BOOK SIXTH.
CHAPTER FIRST.

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

Upto Sūtra VI. 1. 12 inclusive it is to be understood that for the first syllable two are to be made, i.e., the first syllable is to be reduplicated. This is an adhikāra sūtra: all the three words viz. ākāraḥ, and ā and prathama are to be read in the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 1. 12, before the rule of Samprāṇaṇa begins. Thus Sūtra VI. 1. 8 says “when śīrṣa 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 śīrṣa follows, there are two in the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel of an unreduplicated verbal root”. Thus from जागुरु—जागृतारा (जागुरु + जागृता IV. 3. 82/आ + जागृ + तन्व = ज + जागृता + म VI. 4. 59—जागरा “he awoke”). So also धारण (धारण), the Intensive (वह), the विकारणa, the Aorist in चतुः, all cause reduplication.

The word एकार्ष means that which consists of one vowel (कुट्ठ) II When a stem or root consists of more than one vowel (is a dissyllabic or polysyllabic root), then the एकार्ष प्रथम: will be the first syllable: as in जागृ the portion आ is the प्रथम एकार्ष ‘the first portion consisting of one vowel’. When a root consists of a single vowel, as इ ‘to go’, then strictly speaking there cannot be any portion which may be called first (प्रथम) or ekāch consisting of a single
vowel). Here, however, will this rule be applied and इ will be reduplicated, according to the maxim "प्राचीनतमेंकालिंगम्"—"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 दुष्प 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 पुष्प + ग (जुष्म of दुष्प) = पुष्प पुष्प + ग = पुष्प पुष्प (VII. 4. 59 and 60) = पुष्प ||

The word दुष्प in the śūtra 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.

अजातेदेहीतर्यम् || ॥ पदार्थ || अखू, आदे, नितितर्यम् ||

पुष्प: || मनसाधिनायणयोऽधिकां जयम्. अजातेदेहीतर्ययोऽधिकां जनमयः धर्मवाराजसयोऽधिकां जनमयः अखू अनावर्तमान अतीत-वर्तपथम् जनमग्नाययोऽधिकां जनमयः अतसत् ॥

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 सन्दिग्ध root भविष्य, (भव + दृष्ट भव + दृष्ट दृष्ट VIl. 2. 35 भविष्य), reduplicates the second syllable दृष्ट and the 3rd pers. sing. is भविष्यिन्द्र, the दृष्ट being elided by VII. 4. 60: and दृष्ट changed to दृष्ट by VII. 3. 59. So also भविष्यिति, भविष्यिति। The last form is thus evolved, भव + दृष्ट = भव + दृष्ट + दृष्ट (VII. 2. 74) = भव + दृष्ट (VII. 3. 84, and VI. 1. 51). Here now we have to make reduplication, and if I. 1. 59 be applied, then since a vowel affix इ follows, the reduplication of भव should take place i.e. the भव the sthāni should be reduplicated. But we have explained the śūtra ददण्डनेत्र इ. 1. 59, by the phrase ददण्डनियोऽधिकां, i.e. the vowel-affix causing reduplication. Here the vowel-affix इ does not cause reduplication, but the consonant-affix तृत्ति that does so. Therefore rule I. 1. 59 does not apply, for भव itself is a कहर्व, and the maxim applies कार्यपुरुषमाति कार्य निमित्तमाति नामहोते " 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 भवहृ is formed भविष्य; here the root भव is gunated before the augment हृ. Rule I. 1. 5 declaring the prohibition of gunation with regard to कहर्व or कहर्व words does not apply here. For though हृ has an indicative इ, yet as it undergoes an operation itself, it cannot be the cause of the application of another rule.
Some persons explain the word \textit{मञ्जरि} as the Ablative singular (and not Genitive Singular) of \textit{मञ्जरिः}; and they consider the word as a Karmadhāraya compound and not a Bahuvarli compound. According to them the word means:—“The syllable following the initial vowel is reduplicated”. (मञ्जरिसहायितः। मञ्जरिसहायकाची हैं मवतः।) According to this interpretation, the word गिरियास is merely explanatory.

न न्याः। संयोगार्द्धः। न ॥ पदति ॥ न, न्याः।, संयोगार्द्धः।

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

The word dvityasya “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 (sahyoga) letter. Thus the Deserivative root of उष्म is उष्म, formed by adding स्त्र and रु। The second syllable here is न्त्रिः which is to be reduplicated by the last rule. But in doing so, न will not be doubled. Thus we get the form उष्मतिणि; so also from न्योन्न and श्रष्ट्र we have न्योन्नविविपति, and श्रष्ट्रिपति ॥

Why do we say “when न, ज, and र are the letters”? Observe उष्मिन्नति from उष्म in which न is the initial letter and has been reduplicated in to उष्म। Why do we say “being the first letter in a conjunct consonant”? Observe गिरियासिष्ठि from the root गिरि ‘to breath’, the न being changed into न by VIII. 4. 19 and 21. The phrase गिरियासि: of the last sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. Thus न्यार्द्धः। Some explain the word गिरियासि: understood in this sūtra in the same way as in the last, namely as a karmadhāraya compound in the Ablative singular. They do so, in order to explain the form गिरियासिष्ठि, which is thus evolved : गिरियासि: गिरि + न्त्र + न्त्र III. 1. 8 = न्त्रिष्ठि। Then न्त्रिष्ठितिपति = न्त्रिष्ठि + स्त्र। Here though the second syllable consists of n, d and r, yet न alone is rejected in reduplication and not न and र also, as न and र are not immediately after the initial vowel (भण्डारिः) ॥ in this case.

\textit{Vārt}:—This prohibition should be stated with regard to the letter न also. As उष्मि—उष्मिन्नति। This prohibition applies when the word is taught primarily as having a penultimate न। But when it is taught as primarily
having a penultimate \( r \), then the rule does not apply: the \( \hat{r} \) should then be ordained as a substitut of \( r \). See Tukadi root 20.

Vārt.:—There is no prohibition of the \( r \) when it is followed by \( \hat{r} \).

Thus अर्जुणके || This is the Intensive form of the verb छ, and is thus evolved: छ + श (III. 1. 22. Vārt.) = चर (VII. 4. 30) = क, then follows reduplication by the rules of this sūtra. The second syllable छ has an initial छ which is not however rejected in reduplication.

Vārt.:—In the case of the verb दिवति the third should be reduplicated.

“Third of what”? Some-say the third of the consonants, and according to them the form is दिवति. Some-say the third syllable, therefore of the root दिवत (दिव० + दृ + सः), the third syllable छ is reduplicated: Thus दिवतिः, दिवतिः (VII. 4. 79) the छ of छ is changed into short छ by VII. 4. 79 = दिवतिः ||

Vārt.:—The third syllable of the verbs करस् &c. is to be reduplicated.

Thus करस् + हन + सर = करस्तिः = करस्तिः; so also असुधाभिः &c.

Vārt.:—The third syllable of verbs derived from nouns is optionally reduplicated. Thus सहितिः or अतितिः ||

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

पूछवोश्यास: || बृह || पदानि || पृवत, अभ्यासः: ||

युजिः || देह हसि व्यापनवयनं वधुरुपसितम वर्णवहितम वाच्यम || सरम कलापः साधनं चिन्तयिते ततवेयः पृवत स्वभावं कथा भाषांस्यां मनः ||

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

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

उष्ण अभासम् || ५ || पदानि || उष्णे, अभासम्: ||

युजिः || है देह हसि व्यापनवयनं साधनं मनः || ने है विशिष्टे ते हैं स्वभावं हस्यवित अभ्यासः हैं ||

5. The both are collectively called Abhyāsta.

Though the word ह in the sūtra, the use of the word हे ‘both’ indicates that the word Abhyāsta applies to the two taken together and not to any one of them separately. The word abhyāsta occurs in sūtras III. 4. 109, VI. 1. 32 &c. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 189 declares “the first vowel of
an Abhyasta gets the udatta accent". The Abhyasta being the collective name of the both, the accent will fall on the first and not on the second, as \( \text{अतिशयसि} \) dādāti, the accent is on the first \( \text{अ} \). So also by VII. 1. 4 अन् takes the place of \( \text{ह} \) after an Abhyasta, therefore, \( \text{ह} + \text{अन्} = \text{हअ} + \text{अन्ति} = \text{वसं} \). So also \( \text{वर्तु} \) (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 Dhātupātha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are \( \text{जन्त}, \text{जापु}, \text{जरङ्ग}, \text{वक्तु}, \text{वर्त्त्र}, \text{वर्}\), and \( \text{वर्णी} \). Panini has overlooked \( \text{वर्णी} \) and mentions only the first six. By getting the designation of Abhyasta these verbs get acute accent on the first syllable when followed by a sārva-dhātuka Tense-affix not having the intermediate म and beginning with a vowel. Thus \( \text{जापुएति} \), \( \text{जापुएति} \), जापुएति, जापुएति dādṛṣṭa, जापुएति, जापुएति, जापुएति, जापुएति, जापुएति, जापुएति, and जापुएति. The present participle जापु is irregularly formed by adding the affix दर्त (अदर्त) and when so formed it does not take the augment \( \text{अन्} \) by VII. 1. 78.

7. In the room of a short vowel of the Reduplicate of the roots \( \text{ए} \), a long is substituted.

There is no list of जापु verbs given any where. The word जापु in जापु 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 \( \text{ए} + \text{कान्त्} \). III. 2. 106 = \( \text{ए} + \text{कान्त्} \). Rig. I. 3. 6. यज्ञ, अति, भयास्त्र, अति, भयास्त्र, अति, भयास्त्र. This lengthening only takes place in the Vedas before some special affixes, and not every where or in secular literature.

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 चर + चर = चर-चर + चर-चर। So also पाद, शेषकारभार। In the case of अग्र, Rule III. 1. 36 does not apply, so the Perfect of this word is not formed by adding अग्र and the auxiliary verbs त्, त् and त्त्; but regularly. In fact अग्र is regarded as if it was त्। See sūtra III. 1. 36 Vārt. बोधी क्षेत्राणं भाषी वसू गुणा पति सत्त्व ग्नायणं, ग्नायणा कात्यायनायं ग्राममेव रथमहत।

Why do we say when त्रष् follows? Observe बला, इत्यादि। Why do we say “of a Dхātuv? Observe सुप्रस्ताव, विप्रस्ताव, विप्रस्तावभुविप्रस्ताव। The question arises from the fact that the root (dхātu) 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 dхātu in the sūtra. To this it is replied that by III. 4. 117, sometimes त्रष् is treated as sаrvadхātu, and then it takes vikaraṇa. As त्रष् taking the vikaraṇa त्रष् becomes त्रष्; (III. 1. 74) this whole bхs is not a dхātu, therefore when the affixes of Perfect are added there is no reduplication, and we have त्रष्। See III. 4. 117.

Why do we say ‘of a non-reduplicative?’ Observe हृद्ध्यं नौराज दृशष्ो वस्य। नौराज, नौराज, i.e. it is the Perfect Tense of the Intensive verb नौराज, and is not reduplicated again, दृशष् having already caused reduplication. So also कृष्ण सत् समिन्नु: ending in the त्रष् of the Perfect.

Vдр.:—In the Chhandas there is optionally reduplication of the root in the Perfect and other tenses. As भास्तवान, भास्तवान, भास्तवान, भास्तवान or यस्तवान, यस्तवान, यस्तवान, यस्तवान।

Vдр.:—The root चर is optionally reduplicated in the Perfect. As, चर चर (व व व व) चर: कामद्व।

सन्यकोः ॥ ॥ ॥ पदार्थोः ॥ सन्यकोः ॥

बृहस्त:। भास्तवान् भास्तवान् भास्तवान् भास्तवान् भास्तवान् भास्तवान् भास्तवान् भास्तवान् भास्तवान्।

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

The word सन्य: should be construed as genitive dual and not as Locative dual. In the latter case, the meaning would be “when the affixes सन्य and यस् follow, a non-reduplicative root is reduplicated.” The difficulty would be that while the root alone would be reduplicated, the augment हस् would not, as in चरहस्, चरविश्वस्त।

The phrase धार्मिकतपालस्त is understood here also. The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or vowel. Thus चर + चर (III. 1. 7) त्रष्, reduplicate निर्द्वल। (VII. 4. 79). So चर
REDUPLICATION.

So also of यहतः—सा, पापवत्ते (VII. 4. 83), भवाच्छते, भवास्यते, भवास्ते, भोग्यते (Yama 0.2) II. If a root is already a reduplicated one, there is no reduplication: as स्वर्थिको, एकीकरणते being the Desiderative forms of स्वर्थ (already formed by svārthika स्वः III. i. 5), and of तदनु (the Intensive form of तद्भव) II. See III. 1. 22.

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

The श्लूः is the characteristic sign of the roots of the third class, and causes the elision of the vikaraṇa गुः. The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or a vowel. Thus खेळें (from हूः), निघें, खिघें II.

11. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the affix चहूः 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 भावीपक्तः, भावीपि (VII. 4. 93 and 94). So also भावितः, भाविष्यः, भावितस् II. These are aorists of the causative roots पाशिं &c.

When the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative (प्रवत्त) verbs परि &c is to be formed, as here, we should first elide the causative sign ग्रं, then shorten the penultimate vowel, and then reduplicate. Then by VII. 4. 93 the effect would be like as if स्वः had followed, and this would not be prohibited by the short vowel being considered sthamānat. For rule VII.4.93 says “Let the effect be as if श्लूः had followed, on the reduplicate, if followed by a light vowel, of an inflective base to which ग्रं followed by चहूः is affixed; provided there is not the elision of any letter in the pratyāhāra अः occasioned by the affixing of ग्रं” 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 चहूः. 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 sthamānat अः (I. 1. 50), or not? It should not be considered so, for the reasons given in I. 1. 57. For it was established there that the sthamānatva will arise then only when some operation is to be done to a thing anterio to the non-substituted i.e. original vowel. Here no operation is to be applied to something anterio to such original (निमतिः) vowel, but to
a form consisting of such substituted (भावित) vowel. Therefore, the light vowel is not considered non-existent for the purposes of लघुस्वर. If this order of operation is not followed, there would arise incongruities. The order must be this: 1st the elision of ति (VI. 4. 51) and 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 स्थिनिवा: the light vowel being considered as still heavy, will prevent the application of लघुस्वर. The difficulty will be in the form of वर्णयोगः, where the short is ordained after the ति. If this be the order of operations, there will not be the reduplication of the second syllable ति in the word बादलत्र. This is, however, done by I. i. 59. which see.

12. The participles dāśvān, sāhvān and midhvān are irregularly formed without reduplication.

The word दास्वान is from the root सन्त ‘to give’ with the affix क्रुत (III. 2. 107), here the reduplication and the augment दुर्दुर are prohibited irregularly. As आर्यसो प्रत्ययः कृतम (Rig I. 3. 7). The word साहवान is derived from the root सन्त ‘to endure’, by adding the affix क्रुत (III. 2. 107), the irregularity being in lengthening the penultimate, not allowing the augment दुर्दुर and the reduplication. Thus साहवान वनुषक्ष. So also सत्यतक्त comes from तितत ‘to sprinkle’ with the affix क्रुत (III. 2. 107) the irregularity consisting in non-reduplication, non-application of दुर्दुर, the lengthening of the penultimate vowel, and the change of त into त. As सत्यवस्त्रोपन तनेवास चुरुत. It is not necessary that these words should be in the singular always, in their plural forms also they do not reduplicate.

Vdrt.—Reduplication takes place when क्रुत अ&c., are followed by the affix क्र. Thus क्लितं अतेन = क्र + क = प्रकृत, क्लित + क = प्रकृताः. The affix क्र comes after क्रुत and क्लित with the force of the affix प्रकृत.

Vdrd.—The roots भर, भर, भर, and भर take reduplication when followed by the affix भर (III. 1. 134) and the reduplicate (abhyāsa) takes the augment भाक्ष. 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 अ० (shortening of the vowel) taught in VII. 4. 59. Thus चार्यर, चाल्पत, पतापर, वहरसः.
Vārtt.:—The above vārtika is optional, so we have the forms भागः पुः, पनि नुँयः &c.

Vārtt.:—The root हृ is reduplicated before the affix भाखः, and the augment भाख ऋि comes after the Abhyāsa, and हृ is the substitutive of हृ of the Abhyāsa. Thus हृ + भाखः = पर्दः + भाखः + हृ + भाखः = पदायनः (The second हृ is changed into हृ by VII. 3. 55), as in the phrase यनायनः: शोभन्तरयग्निनाम्.

Vārtt.:—The causative root भार्त is reduplicated before the affix भाखः, there is elision of हृ (sign of the causative), and हृ is the augment of the Abhyāsa, and it is lengthened. Thus भार्त + भाखः = पदायनः.

पदायनः भाखः, संप्रसारणस्य, पुः, पनिः, तत्तुलः

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

When the words पुः and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samprasāraṇa (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix यहः of the preceding. That is हृ is changed into हृ. Thus कर्नेवाद गद्योऽनम् = कर्नेवादम् (a Bahuviṣṭi compound taking the samāsanta affix or rather substitute हृ by V. 4. 137) कर्नेवादम् = कर्नेवादिणि + हृ (IV. 1. 92) = कर्नेवादम्. The feminine of this will be formed by adding यहः (IV. 1. 78). Thus we have कर्नेवादम् (see IV. 1. 78). Now in forming the Tatpurusha compound of this word with पुः or पति, the final य will be changed into हृ and we have कर्नेवादिणि-पुः, कर्नेवादिणि-पति:॥ The या of या becomes merged into हृ (VI. 1. 108), and the short हृ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139). So also कौशल्यास्पदः (8) कौशल्यास्पदः॥

Why do we say “of the affix यहः”? Observe हृपालम्, हृपालम्॥ Why do we say “when followed by पुः or पति”? Observe कार्यावाह-कुलः, कौशल्यास्पदः॥

Why do we say “when forming a Tatpurusha compound”? Observe कार्यावाह-कार्यावाहः:॥ It is a Bahuviṣṭi compound.

The affix यहः is here the feminine affix हृ followed by या (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: पुष्पादेः शमादिलक्षणं निहितान्तरं निरूपनम्.”॥ This maxim, however, does not apply in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule “a feminine affix denotes whenever
it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word form is subordinate: शीर्यवन्यः पाठवतो न ह। Thus we have परमार्थवाक्यः पुंसः — परमार्थवाक्यमेव पुंसः and so also परमार्थवाक्यमेव पुंसः। Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound. As शतकार्यः शतकार्यमेव, शतकार्यमेव पुंसः — शतकार्यमेव पुंसः।

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

Though a word ending in घं may have may semi-vowels, yet the vocalisation takes place of the affix व (व्र) only, according to the maxim निविवामानायैस्य मनस्ति “substitutes take the place of that which is actually unaccented”.

The word संपर्यायः has regulating influence up to VI. 1. 44 inclusive. The rules of vocalisation (change of semi-vowels into vowels) is contained in these सूत्राः.

VArt.—Prohibition must be stated when द्विन and घं follow the word गौतमः। As गौतमः पुंसः, गौतमः शब्रातः instead of गौतमः पुंसः: &c.

ब्रजुनि ब्रजुनि राधा || पद्मानि || ब्रजुनि, ब्रजुनि राधा

वृजः || चं || संपर्यायवादवस्त्यम् || चं चं चं संपर्यायवादवस्त्यम् || संपर्यायवादवस्त्यम् ||

14. There is vocalisation of the affix घं when the word भद्रः follows in a Bahuvrhi compound.

Thus कार्यवाल्यमेव पुंसः = कार्यवाल्यमेव पुंसः। So also कार्यवाल्यमेव पुंसः।

Why do we say “when the compound is a Bahuvrhi”? Observe कार्यवाल्यमेव पुंसः, which is a Tattpursha compound. Like the last सूत्र, we have here also शतकार्यवाल्यमेव पुंसः, शतकार्यवाल्यमेव पुंसः, कार्यवाल्यमेव पुंसः.

Though the word भद्रः is exhibited in the सूत्र in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word.

