने, नाचतराः | “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 जयवर्णम् and आयवं: |

परनेकाचि संयोगपूर्बस्य | ८२ | पदार्थि | अनेकाचि: | अ संयोगपूर्बस्य, (धातौ: अस्तित्र प्रत्येके ) |

वृत्ति: प्रत्येकः संयोगः पूर्वोऽस्बार्थस्विद्वस्मि भवति असावसंयोगपूर्वस्तत्रस्वावस्मिनेकाचि अस्तित्र परस्त वर्णादित्रो भवति |

82. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or इ of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

The word धातृः is understood here, and the word संयोग is qualified by that: i.e. the इ or इ which is not preceded by conjunct consonant forming part of the root is called an asamyoga pūrva इ | Thus निन्त्यः, निन्त्यः, उन्नतः, उन्नतः, भाष्यः, भाष्यः | All the above examples are of the soot न preceded by the gati prepositions न and न्त, or a Kāraka-upapada याम् | 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 परमनी एवं एव | परमनीः | Why do we say ‘of इ or इ’? Observe बृहोः and बृहोः from बृहोः which ending in इ takes उइ substitution. This is also shown in the next sūtra. Why do we say the stem should be of more than one syllable? Observe नाँ: its dual and plural are नांनी and नांनी: by इइ | Why do we say “forming part of the root”? So that the rule may apply to उजी also. Here though इ is preceded by a conjunct न, yet the latter is not part of the root, one इ being part of the upasarga उत | Thus we have उन्नपेत् and उन्नपेत् | The phrase असंयोगपूर्वे should in fact be taken as qualifying the letter इ, and not as qualifying the word अइ |

अथ: भुपि | ८३ | पदार्थि | अथ: भुपि, (रण्, धातृः, असंयोगपूर्वस्य, अनेकाचि: अइस्यः) |

वृत्ति: धातव्यः संयोगः पूर्वोऽस्बार्थस्विद्वस्मि भवति तदस्वायस्य नेकाचि अइस्य भुपि परस्त वर्णादित्रो भवति |

83. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व is substituted for the final
ञ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ञ not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short ञ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खल्पृ 'a sweeper':—d. खल्प्री, pl. खल्प्र; so also खल्प्री and खल्प्र, and खल्प्र: dual खल्प्री and खल्प्र: II But लखल्प्र: and लखल्प्र before tense-affixes, (non—लखल्प्र); त—छल्प्र, छल्प्र: (because consisting of one syllable only), and कछल्प्र—कछल्प्र, कछल्प्र: (because ञ 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 Karaka word: as परम्पु:—परम्पु: and परम्पु: II

वर्णस्वच्छम् || ८४ || पदानि || वर्णं भवः, च, अचि छुपि यष्ट ||

बृविः: वर्णं द्वीत्ययात्रायि छुपि परस्ते वणविषो भवति ||

बार्तिकम्: || उन्नयनशस्त्रायेकयोपम्.||

84. च is substituted for the ञ of वर्णम् also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्णम्, वर्णम्: वर्णम् 'what is born in the rains, a kind of herb.' This is an exception to the subsequent rule.

पद्यः—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when द्र, कार and धृत्र precede न; as द्रम्री, द्रम्र; दृम्री, दृम्र: कार्यादि (कार्यादि), कार्यादि (कार्यादि) II

न भुखिरि: || ८५ || पदानि || न, भु, भुखिरि:; यष्ट, ||

बृविः: भु छुपि द्वीत्ययात्रायि छुपि भवति ||

85. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in च or the word छुपि, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिहस्त—प्रतिहस्त; प्रतिहस्त; छुपि—छुपि; छुपि: II VI. 4. 77.

छन्दस्यभवथा || ८६ || पदानि || छन्दसिः; उभयथा, भुखिरि:; छुपि: ||

बृविः: छन्दसिः विषये भु छुपि द्वीत्ययात्रायि द्वीत्ये यष्ट ||

86. In the Chhandas, in the case of a stem in च and छुपि, are found sometimes the द्व, छुपि and sometimes the semivowel substitution.

As विभुप्यः,विभुप्यः, दुः: and छुपि; वनेशु श्रव्यं श्रव्यं श्रव्यं, वर्षे विभुप्यः, छुपि: हत्यमने, हत्यमनेकः||

छतुचः: सार्वाधानकः || ८७ || पदानि || हदृष्ट दृष्ट:; सार्वाधानक: के, अहंस, अने-कालः, संयोगः, निरस्तरः, कचि ||

बृविः: हदृष्ट द्वीत्ययात्रायि द्वीत्ययात्रायि सार्वाधानक: परस्ते वणविषो भवति ||

87. The semi-vowel, च is substituted for the ञ of द, and for that of ञ (the characteristic of the fifth class roots),
before a sārvadhātuka affix (III. 4. 113) beginning with a vowel, when the stem consists of more than one syllable and the द is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

Thus द—दुश्मनि, दुक्तुः; अभुदृः, so also with ज—अजुःक्ति, जुन्नति, अजुन्नति. Why do we say “of द and दुः formed stems”? Observe दाशुक्ति, दशक्ति, from Intensive bases, by the elision of the ख ा affix. The ख is elided in the secular literature also, by the implication (jnāpaka) of this aphorism, for no counter-example can be formed of a root consisting of more than one syllable and ending in द, not preceded by a conjunct consonant and followed by a Sārvadhātuka affix, unless the Intensive roots with the elision of ख be taken. Nor can we get examples from the Chhandas, for the preceding rule applies only to ārdhadhātuka affixes. Why do we say before a Sārvadhātuka? Observe दुहृः, दुहृः (VI. 4. 77). So also not in अजुःक्ति and अजुन्नति as the द is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

भयो दुहृःक्ति: || || पद्यनि || भुवः, बुक्ति, बुहृ, लिदोः, अचि, ||

वृत्ति: || भयो बनगामि भवति बुहृ लिदि चार्जासि पति: ||

88. भू gets the augment ख (खुक्ति) before the tense-affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect, when beginning with a vowel.

Thus अभुदृः, अण्णुः; अम्भुः; अभुदृः; अम्भुः; ||

उद्धुपायः गोः: ||९८३|| पद्यनि || उद्धुपायः, गोः, अण्णुः, अचि, मर्त्ये||

वृत्ति: || गोः खुर्स्व उद्धुपायः उद्धुपायः भवति भजासि मर्त्ये पति: ||

89. For the penultimate भ of the gunated stem गोः (from गृहः), there is substituted द before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus दिन्दिन्ति, निम्मिंक्र, नाभुनिम्मिंक्र, निम्मिंक्र, निम्मिंक्र, यूहे यवते || Why do we say ‘penultimate’? So that the substitution should not apply anywhere else. The form गोः is taken in the sūtra to prohibit the application of the rule to cases where खृः does not assume the form गोः. Therefore not here, निर्दुःरक्रः, निर्दुःक्रः. This change will not take place before the affixes beginning with a consonant; as निर्दुः, निर्दुःक्रः. Some say, the word is exhibited as गोः in order to prohibit the खृ substitution of दिन्दिन्ति before ल्युप्ति. As निद्रि + ल्युप्ति (VI. 4. 56 not applied), the द substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) would have brought in अयुः, गृह being considered as a word having a light vowel for its penultimate. According to Kāśikā the द substitution, however, is not asiddha, as their places of operation are different.

द्रोणो गोः || ९० || पद्यनि || द्रोणः, गोः, उद्धुपायः: ||

वृत्ति: || द्रोण उद्धुपाय उद्धुपाय भवति गोः पति: ||
90. The ओ of दृष्ट is replaced by ऊ before the causative नि.

Thus दृश्यति, दृश्यति, दृष्यति. Similar reasons as in महः, may be given for the root दृष्ट being exhibited as दृष्ट in the sutra. When not followed by नि, we have दृष्टयो वस्ते.

बा चित्रविवरण ≤ ९१ ≤ पद्यनि वा, चित्र-विवरण, उद्दयाया: नौ, नौ.
चूँच: नौ चित्रविवरणेः दृष्ट उद्दयाय वा उद्दयायो भवति नौ परत:.

91. The ऊ substitution for the ओ of दृष्ट is optional, when the sense is that of the disturbing of the mind.

As नम्बर or महा दृष्यति or दृष्यति. Otherwise साथें दृष्यति when mental agitation is not meant.

मित्र दृष्ट: ≤ ९२ ≤ पद्यनि निमित्तम, दृष्ट: नौ, उद्दयाया:, नौ.
चूँच: नौ मित्र दृष्ट शास्त्रेण पद्यनि मित्र दृष्ट बोधित्वविद्वात्स्वाधयाया इत्यथा भवति नौ परत:.

92. The roots having an indicatory न, retain their penultimate short vowel before the causative नि.

The दृष्ट roots are दयाण्ड a subdivision of Bhwādi (800 to 873), and all other roots that end in अम as शमand तम of Divādi class. Thus दयाण्ड, व्ययाण्ड, अनयाण्ड, रज्याण्ड, शमयाण्ड, लयाण्ड. Some read the anuvṛtti of the word ‘optionally’ from the last sūtra into this. This will then be a limited option only (vyavastha-vibhāṣā). The forms उद्दयायाय and संज्ञायाय are thus explained.

93. Optionally a long may be substituted for the penultimate of the causative of मित्र roots, before the third person of the Passive Aorist in चित्त (इ), and before the Absolute affix पंक्ति (अम).

चित्तमुक्तेऽन्तर्त्वम् अन्यतर्स्यां ९३ पद्यनि चित्त, पंक्ति: दृष्ट: अन्यतर्स्यां, नौ, मित्र: उद्दयाया:.

चूँच: नौ चित्तमुक्तेऽन्तर्त्वम् अन्यतर्स्यां, नौ मित्र: उद्दयायाया: नौ.

Thus अश्रवि or अश्रावि, अत्वा or अत्वनि with चित्त, and शम्याम, and शम्याम; सम्याम, or सम्याम मात्र with पंक्ति. Why have we used the word दृष्ट in the sutra? The rule does not teach merely the optional shortening. So that in the alternative of short, we have अश्रावि and in the other alternative we have अश्रावि, so that there is long. For had दृष्ट not been used, it would have taught optional short only, i.e. it would be a धार्मिकलविविधिं only, and there will be this difficulty: when the causative of causative is taken, as in शम्याम मात्र, there would not be lengthening in the alternative. Because the lopa substitute of नि would be sthānivat: therefore, the नि which would be followed by