VArt.—There is vocalisation of घं in a Bahuvrhi compound with भद्रः, माशुः and माता optionally: as कार्यवाल्यमेव पुंसः, कार्यवाल्यमेव पुंसः, कार्यवाल्यमेव पुंसः, कार्यवाल्यमेव पुंसः, कार्यवाल्यमेव पुंसः. The indicatory अ of माता makes the word take the udatta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163), thus debarring the especial accent of the Bahuvrhi (VI. 2. 1). All Bahuvrhi compounds ending in घं take the sanāsanta affix कः, so माता would have become माशुः by force of V. 4. 153, so the separate enumeration of माता and माशुः here shows that कः is also optional.
15. The semivowels of the roots वच्छ, श्वैः and यज्ञाद्धि verbs are vocalised when followed by an affix having an indicatory क।

The anuvṛtti of च्छ does not run into this śūtra. The root च्छ includes the च्छ परिप्रेक्ष्य of the Adādi class (II. 54) and the च्छ substitute of हृ (II. 4. 53) शृ is the root श्वैश्वैः of the Adādi class (II 59). The श्वैः verbs are the last nine roots of the Bhavādi class viz. श्वू, श्वृ, श्वृत्, श्वस्, श्वे, श्वत्, श्वत्स्, श्वस्त्र and श्वी। The semivowels of these eleven verbs are changed into the corresponding vowel, when an affix having an indicatory क is added to them. Thus with the Past Participles affixes क and कस्त् we have the following forms:—

1. पः—उक्त, बक्त, (VIII. 2. 30). 2 श्रुः—सुक्त। दुस्तव, युस्तव, त्रयस्त, (VIII. 2. 30). 4 श्रृः—उक्त, बक्त, त्रयस्त, युस्तव, (VIII. 2. 31, 40, VIII. 3. 13 and VI. 3. 111)
6 श्रृः—उक्त, बक्त, (VII. 2. 56 VIII. 3. 60) 7 श्रृः—उक्त, बक्त, स्त्रुस्त, श्रुस्त, (VIII. 10. 20 श्रृः—उक्त, बक्त, स्त्रुस्त, 11 श्रृः—उक्त, बक्त, स्त्रुस्त, श्रुस्त।

When in a Grammatical rule, an operation (dependant on an affix) is taught with regard to a root (dхаṭu) by mentioning particular verbs (dхаṭu) specifically, and not by using the word “dhaṭu”, 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 च्छ। The existence of this maxim is inferred in the formation of the word श्रीमान्यावर, in VI. 4. 174, which see. Therefore, there is no vocalisation of च्छ in the following श्विन्निद्वित, श्विनिद्वित। Here च्छ is formed by adding क to च्छ (च्छिन्निद्वित)। च्छ is formed by कित्वृ added to च्छ, the vowel being lengthened and sampṛśaṇa being expressly prevented by Uṇādi II. 57. Now, it is a general rule that a root taking the affix विनिद्वित, विनिद्वित, or विनिद्वित does not lose its character of a dхаṭu. Therefore च्छ is a root (dхаṭu), and it ought to take vocalisation before the affix क। But च्छ is not enunciated to come after a dхаṭu, but after a श्रुः (सुस्वामणा: श्रुः III. 1. 8) in the rule ordaining its affixing. So also च्छिन्निद्वित formed by adding कित् to च्छ (See च्छ, V. 3. 83).
16. There is vocalisation of the semi-vowels of the following verbs, when an affix having an indicatory ः or ञ follows:—भू ‘to take’, भृ ‘to become old’, देश ‘to weave’, वध ‘to strike’, घर ‘to shine’, व्यञ्ज ‘to deceive’, वच ‘to cut’, प्रछ ‘to ask’, and घञ्ज ‘to cook, to fry’.

By force of the word ‘र’ ‘and’, the anuvṛtti of वञ्जिः is read into this āśātra. Thus 1. मह—महीत, आहि:तव (by त and तहटृ), रुषित (I. 2. 4), वीणुप्रय (by य of the Intensive). 2. या—या:त, या:तव (VIII. 2. 44 द changed to ड), भिन्ति (I. 2. 4), the short ध is lengthened by VI. 4. 2 and is shortened again by VII. 3. 86. भेंशिते (भूः), 3. भन—The root वम्मू is replaced by यम when बजत follows (II. 4. 41). This बजत can have no भिन्तिं affix after it, it takes only वत terminations, which as we know are भिन्तिं (I. 2. 5). The examples, therefore, given will be of भिन्तिं affixes only. Thus भूसयत, भूसयत। Now arises the question ‘why do you enumerate भनि for is not भम्मू (for which भनि is substituted) already included in वञ्जिः class of verbs given in the last āśātra, and by force of that āśātra, बजत will get samprasāraṇa before भिन्तिं affixes’. The reply is “बजत is numerated here in order to show that the prohibition of samprasāraṇa with regard to वम्मू as taught in VI. 1. 40, does not apply to its substitute वम्मू in the Perfect Tense”. Thus while the Perfect of वम्मू is भम्मू, भम्मू, the Perfect of its substitute बजत is कम्मू, कम्मू: and कम्मू। More over VI. 1. 38 teaches that the ः of वम्मू is not vocalised in भिन्तिं affixes, which therefore, implies (ज्ञापक) that the other semivowel i.e. ः of वम्मू will be vocalised. 4. वच—वचित्र, वचित्र, वचित्र, and with भिन्तिं affixes भिन्तित, भिन्तित, भिन्तित। 5. या—या:तित, या:तित, and with भिन्तिं affixes भिन्तित, भिन्तित। 6. या—या:तित, या:तित, या:तित, या:तित। By a Vārtika under I. 2. 1, the word यान्त is considered to belong to कुष्ठि class, and therefore all affixes after it, other than those having an indicatory ः, ः or the affix यान्, are considered as ह्यन्, and therefore, there will be sampprasāraṇa before these affixes as, यान्तित, यान्तित, यान्तित। 7. चुञ्ज—कुर्चुञ्ज, कुर्चुञ्ज। How is the final ः of तम changed into ः for by VIII. 2. 36 च ought to have been changed into ः before the ह्यन् affix ः? To this we reply the affix ः is replaced by ः (VII. 2. 42) and as this ः is not a ह्यन् affix, Rule VIII. 2. 36 does not apply. This is done on the following maxim: “The substitute of the Niṣṭhā should be considered to be siddha or effective when applying the rules relating to the change of a letter into ः, to accent, to affix, and to the addition of the augment ह्र्”. But when हर is to be changed into ः, the substitute is considered as siddha (not to have taken place). Thus we have the forms वृष्ण: &c. Before ह्यन् affixes we have वृष्णित, परिवृष्णित। 8. भस्म—प्रस्म: (VIII. 2. 36), प्रस्तात, भस्मित, प्रस्तातित, परिप्रस्तातित। The forms प्रस्मित and प्रस्मम would have been evolved by the simple rules of Reduplication even, without the
Vocalisation.

application of this rule. But प्रत्य + धृ (III. 3. 90) = प्रत्य: Here there is no vocalisation, because प्रत्य but प्रत्य in सूत्र III. 2. 117 showing that this is the proper form though irregular. 9, तस्म—टे: (VIII. 2. 36). प्रत्य, हिं.—विनियमित, बरी द्रव्यम. The श of अन्त्य is changed first into ख by मन्त्र जय हार्षि (VIII. 4. 53), and then ख is changed into ख by सो: कुरुन वज्र (VIII. 4. 40).

लिखितम्यास्यायमेवयाम् || १७ || पदानि || लिति, अभ्यासस्य, उम्ययायम्, (संस्कारकाम्) || पुरुषः || द्रव्यवेष शब्दारीयास्य यथार्थाच न निर्देश पस्यातस्य संस्कारनाम् धरति ||

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

Thus एच—उच्च, उचच्च, लच्च, लचच्च, लचचच्च, लच—उच्च, उचच्च, उचचच्च—
उच्च, उचच्च, उचचच्च || As regards पदानि verbs; मह—महां, महम्ब (there is no speciality in case of this verb, as these forms would have been evolved without even this rule). ध्वन—ध्वध, ध्वधध, ध्वधधध, and ध्वधधध; ध्वन—ध्वध, ध्वधध, ध्वधधध, ध्वधधधध—
ध्वधधधध, ध्वधधधध, ध्वधधधधध || Some say that with regard to तथ, it is equal whether there existed this present rule or not. For they argue thus, तथ + तथ = तथ + तथ + तथ + तथ + तथ (हयार्थि अश्च: VII. 4. 60) = तथा. || 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 त, then you will have to vocalise त by force of this rule. Hence the necessity of this rule with regard to तथ also, for having changed त into त, we have तथधध and then change त into त by VII. 4. 66. Then this त substitute becomes श्याहित to त (l. 1. 59), and therefore there is no vocalisation of this त, 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 प्रत्य and तथ verbs.

This vocalisation of the reduplicate is taught with regard to those affixes which are not लिति. || With regard to लिति 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 परस्त्र I. 4. 2, vocalisation will take place first and then reduplication, according to the maxim परस्त्र विनासनिर्णायम् "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 वच्छ + अध्या (which is लिति. 1. 2. 5) = वच्छ + अध्या + अध्या = अध्या, अध्या ||
Though the phrase वसवस्मत्त छट्ठा could have been supplied into this सुत्रa by the context and the governing scope of the preceding सुत्रas, its express mention in this सुत्रa is for the sake of indicating, that the rule of vocalisation supersedes even the rule of हसमित्त्र छट्ठा: VII. 4. 60, the vocalisation must take place at all events. Thus ष्हा + रत्र = ष्हा + ष्हा + रत्र. Here by VII. 4. 60, the second consonant रत्र of रत्र ought to have been elided, and the equation would have stood ष्हा + ष्हा + रत्र, and there would have been vocalisation of रत्र by this rule. But that is not intended; there is vocalisation of रत्र and we have वसवस्मत्त. In fact, the universal maxim of vocalisation is:—“The samprasthana and the operations dependent on it possess greater force than other operations which are simultaneously applicable”. समस्तयं समस्तयं तं कामेव बलयं III

18. Of the causative verb स्वाप् “to cause one to sleep”, there is vocalisation of the semivowel, when the affix चउ of the Replicated Aorist follows.

Thus the Aorist of स्वाप् is अस्मुप्, अस्मुप्ताद, अस्मुप्त. 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 स्वाप् + चउ = स्वाप् + चउ = द्रुप् (VII. 4. 51) + चउ = (VII. 3. 86) = स्वाप् + चउ = द्रुप् + चउ (VII. 4. 1) = द्रुप् + चउ + चउ (VII. 1. 11) = द्रुप् (VII. 4. 94) which with the augment द बecomes अस्मुप् III

Why do we say ‘when चउ follows’? Observe स्वाप्तें, स्वापित: III The anuvratti of कित्रित has ceased, that of कित्रित however is here.

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

Thus सोपुप्ते, सोपिते, सोपीते (VII. 4. 25 the short त is lengthened). Why do we say ‘when यक्ख follows’? Observe ज्ञात्, formed by माज्ञ, III. 2. 172.

20. There is not vocalisation of the semi-vowel of ष्हा, when the affix यक्ख follows.
The word वह is understood here. As चायसि, चायसि, चायसि || Why do we say “when वह follows”? Observe च्रस्; च्रः || See VI. 1. 16 to which this rule is an exception.

चायः कि || २१ || पदानि || चायः, कि ||
कुसि || कविति वचने || वचने प्रजानिष्ठायनकरितेऽवने भातात्ताय ग्रं नन्दिवादवाने गयति ||

21. The verb कि is substituted for the verb वह ‘to worship, to observe’, when the Intensive affix यद्य follows.

The phrase वह is understood here. Thus चेकीति, चेकीति, चेकीति ||
The exhibition of कि in the sūtra with a long ह indicates that there is long vowel even in tenses where वह is elided, as चेकीति: || For if the sūtra had enunciated कि with a short ह as the substitute of चाय, the forms चेकीति अ&c would have been still valid. Thus कि + वह = कि + कि + म = कि + कि + म = कि + कि + म (VII. 4. 25 causing the lengthening of the short ह). But then the Nishṭhā would have been चेकीति: which is wrong.

स्फायः स्फायि निष्ठायाम || २२ || पदानि || स्फायः, स्फायि, निष्ठायाम ||
कुसि || स्फायि भोजयायि वृद्धिविख्यात भातात्तायांग परस: स्फायि निष्ठायांग मयति ||

22. The स्फायः is the substitute of स्फायः ‘to swell’, when the Nishṭhā affixes follow.

Thus स्फायः, स्फायि, स्फायः || Why do we say “when the Nishṭhā affixes follow”? Observe स्फायः: formed by कि || In the phrase स्फायि भातात्तायः, the word स्फायः is the feminine of the word स्फायः formed by कि || The phrase निष्ठायाम “when the Nishṭhā follows” governs all the subsequent sūtras up to VI. 1. 29.

स्फायः पूर्वस्य || २३ || पदानि || स्फायः, पूर्वस्य, (समसर्गस्य) ||
कुसि || निष्ठायामगति वचने संसारायनवरि वचने || स्फायः पूर्वस्य स्वरभं || स्फायः वचने स्फायः स्वरभं || निष्ठायामगति || स्फायः पूर्वस्य पादात्तायांग परस: स्फायि निष्ठायामगति ||

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

The phrases “when the nishṭhā follows”, and “there is vocalisation” are understood here. The anuvṛtti of कि does not run here. The roots स्फायः and स्फायः both assume the form स्फायः and are included here. Thus म + स्फायः + कि + म + स्फायः + कि (VI. 1, 108) = प्रस्ताच: (VI. 4. 2), and प्रस्ताच: ||
The म of nishṭhā affix would have been changed into म by VIII. 2. 43 in as much as the root स्फायः has a semivowel and ends in long श. || But by the vocalisation of म, the condition of म for the application of VIII. 2. 43, no longer existing, the affix म is not changed to म || But म is optionally changed to म by VIII. 2. 43 as प्रस्ताच: and प्रस्ताच: ||

Why do we say “when preceded by म”? Observe स्फायः (VIII. 2. 43), स्वरभं || If it was intended that vocalisation should take place when म  

singly stood before, then the sūtra could well have run thus निस्थितत्व:। The use of the word प्रज्वलन implies that the rule applies when द stands first, though other upasargas may intervene between it and the root. Thus प्रज्वलितः, प्रज्वलीतपत्तुः। The compound प्रज्वलित should be explained as a Bahuvrihi—प्र: पूर्वोऽवय तात्पर्यस्ते। तथाय िश्वित (that which consisting of root and upasarga is preceded by ि is called प्रज्वलित)। Therefore the rule is made applicable to प्रज्वलितः &c.

प्रज्वलितस्यप्रायो: द्वै: || २४ || पदरैणि || प्रज्वलितः, स्यप्रायोऽ, द्वै: ||

धृति: || प्रज्वलितः प्रकाशकायथे स्यद्व: परमार्थस्य भिन्नता गताविभास्य धातोन्नीश्वरयां परत: संयुक्तार्थे भवति:।

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

The word प्रज्वलित means hardening of a fluid, by coagulation &c. Thus द्वैतन् पृथुः, द्वैतनं वस्त्र; द्वैतनं मनः: “a coagulated butter, grease &c.” The द्व of निस्थिता is changed to द्व by VIII. 2. 47. But when the sense is that of ‘cold’, the द्व is not changed; as द्वैतनं वस्त्र, द्वैतनं वायुः, द्वैतुष्कम्। The word द्वैत 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 संयुक्तार्थे निस्थितः: ‘the rolled up scorpion’. The short द्व is lengthened in द्वैत &c, by VI. 4. 2.

प्रतेष: || २५ || पदरैणि || प्रते:; वा, (संयुक्तार्थम्) ||

धृति: || प्रज्वलितः प्रते: || प्रतेषतस्य स्याविभास्यां परत: संयुक्तार्थे भवति:।

25. There is vocalisation of द्वै preceded by the upasarga प्रते:, when the निस्थिता affixes follow.

Thus निस्थित्वम्: निस्थितस्यान् || This sūtra applies to cases where the words need not have the meaning of “coagulation” or “cold”.

विभाषा: || प्रज्वलितस्यप्रायो: २६|| पदरैणि || विभाषा, आभि, अन्यः, पूर्वस्य, (संयुक्तार्थम्) ||

धृति: || द्वैतनं वस्त्र: || आभि लये इत्यतस्यस्यायुः याविभाषायाः संयुक्तार्थे भवति:।

26. There is optionally the vocalisation of द्वै followed by the निस्थिता affixes, when the upasargas आभि and अन्य precede it.

Thus निस्थित्वम् अर्थानि: निस्थितस्यान्त: || This option applies even when the word means “coagulation” and “cold”. As निस्थित्वम् अर्थानि: निस्थितस्य अन्यः, नेत्र: || निस्थित्वम् अर्थानि: निस्थितस्य अभि: ||

The पूर्व in this sūtra serves the same purpose as in VI. 1. 23. Thus निस्थित्वम् अर्थानि: निस्थितस्यान्त: || According to the author of Siddhānta Kaumudi, the word पूर्व shows that it is a vyavasthita vibhāshā, hence there is no option allowed when आभि and अन्य are in the middle, as, निस्थितस्यान्त: ||

Here we cannot have the alternative forms निस्थितस्यान्त: &c.
27. Optionally नेत्र is formed in the sense of ‘cooked’, by the vocalisation of the semivowel of अ before the nishtḥa affix क।

The word विभाषा is understood here. The roots पि ‘to cook’ of the Bhvādi class, and भि ‘to cook’ of the Adādi class, and भि ‘to cook’ of the Bhvādi sub-class Ghatādi, are meant here. In all these, क replaces भि, whether causative or not. Thus गृहे शेषिं, गृहे शोभि। This is a vyavasthita vībhāṣā; so that भि is invariably changed to क when referring to शेष and शोभि, but not anywhere else. Thus भाग वासपृष्टि वासपृष्टि (VII. 3. 36 and VI. 4. 92). This word does not take double causative though the sense may require it. As शेषिं शेषिं देवदत्त देवदत्त “Devadatta through Yajñadatta has caused the milk to be cooked”. The भि is intransitive. When the sense is that of Reflexive, or Causative, there the form नेत्र is to be used. As गृहे शेषिं शेषिं देवदत्त, गृहे शेषिं देवदत्त।

व्याख्या: पि क। 28। पदार्थं व्याख्या: पि क।

तत्सिद्धि: विभास्येत्। भोजनीयवृद्धिवान्धेन विभासा भिविनियवृद्धेन भवति।

28. पि is optionally the substitute of the root व्याख्या ‘to increase’ before the Nishtḥa affixes.

The root भोजनीयवृद्धिया belongs to Bhvādi class. The indicatory भि shows that the affixes क and तारु are changed into क and सरु (VIII. 2. 45). Thus शेषिं शेषिं, शेषिं शेषिं, शेषिं देवदत्त। The option here is also a regulated option (vyavasthita-vībhāṣā). The substitution takes place invariably when the root is without upasarga, and never when it is preceded by an upasarga. Thus भवति।

भावात्मकवर्गम्:। The substitution, however, must take place when the preposition भि precedes the root, and the words भाग and भिय वार्ताय are in composition: as भागवत्तात्मक, भागत्तात्मक।

श्रवणकोषः 29। पदार्थं श्रवणकोषं, श्रवणकोषं (पि क।)

श्रवणकोषं विभाधितं विद्वेशत्। व्याख्या: श्रवणकोषानादेशादी। लिङ्ग श्रवणकोषं परतो: व्याख्या: श्रवणकोषादी भवति।

29. There is substitution of पि for व्याख्या when the affixes of the Perfect (श्रवणकोषं) and the Intensive (श्रवणकोषं) follow.

The anuvṛtti of the word विभासा ceases. The phrase व्याख्या: पि of the last Sūtra is drawn into this by force of the word भि ‘and’; thus भावियः, भावियः। The substitution of पि 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 भि श्रवणकोषं: &c men-
tioned in VI. 1. 17. Thus शी + निःन्त्र - निः + शी + ण + न्त्र + न्त्र + न्त्र (VI. 4. 82 the ण being substituted) = शान्तिप्रसाद with the affix त्र. So also in the Intensive, as शान्तिहृत्ति, शान्तिप्रियत, शान्तिप्रत्य =

**विभाषा व्यः: ॥ ३० ॥ पद्यानि विभाषा, भेः: ॥

**वृत्ति: ॥ विभाषाः पद्यानि संस्कारात्मिति च। विभाषाः पद्यानि संस्कारात्मिति च।**

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

The phrases त्र वहे: and संस्कारानि are to be read into this sūtra. Thus शान्तिप्रियतिः अस्तित्वात् or विशिष्टाचार:। So also in the Intensive as शान्तिहृत्ति or चन्द्री-बने। The root त्र would not have taken vocalisation before युग्म by any previous rule, this sūtra teaches optional vocalisation. The root would have taken vocalisation before त्र, which is a त्र affix, invariably by VI. 1. 15, this sūtra modifies that by making the substitution optional. In the alternative, when the root does become vocalised, the reduplicate is also not vocalised in spite of VI. 1. 17. This explains the form त्रिधार्याः, which by VI. 1. 17 would have been शान्तिप्रियतिः। त्रिधा + ज्ञात् = ( शी + विधा + ज्ञात् VI. 1. 30)) = शी + ज्ञात् (VI. 1. 108) = शी + शी + ज्ञात् (VI. 1. 8) = शान्तिप्रियति

31. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel, in the causative of विभाषा, when followed by the Desiderative चन्द्रि and the Aorist चन्द्रि अर्धि.

The phrase विभाषा भेः: is understood here. In forming the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist forms of the Causative of विभाषा, there is optional vocalisation. Thus विभाषाविधि or विभाषाविधि। So also in the Reduplicated Aorist चन्द्रि, as चन्द्रिहृत्ति or चन्द्रिहृत्ति। By the maxim संस्कारान्तिः संस्कारात्मिति चरित्वा भवति (see sūtra VI. 1. 17), the antaranga substitution of Vṛddhi &c is superseded by the samprastāraṇa and the subsidiary operations relating to it here. The vṛddhi and the substitution of चन्द्रि take place after the samprastāraṇa has taken place. The sūtra VII. 4. 80 teaching the substitution of चन्द्रि for the चन्द्रि of the reduplicate, when चन्द्रि follows, shows by implication that the substitution caused by चन्द्रि is sthānīvat though it itself does not cause reduplication (I. 1. 59). Thus चन्द्रि + चन्द्रि = चन्द्रि + चन्द्रि = चन्द्रि + चन्द्रि। In reduplicating विभाषा we cannot form विभाषा, but must consider the substitute equal to the original चन्द्रि of चन्द्रि and must reduplicate it. We thus get विभाषाविधि। In the case of vocalisation, the rules of Vṛddhi &c are postponed. Thus चन्द्रि + चन्द्रि + चन्द्रि (VI. 1. 108)) = शी + चन्द्रि + शी + चन्द्रि + चन्द्रि + चन्द्रि + चन्द्रि + चन्द्रि + चन्द्रि। Here we requi-
re reduplication. Here the substitute श्रृ in शाश ठough not caused by श्र, is treated sthānivat under 1. 1. 59 to श्र, which is carried in reduplication. Similarly the Aorist. श्र + ल + स्र = श्र + ह + ह = श्र + ह + ह = श्र + ह + ह + ह = श्र + ह + ह + ह + ह (VII. 4. 1) = श्र + ह + ह + ह (VI. 4. 51) = अष्ट्रि (VII. 4. 94)

हृ: संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पद्यादि ॥ हृ: संप्रसारणम् ॥

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

The whole of the last sūtra is to be read into this sūtra. Thus हृव्रिष्टि and हृव्रिष्टिन्य, हृव्रिष्टित्व; हृव्रिष्टिन्य, अहृव्रिष्टिन्य and अहृव्रिष्टिन्य. The root हृ does not take the augment व required by VII. 3. 37 before the affix ल, because the Samprastārana rule is stronger. The repetition of the word संवसारण in this sūtra, though its anuvṛtti was present, indicates that the force of the word विभाषा has ceased. Though this and the next sūtra could well have been made one, their separation shows that the samprastārana does not take place when another affix, not causing reduplication, intervenes. As हृव्रिष्टिन्य = हृव्रिष्टिन्य; the Desiderative of this verb is हृव्रिष्टिन्य.

अहृव्रिष्टिन्य ॥ ३३ ॥ पद्यादि ॥ अहृव्रिष्टिन्य, च, (संप्रसारणम् ॥)

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

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

हृव्रिष्टि श्र्यादि ॥ ३४ ॥ पद्यादि ॥ श्र्यादि, श्र्यादि (संप्रसारणम् ) ॥

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

Thus हृ or हृव्रिष्टि, as हृव्रिष्टि हृव्रिष्टि 'Invoke Indra and Agni'. In the present tense, 1st Pers. sing. the vikarana हृ is elided, then there is vocalisation and substitution of तत्र. So also हृव्रिष्टि महाने विचारात्, हृव्रिष्टि विचारात्, वेदात्. So also हृ: as श्र्यादि (Rig I. 2. 1.) 'hear the invocation'.
35. For खाय is diversely substituted की in the Chhandas.

Thus चिड़ाना चिढ़न्यः, मायेन्न्य चिढ़ुन्यः चिढ़ुन्यः। These are forms ending in the affix द्वस of the Perfect. Sometimes there is no substitution. As भावि-क्षत्रियभाविः।

अपसरस्यप्रामाण्यातामुखुंधित्युसिद्धतंत्रप्राप्तमा: धित्वाभिन्नवर्तीः। इत्यादि।
पदाति। अपसरस्यप्रामाण्यातामुखुं भानुद्रः भानुद्रः, विच्छुरे, तिल्याजः भानतः, धित्वाभिन्नवर्तीः।

चिड़ाना चिड़ुन्यः चिड़ुन्यः चिड़ुन्यः चिड़ुन्यः, विच्छुरे, तिल्याजः भानतः, धित्वाभिन्नवर्तीः।
36. In the Chhandas, the following irregular forms are met with:—अपसरस्यप्रामाण्यातामुखुं भानुद्रः भानुद्रः, विच्छुरे, तिल्याजः भानतः, धित्वाभिन्नवर्तीः।

The word चिड़ाना is understood here. From the root खर्ज ‘to challenge’, is formed अपसरस्यप्रामाण्यातामुखुं, being the Imperfect (तहः), 2nd Pers. Dual, Atmanepada: there is reduplication of the root, vocalisation of र, and the elision of अ irregularly. As, हनुम विच्छुरे विच्छुरे। In secular language the form is अपसरस्यप्रामाण्यातामुखुं।

Some say, it is derived from खर्ज with the preposition अर्थम्, the vocalisation of र, the elision of अ, and the non-prefixing of the augment भर, in the Imperfect (VI. 4. 75). The counter-example of this will be अपसरस्यप्रामाण्यातामुखुं। From खर्ज and खर्ज ‘to respect, to worship’, are derived भानुद्र: and भानुद्र: in the Perfect before the 3rd per. pl. उसः, there being vocalisation of र and the elision of अ irregularly. Then there is reduplication, then र विच्छुरे, then the lengthening of अ the अर्थम्, then the addition of the augment अर्थम्: अर्थम् + अर्थम् + अर्थम् = अर्थम् + अर्थम् + अर्थम् (VII. 4. 66) = भानुद्र: + भानुद्र: + भानुद्र: (VII. 4. 70) = भानुद्र: + भानुद्र: + भानुद्र: (VII. 4. 71) = भानुद्र:।

The irregularity consists in the samprasārah with the elision of अ। Thus भानुद्र: भानुद्र: न मद्यान्वातुः।

The secular forms will be भानुद्र: भानुद्र:। The form विच्छुरे is the Perfect 2nd per. sing. of the root खर्ज to go: there is vocalisation of the reduplicate, and the non-addition of the augment अर्थम् before the affix भरः। This is the irregularity. The regular form is खर्जित्वाभिन्नवर्तीः। The form तिल्याजः is the Perfect of खर्ज, the vocalisation of the reduplicate is the irregularity. The regular form is खर्जित्वाभिन्नवर्तीः। From the root भीष्म ‘to cook’, is derived भावि before the Nishṭhā affix, भी changed to भा irregularly. As भावि भावि। The form खर्जित्वाभिन्नवर्तीः is also derived from the same root by shortening the vowel with the same affix.
As होमि मौनि चिपिन्द्र: खर्जित्वाभिन्नवर्तीः। Some say the भा substitution of भी takes place when the word refers to खर्ज: in the plural, and खर्ज: when it refers to other
than सोम ॥ Sometimes the word भाग्य is seen in the singular, referring to objects other than सोम ॥ Thus भाग्य भाग्य ज्योति। In fact, the exhibition of the word भाग्य in the plural in the सूत्र is not absolutely necessary. The words भाग्यी and भाग्यी are from the same root भाग, with the prefix भाग and taking the affixes द्रिष्टि and न respectively. Before these भाग is replaced by द्रिष्टि, and the non-addition of न in the Nishṭā is irregular. As शामीशी द्रिष्टि भागी द्रिष्टि, शामीशी द्रिष्टि।

न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणाः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदार्थिणि ॥ न, संप्रसारणे, संप्रसारणाः ॥ वृत्ति ॥ संप्रसारणे पत्र: द्रिष्टि वध: संप्रसारणे न भागी।

गौरिन्दकरम् ॥ श्रीचं नेत्रनासनिन्य रक्षसनुमिति ॥ श्रीमानो वहंत्र ॥

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 भाग्य; has two semi-vowels य and य: when य is once vocalised into य, the preceding य will not be vocalised into य ॥ Thus we have द्रिष्टि। From याच—विन्ध्यम्, विचार—संवीति ॥ 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 सूत्र, because then no semi-vowel will be found preceding a vocalised letter. This सूत्र is a ज्ञापका that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvrtti 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 ज्योति, the य being changed to य, the य is not changed as ज्युन्त। It might be objected that when the य of ज्युन्त, and य the संप्रसारण of य coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long य for the two य's and this is sthānīvat to the original, the य and य of ज्युन्त 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 sthānīvat (See I. 1. 58). Even though it be considered as sthānīvat, it is still a separating letter.

Vart—There is vocalisation of the semivowel of द्रिष्टि when followed by श्री, and there is elision of the य of द्रिष्टि, when it refers to Metres. As श्री द्रिष्टि यासनन्—तुष्य लुहन् ॥ तुष्य साम ॥ The word द्रिष्टि takes the samāsanta affix य by V. 4. 74. Why do we say when referring to a metre? Observe द्रिष्टि कर्म।
Vārt.—In the Chhandas there is diversely vocalisation of the semi-vowel of य with followed by the affix अस्तु as सद्य + अस्तु = र + अस्तु = र + अस्तु = र + अस्तु = र + अस्तु (VIII. 2. 15) = र्वत्त; as, या र्वत्तन्ति न शिष्य: II Sometimes it does not take place, as र्ववाय क्षतिस्वरूपः: II The य here is not changed to म as required by VIII. 2. 15.

Vārt.—There is vocalisation of केशा before म when a Name is meant: as केशिन्ते यौ भौतिष्यः: II This Vārtika is unnecessary. See VIII. 2. 12 where the form केसपर्वतः is given.

टिथि वर्य यः: II दूय II पदार्थी II लिखितः, बयः: (संप्रसारणम् न) II मृत्यु: II न संप्रसारणविद्युष्टसंस्करणे न लिखीतः परस्यो यथार्थसंस्करणे न नयिति II

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

The phrase न संप्रसारणम् is understood here. Thus अभ्यासः, भवत्रुः, भवः: II The word लिखित is employed in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent śūtras, this one could have done well without it even.

वाक्यार्थस्य विनिर्देशः किंतु II ३९२II पदार्थी II यः: च, अस्तुः, अम्बः, अन्तःतस्याचष, किंतु II मृत्यु: II अस्तुः च, अस्तुः, अन्तःतस्याचष किंतु निद्रित् वरस्ते वयतार्थे विद्वानस्यर्वर्तमानाः II

39. Before the tense-affixes of the Perfect that have an indicatory द (I. 2. 5), for the य of द्वयः may optionally be substituted a दः II

Thus क्रियः: दः क्रियः: क्रियः: क्रियः: According to Pāṇini, the phrase वाक्यार्थ of this śūtra could have been dispensed with; this much would have been enough:—

वाक्यार्थस्य (सार्थे) वेदः: II Thus दः + अस्तुः = दः + अस्तुः = वेदः: and भवः (the vocalisation being prohibited). In the alternative:—दः + अस्तुः = दः + अस्तुः = दः + अस्तुः = दः + अस्तुः (VI. 1. 77) = क्रियः: क्रियः: II Here there is vocalisation. In the case of भवः substitute, the य is never vocalised, so we have क्रियः: क्रियः: II Thus all the three forms have been evolved without using वाक्यार्थः II

वेदः: II ३०II पदार्थी II वेदः; (संप्रसारणम्, न) II मृत्यु: II निद्रित्युः निद्रित्युः निद्रित्युः निद्रित्युः निद्रित्युः निद्रित्युः निद्रित्युः निद्रित्युः निद्रित्युः निद्रित्युः: II संस्करणे न नयिति II

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

Thus वेदः, भवः, युः: II This root belongs to भावर्ति class and would have been vocalised before किंतु affixes by VI. 1. 15; and before non-किंतु affixes the Reduplicate syllable of the Perfect would have been vocalised by VI. 1. 17. Both vocalisations are prohibited here.

ल्यथः च II ३१II पदार्थी II ल्यथः, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) II मृत्यु: II त्वां इत्यत्रसंस्करणे न यथार्थः: च, भवः: संस्करणे न नयिति II

41. The semivowel of द is not vocalised when the Participial affix ल्यथः follows.
Thus प्रश्न, उपश्च इ The separation of this शृङ्गa from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent शृङ्गa, into which the anuvṛtti of शृङ्ग only runs.

व्यीक्षण || ४२ || पद्य || श्रयः, च, (संप्रसारणम् न) ||

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

Thus प्रश्न, उपश्च इ The separation of this शृङ्गa from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent शृङ्गa, into which the anuvṛtti of शृङ्ग only runs.

विभाग परे: || ४३ || पद्य || भिन्न, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ||

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

As प्रश्न, उपश्च इ The separation of this शृङ्गa from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent शृङ्गa, into which the anuvṛtti of शृङ्ग only runs.

विभाग परे: || ४४ || पद्य || भिन्न, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ||

44. The vocalisation may optionally take place when श्रय precedes by वरे: takes the affix ल्योः.

Thus परि, उपश्च इ The augment तुः is debarred by VI. 1. 71 which causes the lengthening of the vowel: since VI. 4. 2 is subsequent to VI. 1. 71.

आच्छे उपदेशी प्रतिष्ठित || ४५ || पद्य || आच्छे एव, च, उपदेशी, अविष्ठित ||

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

The word शृङ्गa is to be read into this शृङ्गa from VI. 1. 8. Thus श्रयः—

Why do we say ending with an श्रय (diphthong)? Observe करते from श्रयः and हस्तम् from श्रयः. Why do we say in upadeśa or Dhatupātha? Observe पता, संता, where पता and संता are not the forms taught in the first enunciation of the root in the Dhatupātha, but are secondary forms. Why do we say, before non-विन्यस्त affixes? Observe श्रयः—मित्रे, श्रयः

(Exception is, however, made in the case of the affix श्रय of the Perfect: as जनह, मने. This is explained by interpreting the word जनह as जनहतिः, that is the affixes having an indicatory शृङ्गa in the beginning: श्रयः has शृङ्गa at the end. This is done on the maxim यद्यत्र निष्ठलतेश्वरस्त महणे “when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule in the form of the Locative
case, and qualifies some thing else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question and not as ending with it”.

The word भक्ति is an example of प्रत्ययवित्ति.: a simple prohibition of a contingent case. Therefore, the substitution of भ for एष वowels, 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 भ; so that के अ ज के are presupposed to end in भ when applying the affix: thus सुन, सुम:। Similarly by III. 3. 128 we apply द्वष to के and के by presupposing it as भावन roots: as सुभज्जन:; सुभज्जन:।।

The word भ is understood in all the subsequent sutras upto VI. 1. 57

\[\text{न व्यो हिति } दण्ड \text{ पद्धनि } न, व्येः, लिति, (आत्र)।।
\]

\[\text{वृत्ति:। भैरव द्वस्त धातोपित वर्त भाकारविवी न भवति।।}
\]

46. There is not the substitution of भ for the Diphthong of the root के when the affixes of the Perfect follow.

Thus सति, सति:। The reduplicate of the Perfect is vocalised here by VI. 1. 17. The Vriddhi in सति takes place by VII. 2. 115 before the द्वष affix वह।।

\[\text{सतिः कुर्वतिः भुज्जर्तिः घन्निः, घन्निः, (आत्र)।।}
\]

\[\text{वृत्ति:। आभिषुग्रहति वर्तिः। } \text{वह }} \text{कुर्वतिः भुज्जर्तिः घन्निः। स्थाने पनि वर्त भाकारार्थे भवति।।}
\]

47. In the roots स्कुर् and स्कुज ‘to move’, there is the substitution of the भ for the diphthong when the affix यय् follows.

Thus विन्दा: instead of विन्दृ:; and विन्दकक्ष: instead of विन्दीः।। By VIII. 3. 76, the भ is optionally changed to भ after वि, as विन्दा:, and विन्दकक्ष:।।

\[\text{श्वेतजीविः श्वेतजीविः भविः, भविः, जीवनयः, जी जी, हस्तेषाः पाद्यायाः: स्थाने यी परत भाकारविवी भवति।।}
\]

48. The substitution of भ for the diphthong takes place in the causatives of the roots भौ ‘to by’, भौ ‘to study’ and भौ ‘to conquer.’

Thus चालोंस चालोंस चालोंस।। The augment द्वष is added by VII. 3. 36, since these roots end in long भ।।

\[\text{सतिः कुर्वतिः भुज्जर्तिः घन्निः, घन्निः, घन्निः, घन्निः।}
\]

\[\text{वृत्ति:। भैरव द्वस्त धातोपित वर्त भाकारविवी न भवति।।}
\]
49. The substitution of आ takes place for the diphthong in the causative of लिङ्ध, when it does not refer to the next life.

The word परलोकिक is derived form परलोक 'the next world' by adding the affix श्रृं with the force of 'for the sake of' (v. 1. 109). The double व्रिड्धि takes place by VII. 3. 20. The sense of the word लिङ्ध must refer to भज्ञ or non-intelligent things for the purposes of this substitution. Thus भज्ञ साध्यतिः, भज्ञ साध्यतिः. Why do we say when not referring to the next world? See सप्ताहं साध्यति, सप्ताहं कन्यः साध्यति. The force of लिङ्ध is here that of knowledge, साध्यति. विधाति = भज्ञ विधायताम. 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 लिङ्ध 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: भज्ञ साध्यतिः, भज्ञ विधायतामिः '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 भज्ञ and not of the verb लिङ्ध, the substitution does take place. When the verb लिङ्ध directly and not through the mediation of another action, produces परालुकिका effect, then the substitution does not take place. The verb लिङ्ध here belongs to the Diśayi class and not to the Bhvādi, as the form लिङ्धतिः in the sūtra shows it.

भीनादित्विनित्वदीतिदां द्विपिः च II ५० II पद्यानि II मीनानि, मनोतिः, दीर्घाम्, द्विपिः, च II

वृत्ति: II भारतं उपयोगिताः वर्णते. भीमः हिंसासाम, हुमिस हस्यपनेन, शीर्षक, नक्षत्र, नक्षत्रमेतः भास्या विचारति व भक्ष्यदेशात्रेषु विचारति उपयोगितां मान व भक्ष्यदेशात्रान्तस्य स्यां भास्यदेशोऽवस्थिते.

50. And there is substitution of आ for the finals of आ ‘to hurt’, भज्ञ ‘to scatter’, and श्रृं ‘to decay’ when the affix श्रृं follows, as well before those affixes which demand this substitution for the diphthong.