विन्य or जन्दु, would not have in it the निन्दा anga, because the first जि intervenes between the निन्दा anga and the जिन्दा and जन्दु affix, and that जि which is preceded by a निन्दा anga is not followed by जिन्दा and जन्दु, because the second जि (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 (शीर्ष). For there arises no such anomaly in this view. For taking this rule to be a शीर्षविनि, the lopa-substitution of जि would not be sthānīvat, by the express prohibition contained in I. i. 58, and so we can get forms of double causatives. But if we take it a हस्तिनिकल्पविनि, then the lopa-adesā of जि being sthānīvat, would prevent getting the alternative long form. Therefore the word शीर्ष is used in the sūtra to make this rule शीर्षविनि, and prevent sthānīvat-bhāva. Thus take the causative of जप, which will be शाहि by the last sūtra. Take its Intensive with ज्ञप, जाम + ज्ञप which causes doubling by VI. i. 9= शाहि जाम + ज्ञप = जामामिण्य + ज्ञप (VII. 4. 60)= शाहि जाम + ज्ञप (ज्ञप or nasal being added to the abhyāsa by VII. 4. 85) = जामामिण्य + ज्ञप = जामामिण्य + ज्ञप (VI. 4. 51)= जामामिण्य. Add जिन्दा to this i.e. make the causative of the Intensive. जामामिण्य + जिन्दा. Then the जि of जिन्दा is elided by VI. 4. 48= जामामिण्य + जिन्दा + जिन्दा. Then जिन्दा is elided by VI. 4. 49= जामामिण्य + जिन्दा. This जामामिण्य is the causative root of the Intensive of the causative जामामिण्य. Now add जिन्दा or जामामिण्य to this root; and we get two forms short and long अन्वनामिण्य or अन्वनामिण्य with जिन्दा and जामामिण्य or जामामिण्य with जामामिण्य. The long forms could not have been obtained had this not been a शीर्षविनि, for then the lopa-adesā of जिन्दा being sthānīvat would have prevented the application of शीर्ष. The roots जामामिण्य and जाम (both Divādi) ending in ज्ञ do not ever lengthen the root vowel before जिन्दा and जामामिण्य by VII. 3. 34. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to the simple roots. The derivative causative roots of these, namely, शाहि - जामामिण्य, शाहि - जामामिण्य, optionally lengthen the penultimate before these affixes. Thus शाहि + जिन्दा = जामामिण्य + जिन्दा (the जि of जिन्दा being elided by VI. 4. 51)= जामामिण्य or जाम (with the augment जि = जामामिण्य or जामामिण्य). This rule applies when the Causative of the Causative root takes these affixes. In fact the mention of the word शीर्ष 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 जामामिण्य प्रयुक्ते ‘he causes another to make quiet,’ we add जिन्दा (the Causative sign.), to the Causative root शाहि, as शाहि + जिन्दा = जामामिण्य + जिन्दा (VI. 4. 51)= जामामिण्य, the lopa-adesā here is not sthānīvat for the purposes of lengthening (सम्बिन्दा) the जि of जाम (I. i. 58). From this जाम with जिन्दा we get अन्वनामिण्य, and with जामामिण्य we get जामामिण्य. But we cannot get the short forms, by taking the other alternative, as the lopa-adesā will then be sthānīvat. Hence the necessity of the word शीर्ष in the sūtra. Thus the जिन्दा and जामामिण्य forms of the Causative of the Causative (i.e. the double Causative) of जाम are अन्वनामिण्य or अन्वनामिण्य; जामामिण्य or जामामिण्य, and from the form जामामिण्य, we have अन्वनामिण्य or अन्वनामिण्य, जामामिण्य, or जामामिण्य.
These latter are from the Causative stems of the Intensive root, The sign त्र of the Intensive has been elided (VI. 4. 49) as shown above.

पदानि || छाँचि, हुस्मः, (उपवधायः:अज्ञस्य) ||

बृहि: || छाँचे जै परतो इत्यो भवस्यस्याधिकायः:||

94. The penultimate of the Causative stem is shortened before the affix जन्मः ||

Thus यत्रसः, परतसः, जुरसः: || See III. 2. 29 and 41.

हृदारः निदायायाम || 95 || पदानि || हृदारः, निदायायाम, (हृदः उपवधायः:अज्ञस्य) ||

बृहि: || हृदारो जुरस्याधिकायः जनस्तो भवति निदायाम् परतः:||

95. The penultimate of the Causative of हृदः (हादि) is shortened before the Participle affixes क् and कषुः ||

Thus महृदः, महृदायाम्, but महृद्यस्यात् before non-nishtā. The rule applies also when निदायां follows as महृदि: || This is done by splitting up the aphorism into two (1) हृदः (2) निदायाम् ||

छाँचे जुरस्याधिकायः || 96 || पदानि || छाँचे, जै जुरस्याधिकायः, (उपवधायः: हृदः) ||

बृहि: || छाँचे जुरस्याधिकायः परस्ये परत हृदायाम् जनस्तो भवति ||

वासिनि: || जुरस्याधिकायः जुरस्याधिकायः परस्ये हृदायाम् ||

96. The penultimate of the Churādi छृदः is shortened before the affix घः (III. 3. 118), when not preceded by two prepositions (or more).

As नवराष्ट्रः, मद्भदः, नवराष्ट्रः: But सहवराष्ट्रः with two prepositions. The same when preceded by more than two prepositions, as सहवपालिन्तः: The elision of तिन of छाँदः &c. by VI. 4. 51, should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) or sthānavat (I. 1. 57), otherwise there would be no penultimate to be shortened.

Vārta:-The prohibition with regard to चि should be extended to numbers more than two.

इसमन्ताकिन्तु च || 97 || पदानि || इसः, मनः, चनः, किंदः, च, छाँचे: (उपवधायः: हृदः) ||

बृहि: || इसः मनः चनः किंदेतेपु परस्याधिकायः जनस्तो भवति: ||

97. The penultimate of छाँदि is shortened before the affixes इसः, मनः, चनः and कि: ||

Thus छाँदिः, छांदिः (neuter), छांतयः, भामच्छन्तु and उपच्छन्तु: || The first three are Uṇādi affixes.

गमहनुजनन्तनायामः लोपः कुडित्यन्तिः || 98 || पदानि || गमः, हनः, जनः, खनः, घस्तमः, लोपः, कुडित्यन्ति अन्तिः, ||

बृहि: || गमः हनः जनः खनः परस्याधिकायः लोपः भवस्यात्रो जनः यमः किंदेतेपु परतः: ||
98. The root-vowel of गमः, हनः, जनः, खनः, and घनः is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicative क or ख; but not before the Aorist affix अङ्कः।

Thus अरन्तः, जरन्तः, जतन्तः, जतः, जततः, अष्टः, अष्टतः, अष्टः, अष्टस्तम्भितः। क्षणेन गमनः, हननः, अन्तः, अन्ततः, अन्तः, अन्तस्तम्भितः। अथवायः, हनने।

Why having indicatory क or ख? See गमनः, हननः। Why ‘not अङ्कः? See अरन्तः, अष्टः। Why ‘beginning with a vowel?’ See जरन्तः and जतः।

99. In the Chhandas, the root-vowel of तदः and पदः is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicative क or ख।

As रितःक्रमः, चरनः हन पस्यः। In secular language विलुप्तः, पदः। यथा भिन्नताः। पदः । गस्तः, भस्तः, हस्तः, च। (अन्तः कृतितः।)

बृत्तः। पदः इसवयः गस्तः उपाध्या नेत्रो भवति भजन्तः कृतितः पदः।

100. The root-vowel of गस्तः and भस्तः is elided in the Chhandas, before any affix, whether beginning with a vowel or a consonant, which has an indicatory क or ख।

Thus सत्याचर्यः भावितः है, बच्चां भाषा:। सत्यः। is thus derived: क्षणः is added to the root भरः; then by II. 4. 39, पस्तः is substituted for भरः; thus पर्यः = पर्यः + पर्यः (ग भरः being elided by the present दश्रः) = पर्यः (६ भरः being elided by VIII. 2. 26), then थ is changed to च, and च to ग and we have फळः। Then सत्याचर्यः = मस्तः (सत्याचर्यः changed to ग VI. 3. 84)। The word ब्रवयः is the Imperative of भस्तः, thus भस्तः + भस्तः + भस्तः = भस्तः + भस्तः = भस्तः + भस्तः (VI. 4. 100) = भस्तः + भस्तः (VIII. 2. 26) = भस्तः + भस्तः। 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 बशति = भशः + श + शशि = भशः + शशि (VII. 1. 4) = भशति (VIII. 4. 55)।

Why having an indicatory क or ख? Observe अङ्कः बच्चाः। च भाषा। The ग has been added into the aphorism by the Vârtikakârā।

हस्तमयः हैः। १०१। पदः। हस्तमयः हैः, चिं।

चिं। है इसवयः भाषाः क्षणः नाट्यः धारणः। चिं धारणः विषयीः भवति।

101. After ग and after a consonant (with the exception of semi-vowels and nasals), चि is substituted for the
Imperative affix दि, when the latter does not take the augment हृः।

Thus हृ—हृष्टि; हृः consonants; हिंद्र—हिंद्रिय, हिंद्रु—हिंद्रिन्। But कणिंहिणि,
भीगीहिणि (VI. 4. 113) not ending in consonants. Why ‘हि only’? Observe खुत्नाति। Why do we read the anuvṛtti of हि into this sūtra? When हि does not begin with a consonant, but with a vowel, i.e. when it takes the augment हृः, the rule does not apply. As शतिः, स्तति। In the case of खुत्नाति, निन्त्याति, when हि is replaced by सात (VII. 1. 35) this substitution does not take place because तात् is a later rule in the order of आष्टदध्यायः, and because सत्त्वोत्ती विधित्यथे वधापिनः तान्तितत्त्वम् “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 अक्षः is added by V. 3. 71, हि substitution takes place, as निन्त्याति, हिन्त्याति। The maxim पृः प्रधान विधानानि विधानम् applies here:—“Occasion-
ally 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.”

स्वर्णपूक्तायेवद्वस्तिसि १०२ पदार्थि स्वर्णृपूर्ण-पूर्ण-पूर्ण-भ्यः, छन्दसिः, हेष्टिः।

व्रति: । श्रृः श्रृः कृ ह्रृ इत्येऽष्टि उन्नतस्य हेर्षिन्तिः भवति न्याति विष्पिः।

102. हि is substituted for हि in the Vedas, after स्रु, स्रञ्जः, ष्टः, हृः and श्वः।

As श्रुती देवीनिः, श्रुती, गिरः, पृवः, उश्तुव्यमक्र विश्वि and भाषाविश्वि।

In श्रुती, हि is not elided after the श of श्रु, 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 स्रुव्यि are irregular; पृवि being added diversely by III. 1. 85, and then elided diversely by वहलं नन्ति II. 4. 73 अक्षितसि १०३ पदार्थि अक्षेत्, व्र, हेष्टिः।

व्रति:। अक्षितसि हेर्षिन्तिः भवति।

103. हि is substituted for हि, when the tense-affix is not दिः।

Under III. 4. 88 हि is also दिः in the Vedas: and when it is दिः, it is not हि by I. 2. 4. Thus दार्शिः, यद्धि and युद्धि in the following सामर्थ्यम् अर्थायं सामर्थ्यम् प्रयाद्विः, युद्दयोस्माभ्य स्तुत्सामने।

Why do we say ‘when it is not हि’? Observe भीमीसि। दार्शिः is irregularly Parasmapiпадa of रष्य; the यष्म being replaced by ष्म, and the reduplicate lengthened as a Vedic form. The म is not elided, by VI. 4. 37 as the affix is not हि। यष्माः is from यष्म, the यष्म is elided: and युद्धि from यु (वृति), the यष्म being replaced by ष्म।

विषयो लुकः १०४ पदार्थि विषयः, लुकः, प्रत्ययः।

वृति। विषय उत्तरस्य प्रक्षयस्य नामवर्ति।
104. The personal-endings are elided after चिन्, the third person, singular Passive of the Aorist.

As अचारि, अकारि, अकारि, अपारि. So also अकारि, अकारि, अपारि, here the elision of the personal affix अ (III. i. 60) of the Aorist being considered as "asiddha", the affixes तथा and तम्म are not elided: though if the sūtra were to be literally interpreted, every affix after चिन्, ought to be elided. Or the word चिन्ति is understood here; so that शित् and शिन् affixes of चिन् are 'elided and not every affix.