By force of the word आ ‘and’ in the sūtra, the substitution takes place of the diphthongs also of these verbs before all affixes other than राखु, and this substitution takes place, before the occasion for the applying of the affixes arises (उपयोगितास्य भास्याय वर्णति). 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 भज्ञता, भज्ञत्वम्, भज्ञतु, भज्ञ, भज्ञतात्, भज्ञत्वत्, भज्ञतः, भज्ञतः, भज्ञतः, भज्ञतः भज्ञतः. The substitution of आ being understood to have taken place in the very उपरेश (in the dhātipātha)-
these roots, the affixes relating to roots ending in य or य do not apply to these at all. Thus उत्पयम् वस्त्रति, इच्छुकारसम्, formed by च and युष्म by taking श-श and adding these affixes (III. 3. 128 and III. 3. 18) and not the affixes शुष्म (III. 3. 56) and श (III. 3. 126).

विभाव: लीतयते: दुर 51 पदार्थे विभाव, लीतयते: दुर।

वृत्ति: दुर्ब्दस्माति वचनं, भारतेश उपाध्यते श। लीत: शुष्माति विमाहिति: नी शुष्माति बधार्किश्यथोऽर्थम् पञ्चतायबिना वधार्म्यम्। लीतत्रा वधार्म्यम् पाण्डवस्य उपविद्यन्तिस्मया स्थानं विभावाहार्कारास्मिना भवति।

बांग्लकम् निश्चितता: खलच्योऽपि भवति।

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

The final of श्री will take guna substitution before द्वय affixes, and will become श्री, this incipient diphthong श is changed to या by this rule. The same is the case with all the roots subsequently taught, thus द्वय will be क्ष्रेष्ठ, and then श्री changed to श्री, शुष्म, गौरा and या changed to या &c. Therefore we have employed the anuvriti of द्वय ‘diphthong’ in all sūtras. The words श्याम and भारतेश are understood here. The roots श्री belonging to Divādi and Kriyādi are both included here. Thus विभाव, विभावम्, विभावम्, विश्व, विश्व, विश्व, विश्व, विश्व, विश्व and विश्व.

Vārtt.:—The या substitution does not take place when the affix या (III. 3. 56, III. 3. 134) and य (III. 3. 126) come after द्वय, द्वय, द्वय, द्वय, द्वय, द्वय, द्वय, द्वय, द्वय, द्वय. द्वय.

The या invariably takes या substitution when the sense is that of ‘showing respect,’ ‘deceiving’ or ‘insulting’. As कालःकालयावनये, श्रेष्ठोऽपि कालःकालयावनये। The option allowed by this aphorism is a restricted option (vyavasthita-vibhāșā). The substitution of या for the final of या is optional when the sense of the root is not that of ‘showing respect’, ‘seducing’ or ‘deceiving’. But when it has any one of these three senses, the substitution is compulsory. See I. 1. 70.

विरेष्यश्वर्तिः 52 पदार्थे विरेष्यश्वर्तिः दुर।

वृत्ति: विभावात् वचनं इन्द्रियत्वाय प्रत्यार्थव: ज्ञानोऽपि विभावम् भावारुपेऽपि भवति।

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

The word विभाव is understood here. Thus विच विभाव or विच विभाव. In secular literature we have विच वेदीति।
Bk. VI. Ch. I. § 56]  

**Śa Substitution.**

अप्पुरे पामण्डिते || ५३ || पद्यान्त || अप, युर्:, पामण्डित, (आत्र) ||  
पुस्तिः || दूरी ब्रह्मणमार्गस्थ वातिक्यपेशीं दुर्गुणम परस्परः स्थानथ विभागम भावांकर वातिको भवसि ।  

53. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root युर् ‘to exert’ when preceded by the preposition अप and taking the affix पामण्डित।  

The affix अप, forming the Absolutive Participle is added by III. 4. 22, and the word formed by it is repeated. Thus अपसमीरापमार्ग || अपसमीरापमार्ग ||  
So also this affix is added by III. 4. 53: as, अपसमीराप दुर्गुणम || अपसमीराप उपशब्दे 'they are fighting with raised swords'.  

विस्तुरयोः || ५४ || पद्यान्त || वि्, स्पृहः; शास्त्रोः ||  
प्रस्तृत: || चिप्प, स्पृहः इत्यस्यैवान्धातेन्द्रियोऽयं परस्य: स्थानथ विभागम भावांकरो भवसि ।  

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

Thus प्रापति, प्रापति (VII. 3. 36 for the addition of न) so also स्पृहति ||  

प्रजने चायते: || ५५ || पद्यान्त || प्रजने, चायते: ||  
प्रस्तृत: || प्रापति वातेन । शी वातिक्यनकायन्त्वस्यस्मालोऽरुपः इव्यस्य भावः: प्रजने चायतन्त्र स्थो परस्य: वि्  

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

The root चायते Addā 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 युर् चायते: प्रापति || प्रापति || तापे || प्रजने वातिक्यनकायन्त्वस्यस्मालोऽरुपः इव्यस्य भावः: प्रजने चायतन्त्र स्थो ।  

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

The words चायते and चायतन्त्र are understood here. The word हेतु in the शृङ्ग is the technical हेतु meaning ष्ट्रस्रस्य प्रयोज्य (I. 4. 54 and 55). When the
Hetu Agent himself is directly the cause of the fear, that fear is called the नेतृत्व “the fear caused by the Hetu”. Thus नेतृ. त्व: (VII. 3. 36) or नेतृित्व (VII. 3. 40). So also गृहिित्व भाषयति or भाषयति: 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 ना substitution, for the ना in VII. 3. 40 is equal to ना + न: i.e. ना ending in न; and means ना ending in न takes the augment य:

Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is the producer of the fear'? Observe देखिभ्रमणे भाषयति तंत्रिका: Here the fear is produced from the देखिभ्रमणा and not from Devadatta the Agent.

निष्ठर्यां स्वयते: ॥ ५७ ॥ पदार्थ दिन्यं स्वयते: ॥
हृिता भाषयति भा भाषयति भा। निरस्सथापि ममििति निर्मित्व। निर्म: देखिभ्रमणवाति भाषयति भा। देखिभ्रमणे भा देखिभ्रमणे भाषयति भा।

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

The words जे and नेतृित्व are both understood here. The word जे shows that the anuvṛtti भाषयति caeses. Thus जे भाषयति भा भाषयति भा। Otherwise we have देखिभ्रमणे भाषयति भा। The word जे here is taken to mean स्वयते i.e. ‘wondering, feeling astonished’. See I. 3. 68 where also this meaning has been extended to जे by its connection with भाषयति together; the proper word ought to have been नेतृित्व in connection with भाषयति, and नेतृित्व in connection with भाषयति ॥

हृिता भाषयति भा भाषयति भा। देखिभ्रमणे भाषयति भा।

58. The augment भा (अ) comes after the भा of भा ‘to create’, and भा ‘to see’, when an affix beginning with a भा letter (the Mute and the Sibilant) follows: provided that it has no indicatory द.

Thus भा + क्षुि= भा + भा + हूि= भा nom. sing. प्रकटा, so also प्रकटा. प्रकटव्यः, प्रकट, हृिट, हृिटप्यः. This भा augment prevents the guṇa substitute ordained by VII. 3. 86. But in मस्ताणि and मस्ताणि the Vṛiddhi takes place in the Aorist, after the augment भा had taken effect.

Why do we say when beginning with a Mute or a Sibilant? Observe भा भा भा with भा: Why do we say not having an indicatory द? Observe भा: भा before the affix भा। 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 भा, भा, भा, भा. Here the words are used as nouns rather than verbs. For the maxim भा भा भा भा भा भा applies here.
89. The augment अम comes optionally after the खू of those roots which are exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as anudātta, when such roots end in a consonant having a खू as penultimate, and are followed by an affix beginning with a mute or sibilant and not having an indicatory क।

The word वर्ण is understood here, so also हात्मकति। Thus तास or तांता or तांता or तांता। The roots हृष्ठ ‘to satisfy’, and हृष्ठ ‘to be happy to release’, belong to Divādi class, sub-class Radhādi, and they take the augment हृष्ठ optionally (VII, 2, 45), so we have the three forms given above: for these roots are also anudātta in their first enunciation.

Why do we say ‘which are anudātta in the Upadesā or the system of grammatical instruction’? Observe नास, हृष्ठ, वर्ण, from वर्ण which is exhibited as वर्ण, and because it has an indicatory क, it takes हृष्ठ optionally. Why do we say ‘having a penultimate खू letter’? Observe अस्स, उस्स। Why do we say ‘before an affix beginning with a mute or a sibilant’? Observe तांत, तांत। Why do we say ‘not having an indicatory क’? Observe दृष्ठ:। Before affixes not beginning with a दृष्ठ consonant this augment will not be inserted, as वर्ण, तांत।

श्रीपदसाधनिः 60। पदानि श्रीपद, छन्दसिः। श्रीपदिः। श्रीपदिः श्रीपदिः विश्वसागर समसागर दत्तिः विश्वसागर स्वामिः।

60. The word श्रीपदसाधनिः is found in the Chhandas.

This word is another form of श्रीर: and means ‘head’. This is not a substitute of श्रीर in the Vedas, for both forms are found therein. Thus श्रीपदसाधनिः श्रीर: तत श्रीर: श्रीर: श्रीर: श्रीपदसाधनिः। In the secular literature there is only one form श्रीरः।

ये च तत्ततः 61। पदानि ये, च, तत्ततः।

The substitution of this stem श्रीपदसाधनिः for श्रीर when a Taddhita-affix beginning with य follows.

The word श्रीपदसाधनिः 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 श्रीरः। Thus श्रीपदसाधनिः श्रीरः भवति,
The affix श्रृं is here added by IV. 3. 55. The word श्रीमण्ड retains its original form before this affix श्रृं, the final य not being replaced by anything else (VI. 4. 168). Why do we say when ‘a Taddhita-affix follows’? Observe शिर इण्डि = शिरस्त्रि, here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

Vartt.:—The substitution is optional when meaning ‘hair’. As श्रीमण्ड-
श्रीमण्ड: केढ़ा: or श्रीमण्ड: केढ़ा: ॥

श्रीमण्ड: || १ ॥ पद्यति: || अचि, श्रीमण्ड: ॥
श्रीमण्ड: || भजनि नापति: विचि: ॥ श्रीमण्ड: श्रीमण्ड: ॥

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

Thus हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम् = हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम्: formed by adding the Patronymic affix हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम् (IV. 1. 96). So also हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम् = हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम्: I had the word been हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम् (instead of हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम् as taught herein) then it would have retained its final य before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI. 4. 168). Again in forming the feminine of हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम्: by adding यस्तः (IV. 1. 78), arises this difficulty = यस्तः (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य when this is applied to हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम्: we must apply the last rule and change the श्रीमण्ड into श्रीमण्ड (for श्रीमण्ड being the substitute of श्रीमण्ड is prima facie a substitute of श्रीमण्ड also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61). The form which we get will be this, हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम् + यस्तः = हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम् + य (VI. 1. 61) = हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम् (VI. 4. 168). But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम्: How do we explain this? Thus हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम् + यस्तः = हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम् + य (the य is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of य we substitute a zero or अपवर्ग) ॥ Now this अपवर्ग becomes sthānāvat to य, thus the affix य not being directly applied to श्रीमण्ड, because this zero intervenes, श्रीमण्ड is not replaced by श्रीमण्ड as required by VI. 1. 61, for it is not followed by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthānāvat to हस्तिग्रिहोत्सुम्नम् affix.

This sūtra is not of Pāṇini, but is really a Vārtika raised to the rank of a sūtra by later authors.
63. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are substituted:—पद्य for पद, दद्य for दद, नस्य for नल्लुभ, मास्य for मास, बृज्य for दृज्य, निष्ठा for निष्ठा, अस्वाय for अस्वाय, नुन्त्य for नुन्त्य, व०य for व०य, यक्ष्य for यक्ष्य, शाक्ष्य for शाक्ष्य, उद्य for उद्द्य and आस्य for आस्य।

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

Examples:—I. पद्—निवापत्त्वते भास्य, पश्चातादि गान्धुपूर्व ॥ २ हृद्—या हस्ती भास्यम् सभी ॥ ३ नस्य—सङ्करदलस्याभास्यम् ॥ ४ मास्य—मास्यक्षा पद्यपरिणामसः ॥ ५ बृज्य—इदा ईत्यं नम्म सापम्म ् भास्यसः ॥ ६ निष्ठा—भास्यनाऔहिष्ठा निष्ठानि भास्यसः ॥ ७ अस्वाय—अस्वायक्षा अस्वायसः ॥ ८ नुन्त्य—या यापन प्रृणां भास्यसः ॥ ९ व०य—कांभशी दृश्यसः ॥ १० यक्ष्य—यक्ष्य क्षाय भास्यसः ॥ ११ यक्ष्य—शाक्ष्य क्षाय भास्यसः ॥ १२ उद्य—उद्य भास्य नारायणसः ॥ १३ आस्य—आस्यि के नानो मुर्गनि ॥

Why do we say when the weak terminations दद &c follow? Observe दद ते प्रतिपदयां मास्य ते कुष्ठ ॥ As examples of this substitutions in the secular literature also, the following may be given:—

वद्याभास्यम् मास्यम् पद्याभास्यम् ॥

वापर्यः नास्यसम् ब०याभास्यम् ॥

These substitutions take place before other affixes also: as, धला सोपी, कढ़ूरस्यां बाप्तते मार्गः ॥

Vārt.—The following substitutions also take place: मास for मास, पद्य for पद्य, and स्तु for सातुः as मास्यक्षा मास्यक्षा for मास्यक्षा (Yaj. XXV. 36), पुत्र for पुत्रस्यां पुत्र, शुधु for शुधुस्यां शुधु ॥ मास्यक्षा मास्यक्षा for भास्यसः ॥

Vārt.—The भास्य is substituted for भास्य if the affix दद and दद and the word दद दद follow: as, नस्त्य, नस्त्य, नस्त्य, नस्त्य, नस्त्य, नस्त्य. The दद is taught in IV. 3. 55 and V. 1. 6; दद is taught in V. 4. 45.

Vārt.—The substitution of भास्य for भास्य before the affix दद does not take place when it refers to 'letters', or 'cities' as: मास्यक्षा वर्गाः 'a nasal letter' भास्यक्षा मन्त्रम् ॥

घातादेः: दद् ॥ ६४ ॥ पद्यक्षा ॥ धातव्यादेः: न्त्य, स्तु: ॥

वृङ्णि पद्याभास्यम् यथार्थ स्तुतिः तथार्थस्य स्थिति ॥

वाचिकम्यः यथार्थस्य भास्यक्षा वर्गम् ॥

64. There is the substitution of म in the room of प in the initial of a verbal root as enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha.

The roots exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial म, change it for प. Thus महां—स्वस्त्, भिष्म—स्विष्म ॥ Why do we use the word 'root'? Observe
Why do we say 'initial'? Observe—कर्षति, कर्षति। Why have then roots been exhibited in the Dhātupātha with an initial ष, when for all practical purposes this ष is to be replaced by झ, would it not have been easier to spell at once these words with a झ? This appears cumbersome no doubt, but the spelling of the roots with ष is for the sake of brevity. Certain roots change their श into झ when preceded by certain letters: those roots which thus change their letter श for झ have been at once taught with an initial ष, and thus by VIII. 3. 59 their श is changed to झ। Thus from रि—instead of रत्रि we have रत्र। Thus root is exhibited in the Dhātupātha with a ष, and thus we know that the ष must be changed to झ। Otherwise a list of such roots would have to be separately given. One must refer to the Dhātupātha for a list of such roots. As a general rule, however, all roots beginning with a ष and followed by a vowel or a dental letter have been taught in the Dhātupātha as beginning with an initial ष, as well as the following roots ल्र, ल्व्र, ल्र्व, ल्र्ञ and ल्र्प, though followed by ष or झ। The following roots though followed by a vowel or a dental are not taught with an initial ष viz. ष्र, ष्र्व, ष्र्ल, ष्र्य, ष्र्द, ष्र्क, and ष्र।

Vārāṇaṇ—Prohibition must be stated of the roots derived from nouns, and of ंर्ष and ःष। Thus ंर्षर्ष, ंर्षर्ष are roots derived from nouns, and though these roots begin with ष are not changed: so ंर्ष—र्षर्ष, ःष—र्षर्ष। The word ःष contains in it two roots ःष and ःष, one with ष, another with झ, and thus we have two forms in the reduplication:—र्षर्षर्ष, ःषर्षर्ष। The substitution of श for ष takes place in the case of the root that has ष।

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

The phrase भापि is understood here. Thus ंर्ष—र्षर्ष, ःष—र्षर्ष, ष्र—र्षर्ष। But not र्ष—र्षर्ष। This does not apply to roots derived from nouns. ष्राकृतष्र—र्षर्ष। The roots are exhibited in the Dhātupātha with ष for a similar reason as they are exhibited with झ। By VIII. 4. 14, these roots change their ष into झ when preceded by certain prepositions. All roots beginning with a ष should be understood to have been so taught, with the exception of the following:—र्ष, नष्ट, नष्टा, नष्ट, नष्ट, नष्ट, नष्ट, नष्ट, नष्ट.

66. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the ष and झ when followed by any consonant except ष।
The final य or य of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c.,
beginning with a य or consonant i.e. any consonant except य. Thus हिर + यम (III. 2. 107) = हिर + हिर + यम = हिरियम nom. singular हिरियम, हिरियम, हिरियम: Thus जन्त + त = जन्त, ‘spun’, क्रम + त = क्रम ‘made a noise’. So also the affix यम comes after यम in forming patronymics (IV. 1. 129). Of the affix यम, य is replaced by ह (VII. 1. 2). Thus मोप + ह + य = मोपेख (the य of the affix being even elided before ह). So also in पथेत, वज्रात्, the य of लिथ (III. 4. 102) is elided before लिथ (III. 4. 105). So also य is elided in the following:—from जीर्ण—धीरण (by Upādi affix धीरण) from जीर्ण—धीरणम् formed by the Upādi affix धीरण with the negative य. There being diversity in the application of Upādi affixes (III. 3. 1), there is not य substitution for य as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say “before any consonant except य”? Observe कर्त्तवे, कर्त्तवे when य is not elided. Why the word वेश is placed first? The elision of य and य should take place prior to the elision of the aprīkta व taught in the next sutra. Thus कागुर्वत्व + विखल = कागुर्वत्व (VI. 4. 48) = कागुर्वत्व + य = कागुर्वत्व. So कागुर्वत्व + विखल = कागुर्वत्व. Why य of प्रेष is not elided before र, which is a य consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of य been intended, the root would have been enunciated as र, instead of र. If you say the य is taught for the sake of forms like वृत्ति by samprasārana and वृत्ति by reduplication, here also the ‘lopa’ would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasārana, and the elision of य by कागुर्वत्व are Bahiranga.

बेंज्यत्स्यभ | ६७ | पद्यप्र | कैः, अपरस्यभ

वृत्ति: वेश इति सवति। वेशित विखलाको विखलाको विखलाको गृहस्य। बेंज्यत्स्य लोपेय

67. There is elision of the affix विखल when reduced to the single letter य.

The affix विखल includes विख, विख, विख &c. In all these, the real affix is य, which being an aprīkta (I. 2. 41), is elided. Thus जन्त, ध्रुव्य (III. 2. 87). Here the affix विखल is elided. So also ध्रुव्य, ध्रुव्य (III. 2. 58). Here the affix विखल is elided. So also अध्यात्मवादकार, दृष्टान्तवादकार (III. 2. 62). Here the affix विखल is elided.

Why do we say “of an aprīkta—an affix consisting of a single letter”? Observe रेतिं formed by the affix विखल (विख being the real affix); so also अध्यात्मवाद formed विखल, see Upādi Sūtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some kpit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhātu to a Prātipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by
I. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus तिर words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

हस्तायामायो दीर्घात्तत्सुतिस्यूँहलसे || 68 || पदाः न || हल, क्रयामस्त्, दीर्घत, तन, लिङ्ग सिंग, अर्थात्, हल ||

वृषि: || नाम गति वर्षीत् || ततः नैर्मिकिन्याग्निपत्त्व वर्तमानं इत्याद्व लिङ्गरिष्टति नाम: || हलमात्, लघुलात्तत्स्य सुतिस्यूँहलसे || तिह सिंग इन्फूँपकसे हल ||

कारिकः—संस्कृतमत्स्य सिंग सिंग नलिपकिन्याग्निपत्तिः पांच लिङ्गमात् स्वत: बलसमाद्विपीते ॥

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

The स्त्रा translated literally means:—After a word ending in a consonant, or ह, or आ when a long vowel, the affixes ति and श्र when reduced to a single consonant affix (हतात् हल) are elided. But ति and श्र are elided only after a consonant and hence we have translated it as above. As examples of the elision of स् after a consonant:—राजान् + स् + राजान् (VI. 4. 8) + राजान्, लक्ष्यत, यम्भल, राजवन || After a ह:—as, हँसरी, हारी, हारीसरी || After आ्:—क्षुद्र, बुद्रवि, कारी बामाया || The elision of ति and श्र takes place only after consonants:—सास, भावबंधिराय (ह + भह + भिभस् = भ + भ + भस् + भ + भ + भ + भ (VI. 1. 10) = भ + भह + भ + भ (VII. 4. 66 and I. 1. 51) = भ + भ + भ + भ (VII. 4. 60) = भ + भ + भ + भ + भ (VII. 1. 54) = भ + भ + भ + भ (VII. 4. 76) = भ + भ + भ + भ (VII. 3. 84) = भ + भ + भ + भ) || So also भावार, भावार || In both these cases स् of the Imperfect has been elided. The स् is elided in the following:—भा-भावार, भा-भावार || (भिभस् + भ + भिभस्) || The स् is changed into स् by VIII. 2. 75 and स् is elided by this rule.

Why do we say "after a consonant, or a feminine affix ह and आ"? Observe भामायी, संस्कृतमायी || Why do we say "after a long vowelled feminine affix"? Observe निजीयास्मिन्, भावार, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say "when followed by ह, ति and श्र"? Observe अमे-स्त्रीय || The श्र being read along with ति, does not include श्र, but refers to श्र only. Why do we say "when reduced to a single letter"? Observe ब्रह्मन, रक्षिन्य, रक्षित, रक्षित || Why do we say "the consonant is elided"? Observe ब्रह्मन, रक्षित, रक्षित || Here the aprkta affix अ of the Perfect is not elided: though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हत � not been used in the स्त्रा.
Bk. VI. Ch. I. § 69]  

Elision of त्रि, तिः, स्यः  

Why has the elision of स्यः (स्यः), तिः (तिः) and त्रि (त्रि) 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 त्रि, स्यः could not be evolved. As एकम + स्यः = एक्षंत + त्रि (VI. 4. 8) = एक्षत्तु and by eliding त्रि by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become एक्षत्तु, and the final त्रि 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 स्यः does not find scope, since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of त्रि) is considered as if it had not taken effect. So also, in the case of द्वारा and पर्यन्त ॥ द्वारा + स्यः + विन्यः । इ. 2. 76= द्वारा + स्यः (the nasal being elided by VI. 4. 24); now add त्रि, we have द्वारा + स्यः = द्वारेत्रि; elide the final स्यः not by this rule, but by VIII. 2. 23, we have द्वारत्रि, here we cannot change the त्रि into श्र by VIII. 2. 72 for त्रि 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 अभिन्नर्थ ॥ The word अभिन्नर्थ is 2nd. Pers. sing. of the Imperfect of गाटु of Rudhādi class. Thus विन्यः + स्यः + विन्यः = विन्यः + स्यः + विन्यः + त्रि = विन्यः + स्यः = अभिन्नर्थ । इ. (हिंदू changed to श्र by VIII. 2. 75) अभिन्नर्थ ॥ । If we elide the final स्यः of the conjunct by VIII. 2. 23, then in अभिन्नर्थ, the त्रि, the त्रि, would not be changed into श्र to form अभिन्नर्थ by VI. 1. 113 since the elision of स्यः is considered as to have not taken effect when applying this rule. So also in अभिन्नर्थ, by Rule VIII. 2. 24, there would be no lopa even, for संबोधनोदेश rule is restricted by द्वारा (VIII. 2. 24), i.e. त्रि only and no other consonant is elided after त्रि, therefore there will be no elision of स्यः in अभिन्नर्थ by VIII. 2. 23.

प्रक्ष्यवाचाः स-ः । 69 । प्रवाचिः ॥ प्रक्ष्यः, हस्तवः, संयुक्तः ॥

69. The consonant of the nominative-affix (स्यः and its substitute अमुः) is elided in the Vocative singular after a nominal-stem ending in श्र or श्र or a short vowel.

The word श्र is understood here also; as well as श्र ॥ The word हस्तवः 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 गुप्त vowel when the Vocative Singular affix follows. Thus we have श्रस्ये and श्रस्ये for अश्रिः and गुप्तः; and by VII. 3. 107, a short vowel is substituted for the long vowel ए and ए of the feminine: as नन्ति and यन्ति for नन्ति and यन्ति ॥ Now applying the present sūtra, the affix त्रि is elided after
all the above words. As है श्रवण!, हेमायत!, हेलरण!, हेतच्छ!, हेहु! The Vocative Singular of कुट्ठः a Neuter noun is thus formed. By VII. 1. 24, अष्ट replaces श्र्व of the nominative, the श of अष्ट, and the final श of कुट्ठः coalesce into one श by VI. 1. 107, which becomes कुण्डः. II Here by the rule that ‘consonant’ only is to be elided, we slide श only (and not अष्ट which becomes a part of the word by VI. 1. 85, for it is considered both as the final of the word and the initial of the affix). Now श is not an अष्टक हस्त for it is part of the affix अष्ट, and its elision would not have taken place had we read the anuvritti of apīkta into this sūtra. Thus we have है कुण्डः! II But in है कुलस्! there is not the elision of the श of the affix अष्ट, the substitute of श for the affix there is अष्टः (VII. 1. 25). This affix being विन्द् causes the elision of the final श of कुलस् (VI. 4. 143), and we have कुलस्+अष्ट, here we have not a pratipadika which ends in a short vowel, but in a consonant, hence श is not elided. See also VII. 1. 25. The word रहः is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution is stronger than lopa. Therefore in है भग्निः+छ, the affix is not elided first and then guṇa substituted for छ, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided.

शीत दुन्दुसि बहुरोम || 70 || पदार्थि || नीः; छुन्द्दिः बहुरोम ||

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

Thus शा भेषा or यानि भेषाणि, या ना या यानि भानि सर्वाः

हस्तस्य पिति क्राति तुकः || 71 || पदार्थि || हस्तस्य, पिति, क्राति, तुकः ||

71. To a root ending in a short vowel is added the augment तुकः (तुकः) when a krit-affix having an indicatory श follows.

Thus भानि+चि+विग्रहः=शान्तिन्ति, so also संस्तुब || Similarly शहस्त्र and शहर्स्त्र and शहर्मुख formed by the affix शह || Why do we say “ending in a short vowel”? Observe आदुर, धाबै || Why do we say “having an indicatory श”? Observe श्रान, शह || Why do we say “a krit affix”? Observe पदार्थि, पदवष || with the Taddhita-affixes तरष्य and तरष्य || In the compound सामायकुन्यं, though the root is made short, yet there is no augment तुकः, in as much as the rule by which the root has been shortened is a Bahranga rule, and the present rule is an Antaranga one. The maxim is भासिद्दं बाह्रजस्तम्भां || “That which is Bahranga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is Antaranga is to take effect”,
72. In the following śūtras up to VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायामः 'in an unbroken flow of speech', should be supplied.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra, exerting its influence up to VI. 1. 158. What ever we shall say in the sūtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice. Thus नमस्त्र, नमस्त्र the  and  are changed to  and  when the two words are pronounced without any hiatus. Otherwise we shall have शुचि प्रण, नन्द अभव ।

छे यः ७३ । पद्वांसः छे, यः ।

सूत्रः II इत्यदि तुमधिति पश्चाती। छतोर परसः संहितायामः विषये इस्तवः तुगामो भवति ।

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

Thus इत्यहि, गर्भितः । The त is changed to य by VIII. 4. 40. The short vowel itself is the अन्त्यः (the thing to which the augment is added), and not the word ending in that short vowel. Therefore in जिन्दितः, जिन्दितः, the augment is not to be considered as part of the Reduplicate च, but of the short त only; and therefore it is not elided by हनुकः धंधः (VII. 4. 60) rule applying to reduplicates. This follows on the maxim नास्तिसप्तम्: सहवश्वम्: वर्त्तिस्पष्टे भवति “the part of a part cannot be considered as a part of the whole”. Here त is a part of the abhyāsa syllable नि which is itself a part of the verbal base, therefore त is not considered as an abhyāsa: or because त being an augment of त is considered as part of त and not of च of which त is the part.

आभाः भूतः ७४ । पद्वांसः भूतः, भाकः, च ।

सूत्रः II इत्यहि तुमधिति पश्चाती। भाकः हि सेवितः इत्यहि इत्यहि तुस्तुवं तुस्तुवमयः मात्र परिस्थितिसनस्य छतोर परस्तुलगामो मन्त्रित ।

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

The Particle भा has the four senses of 1. littleness (िव्यः) 2. with verbs, as a prefix (िक्ष्यः) 3. the limit incentive (भास्त्रितः) and 4. the limit exclusive (वि.भास्त्र) This sūtra ordains तुम्न necessarily, where by VI. 1. 76, it would have been optional. Thus इत्यहि भास्त्रः । भास्त्रः । भास्त्रः । भास्त्रः । The त in भास्त्र
and मात्र shows that ता when used as a Gati and a Karmapraavachaniya and मा when used as a negative particle are meant. Therefore, the ता is not necessary in the following:—आधारना मानवते, प्रमाणस:। The ता may be optionally added in these as आधारना and प्रमाणस:। The ता here has the force of recollection (सनातन); आधारना “Oh the shade”. The word प्रमा is formed from the verbal root मात्र by the prefix मा and the affix अस्तृ (111. 3. 106) with the feminine affix राष्ट्र, and the word ending in ता has not the indicatory ता।

श्रीरघुः। ७५। पदार्थं। श्रीरघुः। पुनः। श्रीराजः। तुकः।

७५। श्रीराजः कर्तव्यसाक्षरसारस्मृत्वस्य तर्फने श्रीराजः तुगामनो मनवते।

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

Thus: श्रीराजः, श्रीराजः, अष्ट्राय बृहस्त्राय, बहाराय बृहस्त्राय। The augment belongs to the long vowel and not to the whole syllable ending in that long vowel.

पदार्थः। ७६। पदार्थः। पदार्थः। तुकः।

७६। पदार्थः पदार्थः बृहस्त्राय बृहस्त्राय। पदार्थः पदार्थः बृहस्त्राय बृहस्त्राय।

Vārāhīna अविश्वासिनां ऊर्जितं तुगामणो मनवति वर्णांकाम।

76. The augment ता is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by च।

This allows option where by the last च would have been compulsory to add it. The augment is of the long vowel, and not of the word ending in long vowel. Thus कृत्स्नाय or कृत्स्नाय, कृत्स्नाय or कृत्स्नाय। The ता augment here is added to the end of a pada, and this is therefore a pada-vidhi and not a pada-viśa. Therefore the two words need not be in construction for the application of this rule; (सनातन पदार्थ) not applying. Thus निहितः कुमारीयः च शर्यस्तेन, “let the girl stay. Take the umbrella of Devadatta”. Here कुमारी and च च are not in construction, but च is still added optionally.

Vārāhīna—The augment ता is optional in the Chlandas, after the words विष्णुभण्ड &c. अस्त्राय स्वाधेन अस्त्राय स्वाधेन। अस्त्राय कुर्वानुसाराय अस्त्राय कुर्वानुसाराय।

७७। पदार्थः। तुकः। तुकः। तुकः।

७७। श्रीराजः कर्तव्यसाक्षरसारस्मृत्वस्य तर्फने श्रीराजः तुगामणो मनवते।

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

This śātra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. I. 101, namely the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding for
the application of this rule. Thus सद्ध + अग्नि = शद्ध, मयू + अग्नि = मयध्न, कर्ष्टु + 
कार्यमय + कार्यमयमय = कार्यमयमयमय, स्वाद्विन्दु = स्वात्मकः।

Vārtt.—This semivowel substitution of vowels takes place, when preceded by a prolated वowel, even to the supersession of VI. 1. 101 requiring lengthening. Thus अभग्न = अभग्न = अभग्न = विन्यः, पद्ता ॥ उ वर्तमान = पद्ता ॥ वर्तमान, अभग्न = अभग्न = वर्तमान, पद्ता ॥ उ वर्तमान = पद्ता ॥ वर्तमान ॥ अभग्न = अभग्न = वर्तमान ॥ विन्यः।
The phrase ‘when a vowel follows’ exerts its influence upto VI. 1. 108.

कोप (प्रकाशित) ॥ ७८ ॥ पद्माणि ॥ बचि, अर्था - अर्था - आया-आया ॥

रूपि: ॥ एक: स्नाते त्रितीये ततो द्वी भग आय भग इत्यादे भाषात्तस्य भविष्यति ॥

78. For the vowels यो, रो, ओ and ओ are respectively substituted अथू, आयू, अर्थू and आर्थू when a vowel follows.

Thus भो + देव = भो + देव = देवस्य, दिः + अन्ध = नरणं, भो + वचन = भोजनः ॥
So also भोजनेन, वाचने, वाचार्य, हृ + धर्म (III. 2. 148) = हृ + धर्म = धर्मः ॥

कालो यिः प्रस्थाये ॥ ७९ ॥ पद्माणि ॥ वान्तः, विः, प्रस्थाये ॥

रूपि: ॥ कालो यिः प्रस्थाये ॥ वान्तः, वान्तः, वान्तः, वान्तः, वान्तः, वान्तः ॥

79. The substitution of अर्थू and आर्थू for ओ and ओ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The गांग्ति are those which end in ॥ viz. भोहू and भार्थू ॥ Of the four substitues तुष्टिज्ञ in the preceding श्लोक, those which end in य (viz. भोहू and भार्थू) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and ओ ॥ Thus य + बाबे = य + बाबे = बाबे (VI. 4. 146 and IV. 1. 105). So also बाबे, बाबे, बाबे, बाबे, बाबे, बाबे (IV. 4. 91) त्वा॥

Why do we say “भोहू and भार्थू”? Observe राजस्वलिंगम् = राजस्वलिंगम्, निर्भृत्यम् ॥ Why do we say “बाबे”? Observe गांग्ति: गांग्ति: ॥

Vārtt.—The word गांग्ति is changed before बाबे in the Vedas. As गो + गाहिः = गाहिः, गो + गाहिः = गाहिः, गो + गाहिः = गाहिः, गो + गाहिः = गाहिः ॥

80. For the final diphthongs ओ and ओ of a root, are substituted अर्थू and आर्थू respectively, before an affix beginning with य, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.
The words जयति, जयापि जयष्ठये are understood in this sūtra. The word साधनमिति means 'caused by that' i.e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with य. Thus यू forms its Future Passive Participle by यत्र (III. 1. 97), this affix causes the गुण of य by VII. 3. 84: Thus यु + य = लो + य, which according to the present sūtra becomes नष्ठम्. So also यू—यो + य = पष्ठम् यु + प्रयत् (III. 1. 125) —लो + य = नष्ठम् लष्ठम् and भ्रष्ठव भ्रष्ठयम्. 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 यु + य = नष्ठम् लष्ठम्; it will not apply to cases like गो + य = गत्व, गै + य = नायथ, जो औ य 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 भा is भा + ये + य + ते = इरी by Samprastaraṇa (VI. 1. 15), य becomes य + य + य + ते; now by sandhi भा + य = भो भो भा (VI. 1. 87), we have भो + ते = भो भो. Since भो is not caused by य, there is no such substitution. So also भवति, भवनामिति, भवनानि (IV. 1. 95). The word यु in the aphorism has the force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, यो and यो before य are changed only to ययू and यम् when य has caused the production of यो and यो; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the य has caused the production of भा and भो or not.

कथ्यमपेशी शययदेय मूर्ति: पद्धति संतयय जयय संतय—अर्थम्

बुधिः सति सति समस्यार्थमिति पलवे परम: स्वयमययेन सम्बन्धमात्र एवार्थावार्थिः नियान्ते

81. In जयम् and अर्थम् there is substitution of अर्थम् for य only then when the sense is that of “to be possible to do”.

The roots सति and सति before the affix यत्र (III. 1. 97) assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As यत्र: नीतिः = जयम् (सति + य + य + ते); so also जयम्: सति Why do we say when meaning “to be possible to do”? Observe शेस परम् सति: सति वृयत: Here the meaning is that of ‘necessity’.

कथ्यमल्लेये सूर्य: पद्धति संस्कृतः; तद्ध्दर्यः

बुधिः सूर्यामात्रं शययदेय शययदेये वस्त्रामिति पलवे परम: वभाव च नियान्ते

82. In जयम् there is substitution of अर्थम् for य when the sense is that of ‘exposed or put out for sale, saleable’.

The word जयम् is derived from जै ‘to buy’, with the affix यत्र; the गुणम् being changed to य. The word तथेष्यम् means ‘for the purpose of that’
I. e., for the purpose of being bought. As कप्ता गौरः कप्तव् कप्तनः ॥ Why do we say ‘when the sense is that of saleable’? Observe केन्यं गौरं गौरं न चार्णि कप्तवेऽ “we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale”.

भावमापवः च छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पद्यर्थ ॥ भावं - प्रवचनम् , च, छन्दसि, ॥
वति: ॥ विभागनांः प्रवचनं च नी एवंतर्व वस्त्र मलेव, परस्परौऽछन्दसि निष्ठषेद्वस्त्र निगाते ॥
वातिकाः ॥ इस्वयम् भागेन परस्परायणम् ॥

33. The forms मर्य य and प्रवचनम् are found in the Chhandas.

The word मर्य य is derived from भी + ब्रह्म, and प्रवचनम् from ग्रं + श्री + ब्रह्म ॥
The गुण ए is changed to ब्रह्म ॥ Thus मर्य य किल्लास्य ॥ परस्परौऽब्रह्म ॥ The ब्रह्म is added to भी with the force of Ablative by virtue of the diversity allowed by क्रियासूची च (III. 3. 113) ॥ Thus ब्रह्मि स यथास भाषणः “frightening or fearable”. The word प्रवचनम् is always used in the feminine: in other places प्रवचनम् is the proper form. Why do we say ‘in the Vedas’? Observe नेवार्य, प्रवचनम् in secular literature.

Vārtt:—The word प्रवचनम् should also be enumerated when referring to water. अस्त्रे भाषा = प्रवचनम् भाषाः ॥ The affix श्री is added by IV. 4. 110 (श्री + श्री = श्री + श्री) ॥

एकः पूर्वपयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पद्यर्थ ॥ एकः, पूर्वः - परयोः, ॥
वति: ॥ भाषाकारणः ॥ वेदाचारसूची भाषानां प्रवचनम् च उनम् ब्रह्मास्त्र गौरं परस्पर इवार्दः स्थाने एकाशी: भाषानां वाचारसूची भाषानां ॥

34. From here up to 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 up to 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 rû's of ekādesa, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c. Thus VI. 1. 87 teaches ‘There is गुण substitution, when अ or न is followed by a vowel’. We must supply into that sūtra the phrase एक: पूर्वपयोः: i. e. one गुण is the substitute for the final अ or न and the initial vowel. Thus श्री + श्री = श्री + श्री: ॥ Here ए is the single substitute of the both preceding letter अ and the succeeding letter ए॥ The words पूर्वः परः show that the substitute operates simultaneously on both. Otherwise the substitute would have come in the place of one only or of each one separately. Thus in भाषा न भाषा (अक्ष) = “after अ or न, there is गुण, in a vowel”. Here भाषा is in the ablative, and by I. 1. 67 the गुण operation would have taken place on the letter following it: so also भाषा is in the Locative and by I. 1. 66, the
guna operation would have taken place on the preceding; so it is not clear of what letter there should be guna 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 (तत्तत्त्वादः निःशृंगता न, गुनपरक्ष च | "निःशृंगता of the न of nishūḍha, after र and ल, and of the preceding श"). Here त is taught as substitute both of श and ल, and as एक is not used in the sūtra, we get two न, as निः + न = निः + न = निः. But this is not the case here. According to Mahābhāṣya the word एक is redundant.