अति हैः || १०५ || पदानि || अतः, हे, अक्षरय ||
वृचि: || अकारान्तादावइतस्थयेऽहुर्म्भवति ||

105. The Imperative affix हि is elided after a stem ending in short अ||

Thus उच, पठ, गच्छ, भाव || But श्रष्ठि, श्रवः after stems ending In त. Why do we say "short अ"? Observe तुनीः, तुनीः (तुन + हि, the तु substitution by VI. 4. 113, should be considered as "asiddha"), here हि is not elided after the long अ||

उत्त्र प्रत्यादसंयोगपूर्वोऽ || १०६ || पदानि || उतः, च, प्रत्यावास, असंयोग पूर्वावत ||
वृचि: || उद्कारे तो उत्त्रोपगर्भविसत्रायऽतिसारादावइतस्थयेऽहुर्म्भवति ||
वाचिकः || उत्त्र प्रत्यावासत्व चन्द्रमि चैति वत्रावः ||

106. The Imperative हि is elided after the त of an affix, in the vikarana with which the Present-stem (special conjugation) is made, provided that the त is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

The affix त with which the Present-stem is made is त and द्वृत्ती || Thus पिन्त, त्रुत, कुत्त || Why after त्? Observe तुनीः, तुनीः || Why do we say "त being part of the vikarana or affix"? Observe तुष्ठि, तुष्ठि, here त is part of the root itself, and not of the vikarana. Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe मातुनि, तत्तुनि, तत्तुष्ठि ||

Vārt:—The elision of हि after the त of the vikarana त and द्वृत्ति is optional in the Vedas; as तत्तुष्ठि यातुष्ठिन, तत्तुष्ठि यातुष्ठिन, तत्तुष्ठि मातुष्ठिन ||

तोप्ष्ठायत्वसन्तरस्यः स्म: || १०७ || पदानि || तोष्:; च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याः, मवोः; ||
वृचि: || योगहुकारे उत्तरोपगर्भविसत्रायऽतिसारादावइतस्थयेऽहुर्म्भवति ||

107. The त of the vikarana त and द्वृत्ति, where not preceded by a conjunct consonant, may be elided optionally before a personal ending beginning with म or च ||

Thus छन्तः or छुतः; छुतः, छुतः, तन्तः; तदुपः; तन्तः, तदुपः; The त must be-
long to the affix, and should not be part of the root. Therefore not in गुङ्ग, गुङ्ग:।

Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe शशक्त:, शशक्त: only. Though the elision word लघु was understood in this sūtra, the mention of लघु indicates that the final is only to be elided, and not the whole affix तु:। It is a general maxim that the words लघु, लघु and लघु 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 गुङ्ग: &c. Moreover, in लघु and लघु formed by guṇa of क, there would have been no guṇa, had the word लघु been used, for I. r. 63, would have prevented guṇa; but by using the word लघु we have such guṇa also by I. r. 62.

नित्यं करोते: || १०८ || पद्यः || निपम्यः, करोते: ||

ञिन् || करोतेन्द्रार्थरुपं सत्यार्थयाय वकारस्तास्वाभावं प्रम्ये परता नित्यं लेपोऽभवति:।

108. The elision of उ is invariably before य and म in the case of क (करोति).

Thus कुर्द: and कुर्दः:। Thus कुर्द: + य: = कुर्द: + य: (VI. 4. 110) = कुर्द: + य: (VI. 4. 108). Now the lopa being not sāhāvat, when a vowel is to be lengthened (I. r. 58), उ of कुर्द: should be lengthened by VIII. 2. 77. This contingency is prevented by VIII. 2. 79.

ये च || २०९ || पद्यः || चे, चे, लोपः, नित्यं करोते: ||

ञिन्: || वकारावः च प्रम्ये परते करोतेन्द्रार्थरुपं सत्यार्थयाय नित्यं लेपोऽभवति:।

109. The affix य of the stem कुर्द is always elided before a personal ending beginning with य:।

Thus कुर्दम्: कुर्दम्: and कुर्दः। The augment यार्थ is treated here as an affix, and it makes the personal ending to which it is added, as an affix beginning with य:।

अतं उसार्थायां || ११० || पद्यः || अतं, उतं, सार्थायां के: कुर्दिति: ||

ञिन्: || वकारावः वार्थायां करोतेन्द्रार्थ सत्यार्थम् प्रम्ये उकार्थाभावेऽभवति सार्थायां कुर्दिति: परते:।

110. Before a Sārvadhatuika affix with an indicatory य or य: short उ is substituted for the अ of कुर्द (करू+उ) when gunated.

Thus कुर्द+उ+सस्तं = कुर्द+उ+सस्तं (VII. 3. 84) = कुर्द+उ+सस्तं = कुर्दितं: (VI. 4. 110). The त is तिन्त्र by I. 2. 4. So also कुर्दितं, कुर्द:। Why do we say 'before a Sārvadhatukā'? So that the rule may apply to what was once a Sārvadhatuka, though no longer existent. Thus कुर्द where the personal ending ति is elided, but it leaves its effect behind. The त in उतं shows that this उ is not to be gunated by VII. 3. 86. When the affix is not तिन्त्र or तिन्त्र we have करारितं, करारितं and करारितं (I. 2. 4).

ंसम्यादपूः || १११ || पद्यः || घन-अस्मम्, अतं-लोपः, सार्थायांके कुर्दिति: ||

ञिन्: || भस्मस्यस्यार्थायां लेपोऽभवति सार्थायांके कुर्दिति: परते:।
111. Before a Sārvadhātuka कित्र or कित्र affix, the य of य and यस्तु is elided.

इन is the characteristic of the roots of the Rudhādi class, while यस्तु is the root itself. Thus इन्यः, इन्यति, इन्यतः, इन्यत्सः; So also of यस्तु—सः, सः || But निन्यति and न्यस्तु before non—कित्र and non—कित्र affixes. इन + यस्तु ought to be यस्तु, instead of that we have इन्यः in the sūtra. The पररुप single substitution is an irregularity.

इनायस्थेष्योरात्: || ११२ || पदानि || इन्य—अध्यस्त्योऽयः, आतः, लोपः सार्थेषा
न्यतुरां कार्यति ||

वृत्ति: || या इन्यतरायव्यस्त्रा चाचाचाचाचार्य लोपे भवति सार्थेष्यार्य
लोपां कार्यति परतः: ||

112. Before a Sārvadhātuka कित्र or कित्र affix beginning with a vowel, the long आ of आ (the vikaraṇa of the 9th class) and of the reduplicate stems is elided.

Thus इन्नते, इन्नताः, इन्नत्नः; निमते, निमताः, निमत्नः, संजितेः, संजिताः, संजित्नः ||

समासन: || Why do we say ‘of इन्य and the reduplicates’? Observe यस्तु, वासन: ||

बृव्वति: || Why ‘of long आ’? Observe बित्रति: || Why ‘before कित्र and कित्र’? Observe न्यस्तुन्ते, न्यस्तुसः: ||

इं हृद्योऽयः: || ११३ || पदानि || इं, लोप, अ—घो (इनायस्थेष्योरात्: सार्थेषात्
के कार्यति) ||

वृत्ति: || इन्यतरायव्यस्त्रा चाचाचाचार्य लोपे भवति सार्थेष्यार्य
लोपां कार्यति परतः: ||

113. Before a Sārvadhātuka कित्र or कित्र affix beginning with a consonant, the आ of आ and of the reduplicate stems is replaced by इ, except when the root is दा or धा (चु) ||

Thus इन्नीते, इन्नीताः, इन्नीताः; निमीते और निमीते ||

Of reduplicates we have निमीते, निमीते, निमीते, संजितेः, संजिताः, संजित्नः ||

वृव्वति: || Why do we say ‘beginning with a consonant’? Observe इन्नतीते, निमीते: || Why with the exception of चु? Observe इत्रः, न्यचः: ||

So also इन्नति and न्यचति before non—कित्र and non—कित्र affixes.

इत्रहरिद्रश्यं || ११४ || पदानि || इत्र, हरिद्रश्यः (इत्रहरिद्रश्यानूने कार्यति) ||

वृव्वति: || हरिद्रश्यानूने सार्थेषात् कार्यति परत इत्रहरिद्रश्यानूने भवति ||

वृव्वति: || हरिद्रश्यानूने सार्थेषात् कार्यति परत इत्रहरिद्रश्यानूने भवति ||

वृव्वति: || हरिद्रश्यानूने सार्थेषात् कार्यति परत इत्रहरिद्रश्यानूने भवति ||

Kārikā: || इत्रहरिद्रश्यानूने सार्थेषात् कार्यति परत इत्रहरिद्रश्यानूने भवति ||

Kārikā: || इत्रहरिद्रश्यानूने सार्थेषात् कार्यति परत इत्रहरिद्रश्यानूने भवति ||

वृव्वति: || अध्यान्यः बृव्वति पक्षतः ||

114. इ is substituted for the आ of इत्रहरिद्रश्य before a Sārvadhātuka कित्र or कित्र affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus इत्रहरिद्रश्यः, इत्रहरिद्रश्यः, इत्रहरिद्रश्यः ||

But इत्रहरिद्रश्य before a vowel affix (VI. 4. 112) and इत्रहरिद्रश्य before a non—कित्र affix,
Vārt.—The final of शिर्स is elided before an अर्धधातुका affix.

Vārt.—And this elision should be considered as siddha, in applying rules relating to affixes. Thus शिर्स by loosing आ becomes शिर्त, and we should apply those affixes which would come after a form like ‘daridr’, and not what would have come after a form like ‘daridrā’. Thus आ comes after roots ending in long आ (III. 1. 141): but this affix would not be applied here, but the general affix अन् (III. 1. 134). Thus शिर्सान्त = शिर्तः.

Kārikā.—The elision does not take place in the forms शिर्स्यंक and शिर्स्या, and the Desiderative may be either विशिष्टार्थम् or विशिष्टार्थमय. Siddhānta Kaumudi gives the following rule: “आ of शिर्तः should be considered as elided when applying an अर्धधातुका affix, but optionally so before हुः (Aorist), and not at all before सर (Desiderative), हुः and च्युः.”

Vārt.—Optionally so in the Aorist (adyatana-past) as, भशशिर्तः or भशशिर्तसिद्धः. The latter form is evolved by VII. 2. 73 and elision of चिर्. The form शिर्स्य in the sūtra is Vedic, the root being shortened from शिर्स to शिर्तः.

भियो अन्तरस्त्रयाम् || 115 || पदानि || भियः, अन्तरस्त्रयाम्, (इन्धित्व क्षिति सार्वपालके) ||

वृः: || भो इन्धित्वान्तरस्त्रयाम्यान्तरस्त्रयानिकारणेऽभवति हल्ल्ये क्षिति सार्वपालके परस्तः.

115. ह is optionally substituted for the इ of मी before a शर्मधातुका affix beginning with a consonant and having an indicatory क्त or कूः.

Thus शिर्तः or शिर्तसिद्धः, शिर्त्याम् or शिर्त्यामयः, शिर्तसिद्धः or शिर्तसिद्धार्थः. But शिर्तः before a vowel-beginning affix and शिर्तः before a non-क्त or कूः affix and शिर्तः before an अर्धधातुका affix.

जहातः || 116 || पदानि || जहातः, इ (इ हुः अन्तरस्त्रयाम क्षीतिसार्वपालके) ||

वृः: || जहातः इकारणेऽभवति अन्तरस्त्रयं हल्ल्ये क्षिति सार्वपालके परस्तः.

116. ह is optionally substituted for the आ of हा (जहातः) before a शर्मधातुका क्त or कूः affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus जहातः or जहातः (VI. 4. 113) जहातः or जहातः (VI. 4. 113). But जहातः before a vowel affix, and जहातः before a non-क्त or कूः affix; and हीतः and हीतः before an अर्धधातुका. The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms.

आ च है || 117 || पदानि || आ, च, है, (इ अन्तरस्त्रयाम) ||

वृः: || जहातः इकारणेऽभवति हल्ल्ये इकारणान्तरस्त्रयं है परस्तः.

117. आ as well as ह is may optionally be substituted for the final of the stem of हा before the Imperative ending हि ||
Thus जहाँ, जहाँ हि जहाँ हि (VI. 4. 113).

118. The final of the stem of हि is elided before an affix beginning with य being a Sārvadhatuca कित or कि affix.

Thus जहाँ, जहाँ ग जहाँ.

व्यस्तोर्द्धावस्तुलोपकं ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ हि-असोः, एत, हि, अभ्यासः

व्यस्तोः, च, ॥

व्यस्ता: इत्यं सत्त्वानान्तरस्त्रायाश्रयो भवति हि परस्त्रा अवस्तुलोपकं ॥

119. For the final vowel of the roots द्रा and द्रा (ष), and for the द्र of अस्त्र, is substituted य before the Imperative ending हि; and thereby the reduplicated syllable of द्रा and द्रा is elided.

Thus द्रो, and द्रो, of ष, and एष्य of अस्त्र, the द्र being elided by this sūtra, and द्र being elided by VI. 4. 111. This लेख of the present sūtra should be considered as having an indicative हि so that the whole of the reduplicated and not only the final letter of the abhyāsa (I. 1. 55) is elided.