अन्तादिविद्धः || 85. || पदार्थः || अन्त - आदि - वछ, च, ||

वृन्दः || एक न यथसवेतु पुनःपरार्द्धिता च || एक: पुनःपरार्द्धिति यथसवेतु न यथसवेतु परार्द्धिति, परार्द्धितेनः ||

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 ādēśa is like the sthāni, but in an ekādēśa, 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 atidēśa 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 मद्यपन्न्ति we add व्य the feminine affix (IV. 1. 66); and now र + श + श (IV. 1. 101) i.e. मद्यपन्न्ति + श + मद्यपन्न्ति. Here मद्यपन्न्ति is a Nominal-stem (भावस्तिक) and the affix श is a non-prātipadika, and the single-substitute श is considered as the final of the pātipadika. So that we can apply to the form मद्यपन्न्ति the term pātipadika 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 व्य the word would have rather ceased to be a pātipadika (I. 1. 46), because this feminine affix व्य is not included in IV. 1. 1.

Similarly for the final non-case-ending श of श्स and the case-ending श, there comes a single substitute श by VI. 1. 88, this ekādēśa श is considered both as a non-case affix and a case affix, that is, as the initial of the affix श, and the final of श्स and thus the word श्स gets the designation of Pada I. 4. 14 as it ends in the श्स affix श.||

This अन्तादिविद्धः does not apply in rules relating to letters i.e. to rules depending for their application on letters. Thus ल + भ = ल + भ. || Here the
ekādeśa भा is as the final भ of खड़, but not for the purposes of the application of the rule which says that the स्व is changed to श्र after a nominal-stem ending in भ, so the Instrumental plural of खड़ will not end in श्र, but will be खड़ि:। So also in तुधाः। It is the Perfect 3rd per. sing. of श्र or श्र (VI. 1. 45). By VI. 1. 53, the श्र is changed to द्र, and we have तुधाः तुधाः which by VI 1. 108 becomes तुड़, the द्र being the single substitute of श्र and भा। This single-substitute द्र should not be considered as भा for the application of the rule VII. 1. 34 by which the Perfect affix श्र (भा) is changed in भा after roots ending in भा। Similarly in अभ श्र: भाश्र: (the श्र being elided by VIII. 3. 19). भाश्र is the Dative singular of भाश्र in the Feminine with भा। By VII. 3. 114 श्र is added in the Dative with the shortening of the preceding श्र; as श्र + श्र + द्र = अभ श्र। Here द्र is the single substitute for भा and श्र। Here for the application of VI. 1. 109 the single substitute द्र should not be considered like द्र। The sthāni of the single-substitute (ekādeśa) is the sum of the preceding and the succeeding, both taken collectively is replaced by one, and not any one of them separately. For that which is replaced by another is called sthāni; as when श्र replaces श्र the whole form श्र is called sthāni, and not श्र or श्र separately. The parts, may be called sthāni only inferentially, because the whole is made up of parts. The parts not being considered as sthāni, the rule of sthānivaḍ bhāva will not apply to an ekādeśa with regards to the parts, and no operations dependant on such parts will be effected by such ekādeśa. But it is intended that such operations should take place. Hence this śūtra.

86. The substitution of a single ādēśa is to be considered as to have not taken effect, when otherwise श्र would have to be changed to छ, or when the augment छ (तुछ) is to be added.

The word अविद्यā 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 ādēśa, and gives scope to the operations dependent upon the general rule (असिद्धवनमाहसिद्धवनाधिकारिजः सृजनारूपविद्यारूपान्वितम् च) (पैठ्यकोपसरः का० ।।

Thus का०सिद्धांत् has the श्र not changed to छ। The equation is thus exhibited: का० + मविद्यांत् = का० + मविद्यांत् (the श्र changed to छ by VIII. 2.66) = का० + मविद्यांत् (श्र being substituted for श्र by VI. 1. 113) = का० + मविद्यांत् (आ०-श्र = भो० VI. 1. 87) = का०-सिद्धांत् (आ०-श्र = भो० VI. 1. 109). Now applies our śūtra. By VIII. 3. 59, श्र coming after भा required to be changed into छ, but here the single-substitute भा is con,
sidered to be non-effective for this purpose. Similarly कोोस्य, बास्त्य, कोोस्ये, कोोस्ये। Similarly in असीत there is the addition of र by VI. 1. 71, though actually preceded by a long vowel. That long vowel had resulted from the ekādēṣa of ऐ for ऐ-ऐ, and this ekādēṣa is considered as if non-effective for the purposes of त्रृण augment. Similarly in ऐ-ऐ-त्रृण-ऐ=त्रृण. Here also ऐ-ऐ-ऐ is considered asidhā.

Vārt.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of samprasthrāṇa, the Locative singular case-ending किं (ि), and the 1st per. sing. Atmanepada affix किं। Of vocalisation we have the following: तकष्रूत = तकष्रूत हवति, then we add किं, before which there is vocalisation of ऐ, this ऐ combining with the following ऐ to become ऐ ekādēṣa as गृहक्ष-ऐकस्य = गृहक्षेऽक्षा (VI. 1. 15) + गृहक्ष (VI. 1. 108). The Locative plural is formed by ०: गृहक्ष-० = गृहक्ष (the lengthening taking place by VI. 4. 2). Here ऐ is changed to ० the ekādēṣa ऐ for ऐ-ऐ श not being considered asidhā. So also परिभये (परिभये + निरुप = परिभये + निरुप + निरुप", add ०)। Of the affix किं we have: रूप-ऐ-ऐ = रूप, add रूप, then the single substitute ऐ being considered not asidhā we have रूपक्षेऽक्षा or रूपक्षेऽक्षा। Of the affix किं of 1st Pers. Atmanepada we have अभये-ऐकस्य = अभये, ईकक्षेऽक्षा or अभये-ऐकस्य। In both these cases we optionally add त्रृण by VI. 1. 75-76, by considering the ekādēṣa (VI. 1. 87) as to have taken effect, and making the finals शृण्य long. Here the ekādēṣa is not asidhā and therefore त्रृण is optimal and not compulsory.

अध्यान: ७७। पदार्थ । भूत, युन:।
.शृणु:। भविष्यत्वत्तेऽ। भविष्यत्वत्तेऽ शृणु: भविष्यत्तेऽ। भविष्यत्तेऽ। शृणु: भविष्यत्तेऽ। भविष्यत्तेऽ। शृणु: भविष्यत्तेऽ।

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

The word ऐ is understood here. For the vowel which follows an ऐ or ऐ, and for the ऐ or ऐ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding vowels, there is the single substitute guṇa. Thus तव + हृद्रे = तव, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे, हृद्रे + हृद्रे = हृद्रे.

By analogy of I. 1. 51, the guṇa substitute of ऐ being ऐ is always followed by ऐ, as that of ऐ is followed by ऐ। This universal rule is limited by the following aphorism.

हृद्रे = ऐ-ऐ = पदार्थ = हृद्रे, पदार्थ = हृद्रे, पदार्थ = हृद्रे, पदार्थ = हृद्रे, पदार्थ = हृद्रे, पदार्थ = हृद्रे.
88. The Vṛddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ- of दिप्त्वम् = vṛddhi).

The word अ or आ is understood here. For the diphthong which follows 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 Vṛddhi. This debarb guṇa taught in the last sūtra. Thus ब्र + एक = ब्रहेक, सहू + एक = सहेक, ब्र + एकायान = ब्रहेकायान, सहू + एकायान = सहेकायान; क्र + ओर = क्रोर, सहू + ओर = सहोर, ब्र + ओर्य = ब्रोर्य, सहू + ओर्य = सहोर्य, ब्र + ओर्याय = ब्रोर्याय, सहू + ओर्याय = सहोर्याय.

पद्वण्डपूरुसः ॥ २५ ॥ पद्वपनं पप्ति, पप्तिति, उपपुष्टं ॥

प्रत्ययं वृत्तिः वंशं, वाचिति च। सन्तहें सप्तहें से इत्यादि वाचिति न वृत्तिः। प्रत्ययं सप्तहें से सप्तहें से इत्यादि वाचिति। इस ग्रंथिशिलासन्तीतिविधिः एवं क्रुद्धाभिवासस्यादि च ॥ पूँध्यं वाचिति वंशं ॥

पद्वण्डपूरुसः ॥ २६ ॥ पद्वपनं पप्तिति पप्तिति च। पद्वपनं पप्तिति पप्तिति च। सन्तहें सप्तहें से सन्तहें से इत्यादि वाचिति।

वाचिति ॥ भावानुविद्या वृद्धास्वहः ॥ वाचा ॥ स्वातिष्ठान्यं वृद्धास्वहः ॥

वाचा ॥ स्वातिष्ठान्यं वृद्धास्वहः ॥ वाचा ॥ स्वातिष्ठान्यं वृद्धास्वहः ॥

वाचा ॥ स्वातिष्ठान्यं वृद्धास्वहः ॥ वाचा ॥ स्वातिष्ठान्यं वृद्धास्वहः ॥

89. The Vṛddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ of यति (root देति) and एवति (root प्रतिति), and for अ or आ of उद्ध (the substitute of य in द्वाध् by VI. 4. 132).

The whole of the last sūtra and अ or आ are understood here. The एष्ठ of the last sūtra qualifies the root देति, i.e. when the root देति assumes the form देति by internal changes, then applies this Vṛddhi rule. Thus एष्ठ does not qualify the root देति as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एष्ठ qualify क्रम for क्रम is not a diphthong. Thus देति + एष्ठ = देत्तिति, देति + एष्ठ = देत्तिति, देति + एष्ठ = देत्तिति, देति + एष्ठ = देत्तिति, देति + एष्ठ = देत्तिति, देति + एष्ठ = देत्तिति.

In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87, the present sūtra ordains Vṛddhi instead. In the case of यति and एवति, the Vṛddhi 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 द्रष्टान्यत्तमान्यम् द्रष्टान्यत्तमान्यम् द्रष्टान्यत्तमान्यम् द्रष्टान्यत्तमान्यम् "Apaṇāda 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, i.e. देति + एष्ठ = देत्तिति, देति + एष्ठ = देत्तिति, देति + एष्ठ = देत्तिति, देति + एष्ठ = देत्तिति. (Here though देति is changed to देति, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form एष्ठति is wrong. So also एष्ठति = एष्ठति: for here the root एष्ठ has not assumed the form एष्ठ, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एष्ठ qualifies the root एष्ठ.

Vṛddhi—The Vṛddhi is the single substitute when अ or आ is followed by क्रमेति, as भाषाक्रमी एत्यादि.
Vārtt.—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when च is followed by द्र or द्रिः, or द्रिः thus द्रीत्र, द्रीत्री। The word द्र is formed by the affix द्र added to द्रिः (Ad. 8, स्वराभिवचन द्रिः = द्रम the compounding takes place by 11.1.32. Another form is द्रीत्री = स्वराभिवचन द्रिः द्रिः with the affix द्रिः (111.2.78).

Vārtt.—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when ठ is followed by ठ, ठल, ठव, ठम, ठच, ठन; as ठोह, ठोहो, ठोहि, ठोहि, ठोहस्, ठोहस्। The word ठ is derived from the root ठ to wish (Tud. 59), ठृ ‘to go’ (Div. 18), and ठृ ‘to repeat’ (Kry. 53), by adding the affix ठा; and the word ठम is derived form the same roots by adding ठम। This Vārtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. 1.94 would have caused अथः। While the roots ठृ ‘to glean’ and ठृ ‘to go’ to injure, ‘to show.’ (Bh. 115 and 642), form ठृ and ठृम: with the above affixes; and with ठ, their forms will be ठम: and ठमस्।

Vārtt.—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in ठ is followed by ठ and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound: as ठुमः ठुमः, ठुमः ठुमः; but ठुमः ठुमः। Why in Instrumental? Observe ठमः। Why ‘Compound?’ See ठमः।

Vārtt.—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word ठ is follows the following:—ह, फसला, क्रमयम्, फसल। As प्राप्तम् ‘principal debt’, वसतटपा ‘the debt of a steer’, क्रमयम् ‘debt of a blanket’, फसला ‘debt of a cloth’.

Vārtt.—So also when the words ठम and ठस are followed by ठमम:—स, क्रमयम् and क्रमयम्। The word ठमाम means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasāṅga is the name of a river and of a country.

आदशक्ति एव अदानि अदानि अदानि।

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

The anuvṛtti of वर्धिः ceases: that of अर्थिः however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment भान, and the भान, which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the भान and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute. The augment भान is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist, and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4.72 &c). Thus अनिसत, असत, असिसत, भानित, भानित, भानित from roots अङ्कत (Bhu. 641), भम भम (Tud. 32) and भम भानित (Tud. 20). According to Siddhānta Kaumudi the भान is the augment which हिः case-affixes take after nādi-words (VII. 3.112). According to him the following are the examples:—वाहिकाःसित्—भान—सित्—प्राप्तम् (Dative Singular). The भान is the augment also in the Vedic Tense नेत्।
The 'and' in the sūtra shows that the prakṛti rule, taught in VI. 1, 95, 96 when ः ओ and ः follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is ः. Thus ओमिक्रत्र, ओमिक्रियभास्त्र ः ओ, ओमिक्रियभास्त्र ः ओ। ओमिक्रियभास्त्र ः ओ. 91. पद्यांि ः उपसगोऽिति चातुरीति। उपसगोऽिति, अध्यापि, चातुरीति।

Thus the gāṇa taught in VI. 1, 87. This debars the gāṇa taught in VI. 1, 87. Thus ः + एष्टरियभास्त्र ः उपास्चिद्वितिः, अवकृतिः, अवविद्वित ः. Why do we say 'after a preposition'? Observe अवकृतिः, अवकृतिः, प्रकृतिः, प्रकृतिः। तथा क्रियां अवकृतिः। Here the word ः is not treated as an upasarga, hence this sūtra does not apply. It is a Gati here. Why do we say 'when ः follows'? Observe अवकृतिः। तथा क्रियां। Why have we used ः after ः indicating that short ः is to be taken? Observe अवकृतिः तथा क्रियां। तथा क्रियां। No option is allowed here by the subsequent sūtra. The ः is used, in fact, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in case of Denominative verbs, no ordinary verb can begin with a long ः. Why have we employed the word ः, when the word 'upasarga' would have caused us to infer its correlative ः? It is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. 1, 129 which causes प्रकृतिः or non-sandhi of ः। The repetition of 'Dhātu' shows that the alternative prakriti bhava taught in VI. 1, 129, would not apply in the case of the ः of a Dhātu.

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

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

Thus ओमिक्रियभास्त्र ः ओमिक्रियभास्त्र ः ओमिक्रियभास्त्र ः ओमिक्रियभास्त्र।
93. For अ of a Nominal stem-ि-अ of the Accusative case-ending अः and अः, the single substitute is अ

The word अः is a compound of अः + अः. Thus अः - अः = गाः, गाः-ि-अः
- गाः. Thus अः = अः. अः = अः. This debars the Vṛddhi of VI. 1. 90. So also अः or अः: पदः; as the word अः is also a nominal stem ending in अः. The Sārva-
नामकाण्या affixes are अः after this word also (see VI. 1. 90) which would
have caused Vṛddhi, therefore, this अः debars the Vṛddhi. The word अः here
means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the
case-affix अः, and as the word अः of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore
�ः the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have अः
अः

परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः परः अः

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

The words अः, अः अः अः अः are understood here. In an upasarga end-
ing in अ or अ followed by a root beginning with अ or अ, the vowels coalesce
and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (परः) This debars
Vṛddhi taught in VI. 1. 88. Thus अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः 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 अः अः अः अः अः

Vṛdṛt.—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place in the case of अः.
&c. As अः-ि-अः Also अः, कुः + अः = कुः, शी + अः = शी + अः ‘hair’; when not
referring to ‘hair’, the form is सीमान्त. अः

Vṛdṛt.—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when अः follows a
word, and the sense is not that of ‘appointment’. Thus अः-ि-अः अः
When the sense is that of अः or अः, the Vṛddhi takes place: as अः अः अः
अः

Vṛdṛt.—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place optionally when अः
and अः are compounded with another word: as अः अः अः अः or अः
so also अः अः or अः When not a compound, the Vṛddhi is compulsory:
as अः अः अः ‘Stay Devadatta, see the lip’.

Vṛdṛt.—In the Vedas, the para-rūpa substitution takes place when अः
&c. follow. Thus अः अः अः अः अः अः
So also अः अः अः अः अः

अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः अः
95. For the अ or आ of ओम, or + the vowel of the Preposition आल, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आल is understood here. Thus का-ि-अम् = कौम्; वा-ि-अम् = कौद्; आमिैस्यायुस्म्, आस्यायुस्म्; शा-ि-ष्ट्या = शोष्म्, then भाा-ि-ष्ट्या = भोष्म्, क्षाै-ि-ष्ट्या = कोष्म्, त्साै-ि-ष्ट्या = तोष्म्; आ = आस्यायुस्म् = आद्यायुस्म्, then असाै-ि-ष्ट्या = अस्यायुस्म्. Thus this rule supersedes both the Vṛddhi and the lengthening (VI. 1. 88, and 101).

उस्स्ययुस्म् त्वः ॥ ९५ ॥ पालिनि ॥ उसि, अपयुस्म् ॥

बुद्धिः ॥ अतिैलेय ॥ अपयुस्मत्वात् पूर्णस्मयुस्माः पूर्णस्मयुस्माः पूर्णस्मयुस्माः भवति ॥

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

The आल is understood here. This debars the गुणa substitution taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus मिल्याै-ि-उस् = मिल्यै; मिल्याै-ि-उस् = मिल्यै. All these are examples of लिंग (Potential) and निल (Imperfect). Thus मिल्याै + त्साै + त्सै (the त्साै is added by III. 4. 103) = भाा + त्साै (the त्साै replaced त्सै III. 4. 108) = मिल्यैैै (II. 4. 77) + त्साैैै (III. 4. 110) = भाा + त्साैैै = भाा + त्साैैै. The उस is also the substitute of त्सै in लिंग (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 क्ष is: —क्षाै-ि-उस् = क्षाै। So also from भी we have भाै-ि-उस् = भािै। The word भािैस्मत्वात् 'not being final in a pada' does strictly speaking, serve no good purpose in this sutra. For the िल् उस cannot 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 इस, however, be taken as the syllable स् (whether an affix or part of an affix or not), then the limitation of भािैस्मत्वा becomes valid. Thus का + उस् = कौस्, का + उस् = कौस्. Most likely this word has been read here for the sake of the subsequent sutra or because उस syllable is taken here and not merely the affix उस ॥

अतिैलेय ॥ ९६ ॥ पालिनि ॥ अतिै, गुणे ॥

बुद्धिः ॥ अपयुस्मत्वात् पूर्णस्म एवं अपयुस्मत्वात् पूर्णस्म एवं पूर्णस्म एवं पूर्णस्म पूर्णस्म एवं भवति ॥

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

Thus व्युाः-ि-श्रू-ि-अभिैैै = व्युाः-ि-भवति = व्युाः-ि-भवति so also भािैैै ॥ This debars lengthening of VI. 1. 101. िल्या + त्साै = िल्याैै, त्साै + त्साै = त्साैैै, here the Vṛddhi is debarrad (VI. 1. 88). Why do we say "after the short vowel अ ?" Observe आ-ि-वृष्म = वृष्म, स्वाति ॥ Why do we say what followed by 'a गुणa letter ?' Observe
98. The ṛ of Ṛṛti is the single substitute for the य (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound)-ṛṛṭi।

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अभ्यक्तः; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अभ्यक्तकरणः or imitation of that sound. Thus पर्तु-ṛṛṛṛtṛि = पर्तु-ऋ, ऋतु + Ṛṛti = पर्तु-ऋ, ऋतु + Ṛṛti = हर्तु-ऋ, ऋतु + Ṛṛti = त्रहर्तु-ऋ, ऋतु + Ṛṛti = हर्तु-ऋग्नि।

Why do we say 'imitation of an inarticulate sound'? Observe जङ्गु-ṛṛṛṛति = जङ्गुति। Why do we say "of य"? Observe जङ्गु-ऋ + Ṛṛti = मातिति। Why do we say when followed by Ṛṛti? Observe जङ्गु + व्रष्टि = जङ्गुति।

Vārtt.—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—ऋतु + Ṛṛti = ध्र्तिः। How do you explain the form पस्तिति in the following:—पर्तु-ऋतिः ग्मणीस्मुत्रेति। Here the word is not पर्तु-ऋति but पर्तु-ऋति।

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

Thus पर्तु-ऋति or पर्तु-ऋति करातिः (पर्तु-ऋति = पर्तु-ऋ + ṛ + ṛ = पर्तु-ऋति)।

The word is doubled by VIII. 1. 4. The para-rūpa substitution will take place when the whole word so reduplicated denotes a sound imitation, thus पर्तु-ऋति करातिः। Here we apply the preceding sūtra. The āṃreṣṭita is the name of the second member of the doubled word (VIII. 1. 2).

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

Thus पद्धति कालान (V. 4. 57), हस्तार्थ कालोति II पद्धति-ति (V. 4. 57) = पद्धति = पद्धति (्र + श = श्र) II This sūtra is really a Vārtika. When the suffix ति (V. 4. 57) is added to दश, there is a doubling of the word by the Vārtika under VIII. 1. 12; this doubling takes place before the final दश is elided.

अक्ष: सर्वेण दीर्घेष्॥ १०२॥ पदार्थः॥ अक्षः॥ सर्वेण दीर्घेष्॥

बृत्ति: अक्षः। सर्वेण दीर्घ: परः।। पूर्वयोगः। स्थान:। श्रेर्षेः। एकारः। मधुः। धनः। पांशकः। || सर्वप्रेषितः। श्रेर्षेः। स्थानः। भनाः। वाणः॥ तृतृतीयः। श्रेर्षेः। स्थानः॥

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 श्र + शर्य = श्रयायश्च श्र + हर्य = हर्यायः। महुः + दशकः = महुः दशकः; दशकः श्र + महुः होताशा॥ Why do we say ‘an श्र or simple vowel?’ Observe अस्त्रीयः॥ एकारः। श्रेर्षेः॥ Why do we say ‘by a homogenous vowel?’ Observe श्रेर्षेः। एकारः। श्रेर्षेः॥ The word श्रेर्षेः is understood here also. The word सर्वेण, therefore, qualifies the word श्रेर्षेः understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As जुनारी देखे॥ ते श्रेर्षेः and चारे are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10: for that prohibition does not apply to the long श्र and चारे, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अस्त्रीयः॥ शास्त्रा II (I. 1. 69) is not brought into operation at the time when जुनारी देखे (I. 1. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सर्वेण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of जुनारी देखे comes into play, then the rule of सर्वेण definition (I. 1. 9) and then comes the श्रेर्षेः॥ (I. 1. 68). Therefore in जुनारी देखे those श्रेर्षेः only are taken which are not included in the class of homogenous vowels i.e. only the 9 vowels contained directly in चारे, and not the सर्वेण vowels which I. 1. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though short श्रेर्षेः and चारे are not सर्वेण by I. 1. 10: the long श्रेर्षेः and चारे would be savarpa.

Vārt.:—When श्र short is followed by चारे short, the long substitution is optional: so also with चारे॥ This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two श्र or चारे—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvrta and the other vivrta, or (2) because their prosodical length is 1 and ½ and so the word श्रेर्षेः cannot be applied with consistency in their case (कक्षाः॥ एकारः॥ श्रेर्षेः॥ चारे॥). Thus हेर्षेः॥ कराः॥ हेर्षेः॥ कराः॥ or हेर्षेः॥ कराः॥ or हेर्षेः॥ कराः॥ The word चारे of चारे is चारे॥

प्रथमयोः। पूर्वसर्वः॥ १०२॥ पदार्थः॥ प्रथमयोः॥ पूर्वः॥ सर्वः॥

बृत्ति: अक्षः। स्थानः। श्रेर्षेः॥ पूर्वयोगः। स्थानः॥ प्रथमयोः। श्रेर्षेः॥ पूर्वयोगः। स्थानः॥ प्रथमयोः। श्रेर्षेः॥ पूर्वयोगः। स्थानः॥ प्रथमयोः। श्रेर्षेः॥ पूर्वयोगः। स्थानः॥ प्रथमयोः। श्रेर्षेः॥ पूर्वयोगः। स्थानः॥ प्रथमयोः। श्रेर्षेः॥ पूर्वयोगः। स्थानः॥ प्रथमयोः। श्रेर्षेः॥ पूर्वयोगः। स्थानः॥ प्रथमयोः। श्रेर्षेः॥ पूर्वयोगः। स्थानः॥
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 नक्ष and शन्य: are both understood here. The word प्रयोग here means the प्रयोग निम्नाखलिक, i.e., the 1st case or the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीय निम्नाखलिक also. This śūtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्वक्ष or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. Thus अ-भ्रो = अमी; वायु-भ्रो = वायु; पूर्व-ध्रो = पूर्व, so also श्लाष, श्लाष: श्लाष. In the case of these last four examples (पूर्व-ध्रो &c) the rule VI. 1. 97 would have caused para-rūpa substitution i.e., would have given the form पूर्व-ध्रो = पूर्व, and that rule would have debarring 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 पूर्वक्ष lengthening rule as it does not stand nearest. The word अत्र: "when a vowel follows" is understood here also, Thus वृत्त-ध्रो = वृत्त: अत्र: II. The word अर: "the simple vowel" is understood here also. Thus सेतु-भ्रो = सेतु: II. 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 श्रोष्ट or 'long' is used in order to debar the substitution of pluta vowel having 3 measures for a pluta vowel.

श्रवणः श्रवण: न: पुष्य: ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्माद्, शरा: न, पुष्यः ॥

श्रवण: ॥ तस्माद् बृहस्पतिवर्षद्रवस्य द्वितीय अवधासम् तिथिः मद्यायं द्वितीय भक्ति: ॥

103. After such a long vowel homogenous with the first, र is substituted for the श्र of the Accusative case affix शन्य in the masculine.

Thus वृत्त-ध्रो = पूर्व-ध्रो = पूर्वः ॥ So also गण्डरीत्र, ग्रहणः, प्रवृत्तप्रवृत्त, प्रवृत्त &c. All these are masculine nouns. Now the word प्रवृत्त formed by the elision of क्रुर meaning a figure like a गुङ्ग (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 धृति गुङ्गवह्य व्याकरण I. 2. 51). In forming the accusative plural of प्रवृत्त, the र will not be changed into र: Thus प्रवृत्त: प्रवृत्त, प्रवृत्तिका: प्रवृत्त: ॥ 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 रा is substituted for भ्रो-स्त्र by VI. 1. 93. Here र will not be replaced by र as रा! प्रवृत्त: ॥ Why do we say 'of the Accusative plural?' Observe वृत्तः, व्यवस्थः endsings in वृत्त: Nom Pl. Why do we say "in the masculine?" Observe, चेतु:, चेत्रः, चेत्रIBE: ||
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 मृण, ज्ञान, यहो, कण्ठे। Here Rules VI. 1. 87 &c. apply. Why do we say “after अ or आ?” Observe श्रावणी। Why do we say “followed by an एम (a vowel other than आ)?” Observe युक्त: Here VI. 1. 102 applies.

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 अस्त्र।

Thus कुमारी, कुमार, क्रमावर्ग, क्रमवर्ग।

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

Thus मास्ती: or मास्ती, विविष्टी: or विविष्ट, भार्ती or भार्ती; वणन्नी or वणन्नी।

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

The word भाक: is understood here. Thus युक्त: - अम = युक्त (VII. 1. 24)

The word युक्त: ‘antecedent, first’ in the sūtra shows that the first vowel itself is substituted and not any of its homogenous vowels. Otherwise in कुमारी + अम= कुमारीम, the ए would have been of three मात्रास or measures, as it comes in the room of ए + अ, the aggregate मात्रास of which are three.

In the Vedas, there is option, as यमी or यम्य, मार्क्य or मार्क्य, अम 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 पूः 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 वहृ + तक = हमा + तक (VI. 1. 15) = हमा (र + अ = र); नम् (नम् + तक = नम्त + तक) नम् + तक = नम्त + तक = नम्तीस। 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 नम् + तक = नम्त + तक, if the र did not merge in त, then it would cause sandhi, and त would be changed to त by दक्षिणा and the word would again assume the form नम्। But this दक्षिणा would cause samprasāraṇa rule non-effective, hence it follows that but for the present rule, the two vowels would have been heard separately as र अंत।

The rule of option in the Chhandas (VI. 1. 106) applies here also. Thus we have समयामी मिशाभिषणी or दुष्याभिषणी। "When you have just said that the two vowels will remain separate and there will be no मिशाभि when there is no purvavat-bhāva we do you form मिशाभि; it ought to be इ अस्थिरस।? 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 purvavat-bhāva, and only an option is allowed, then the rule of vocalisation does not become totally useless because it finds its scope in cases like हृत। ए, therefore when in the alternative it is not applied, there मिशाभि will take place naturally, and the ordinary rules of sandhi will apply. The merging, moreover, refers to the vowel which is in the same आंगा or base with the samprasāraṇa. Thus दक्षिणा हस्य = शक्षिणा + भिक्षय = शक्षिणा + भिन्न आ = शक्षिणा। Here आ which is in the same आंगा with हृत merges in to हृत। But in forming the dual, we have एक्षिणा। आ। Here आ coming after the samprasāraṇa हृत does not merge therein, and we have एक्षिणा। Similarly एक्षिपुं = एक्षिपुण।। In fact when once the para-purvavat has taken effect, then subsequent vowels will produce their effect because in the antaranga operation हृत ए into हृत, the purva-rupee is ordained to save the samprasāraṇa from modification, but there is no such necessity when a Bahiranga operation is to be applied.

पद्य: पद्योऽवस्थिति ॥ १०९ ॥ पद्योऽवस्थिति ॥ पद्यः; पद्योऽवस्थित, अति ॥

श्रुचि: ॥ एक्षिणा। एक्षिपुणः स्थाने एक्षिपुणकालं भावः ॥
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 अम्मे-ि-अब = भम्मेिअब, भाये-ि-अब = भायेिअब ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अह and अब ॥ Why do we say 'of ए or ओ'? Observe स्रह, स्वर ॥ Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe शे-ि-अन = श्ययन्, ले-ि-अन = ल्यन् ॥ Here the ए or ओ are in the body of the word, and not at the end of a word. Why do we say "when followed by a short अ"? Observe वायो-ि-इति = वाययिति, माने-ि-इति = माणयिति ॥ Why do we say 'short'? Observe वायो भावाहि = भावयाहि ॥

द्वितिकस्या ॥ १२० ॥ पदाङ्क ॥ द्वितिकस्या: ॥

बृन्ति: ॥ एक शित वचने, भलालिच। एक उपसर्गार्ध्विक्षरसंगति परतः पृष्ठपर्योः स्थाये दृष्टै एकारिको भवति ॥

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 अम्मे-ि-अब = भम्मेिअब, भाये: ॥ The ए and ओ of अस्त्र and बाहु are governed 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 अर्थराज्यव्रद्धिः, शभिषेकव्रद्धिः, भायेि श्रवण: ॥

भूत उद्ध ॥ १२१ ॥ पदाङ्क ॥ भूतः, उद्ध ॥

बृन्ति: ॥ द्वितिकोस्वयम्भकारानाञ्चसर्गार्ध्विक्षरसंगति द्विपर्वीक्षर एकारिको भवति ॥

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

Thus ह्रूत-ि-म ग = ह्रूतुम् (The उ must always be followed by र, १. १. ५१ though this उ is not the substitute of अः only, but of खुप + उ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces त्वो both shown in the genitive case, as दत्त and झक्कर्व in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and 'mother' B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of खुप or उ) ॥ The final उ is then elided by VII. 2. 24 and we have ह्रूतुम् = ह्रूतुः: ॥ Thus ह्रूतुरामण्डल, ह्रूतुः स्वभ: ॥

ख्यातपरस्य ॥ १२२ ॥ पदाङ्क ॥ स्वय - त्यात्र, परस्य ॥

बृन्ति: ॥ द्वितिकोस्वयम्भकारानाञ्चसर्गार्ध्विक्षरसंगति च। यथा परस्य दत्ति क्षयसंग्नि एकारिको भवति ॥

112. There is the substitution of उ for the अ of
The phrase is understood here, as well as the word अभ्य of VI. 1. 109, 111. Thus वृष्टि-स्थि (1st singular) = वृष्टि-स्थि (VIII. 2. 66). वृष्टि-स्थि = वृष्टि-स्थि (VI. 1. 87) = वृष्टि-स्थि (VI. 1. 109); so also वृष्टि-स्थि. This ordains वृष्टि for र, whereby VIII. 3. 17, there would have been otherwise र; and this र does not become asiddha (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 अभित्ति-न = अभिवित्ति. Why do we say 'a short र'? Observe वृष्टि-न = वृष्टि-न. Why do we use र with its indicator र, and not use the र generally? Observe वृष्टि-न = वृष्टि-न, मात्रा-नास र भाषान। Here the final र is part of the words, and is not produced from र.
The word भवित is understood here also from VI. 1. 109. The त must be followed by a short य, therefore, not here: द्वसः—द्वस्तु = द्वस्तु द्वस्तु II. The subsequent य must be short, the rule does not apply here द्वसः—द्वस्तु कार्यित: = द्वस्तु कार्यित: II. Why do we say ‘preceded by an apluta य’? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As, दुःखोऽत्ता अयः स्यमयः (VIII. 2. 84). Why do we say “when followed by an apluta य”? Observe तिरंग एव भक्तिस्वर (VIII. 2. 86). Here युः being held asidha, there would have been द substitution, had not the phrase भवित been used in the aphorism.

हसि ष ११४ पदानि हसि ष II
हसि ष पलो अं उच्चरयां राक्षसः मानाती II

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

The ष pratyahāra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus दुःखी भवित or हसि ष or रसि ष &c.

मुःक्या मन्तः पावामयपैः II ११५ पदानि मुःक्या मन्तः पावामयपैः
मुःक्या परमेष्विषेष। एक इति द्वायसमवयांगुप्ते सहस्तिनिः मध्यां भवित। मध्यां कारणां व विभिन्नां इति। बस्तिकां गच्छविकाश्यं सम्बन्धार्यं। पापवधीनः ष मुःक्यायाः भवितः अवविचार्यं वे दुःखी मानाती III.

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

The word एक is understood here, but it should be construed here in the nominative case and not in the Ablative. The word मुःक्या means ‘original nature, cause’. The word वासम्ब is an Indeclinable, used in the Locative case here and means ‘in the middle’. The word पार: ‘the foot of a verse’ refers to the verses of the Vedas, and not to the verses of secular poetry. The word भवित is also understood here. Thus ते मये भविताप्रवृत्तृ:; ते मयेष्वर्य अपायसः; उपववता अपायसः; धिरो अपायसः; भुगाते अपायसः (R. Veda. V. 79. 1); भुगाते भविताप्रवृत्तृ: (Rig IX. 51. 1); भवित: ते भवित: (Rig. VI. 58. 1).

Why do we say ‘in the inner half of a foot of a verse’? Observe अश्वधा नसि कृत्य एवसः प्रेविद्विन्तः II. Why do we say “when ष or ष does not follow ष” Observe तेनवसः (Rig X. 109. 1), तेनवसः II. Why do we say ष or ष? Observe बस्तिकां गच्छविकाश्यं सम्बन्धार्यं Some read this सूत्रa as नाना गच्छविकाश्यं II. According to them, this sūtra supersedes the whole rule of juxtaposition or संज्ञा (VI. 1. 73).
116. The य or यो retain their original form in the middle of a Vedic verse, when the following words come after them (though the य in these has a य and यो following it):—

अभ्यायावधायुक्तमुक्तमववचनस्तवस्यस्युः तृतीयमकालयुक्तमुक्तमववचनस्यस्युः तृतीयमकालयुक्तमुक्तमववचनस्यस्युः

Thus य यो यत् (Rig IV. 4. 15). य यो यत् (Rig VII. 32. 27); य यो यत् (Not in the Rig Veda). Prof. Bohling gives the following examples from the Rig Veda:—सम्बन्धोऽहस्तमुक्तम (VI. 33. 3), सम्बन्धोऽहस्तमुक्तम (IX. 73. 5), सम्बन्धोऽहस्तमुक्तम (IX. 73. 8). य यो यत् (Not in the Rig Veda; according to Prof. Bohling the य of यत् is generally elided in the Veda after य or यो.) हरिकात्मकाः यत् (Rig III. 42. 9).

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

Thus उरस महनिन्य (Yaj. Veda Yajasan. IV. 1). Some read the संप्रस्य as उरस महनिन्य.
119. In the Yajur Veda, when the word अञ्जकः is followed by अञ्जकः, the subsequent short अ is retained, as well as the preceding ए or ओ.

Thus एञ्जकः: माणपि अञ्जकः एञ्जकः एञ्जकः एञ्जकः समाश्चः एञ्जकः: एञ्जकः: माणपि अञ्जकः अञ्जकः अञ्जकः (Yaj. 6. 20).

अञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥ १२०॥ पदार्थकः अञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥

Thus एञ्जकः: बदुप्रसोबे। अञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे। बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः अञ्जकः (Yaj. 6. 20).

अञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥ १२१॥ पदार्थकः अञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥

Thus एञ्जकः: बदुप्रसोबे। अञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे। बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः अञ्जकः (Yaj. 6. 20).

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

Thus एञ्जकः: बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे। बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः अञ्जकः (Yaj. 12. 47). एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥ Why do we say when अ is gravey accented? Observe एञ्जकः: here एञ्जकः has acute accent on the first syllable. Why do we say “when followed by a Guttural (ः) or a ए”? Observe एञ्जकः: कुपपसे॥

अञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥ १२२॥ पदार्थकः अञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥

Thus एञ्जकः: बदुप्रसोबे। अञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे। बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः अञ्जकः (Yaj. 12. 47). एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥

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

Thus एञ्जकः: बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे। बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः अञ्जकः (Yaj. 12. 47). एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥ The word अञ्जकः: is 2nd per. Singular Imperfect of एञ्जकः in the Atmanepada. Thus अञ्जकः: बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः: एञ्जकः कुपपसे। बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः अञ्जकः (Yaj. 12. 47). एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥ अञ्जकः is grave by VIII. 1. 28. When it is not gravey accented, the अ drops. As अञ्जकः: बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे। बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः अञ्जकः (Yaj. 12. 47). एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥ Here अ is not grave by virtue of VIII. 1. 30.

सर्वेऽस्व। विनायकः:॥ १२२॥ पदार्थकः सर्वेऽस्वं, विनायकः गोः॥

Thus सर्वेऽस्वं, विनायकः: गोः। एञ्जकः बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे। बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः अञ्जकः (Yaj. 12. 47). एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥

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

Thus गोे: or गोः गोः॥ In the Vedas also अञ्जकः: गोः गोः। एञ्जकः: बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे। बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः अञ्जकः (Yaj. 12. 47). एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥

अञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥ १२३॥ पदार्थकः अञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥

Thus एञ्जकः: बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे। बदुप्रसोबे। एञ्जकः एञ्जकः अञ्जकः (Yaj. 12. 47). एञ्जकः एञ्जकः कुपपसे॥
123. According to the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, there is the substitution of ṛṣṭ for the ऋ of ऋ when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvṛtti of तति ceases, that of मां manifests itself. Thus ऋ+ चत.cons = लता, so also लतावन = लतावन, लतावन, लतावन, or in the alternative we have मां+ चत.cons, मांतवर्ण, मांतवर्ण, मांतवर्ण. The substitute चत.cons is accurately accented on the first syllable. This accent will be the original accent in the Bahuṣṭi compound (VI. 2. 1.). Thus गाय गायā = गायā: In other places, however, this accent will be superseded by the saṃsānta Udāta accent (VI. 1. 223). The mention of Sphoṭāyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvṛtti of तति was already understood in it. This is a vyavasthita vibhāṣa, hence in वाक्य: the चत.cons substitution is compulsory and not optional.