अत एकहल्मध्ये जनादेशार्थविदित ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, एक-हल, मध्ये,

अनादेशाद्वादे् ॥ लिति ॥

व्यस्ता: इत्यं कित्वेदितसत्त्वा लिति परस्त्रा ज्ञातित्वाय वार्तहत्वाय नासिता, तस्य एकहल्मध्येः, अज्ञातयोगविद्ययः

व्यस्ताभार्ता इत्यं सत्त्वानान्तरस्त्रायाश्रयो भवति, अभ्यासान्तरत्ब परस्त्रा इत्यं सत्त्वानान्तरस्त्रायाश्रयो भवति, अभ्यासान्तरत्ब परस्त्रा ॥

व्यस्ताभार्ता इत्यं सत्त्वानान्तरस्त्रायाश्रयो भवति, अभ्यासान्तरत्ब परस्त्रा ॥

व्यस्ताभार्ता इत्यं सत्त्वानान्तरस्त्रायाश्रयो भवति, अभ्यासान्तरत्ब परस्त्रा ॥

120. य 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 indicator हि (I. 2. 5), provided that, at the beginning of the root, in the reduplication, no other consonant has been substituted; and when this य is substituted, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus द्रष्टा, द्रष्टा, द्रष्टा, द्रष्टा, द्रष्टा, द्रष्टा, द्रष्टा ॥ Why 'for अ'? Observe द्रश्य, द्रश्य, द्रश्य: the अ is not replaced. Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe द्रास्त्रे, द्रास्त्रे, द्रास्त्रे ॥ Why do we say 'standing between two simple consonants'? Observe द्रास्त्रे, द्रास्त्रे ॥ Some say this example is not appropriate, for by I. 2. 5, the Perfect affixes are not कित here, as they come after a conjunct consonant. The following is then more appropriate:—सत्त्वस्त्रे and सत्त्वस्त्रे ॥ Why do we say 'which has no substituted consonant in the reduplicate'? Observe द्रास्त्रे, द्रास्त्रे, द्रास्त्रे, द्रास्त्रे, द्रास्त्रे ॥
The substitution referred to here must be caused by the affixes of the Perfect, therefore, the rule will apply to नेमति, नेम्मति, सेंहि and सेंहेति, सेंहेति though पि and पटि are the roots, and ए and एि are changed to एि and एि. The substitution of जेई consonant or a चर 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 अविषादि, as is indicated by the special exception made in favor of फलि and भसि (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 अविषादि. Thus by VIII. 4. 54, a पि letter (चि, टि, ति, कि, पि, खि, पि, शि) is substituted for a consonant (other than a nasal and a semi-vowel) in the reduplicate.

Thus in पचि the reduplicate is पचि, the first पि is also a substitute, for the पि substitute of पि will be पि. 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 जसि and जसि. Therefore, where the substitute is a different letter, then the reduplicate becomes âdesādi: otherwise not.

When the affixes are not जि or जि the rule does not apply: as अणि पचि, अणि पचि.

Vārt:—ए is substituted for the ए of हसम under similar circumstances:—thus हेमति, हेम्मति. 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 ए of नसि and नन before affixes other than those of ति. As अनसा, नेतका. अनसा is the Aorist in असि of नसि which belongs to Pusādī roots (III. 1. 55). नेतका is formed by हु (III. 1. 150). Padamanjari gives अनसा (3 rd Pl.), and quotes अनसासि, अनसासि.

Vārt:—In the Vedas, ए is substituted for the ए of आम and पचि before affixes other than those of the Perfect, as अनसा, (वि + आम + चानसि, the augment दु: being dropped); पचि instead of पचि, the Imperfect of चि. The shortening is also a Vedic irregularity.

Vārt:—So also of जसि and जसि as जसि and जसि the Imperfect Vedic forms. The augment ए being added by VI. 4. 73.

121. ए is substituted for आ, of a verbal stem standing between two simple consonants, the stem not having any different letter substituted in the reduplicate, when the ending ति of the Perfect having the augment एि follows, and thereby, the reduplicate is elided.
Thus पेणिय, शेकिय || But पप्रा कृपा before anि, य; हि हेनिय, the vowel being र and not य; दतलिय, रतलिय, the र not standing between two simple consonants; and पक्रणिय, ब्रणणि, the reduplicate having the substitutes च and ब different from क and म। This sūtra applies even when the affix is not कित्त; and यह is read in the sūtra only for the sake of clearness, no non-kit Perfect ending can take द्व except यह।

तपलगङ्गवाण् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृ, फल, मज, चपः, च, (अत एक हस्तधे अनादेशादेकेतितथनलेरि) ॥

cūñā: ॥ तृ फल मज चप इलेक्यास्तनामाय पकारेन्द्रेशी भवति, अभ्यासलेर, लिन्त कृतिय परस्पराणि ष लेति ॥

वाचिकः ॥ अन्येभीति वक्षयः ॥

122. ए is substituted for the अ of तृ, फल, मज and चप, and the reduplicate is elided, when the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क (or ढृ) follow, as well as when यह with the द्व augment follows.

Thus तेतुः, तेहः, तेकिय, केलुः, केलुः, केलिय, भेजुः, भेजुः, भेजिय, भेजे, भेजपति, भेजपि।
In the case of तृ the rule applies to the अ obtained by Guṇa, contrary to VI. 4. 126, in फल and मज the rule, that no different substitute should be in the reduplicate, is not adhered to, and in चप the अ does not stand between two simple consonants.

Vārt: It should be stated that the rule applies to अन्य also:-सा, अपेतुः, अपेवः।

राधो हिसायाम ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधो हिसायाम ॥

cūñā: ॥ राधो हिसायामें अरण्ये एकार आर्चे भवति, अभ्यासलेर लिन्त कृतिय परस्पराणि ष लेति ॥

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 क (or ढृ), as well as before यह with the द्व augment.

Thus अरेश्वः, अरेवः, अरेविय, but राधेशः, राधे, राधिय in any other sense than that of ‘hurting’. In this sūtra the long आ of राध is to be replaced by ए, the anuvṛtti of short आ (अत: VI. 4. 120) is therefore not appropriate here. We should either read the anuvṛtti of आ from VI. 4. 112, or we should read the word एकहलधे in this way “in राध whatever stands between two simple consonants is replaced by ए”.

वा जुःसुस्मासा ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जू, ग्री, तस्मात्, ॥

cūñā: ॥ जू अठ च इलेक्यास्तनामाय: र्धनि या एकार आर्चे भवति अभ्यासलेर लिन्त कृतिय परस्पराणि ष लेति ॥
124. ० is optionally substituted for the अ of the stems जर (जर), गम, and वस, and the reduplicate is thereby elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क (or ०), as well as before the यथू with the augment ०ठ॥

Thus जठतुः, जठह, जठरिथ, or जठरतुः, जठरह, जठरिब, जठमतुः, जठमह, जठमि, or जठम मतुः, जठमघ, जठमिः, जठमंस, जठमस, जठसिं, or जठससतुः, जठसपः, जठसिं, or जठससतुः, जठससपः, जठसिं।

पञ्चः च सतानाम ॥ २२॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चाम, च, सतानाम, ॥

बुद्धि: पञ्चानीः सतानाः धातुनामार्थाय स्थाने वा एकाद ब्रह्मवीर्ययथा, अन्यायस्मात: स्थिति कृति कृति परत, स्थिति च सति ॥

125. ० is optionally substituted for the अ and ॐ of the seven roots फण, रण, ब्रण, भण, भवण, स्यण, and स्यव; and the reduplicate is elided thereby, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क (or ०) as well as before the य with the augment ०ठ।

Thus कणतुः, कणह, कणिय, or कणशतुः, कणश, फणिय, रणज, रणह, रणिण, or रणगतुः, रणघ, रणरिथ, ब्रणज, ब्रणह, ब्रणिण, or ब्रणगतुः, ब्रणघ, ब्रणरिथ, भणज, भणह, भणिण, or भणगतुः, भणघ, भणरिथ, भवणज, भवणह, भवणिण, or भवणगतुः, भवणघ, भवणरिथ, स्यणज, स्यणह, स्यणिण, or स्यणगतुः, स्यणघ, स्यणरिथ, स्यवणज, स्यवणह, स्यवणिण, or स्यवणगतुः, स्यवणघ, स्यवणरिथ, स्यवणसिं, स्यवणसम, स्यवणसिं, or स्यवणससतुः, स्यवणसपः, स्यवणसिं, or स्यवणससतुः, स्यवणससपः, स्यवणसिं।

Why of 'seven'? Observe, दन्तन, दन्त, दन्तिः। The Phanāḍī is a subdivision of Bhuādi (८७३-८७९)

न शास्त्रविद्वानिज्ञानाम ॥ २२॥ पदानि ॥ न, शस, द्व, वादि, गुणानाम, ( अत एक हल्मध्येनपश्चादांदर्षित ) ॥

बुद्धि: शत द्व हस्त सतवार्थर्थाय य धातुः गुण हस्तस्मातिविद्युस्स्त च योक्त सतवार्थ यथाकारातः येव न सर्वात्त अस्माते परस्परमब ॥

126. ० is not substituted for the अ of शस, द्व, or of roots beginning with a अ, or of such verbal stems in which the अ results through the substitution of Guṇa, though the affixes of the Perfect being कित or कित follow, or the set यथू nor is the reduplicate elided.

Thus विशालसुः, विशालह, विशालिक, इक्ष, इक्षसिं, इक्षिः। Of roots beginning with यः-वनमुः, यशसुः, यशसिं, इक्षसि, इक्षा, इक्षी, Of roots where अ is the result of Guṇa, विशालसुः, विशालह, विशालिक, इक्ष, इक्षि, इक्षाय, इक्षी॥ इक्षसुः इक्षायतीत्या कार्त्तिकप्रथितादेति एव प्रतिप्रथिताते।

The अ of Guṇa may result either from the guṇa of ॐ as ॐ changed to क्र or of उ changed to ओ again changed to अ, as हु—लब॥

अर्थाधिकारसाधनः ॥ २२॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थः, उष, असो, अन्यः ॥

बुद्धि: अरिग्रहितस्वास्त्रयस्तु हस्तस्मातिविद्युस्स्त च निःशुस्योगी भवति, हस्तस्य परः न भवति, स च नम उत्तरे न भवति॥
127. त्र (which is changed to न्त्र in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in न्त्र unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem अर्थत्, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is त्र, the त्र is for the sake of making this affix an बुदित्, so that in sarvanāmasthāna cases we have त्र augment VII. i. 70. Thus अवर्तत्, अवर्तत्त्, अवर्तस्, अवर्तत्, अवर्त, अवर्तुः, अवर्तक्ष्, अवर्तति, अवर्तप्रक्ष्य, अवर्तः। अवर्तति किष्, अंतः। अवर्तम् इति किष्, अनन्ताद्वृत्, अनन्तिर्द्, अनन्ताणि बुध्रम् मन्त्रज्ञान्य।

But अयों in the Nominative Sing.: and अन्ताद्वृत्, अन्तिर्द्, अन्ताणि बुध्रम् मन्त्रज्ञान्य, with the Negative Particle नम्।

मथवा बहुतम् || ११८ || पदानि || मथवा, बहुलम्, (त्र) ||

बुदित्: || मथविलेवस्य कृपाणत् बहुतम् त्र हुस्ताबाहरस्त्रो मभवत्।

128. त्र is diversely substituted for the final of मथवनू।

As मपवावृ, मपवलौ, मपवास्, मपवत्, मपवत्, मपवन, मपवती, मपवतया, मपवतयां, मपवनम्, मपवनाणि, मपोन, मपोनानि, मपवनाञ्च, मपवनि: मपोनी, मपवनानि, मपवनानि।

मभवू || १५९ || पदानि || मभवू ||

बुदित्: || मभविलेवस्य कृपाणत्, ला अर्थयापिरस्यां, बहति अर्थबुध्रमभविमानी भक्तेवऽवें त्वबित्वायम् ||

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 ‘पद्र is the substitute of पद‘। It means पद्र is substituted for पद when the latter gets the designation of न। Thus विन्द: पद, विन्द्र इत्य, but विन्द्य, विन्द्य: where the affixes are those of Sarva- nāmasthāna.

पादः पद्र || १३० || पादः, पद्र ||

बुदित्: || पादहि पादहि लुधाकारी सुधारी || तदस्यस्यात् भव्यो पादहिलकारस्यो भवति || स च पादहिल-र्वर्य भवति ||

130. For पाद्र is substituted पद्र when the former is Bha.

The substitute replaces the whole form पाद्र and not only the final, on the maxim विन्द्रत्वादिहया Bha भवति “substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated- in a rule.”। Thus विन्द्र: पद, विन्द्र, विन्द्र, विन्द्रवत्र इत्य (V. 4. 1), विन्द्रहि कां व्रति, व्रतिवायम्।

वसोः: संमसारणम् || १३१ || पदानि || वसोः, संमसारणम् ||

बुदित्: || तदस्य संमसारणे भवति ||
131. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वस्र) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विद्यः: पद्धः, विद्वस्, विद्वे, पद्वः: प्+द्वः, पद्वः, पद्वे, वद्यः: प्+वः। For the purposes of the elision of अप (VI. 4. 64), vocalisation under the present sūtra should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22). Thus वा + कद्धु (III. 2. 107) = पा + वस् = पा + वस् = पा + वस् (VI. 4. 131, VI. 1. 108). Now if उ were to be considered as asiddha, then the affix does not begin with a vowel, and we cannot apply VI. 4. 64, which requires the elision of अप, but the samprasāraṇa is not considered as asiddha, and we have प्+उस्+अस्=प्+उस्: पद्यः। In the nominative, where the stem is not अ, we have प्+उस्+स्=प्+उस्+स् (VI. 4. 66) = पाल्वः (VII. 1. 70, VI. 4. 10, VI. 1. 68 and VIII. 2. 23). The affix कद्धु is included in वस् for the purposes of samprasāraṇa.

वाह उद्र ॥ १३२ ॥ पद्यनि ॥ वाहः; उद्र ॥

कृति:॥ वाहः हेलावनमस्य भस्य उद्रः हेलावतसंपत्तार्यं भवति ॥

132. The च in वाहः is vocalised to ऋ (उद्र), when the compound stem is Bha.

The word वाहः is a चन formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upadaya: hence we have used the word “compound.” Thus पद्योः: पद्योः, पद्योः, विद्योः, विद्योः, विद्योः; विद्योः, विद्योः। By VI. 1. 108, ऋ+आ (of वा)=ऋ; and then वा+ऋ=षोः; the Vṛddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus: वस्+उस्+ ऋ=वस्+उस्+ ऋ (VI. 1. 108)=वस्+ऋ+स् (the affix च्च III. 2. 64, will produce guṇa)=षोः (VI. 1. 88). In fact च्च is never added to ऋ (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in ऋ and that ऋ+ऋ of वा will always produce कै। The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऋ, indicates the existence of following maxim: वस्य वसः वाहिकतत्त्वः; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaranga operation: therefore, we can never get the form वाहः।

सौन्तप्यमोनानमतिर्भुते ॥ १३३ ॥ पद्यनि ॥ वाहः, युवः, मथोनाम, अतिशिष्टे ॥

कृति:॥ वाहः युवः मथवः हेलावतस्यातिबन्धिते प्रत्य परस्त: संपत्तार्यं भवति ॥

133. The च of युवः, युवः and मथवः becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus युवः: युवः, युवः, युवः, युवः, युवः, युवः, युवः, युवः। But शीवः मालम, शीवः किरति, मथवः: स्थायितकः with Taddhita affixes. शीवः is formed by अम् affix (IV. 3. 154) and शी is being added by VII. 3. 4 as शी belongs dvārādī class.

This vocalisation takes place of the nouns ending in न, but not when they become feminine or do not end in न, as युवती: पन्नः, मथवतः; मथवतः, मथवतः। The word शी: of the next sūtra, in a way, qualifies this sūtra also.
134. Of a Bha stem ending in अनू, the अ is elided.

As राजः: यददव, राजः, राजः, तर्कः: पदश्च, तस्था तस्ये। वातः:—The elision takes place of a stem which actually ends in ऋ, therefore, it does not take place here, राजकीयम्।

पर्यवेश्वरराजासमिः: १३५। पदानि: प पूचः, हनू, धृतराशाम, अणि।

वृत्ति: धृतराष्ट्रो या ज्ञू हनू धृतराष्ट्र सत्वकराणीयो भवति।

135. Of a Bha stem ending in अनू with a preceding य, as well as of हनू and धृतराष्ट्र, the अ is elided before the affix अणू।

Thus अणूस्थतः, तारः, यामः, धार्तराष्ट्रः। बल बालन्तः, बिवन्तः। Why do we say before the affix अणू? Observe तारः। Why do we say 'preceded by a य'? Observe बालसमस्यः: बालन्तः। बिवन्तः। From सामस्यः and बालस्यः: formed with the affix अणू। Here neither the अ of गल्यू nor the final syllable अनू is elided, since VI. 4. 167 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

विभाषा दलितोः: १३६। पदानि: विभाषा, दलितोः (अहोपोनः)।

वृत्ति: दलितो श्रीशास्त्रे य अनि विभाषा धकान्तोः भवति।

136. In a stem ending in अनू, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending ई and before the ending शी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As शक्ति or शरणि, सामिन्ति or सामिन्ति, सामन्ति or सामन्ती (VII. I. 19).

न संयोगङ्गमन्तादृ: १३७। पदानि: न, संयोगङ्गम, धृ, अन्तादृ, (अहोपोनः)।

वृत्ति: भक्तिक्षणार्थसंयोगङ्गगतस्यानि भक्तिक्रमे, न भवति।

137. The अ in अनू is not elided when the Bha stem ends in बनू or मनू with a consonant preceding य or भू।

Thus पर्वणा, पर्वणा, पर्वणा, पर्वणा and पर्वणे। Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe पर्वणान्तः, पर्वणान्तः, सामन्तः, सामन्तः। Why do we say 'stems in बनू and मनू'? Observe बन, गतः, and गतः।

अच्छे: १३८। पदानि: अच्छे, (अभ्यास अहोपोनः)।

वृत्ति: अच्छे, हस्यवद्यरतिलीलामकाराण्वी। तत्तव्या भक्तिक्रमे लेपणे भवति।
138. The अ of अच् (अच्छ्) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

Thus श्रीचः पदवः श्रीचः, श्रीचः, मधुः पदवः मधुः, मधुः। The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138: and अ of अच् is elided by VI. 4. 24.

उव्र तोः १३९॥ पदरानि उव्रः, तोः, (अच्)॥

वृत्तः॥ उव्र उव्वरस्तिः ईकार्षेण वृत्तः॥

139. Long त is substituted for the अ of अच् (अच्), after the word तु when the stem is Bha.

As उशीचः उशीचः उशीचः॥

आतो धातोः १३०॥ पदरानि अतः, धातोः, (सर्स्य लोपः)॥

वृत्तः॥ बाकार्षेन धातोधातेऽधातेऽधातेऽ नववितः॥

140. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

Thus कीलान्यः पदवः कीलान्यः कीलान्यः, हुम्बः पदवः हुम्बः, हुम्बः, हुम्बः कीलान्यः त्रंदिः॥ Why do we say ‘the आ of a root’? Observe श्रवः पदवः, मानः पदवः॥ 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 तुषा and न्या by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37, (न्या न्यारः) and III. 1. 83, (अं न्यानष्ठः)॥

मन्न्यक्ष्येष्यादिनिमानः १४१॥ पदरानि मन्न्यक्ष्येष्यादिनिमानः, आधि, आधि, आतोः, आतोः, आतोः॥

वृत्तः॥ मन्न्यक्ष्येष्यादिनिमानः पति भास्यां भास्यां भास्यां वृत्तः॥

वार्तिकम्॥ भास्यादिनिमानः कन्तिः लोपः प्रामः॥

141. In the Mantras, the beginning of आतोः is elided, when the affix of the Instrumental Singular follows.

आतोः is the name of the Instrumental singular affix, given by ancient Grammarians. Thus ल्या त्र्यम्बकः, ल्या लोपः॥ Why in the Mantras? Observe आतोः क्रृतः॥ Why in the Instrumental Singular? भास्यां ल्या वर्णः॥

Vārt.—The elision of आ of ‘आतman’ is found in other cases also, but not so frequently as in the Instrumental, as भास्यांसमजं भास्यां॥

ति विशारदेणिदिति १४२॥ पदरानि ति, विशारदेणिदिति, विशारदेणिदिति, (सर्स्य, लोपः)॥

वृत्तः॥ भास्य विशारदेणिदिति भास्या विशारदेणिदिति पदवः पति ल्या नयं नववितः॥

142. Of the Bha stem विशारदिति, before an affix having an indicatory द, the ति is elided.

Thus विशारदः = विशाण्यम् कीतवः (with इकुदः V. 1. 24), विशाण्यम्, (विशाण्यम् पुरः पुरः, with इकक्रित V. 2. 48); विशाण्यम्॥ Why do we say ‘having an indicatory द’? Observe विशारदः॥
143. Before an affix having an indicatory छ, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided.

Thus क्रुद्धान्, क्रुद्धः and वस्त्रस्वर with क्रुद्ध (IV. 2. 87). So also विषादः कः with क्रुद्ध of V. 1. 24. The rule applies even to non-bha bases, for effect must be given to the indicatory छ. Thus उपसर्जः, मदुरः (III. 2. 97 with the krit affix छ).

144. Of the stem bha, the final छ with the vowel that precedes it, is elided, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus भास्कर्मणीम्, भौद्धज्ञम्, सार्लापि: from भागिरमिव, भूलेज्यम्, and सरलाम् with the Taddhita affix ह्यस्त (IV. 1. 96). Why do we say ‘ending in छ’? Observe सत्त्वम्; Why ‘before a Taddhita affix’? Observe सर्मणम्, सर्मणम्.

Vârt:—The final छ with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following: 1. साब्रजाचारित्र्—साब्रजाचारित्र् (IV. 3. 120), 2. दीपस्तर्यम्—पैशाच्यम् (IV. 3. 120), 3. दत्तापित्र्—दत्तापित्र् (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59), 4. दुदुधिम्—दुदुधिम् (IV. 3. 101), 5. शाकुमिक्षनः—शाकुमिक्षनः (IV. 3. 116), 6. चापालित्—चापालित् (IV. 2. 59), 7. चापालित्—चापालित्, 8. चापालित्—चापालित्, 9. चापालित्—चापालित्, 10. चापालित्—चापालित्, 11. चापालित्—चापालित्.

In the above those which end in ह्यस्त, elide the ह्यस्त in spite of VI, 4. 164, and those in भा́ contradiction VI, 4. 167.

Vârt:—अद्वम् loses its भा́ before a Taddhita affix meaning ‘prepared there with’: as, आद्वम्, otherwise आद्वम्.

Vârt:—Of चापालित् the भा́ is elided when meaning ‘a sheath or purse’: as, प्राम्रि: (IV. 3. 134), otherwise प्राम्रि:.

Vârt:—The भा́ of भा́ is elided when the sense is ‘to contract’, as शेखः: संकौशम् (IV. 3. 120), otherwise शेखः.

Vârt:—The Indeclinables like सार्लापि: &c are formed by the वि elision: as सार्लापि (पौनिकम्, बाध्यम्, कौतसक्तम्) (formed by ह्यस्त IV. 3. 11). But not before the affixes छम् and छुम्, as भापालित्, शापालित्. Pāṇini himself has shown the exception, in the case of भावाभाविक, by using it in II. 4. 9. So also भावाभाविक.

अहुर्यकोरवः १५५ पदार्थिण: अहुः, खोः, पचः.

वृत्ति: अहुःत्वेत्रस्त्र खोरववर परस्तिहितो भरति।

वाचन: अहुः सरुः क्वः तत्त्वात्:.
145. The अ न्द्र of अह्न्द्र is elided only before the affixes त and ख।

Thus दे अह्न्द्र समाख्यानं = दह्न्द्र, दह्न्द्र: (V. 4. 91 with दि). दे अह्न्द्र अभिधेयं सूतः। भूतः भाष्याः = अह्न्द्रायां, भविष्याम्: (with ख. V. 1. 87).

Vārt.:—ख is added to अह्न्द्र in the sense of तस्य समूह, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्न्द्र समूहः क्रतुः = अह्न्द्र: (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अ न्द्र of अह्न्द्र would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes त and ख, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule: अह्न्द्र does not lose its final अ न्द्र before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्न्द्र समूहः भाष्याः भाष्याम्: (with दि V. 1. 79). The word एक ‘only’ is for the sake of perspicuity. अह्न्द्र alone does not lose its final अ न्द्र before त and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of ātman and adhvam, before ख, in VI. 4. 169.

अयुः: ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि: ॥ ओऽ, गुः: ॥

वृत्त: ॥ उपर्याणः मन्त्र गुः मन्त्र तत्र तत्र तत्र: ॥

146. For त or अ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाभावः: from बहू, माण्डवः: from मण्डु, श्पः: शाह (from शंक्त्र), विन्ध्यः: कार्यांस: (from विन्ध्यः) कामविवाहम् मुक्तिका (from कामविवाह), परस्त्रवयम्, औपनावः, कारुग: &c. Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying नोऽर त or अ, the employment of the technical phrase गुः: in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संख्या प्रवृत्तिकी विचिन्तितव: “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 लघुमूः: from लघुमूः without गुः: See VII. 4. 30 also.

हे लघुमूः अह्न्द्र: ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हे, लघुमूः, अ, क्रतुः: ॥

वृत्त: ॥ हे पति उपर्याणः मन्त्र गुः मन्त्र तत्र तत्र तत्र: ॥

147. The अ or त of a bha stem is elided before the affix पय (त), but not of the stem ‘Kaṭrū’.

Thus कामविवाहम्, श्लेष्मित्वाद, जाम्ब्रेद्, मामोऽत्वादः: l ut कार्यायं मन्त्रमन्युद्धः।

यस्येत च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, शैत्य, च, (सम्बन्ध्य तत्र तत्र तत्र तत्र: ॥

वृत्त: ॥ इवशैत्यावाणन्तस्य च मन्त्र इकारे पर तस्य च लघुमूः नविनम् ॥

वार्तिकम्: ॥ वस्मिन्तौ: यमः प्रतिप्राप्तो वस्मिन्तौ: ॥

वार्तिकम्: ॥ इवस्मिन्तौ: उपर्याणः लघुमूः नविनित्वाणित्वेन ॥

148. The final त and अ (both long and short), of a bha stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix इः।

Thus शाक्षी, शाक्षी, तश्री from शाक्षी, शाक्षी and तश्री with the feminine affix इः।
(IV. 1. 65) The above forms could also have been evolved by the simple rules of sandhi, as वालि + हि = वालिहि। It might be asked, where was then the necessity of eliding ह ? There would arise difficulty in the forms like शवति वालि। From the word वालिहि formed by हि under IV. 1. 62, we form the compound सलिवालिहि = अलिवालिहि, the final becoming short by I. 2. 48 (the samāsanta affix हि is not added here as required by V. 4. 91, that rule applying to the masculine form वालि and not to the feminine वालिहि)। Now if in forming वालि + हि = वालिहि, had we not elided the letter ह of हि, then the long ह being the single substitute for both ह + हि, would be considered as like the final ह of वालि by VI. 1. 85। That being so, the word अलिवालिहि would be considered a non-वि word by I. 4. 7, for वालि has been specifically excluded form वि class। Not being a वि, we cannot have the form अलिवालिहि: in the Ablative and Genitive singular. Hence the necessity of eliding ह before the feminine हि, so that the ekādesa rule VI. 1. 85, should not apply।

The short ह is elided before Taddhita affixes:—हुलि = वैलिहि, वलि = वैलिहि, वालि = वालिहि। अ is elided before ह as:—कुमारि = कुणारि, गौरि = गोरि, शाकुश्रि = शाकृकरि। आ and आ are elided before the Taddhita:—रूि = राशि, हृि = हावि, चूि = चावि, बलाका = चालिका, नुलिनि = नालिनि।

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of हि (सी), when it is the substitute of वी (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 ह, the preceding vowel, ह and आ are not elided। The stem before this ह is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns। Thus काण्डि + हि = काण्डहि; कुलि + हि = कुलहि (the ब 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 sutra। This may also be done by reading the anuvṛtti of स्वो (VI. 4. 136), and न (VI. 4. 137) into this sutra।

Vārt:—हुङ्घ and उङ्घ are superseded, when they would apply simultaneously with this lopa। Thus हुङ्घ and उङ्घ have unimpeded scope in भ्र or बू+भ्र or ब्र (ज्रू), as श्र्येयोः, श्र्येयं, श्र्येयोः। भ्र Lopa has unimpeded scope in ज्ञानङ्घि — ज्ञानङ्घर्य (with ब्र IV. 1. 135), and भ्राधिहि।। But in वस्त्रि + हुङ्घ (IV. 1. 135), both the rules VI. 4. 77 and VI. 4. 148, present themselves। The former is superseded, and we have वास्त्रप्रेषि: (कबल्य वीणालि = कबल्यि, तस्वाभिः); so also लेखः:—लेखःिलि: with the हुङ्घ affix, this word belonging to शुभ्रादि class (IV. 1. 123)।

सूर्यास्त्यायाक्ष्मत्स्यायायं उपाध्यायः।।५४२।। पदानि। सुङ्घे, तिथ्य, अग्निः, मत्स्यानामः, यः, उपाध्यायः। (हुङ्घ, तिथि, लोपः)।।

Bhūtि:—सूर्य तिथि अग्निः मत्स्य हल्लेत्याः यकार्त्य उपाध्याय भास्त्र नेतोऽभास्त्री न्याति न्याति परस्त्वदिशि ्तः।। शास्त्रिकृति। मत्स्यायुक्तानि वस्त्रायुक्ति,।। ताः।। सूर्यास्त्यायोऽवृद्धे च गृह्यः ्तः।।
149. Of the bha stems शृङ्खल, तिथ्य, अग्निस्य and मर्स्य, (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate य is also elided before the long य and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूक्ष्मकाृति यो = सौरी. शृङ्खल + अध्य under IV. 3. 112 = सौरी, then य of शृङ्कर = सौरी, as सौरी बनाका।

So also तिथ्य—तिथ्यमह, तिथ्य शिष्य। So also अग्निस्यपल्लिव श्री = अग्निकी (IV. i. ii. 3), अग्निकी; So also मर्स्य—मर्स्य with हरिकृ = अग्निकी as it belongs to Gaurâdi class (IV. i. 49). If the words शृङ्खल एवc, were to be qualified by the word य, then the sūtra would mean सूक्ष्मकाृति यो अध्यमहान् “of शृङ्खल एवc, when they get the designation of य”; and the result of this interpretation would be, that the rule would apply to cases like सूक्ष्मकाृति यो = सौरी, अग्निस्यपल्लिव श्री = अग्निकी, एवc, only, where the forms शृङ्खल एवc, are Bha, and not to their derivatives, as शिस्य एवc, and there would not have been the forms like सौरी बनाका; because, here the word शृङ्खल is not Bha before the affix य, but the word शिस्य is Bha. Hence we have introduced the words “and their derivatives” in the translation, so as to cover the cases like सौरी बनाका।

In the last example, we again have an illustration, of the rule VI. 4. 22, which says that for purposes of asiddha the अध्य must be the same. Thus शिस्य यो = शिस्य एवc, + अध्य लोप्य यो = शिस्य। But शिस्य itself was formed by the elision of य of शृङ्खल before the affix अध्य, thus, शृङ्खल + अध्य = शिस्य + अध्य + अध्य (last sūtra) = शिस्य। But if this lopa be considered as asiddha by VI. 4. 22, then we have the following equation शिस्य + अध्य (of अध्य) + यो = शिस्य + अध्य (of अध्य being elided by VI. 4. 148)+ य। Here य cannot be elided, as it is not upadhā or penultimate: because the first lopa is considered asiddha. But it is not to be so considered, as their scopes (अध्य) are different. Hence we have the elision of य by this sūtra. It should not be objected that the य here is not penultimate, but ultimate: as शिस्य + यो = शिस्य + अध्य (of अध्य being elided by the last sūtra), and thus य is ultimate. Here, however, rule VI. 4. 22, applies. This elision of य will be considered asiddha for the purposes of the elision of य, their scope being the same. So being considered asibdha, य still retains its designation of upadhā and is elided by the present sūtra. It should be remembered here, that we could not take help of the rule of sthanīvat-bhāva, because for purposes of गीत, that rule is set aside. See I. 1. 58.

Why do we say the penultimate य? Observe मस्करणी। This word is thus formed. The affix चत्र is added to मस्करी by V. 3. 53, in the sense of मस्करी मस्करणे। Then the मस्करी becomes masculine मस्कर by VI. 4. 35, and we
have नास्त्यचर || This word takes निम्न by IV. 1. 15, because it is formed by an affix having an indicatory र || Thus नास्त्यचर+र, and the word is म, but the य is not elided, because it is not penultimate. The य has been read for the sake of the subsequent sūtras: उपपादया: 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.

Vārt.:—The य of मत्स्य is elided before the feminine ह only: therefore not here मत्स्येन्द्र मातं=नास्त्यचर र।

Vārt.:—Of सूर्य and अग्नियस्य before the affixes छ, and ह (of the feminine): as सूर्यीय, सौरी, अग्निस्य, अग्निस्य। But not here सौरी यह निम्न: अग्नियस्य formed with the Patronymic आरण (IV. 1. 114)

Vārt.:—Of तिथियस्य and युग्म when referring to asterisms, as, तिथियस्य नक्षत्रं युग्म: कालं=तिथिः, युग्म: (IV. 2. 3).

Vārt.:—Of अस्तित्व before the suffix तस्ति, the क is elided, and the word has acute on the first syllable: as, अस्तित्व: in अस्तित्वों न हुए (V. 4. 45).

Vārt.:—Before the suffix तस्ति, it loses the syllable तस्ति as well as क, as अस्तित्व: or अस्तित्व: in अस्तित्व: र्यो न अस्तित्व: अस्तित्व: अस्तित्व: अस्तित्वः (V. 4. 110).

Vārt.:—The elision of क of अस्तित्व takes place diversely, before the second member also, as अस्तित्वके सीतस्ति=अस्तित्व (स changed to य by VIII. 3. 106)

Vārt.:—The elision takes place also before the suffix य, as अस्तित्वः, this is found in the Atharva-Veda, (अस्तित्वके भवः, with the suffix यह IV. 4. 110).

हस्तस्यैद्यरस्य || १५० || पदार्थः || हलः, तिथितरस्य, (य उपपादया: लोपः हलतः) ||

वृत्तिः || हल उपस्य तिथितरस्य उपपादया हलत परते लोपो भवति ||

150. The य of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ह ||

The anuvṛtti of “taddhita” ceases, because of its mention in the next sūtra. Hence this sūtra applies to feminine ह only. As गामी: गामीः from गामी: and गामी: Why do we say ‘when preceded by a consonant’? Observe कार्यकेती: Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’. Observe वेशयां भवाय=वेशीः ||

आद्यस्य च तिथिते जनाति || १५१ || पदार्थः || आद्यस्य, य, तिथिते, अनाति ( लोपः: ) ||

वृत्तिः || अद्यस्यकारस्य हल उपस्य तिथिते अनाताः लोपो भवति ||

151. The य, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an यर ||
Thus गार्गाण्य समुद्रात् = गार्गर्कम् from गार्गर्य, वास्तकम् from वास्तम् (IV. 2. 37-40). Why do we say ‘a Patronymic य’? Observe साकारायणः; कार्तिकायणः (IV. 2. 80).

The repetition of the word Taddhita indicates that the elision takes place some-times of the non-patronymic य also, as सांसी इति: ॥

Why do we say ‘not beginning with a long य’? Observe नागार्द्यवर्णः, वास्तवायणः ॥ The य should be preceded by a consonant, otherwise we have कार्किकेयवापायः = कार्किकेयः ॥ Why do we say ‘when followed by a Taddhita affix’? Observe गार्गयोऽयाः, वास्तवः (before the Genitive and Locative dual affixes).

क्षण्योशः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदान्ति ॥ क्ष, ष्ण्यः, च, (हुः, लोप:) ॥

वृत्तः: क्ष विन्य हेयोश्च पति आण्यवाक्राभवस्त्र ह्य उत्तरस्य लेखः भवति ॥

152. The य belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्ष, and the adverbal affix विन्य ॥

Thus वास्तवितः or वास्तवेन् गार्गातिः, or गार्गेन् ॥ So also गार्गातिः; वास्तवः। गृहः। But साकारायणः (where य is not Patronymic) and so also साकारातिः; and not also in कार्किकेयवापायः, कार्किकेयः, the य not being preceded by a consonant.

विलवकारिभ्दक्षास्य षुकः ॥ १५३ ॥ पदान्ति ॥ विलवक्ष-आदिभः, छस्य, षुकः (मस्य तत्रितः) ॥

वृत्तः: तथादिरु बिलवायः, पवायः ॥ नागार्द्योऽयम् षुकः इति षुकः यात्रामयाको विलवाकायो भवन्ति तेष्य उत्तरस्य छस्य मस्य तत्रितः पति तुष्य भवति ॥

153. The affix षु the bha stems विलवक &c is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The विलवक &c are a subdivision of Naḍādi class (IV. 2. 91), and the augment क is added to them by IV. 2. 91. After these words, with the augment क, the affix षु is elided. Thus विलवक यात्राय सन्तिः = विलवीयः; तस्यां भवः: (IV. 3. 53) = वैलकः। Similarly वैलकः—वैलकः, वैलकियः, वैलकः, वैलकियः, वैलकः, वैलकियः, वैलकः, वैलकियः, वैलकः, वैलकियः, वैलकः, वैलकियः, वैलकः, वैलकियः, वैलकः. There is shortening of the final of कुष्ठ by the Vārtika कुष्ठः इत्यः षुकः ॥ कुष्ठकियः, कुष्ठकियः ॥ षुकः जिस, षुकः छस्य स्वयं घात कुष्ठोऽनुपुख्यते वृत्तिः, ॥ षुकः षुकः जिज्ञासार्द्धान्तक्यामहतस्य क्रमायथायामणिस्तत्वस्य घातकार्गतास्य ना पुष्तु ॥

The affix षु is specifically mentioned in order to show that the affix only should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise क would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim:—सांनियोगशिष्टानमन्तरदापि (or यम्बे) उद्वेद्यस्य (or अव्यक्त), “When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise”. The षु indicates the elision of the whole affix हु, and not merely of य ॥

तुष्ये मेलस्यः ॥ १५४ ॥ पदान्ति ॥ तु, इत्य, ह्य, ह्येमू, (लोप:) ॥
154. The affix त is elided before the affixes द्व, इमत्व and द्वस्त।

Thus कति, विजयच, पालि, शंकरस्वति जेद। The whole affix त is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (े) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules. The anuvṛtiti of द्व of the last aphorism should not be read into this, for had the elision taken place by द्व, then the mark of the affix would also have disappeared likewise (I. 1. 63), and there would have remained no guṇa in विजयच and कति॥ See V. 1. 122, and V. 3. 59; for these affixes. The affix द्व has been read into this aphorism for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, there being no example of त followed by द्व; त is followed by द्व and द्वस्त by V. 3. 59.।

दे:। १५५। पदानि। देषः (सर्व लोपः इम्मेयस्तु)।।

वृत्तः। भस्म देलियो भवति इम्मेयस्तु परसः।

वार्तिकम्। वाविन्द्रव्याकरणप्राक्तम् कार्यं भवत्तीति द्वस्तप्रम।

वार्ती। वाविन्द्रव्याकरणप्राक्तम् द्वस्तव्रेणार्थाविवरणातिर्तिविक्षरतांष्टकनिःसिति।

155. The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes द्व, इम्म, and द्वस्त follow.

Thus पदि, पदिमा, and पदीयाम् from पडि, and लपि, लमिना and लपीयाम् from लुः।

Vārt.—The Prātipadika followed by the causative ति, undergoes all the changes, as it would have undergone, had the affix ति followed it. Those changes are (1) पुनःतः the feminine noun becomes masculine: as, अनामाधिते = शतपति, इम्मतपति। द्वि belongs to तितिलाहि affixes and causes masculination by VI. 3. 35, (2) स्वादः—the change of क to य, as प्रामायक्ते = मथ्यति, वेयति, see VI. 4. 161. (3) हिलोः—as, पुत्रमाधिते = पद्यति, शप्यति) by this sūtra, (4) यानाधितरि, i.e. the application of Rule VI. 4. 156, as, स्मतमाधिते = स्थयति। According to the school of Bhāradvāja, three more purposes are served: (5) विनः मलोङ्गः—कार्यान्तप्रति, शक्यसंभास्ति = स्वार्यति, स्तुमानस्तप्रति = स्वाजित, see V. 3. 65. (6) कालविधि:—the substitution of क्रम for युक्ति and अक्ष (V. 3. 64)—से युक्तमाधिते or अक्षमाधिते = कवयति। (7) प्राति substitution, as required by VI. 4. 157: as, मन्यमाधिते = मथ्यति।

156. Before the affixes द्व, इम्म, and द्वस्त, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guṇa is substituted, in स्थूः, दूः, युः, द्वृः, हस्तः, तिम, छुः, अधिनासम, युः, आधिप्रम, पूर्विस्य, च गुणः।।

वृत्ति:। स्थूः हृ युः हस्तः तिम छुः इम्मते याति प्रामायक्ते हइस्तेम् हृ युः द्वृः द्वस्तः परसः पूर्विस्य च गुणः भवति।।

Before the affixes द्व, इम्म, and द्वस्त,
That is त, र, व, ल, र, ए ए, ए are elided. Thus स्वरतिक, स्त्वरीयान्; शविष्ठि: स्वरीयान्; स्वरष्टि: स्वरीयान्; स्वरयान्: स्वरयान्; स्वरुऽि: स्वरुऽि; स्वरिति: स्वरीयान्; स्वरिति: स्वरुऽि. The words भू, भूमि, and भूतमि are read in Prithvādī class and take ‘īman’ affix (V. i. 122). भविष्ठि: भविष्ठि, भविष्ठि, भविष्ठि: भविष्ठि. Why do we say परं in वर्णापितं i.e. ‘the last semi-vowel’? The first semi-vowel of भूतमि and भूमि i.e. भू of भू and र of भू should not be elided. The word भू is employed for the sake of distinctness.

मियिस्टिचर्सस्तिरभविवुधुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडुदुडु�
augment being \( \text{ह} \). Or \( \text{ह} \) may be taken to have lost its \( \text{र} \) by the foregoing śūtra, and to the \( \text{र} \), the augment \( \text{व} \) may be added.

\( \text{व्यावाव्यन्यं:} || १६० || \text{पदानि} || \text{व्याव्य, आव्य, इयस्यं:} ||
\( \text{व्रतं:} || \text{व्यावाव्यस्य} \text{हेस्स} \text{आकार्य} \text{आव्यिको} \text{भवति:} ||
\)

160. \( \text{आ} \) is substituted for the first letter of \( \text{इयस्य} \), after \( \text{व्य} \).

As \( \text{व्यावाव्यन्यं} \), \( \text{स्वर्य} \) is substituted for \( \text{प्रशस्य} \) by \( \text{V. 3. 61} \). ‘Lopa’ being shut out by the intervening \( \text{विद्र} \) \( \text{VI. 4. 159} \), the \( \text{आ} \) is read in this śūtra. If the anuvṛtti of ‘lopa’ were present here, then the \( \text{आ} \) of \( \text{व्य} \) would be lengthened before \( \text{स्वर्य} \) by \( \text{VII. 4. 25} \), and we would get the form \( \text{व्यावाव्यन्यं} \). The peculiar construction of this śūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—\( \text{व्यावाव्यस्य} \) \( \text{इन्द्रियाणिच:} \) ‘when an operation which is taught in the \( \text{इन्द्रियाणिच:} \) \( \text{VI. 4, end—VII. 4, end} \) has taken place, and another operation of the \( \text{इन्द्रियाणिच:} \) is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place.’ In \( \text{VII. 4. 25} \), however, \( \text{किंतु} \) is understood, and lengthening could not have taken place by that rule.

\( \text{र} \) \( \text{कृतो} \) \( \text{हुल्लोत्तरयो:} || १६१ || \text{पदानि} || \text{र, कृतं:} \), \( \text{हुल्ल, आदेन:} \), \( \text{छदो:} || \text{हुल्ल(प्रेमेयस्य)स्तु} ||
\( \text{ब्रतं:} \) \( \text{स्वस्वर्य} \) \( \text{आव्यिको} \) \( \text{भवति} \) \( \text{व्यावाव्यस्य} \) \( \text{इन्द्रियाणिच:} \) \( \text{परस्तस्य} \) \( ||
\)

\( \text{Kārīka} || \text{पूर्ण घुड़ घुड़ चेत्र ग्रहः च} \) \( \text{इन्द्रियाणिच:} ||
\( \text{रविदृष्टः} \) \( \text{घुड़ चेत्र ग्रहेतायान:} \) \( \text{रविदृष्टः} \) ||

161. Before the affixes \( \text{हुल्ल, हमनु} \) and \( \text{इयस्य, र} \) is substituted for the \( \text{कृत} \) in a stem, when this \( \text{कृत} \) is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodically long (on account of being followed by a double consonant).

Thus \( \text{प्रयत्नं:} \) यवियानवत् and \( \text{प्रयत्नम्} \) from \( \text{प्रयत्नं} \) (V. I. 122), \( \text{श्रव्यं:} \) यवियानवत् and \( \text{स्वितं:} \) यवियानवत्. Why do we say ‘the \( \text{कृत} \)? Observe \( \text{परिदः} \) &c. Why do we say ‘preceded by a consonant’? Observe \( \text{क्रियं:} \) \( \text{क्रियंन:} \) \( \text{वियानवत्} \) \( \text{वियानवत्} \). Why do we say ‘when prosodically short’? Observe \( \text{क्रियं:} \) \( \text{क्रियं:} \) \( \text{क्रियं:} \) \( \text{क्रियं:} \). The following are the six words to which this rule applies and to none else:—\( \text{पूर्ण, घुड़:} \), \( \text{घुड़:} \), \( \text{घुड़:} \), \( \text{घुड़:} \), \( \text{परिदः} \) \( ||
\)
It therefore, does not apply to words like \( \text{कृत:} \), \( \text{मात्र:} \), \( \text{आदेन:} \), &c., as \( \text{क्रियंसचा} \) = \( \text{क्रियंसचा} \), \( \text{स्वस्वर्यसचा} \) = \( \text{स्वस्वर्यसचा} \), \( \text{रविदृष्टः} \) = \( \text{रविदृष्टः} \), \( \text{रविदृष्टः} \) = \( \text{रविदृष्टः} \).

\( \text{विमार्जयोङ्ग्रन्ति:} || १६२ || \text{पदानि} || \text{विमार्जयोङ्ग्रन्ति:} ||
\( \text{ब्रतं:} \) \( \text{श्यामो:} \) \( \text{श्यामो:} || \text{श्यामो:} || \text{श्यामो:} \) \( ||
\)

162. Before the affixes \( \text{हुल्ल, हमनु} \) and \( \text{इयस्य, र} \), the \( \text{कृत} \) of \( \text{कृत} \) may optionally be changed to \( \text{र} \), in the Chhandas.

As \( \text{श्यामो:} \) and \( \text{श्यामो:} \), in \( \text{रग्नितं} \) पन्नामत्, \( \text{रग्नितं:} \) \( ||
\text{प्रक्लैकाचं || १६३ || \text{पदानि} || \text{प्रक्लैकाचं, एक-अचं:} || \text{हुल्ल(प्रेमेयस्तु)स्तु} ||
\)

35
163. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes हस्; हमन्, and हमस्।

Thus सत्साहित्; सत्साहायन्; सत्साहित् from सत्सन्न्, the निर्व being elided by V. 3. 65, the stem thus becoming monosyllabic. सत्साहित् is the causative, formed on the model of हस् by the Vārtika under VI. 4. 155. So also सुचित्; सुचित्; सुचित् from सुचन्, the नि of नेतृ being elided as before. Why do we say 'a monosyllabic stem'? Observe बलिष्ठ् from बलिष्ठ्। This rule is an exception to VI. 4. 155.

Vārt.-—रजन्य, मनुष्य and शुष्क retain their original form unchanged, before the affix अष्ट। As, रजन्यावान् सत्सम् = रजन्यावक्ष, मनुष्यावक्ष॥ This debar the elision of झ required by VI. 4. 151. So ष्र्वते भावे = उपवित्ति; with ष्र्वते affix (V. 1. 133), in supersession of VI. 4. 144.

इन्नत्तमपरे॥ १६४॥ पदानि॥ हन्त्य, अणि, अ नपल्लये, (प्रकट्या)॥

164. The final हन्त् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण affix.

Thus सांकुटिनम्, सांतेविंमि, सांतेविनिद्वम् (III. 3. 44 and V. 4. 15). These are formed by the Krit-affix हन्त् (III. 3. 44), and then अण is added in अण्य by V. 4. 15. So also भाविंमि from भाविंमि। Why 'when अण follows'? Observe हन्त्यावि सत्सम् = हन्त्यावि। It is formed by अण्य (IV. 2. 44). Why do we say 'non-Patronymic'? Observe महामिनेपलेभं = महामिनेभ।

गायिकित्वेकित्वेकित्विपिनिनिनिनिष्ठ॥ १६५॥ पदानि॥ गायिक, विग्रहत्, केशिक, गणि, पणि, (अणिप्रकट्या)॥

165. गायिक, विग्रहत्, केशिक, गणि, पणि and पणि remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण also.

Thus गायिकामपलेभं = गायिक, विग्रहक, केशिक, गणि, and पणि। This sūtra applies to Patronymics.

संयोगास्प्रिष्ठ॥ १६६॥ पदानि॥ संयोग-आद्रिं, च, (हन्त्य अणिप्रकट्या)॥

166. The syllable हन्त् of a stem ending in हन्त् remains unchanged before अण, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus शाङ्कूलेः = शाङ्कू, ब्राह्मणाः, ब्राह्मण।
167. The syllable अनू of a stem ending in अनू remains unchanged, before अष्ण affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As सामन्, बैमन्, वौमन्, झौमन्, फ्रामन् and बिझ्न "

वेचामावकर्मैः यो। २१५ " पदानि ये, च, अस्वाच, कर्मणोऽ (तत्त्वाते अनू प्रकृत्या) "

वृत्ति: " एकार्थी अ तत्त्वाते सन्न्यस्यां वद्येन प्रकृत्या भवति "

168. The syllable अनू of a stem ending in अनू, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus सामन् साहुः = सामन्, भान्यः " But रागो भावः कर्म वा = रक्षम् " राजस्व belongs to Purohitādi class and takes यक (V. i. 128).

आत्माच्यामः खे। २१६ " पदानि आत्म, अध्वानः, खे, "

वृत्ति: " आत्मनु अध्वयन्ति इत्येक्षे परस् प्रकृत्या भवति "

169. The finals of the stems आत्मनू and अध्वनू remain unchanged before the affix खे।

Thus आत्मने हितं = आत्मनीन्: (V. i. 9), अव्यानमलक्ष्मी (V. 2. 16) = अव्यानीन्:।।

But प्रताम्म and प्रामर्थ " The first is formed by the samāsanta affix दृष्टि added to the avayyabhāva (V. 4. 108), and the latter by अन (V. 4. 85).

न मूलोऽपर्य स्वर्णमः। २१७॥ पदानि न, रुषः, अपल्यः, अवर्णः, (अणिः)।।

वृत्ति: " मूलोऽपर्य स्वर्णमयोऽपि स्वर्णमिति न प्रकृत्या भवति।।

शास्कस्यं गृहीतं तेति हितं वस्तुदाम्य।।

170. In a stem in अनू with a preceding म, with the exception of वर्णनू, the ending अनू does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अष्ण।।

Thus सुपार्मनोऽपलयः = सूपार्मः, चान्नरसाम: from चान्नसामः।। Why do we say 'preceded by म'? Observe सौमन्, preceded by य।। Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चर्मः पार्थस्ति रयः = चार्मः, the अनू not being changed by VI. 4. 167. Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्णनू'? Observe चङ्गर्मणोऽपलयं = चङ्गर्मणः।।

Vārt.:—Optionally so in हितनामन, as हितनामोऽपलयं = हितनाम: or हितनामन:।।

भाष्यो जातौ। २१८॥ पदानि भाष्यः, अजातौ,।।

वृत्ति: " भाष्य इतिवादिपालिकाम प्रमादः प्रत्ययाचार्य देववाचार्य नियत्ये सतोजातो भाप्लहेय भाप्ले जातचिन्ति भाष्यांतिपोऽ न भवति।।
171. श्राह is irregularly formed from श्राहन्, when not meaning ‘a kind or jāti’.

This sūtra should be divided into two (1) श्राह, the final अन of श्राहन् is elided, when the अण affix with the force of the Patronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus श्राहो मणि, श्राहो हवि, श्राहमणिस्य; श्राहो नरः। (2) जाति, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jāti; for then the अण of श्राहन is not elided before the अण affix: as श्राहाणोपयसे—श्राहण: ‘a Brahmana’. When jāti is expressed, but अण has not the force of the Patronymic, the अण of श्राहन is elided. As श्राही औषधि:।

कामेपत्ताच्छीले || १५२ || पदानि || कामेः, ताप्चीले, ||
वृत्ति: || कामेः श्राहो ताप्चीले दिलापि निपावते।

172. कामे is irregularly formed from कर्मन, by the elision of the final अन, when the sense is ‘accustomed to such an occupation or prompt therein’.

This is formed by ण affix (IV. 4. 62). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144, the form कामे is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ण and कण affixes, in the sense of tāchchhilika are considered as one, and therefore VI. 4. 167, would have prevented the elision of the final अण syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim:—ताप्चीलिके गेमण, श्राहाणि भवनि। “The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix अण, take place, whenever the affix ण is added in the sense of one accustomed to that.” Thus though श्राह is added, to अण—formed words, it is also added to ण—formed words, in the feminine: as श्राही; श्राही &c. The ण taught in V. 2. 101, and III. 1. 140, is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that? Observe अण: इण्डा—कारणम्।

औषधमन्त्रे || १५३ || पदानि || औषधम्, अ नपर्ये ||
वृत्ति: || औषधमन्त्रे दिलापि दिलापि निपावते।

173. From उष्ण is formed औष्ठ, when not meaning a descendant.

As औष्ठं पद्य, but औष्ठः:—उष्णो स पद्य, the अ is elided in the latter example by VI. 4. 135.

174. The following are irregularly formed; 1.
Dāṇḍināyana, 2. Hāstīnāyana, 3. Ātharvāṇika, 4. Jaihmā-

These words are thus derived (1 and 2) sāraṇīvādam and śaśi
tīvra belonging to nābharī class. The affix is ṭṛ (IV. 2. 91). If they do
not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly: śaśi
vāryāṇyas = sāraṇīvādam &c. The final ṭṛ is not elided. (3) aparyā
belongs to Vasantadī class (IV. 2. 63). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He
who studies that work is called Atharvāṇika: the final is not elided before the
ṭṛ affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of ṣiṣyāśāvāṃ and vāriśāṃ are Jaihmāśineya
and Vāsināyani, the former with the affix ṭṛ of the Subhrādi class (IV. 1.
123), and the latter with the affix ṛṣ, of IV. 1. 157. The finals of the stems
are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from vṛṣaṇ and prīvṛ, with the
affix ṛṣ, and ṣ being replaced by t = śuṇḍini māthā, śruṇā ṭathā: ṭṛ takes t
before affixes having an indicatory ṛ or ṛṣ by VII. 3. 32: it might be said t
would be added to vṛṣaṇ before ṛṣ by that rule. That rule is, however, con-
fined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That
rule does not apply to cases like ṣhrīṇāṣī, vṛśāṣ. II The t in Bhranāyatya is there-
fore, an irregularity. (8) sāraṇī is from sāraṇi with the affix ṭṛ, the final ṭṛ
being elided, सर्वाḥ मन्त्र = सार्ववदायन। (9) The son of ēśṭraṅk, with ṭṛ affix (IV. 1. 168),
the final ṭṛ is elided, or ēśṭraṅkānuḥ anaghaḥ मन्त्र = ēśṭraṅk with ṭṛ affix (IV. 2. 132).
Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of
final ṭṛ II As one word is ēśṭraṅk: and the other ēśṭraṅkāḥ, the sūtra ought to have
read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on
the ground, that the sūtra gives ēśṭraṅk without any accent (eka-sruti), and
consequently includes both (एकार्तुर्ति: स्त्र सर्वमां) II

(10) ēśṭraṅk is from śiṣya of Gṛṣṭhyāḍi class IV. 1. 136, and takes ṭṛ as
śiṣya + ṭṛ, here VI. 4. 146, requires Guna, but VI. 4. 146, prevents it, and requires
lopa of ṭṛ, but VII. 3. 2, required the substitution of ṭṛ for ṭṛ II The irregu-
larity consists in eliding ṭṛ altogether as ēśṭraṅk, the ṭṛ of śiṣya cannot be elided
by VI. 4. 148, befor ṭṛ, as the lopa of ṭṛ is considered asiddha VI. 4. 22; how-
ever the result is the same, for ṭṛ + ṭṛ = ṭṛ by VI. 1. 97; the single substitute
being the form of the subsequent. The plural of ēśṭraṅk will be śiṣya: (the
plural of śiṣya); as it belongs of Yaskādi class and loses the affix in the
plural (II. 4. 63). Another form of this word is ēśṭraṅk formed under VII. 3. 2.
It might be objected that had śiṣya been read in Biddādi class (IV. 1. 104), it
would have taken the affix ṭṛ, and the form ēśṭraṅk would have been evolved
regularly: as śiṣya + ṭṛ = śiṣya + ṭṛ (VII. 3. 2)+ ṭṛ = śiṣya II This would have
prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskādi class (II. 4.
63), for then by II. 4. 63, अभ्य �formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form निर्मितम् in the plural. So far it would have been all right, but if मेच्य were to be formed with अभ्य affix, as proposed, then the संघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अभ्य affix under IV. 3. 127, and not with बुध under IV. 3. 126; but we require बुध, as मेच्चकः संघः। (11) निर्माण from निर्माण with मवर with the elision of य, निर्माणस्य विकारः = निर्माणः।

हृद्यवस्त्रवास्त्रमाध्विहिरण्ययानिच्छन्दसिः ॥ १७४॥ पद्धानि ॥ हृद्यव,
वास्तव, वास्तव, माध्वी, हिरण्ययानि, छन्दसि, ॥

वृद्धि: ॥ हृद्यव वास्तव वास्तव माध्वी हिरण्ययानि इलेक्तानि निपासने छन्दसि विपशे ॥

175. In the Veda the following are irregularly formed: रित्व्या, वस्तव्या वास्तवा, माध्वी, and Hiranyaya.

The word हृद्यव is derived from हृदु, and वास्तव from बस्तु with the affix य, य being changed to य। माध्वी भवत् = हृद्यव, वास्तव भवत् = वास्तवाः। वास्तव is from बस्तु, as बस्तुनि भवः = बस्तवः with the affix य। माध्वी from भव with the affix य in the feminine, as माध्वीः सम्प्रक्षिप्तः। हिरण्ययानि is from हिरण्य with the affix यव, the य being elided.
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