124. The substitution of ṛṣṭ for the ऋ of ऋ is compulsory when a vowel to be found in the word हस्र follows it.

Thus गोविन्द: So also गोमुख यत: The word नित्य is not found in some texts or in Mahābhāṣya.

पत्रमर्यादा अर्थि ॥ १२५ ॥ पद्यनि ॥ पत्रमर्यादा अर्थि, ॥

पत्रमर्यादा अर्थि ॥ १२५ ॥ पद्यनि ॥ पत्रमर्यादा अर्थि, ॥

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

Thus देवरक्ष: च वचन भवि, देवरक्ष: इत्यादि कानस: ॥ These are examples of prolated vowels. The prolation of vowels is taught in the द्रपदi or the last three chapters of Ashtadhyayi; and the द्रपदi are considered asiddha for the purposes of previous sūtras (VIII. 2. 1.). This is not the case here, otherwise the mention of pluta would be redundant. Of the Excepted or Pragrhiṣṭya vowels the following are the examples: अभूत इति, वाद्व इति, बाद्व इति, मले इति ॥ Though the anuvṛtti of तति was current in this sūtra from VI. 1. 77: its repetition here is for the sake of ordaining ग्रहलय ॥ That is, the pluta and the pragrhiṣṭya retain their original forms when such a vowel follows which would have caused a substitution. Thus जातृ इति अस्ति, जातृ इति अस्ति here in combining जातृ+ इति into जातृ, the इति is no cause of lengthening, therefore, the lengthening will take place. Now since इति is a pragrhiṣṭya, it follows that जातृ, which ends in इति also a pra-
grihya, and therefore it should not be changed before न of महा। Hence we have the form जाट + महा = जान्त महा। There may also be the form जान्तोऽ, not by इकावणेत, but by न जान्तमे यो यो (VIII. 3. 33). In fact, the repetition of यो in this sūtra is necessary, in order to enable us to give this peculiar meaning to the sūtra. Otherwise, had the sūtra been simply युत्वमया, it would have been translated ordinarily thus: “The Pluta and Pragrihya retain their form, when ever a vowel follows”. Therefore in जान्तοऽ महा, since यो is followed by a vowel, it will retain its form, and will not coalesce with the यो of महा। But this is not intended. Hence the repetition of the word यो, 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 जान्तोऽ महा योति the यो + यो will become lengthened, because यो is not the cause of lengthening; it causes the change of यो to यो, which of course is prevented. The word यो 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.

आंकोऽ युनालिकसंयुक्ते || १२६ || पद्यानि || आः। अनुनासिकः। छूटसि ||

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

Thus अच अथ अर्थ (Rig V. 48. 1); नामीत अथ अथपुः विषयसंति (Rig VIII. 67. 11). Some read the word अथपुः into this sūtra. Hence there is coalescence here: इस्को वाहुनार्यासंभृते = अथ अथात् ॥

इस्को उत्तर्वेष शाकतप्रस्थ हुन्न्व || १२७ || पद्यानि || हकः। अस्तवऽषः। शाकतप्रस्थः।

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

Thus श्वर्त श्र्व, श्रव श्र, कुमारवऽषः, किंशुरवऽषः ॥ In the alternative we have हथ्वः, कथ्वः, कुमारवऽषः, किंशुरवऽषः। Why do we say ‘the हकः vowels i.e. simple vowels with the exception of अ’? Observe लखेन्नुः ॥ Why do we say , followed by a non-homogenous vowel’? Observe कुमारिन्नुः ॥ The name of
Sākalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sōtra is clear from its very formation.

Vart.:—This rule of Sākalya is prohibited in the case of words formed by an affix having an indicatory र and of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa):—Thus असस् सते सतिम्भव, प्राणं विदाय धर्मसमासम. The word धर्मसम्प्रम is formed by a सतिम्भव affix, namely by पद्म (V. 1. 106), added to धर्म; and therefore the र is changed to ॥ Before a सतिम्भव the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16) Of nitya-compounds are शीतःकरम्, सौभाग्या, शाकारण, ज्ञानयंजः which are so by II. 2. 18 &c.

Vārt.:—In the Vedas दंक्ष अत्कः &c are found uncombined. As, दंतः असस्त्र, का हिंदी विद्यमान, वाया अहंकः, पत्ता अगमशन &c.

अत्यन्तः: ॥ १२२ ॥ पद्यानि जृजति, अक्ष: ( महक्या: ) ॥

द्रवः: शाकार्यम् ज्ञानप्रस्तावदावति ॥ ज्ञातः परतः: शाकार्याशास्त्राध्य शास्त्रात: प्रक्षुः मधवति, ज्ञातः सतायः: स्थमि मधवति ॥

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

Thus दारुचाः, कुर्मार चेक्यं, हेस्तु ्वर्तम: ॥ Why do we say when followed by चर? Observe, सुद्रश्वा: ॥ Why do we say “the simple vowels (चर”) ? Observe सुद्रश्वा (सुद्र + चर) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to चर vowels as the last, but applies to अ and ए also.

अन्यथा:पुरप्रस्तावः ॥ १२९ ॥ पद्यानि अ, पुत्रम् - द्रवन्, उपपत्रम् ॥

पुत्र: द्रव्याः समानमयं हतिकरम्: सहितम्भायादुपचितम् पर्व वेन स्वदेह अस्त्यादेह तद्वर्तस्तो उल्लुकः प्रक्षुः ॥ पुत्रां करति भाय: न वर्तति ॥

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

The word नवस्त्रति means the affixing of एति in non-Rishi texts; i.e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and एति is added. That is in Padapātha, the Pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no महक्या: (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus द्रव्यांकः एति - द्रव्यांके एति, द्रव्यकः एति - द्रव्यमणे एति ॥ Why have we used the word एति “like as”; instead of saying “the Pluta becomes Apluta” why do we say “Pluta is treated like apluta”? By not using एति, 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 praśtrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be praśtrihya, nor a praśtrihya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a praśtrihya at one and
the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual ग्रंथि or ग्रंथि, the तर and तर are pragrihita. They may be made prastūna also as ग्रंथि or ग्रंथि. Now if before हति, the prastūna became apluta, then we shall not hear the plication at all in ग्रंथि हति ग्रंथि हति formed by ग्रंथि हति हति &c. For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihita by VI. 1. 125, and in additon to that they will lose their prastūna, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the prastūna is heard in ग्रंथि हति, ग्रंथि हति.

ग्रंथि चाक्रावर्मणस्य १३० वस्त्रि || 

130. According to the the opinion of Chākravarmaṇa, the prastūna तर स्त्रीलिङ्ग सत्तावकर्मा यथा सत्तात्त्वकद्वारा सत्तात्त्वकद्वारा. 

Thus ग्रंथि हति हर्षीमी or ग्रंथि हति हर्षीमी || र्तति हर्षीमी or र्तति हर्षीमी. The name of Chākravarmaṇa is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to हति rule (VI. 1. 129) as well as to words other than हति. In the case of हति, it allows sandhi optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than हति, it ordains prakriti bhāva optionally, when there would have been always prakriti bhāva by VI. 1. 125. This is a case of उदयविविधता, प्रप्रति and aprapti both.

\textit{Ishti}:- This apluta-vad-bhāva applies to prastūna vowels other than तः as धने ॐ र्तति or र्तति अर.

र्तति वर्त || १३१ वस्त्रि || र्तति वर्त ||

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

The portion यथा of the word र्तति must be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word हति is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus हति कामी वल्ल = युक्तायाम, युक्तायाम, युक्तायाम, युक्तायाम, युक्तायाम, युक्तायाम, युक्तायाम, युक्तायाम, युक्तायाम, युक्तायाम, युक्तायाम. We have said that हति is here a prati-padika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servile letter anubandha and should have been read as र्तति. In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long तः for तः by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have कश्च्चकार्याम, कश्च्चकार्याम, कश्च्चकार्याम. The तः with a तः shows that short तः is meant, and debars तः (VI. 4. 19). In the case of तः substitution the forms will be तः, तः, तः. The तः also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe हति, हति.
132. After अतः and तत्ता there is elision of the case-affix स (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः + श्वासि = एष श्वासि, एष श्वासि, एष श्वासि, एष श्वासि. Why do we say of अतः and तत्ता? Observe को श्वासि, को श्वासि. Why do we say “the case affix of the Nom. singular”? Observe एषो गयो रुता. Why do we say ‘without क’? Observe एषो श्वासि, श्वासि श्वासि. The words एषः and तत्ता, with the affix स, which falls in the middle, would be considered just like अतः and तत्ता without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words अतः and तत्ता, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is: तत्त्वक्षणितस्य महत्तैः नूतने ‘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 मन्यो श्वासि, मन्यो श्वासि. In the compound with the negative particle न, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say ‘when followed by a consonant’? Observe एषो गयो, एषो गयो.

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

Thus एष स्य वाक्य गीत स्वाक्य प्रयोगस्य भाषा दोषेऽपि भाषा (Rig IV. 40. 4), एष स्य ते संज्ञायां न संज्ञाय (Rig IX. 87, 4) Sometimes it does not take place: as एष स्य निपतेऽस्य. The स्य means ‘he’.

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

Thus श्वासि गयो श्वासि श्वासि गयो (Rig I. 32. 15) श्वासि गयो गयो (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 श्रवण्यम् व्यापो भवत्। The word भवत् 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 श्रवण्यम् as 'a foot of a Śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have:—श्रवण्यम् श्च राजा युविनः, संप बुधस्य महाभाषी, सेव भैरवी महाभाष।

शुद्र कालिपुः।। १३८।। पद्धानि शुद्र, काल, पूवे, ॥

बुधस्य:।। भद्विकार्योऽभ्या, पारस्परिप्रेक्ष्यी ॥ संतावकार्याणि यावेदः। ॥ इति उवाच पवयायमन्त्र गुहितं कालिपुः हति पंतायमकर वेदीतमय।।

135. Upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the following sentence is to be supplied in every aphorism:—”before कृ is added खृ” इ।

This is an adhikāra sūtra and extends upto VI. 1. 157. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, in all those, the phrase ‘the augment खृ is placed before the letter कृ’ should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VI. 1. 137 teaches “After खृ, परि and यव 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 खृ is added before the कृ of कृ when it is preceded by खृ, परि and यव, and the sense is that of adorning”. Thus श्रवण्यम् + खृ + कृ = संक्ष्रितं, संस्क्रितं, संस्क्रितमित।। In the succeeding aphorisms it will be seen that the augment खृ comes only before those roots which begin with कृ।

What is then the necessity of using the phrase कालिपुः in this sūtra? It is used to indicate that the खृ remains unattached to कृ, though it stands before it. Thus though कृ becomes रक्त, yet the latter should not be considered to be a verb beginning with a conjunct (sanyoga) consonant: and therefore the gūṇa taught in VII. 4. 10 (the root ending in कृ and preceded by a conjunct letter, takes gūṇa before निला) does not apply, nor do the rules like VII. 4. 29, nor the rules ordaining the addition of intermediate इ० (VII. 2. 43) by which the खृ would come in निला and निला (Imperfect and Aorist): as, रक्तवीरीयं and रक्तस्यं; and so also VII. 4. 29, does not apply as संक्ष्रितं the Passive Imperfect (वक्तर्निला) of संक्ष्रित।। In so, then the anudāta accent taught in VIII. 1. 28 would not take place, since the augment खृ would intervene between the non-निला-word सं and the निला-word निला: thus संक्ष्रितi would have accent on the verb. It is a maxim रक्तवीरीयं ध्वन्यविधानावाच ‘in applying a rule relating to accent the intervening consonants are considered as if non-existent’; and therefore खृ does not offer any intervention to the application of the rule VIII. 1. 28. If खृ is not to be taken as attached to कृ, how do you explain
the guṇa in the Perfect 3rd Per. Dual and Plural in संस्कृत: and संस्कृत: 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 संस्कृत: which have a conjunct consonant for their penultimate; and the guṇa is done also on the maxim तत्वात्यदि संस्कृत: प्रवृत्तिः (See VI. 1. 132). The indicatory द् in त्र is for the purpose of differentiating it from त्र the Sūtra VIII. 3. 70.

अद्वैतवादाध्ययिः || १३६ || पदानि || अद्, अश्वाक, अन्याय, अपि || त्रिति: || अद्वैताध्ययिः अन्यायवाच संस्कृत: कार्यानि मति: ||

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

Thus समक्रेत्र (क = सम + उभयं), साधज्ञात, संस्कृत, (क = संस्कृत + चकार), परि-क्रेत्र। This sūtra is not that of Pāṇini, but is made out of two Vārtikas: खुदिः ब्यवहारार्थ संस्कृत:; and अन्यायवाच खुदिः। The augmented root खुदिः would have given the form क्रेत्र by VII. 4. 61, if खुदिः be considered an integral part of क, and no rule of Antaranga and Bahiranga be taken into consideration. It might be said where is the necessity then of this 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 खुदः is added, and then the खुदि and अन्याय operations take place. Thus संस्कृत: is the form to which खुदि and अन्याय operations are to be applied. Now, we have said in the foregoing aphorism, that खुदिः is considered as unattached to क; and therefore, the augment खुदि may be added after this खुदिः, and so also the reduplication may take place without it. Thus we may have the forms like संस्कृत: and संस्कृत:। But this is not desired, hence the necessity of the present sūtra teaching that even after खुदि and reduplicate, the खुदः must be placed before क and no where else.

संस्कृत:ः करोति भूणि || १३७ || पदानि || सम - परि - उपये:, करोति, भूणि ||

शुद्धि: || सम परि उप द्वितीयो भूणाये करोति पति: खुदि कार्यानि मति: ||

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

Thus संस्कृत:, संस्कृत:ः, संस्कृतः। The म of सम is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 5. So also पर-परिक्रेत्र जतिक्रेत्र: परिक्रेत्र:। The खुदिः is changed to खुदिः by VIII. 3. 70. So also with उप, as उपभक्तः, उपस्थितः, उपस्थितः। Why do we say
'when meaning to ornament'? Observe उपक्रोटि। Sometimes छुट्रि comes after सच even when the sense is not that of ornamenting: thus संचक्तमण्डलः।

समवायं च। १३२। पदानि। समवायं, (च छुट्रि)

वुिि। समवायं सहस्रस्थलिस्यामि कते सो संपूर्णाणि कार्यूर्णि छुट्रि मोहि।

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

The word समवाय means aggregation. Thus सच न संपूर्णति सच न परि-फळति, सच न उपक्रमम्-संहित ति that is 'we assembled there.'

उपास्पदतियमित्रयानकवाचयाधारेऽपु । १३९। पदानि। उपास्त, प्रति, यद्य, वैहृत, यागय - अध्यायारेऽपु।

वुिि। सती सुगणणसाङ्गात्मकऽक्षणाम बुधदम् व तात्वकश्रयं समीच व्यक्तिष्ठि। विन्धनेन वैहृत, यागय-विशालार्ण। ग्रंथाचार्ययेसम वाचय तथाक्षणांगानां वाचस्याधाराः। एवेतथेणु श्रवणानां प्रति सती सुगणण सुद्र कर्तरि भावार्थ तत्तथ उपास्त छुट्रि कार्यूर्णि' भवति।

139. The augment छुट्रि 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 प्रतिष्ठा। That which is prepared or altered is called वैहृत। The word वैहृत is the same as विन्धन, the affix भण्ण being added without changing the sense, by considering it to belong to ब्रह्मण class (V. 4. 38). To supply by distinct statement the sense of a sentence which is alluded to, is called the अध्याया of a sentence. Thus in the sense of 'taking pains' we have उपक्रमम्यापस्तक्रिया। (See I. 3. 32); कार्यार्थारत्व-सक्रिया। In the sense of 'altering by preparing' we have: उपस्तक्रिया, उपस्तक्रिया सक्रिया। In the sense of 'supplying a thesis' we have उपस्तक्रिया अवयव, उपस्तक्रिया-मपथी। When not having any one of the above five senses (VI. i. 137-139) we have उपक्रोटि।

किरीति उपक्रोटि । १३०। पदानि। किरीति, उपक्रोटि।

वुिि। उपप्रति सप्तासांक्रियांति प्रति लघृतिनि छुट्रि, कार्यूर्णि महहि।

पारस्त्रम्। जन्मवाचस्यामि।

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

Thus उपस्तक्रां भूमिका भूमिक, उपस्तक्रां काठीरका भूमिक = विदित्य भूमिक।
Vārt.:—The above augment takes place when ध्व ध्रुव is added to the verb उर्ध्र, as shown in the above examples. When the meaning is not that of 'to cut', the form is विषयांकन.

हिसालयिने प्रत्येक ॥ १६२ ॥ प्रदानि हिसालयिने प्रत्येक ॥

वृसति: किलोहि सात्यकी विपक्षविने दुर्ज्याय दुरुस्तर भवति.

141. The augment धर्म is placed before क्ष, when the verb क्ष comes after उप and भ्रति, and the sense is “to cause suffering”.

Thus तदहिसालयिने किलोहि सात्यकी विपक्षविने क्षुद्र भवति.

Why do we say when ‘the sense is to cause pain’? Observe प्रत्येक क्षीयम्.

अपाध्यात्मकयित्तिक्षुद्रार्शने ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि अपाध्याय, चतुर्पात , शाकुनिन् ,

वृसति: किलोहि सात्यकी विपक्षविने चतुर्पात्क्षुद्र, विशेष विशेष धर्म भावनी भवति.

मातिरतिः हर्षाधिकाराय विशेष विशेष धर्म भवति.

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

Thus अपाध्याय, तथा द्वारा क्षुद्रार्शने भवनीय भवनाद्वारे धार्मिक विशेषति:॥ Why do we say ‘four-footed animals or birds’? Observe अपाध्याय अपाध्याय.

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:—

अपाध्याय यो भावनांविशेषति।॥ And it is in the above senses of scraping through pleasure &c, that the root takes अत्मानपदा affixes; otherwise the Parasmaiapada affixes will follow. See I. 3. 21. Vārt.

कुसुमसुरूपिणि जाति: ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि कुसुमसुरूपिणि, जाति: ( धर्म ) ॥

वृसति: कुसुमसुरूपिणि धर्म द्वारा भवनीय भवनीय भवति.

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

The कुसुमारु is the name of coriander: i.e. धातुक; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the सूत्र in the Neuter gender does not however show that the word is always Neuter. When not meaning coriander, the form is कुसुमारु (कुम्भकिन्तु तुलसी) ॥ The word तुलसी here means the fruit of the ebony tree.
The word अपरस्या: is formed by the augment छुूँ when the sense is that of ‘uninterrupted action’.

Thus अपरस्या: सार्योऽग्रिष्ठितं = सनतवर्णिष्टोऽग्रिष्ठितं ग्रिष्ठितं। When the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरस्या: सार्योऽग्रिष्ठितं = अपरे पांच संकेतं ग्रिष्ठितं। The सार्योऽग्र is formed from सार्योऽग्र, by adding ग्रिष्ठितं to form the abstract noun, सनतवर्णिष्टम्: (V. 1. 123) = सार्योऽग्र। How do you explain सनतवर्णिष्टम्? The स of सार्योऽग्र is optionally elided before सार्योऽग्र, on the strength of the कार्किका:—“The स of अन्तरःकृत्वा is elided before a word ending in a कृत्तिका affix, the स of सार्योऽग्र is elided before काम and मनस्, the स of सार्योऽग्र is elided optionally before विषुक्ति and सार्योऽग्र, the final म of मनस् is elided before पांच or पचम。” As (1) अन्तरःकृत्वा = सार्योऽग्र, (2) मनस् काम: = मनस् कामः, मोहुः कामः = मोहुः कामः, (3) समुद्रिः = समुद्रः, समुद्रः सार्योऽग्र, (4) पचम पांच, पचम पचमः।

गोप्यः सेवितासेवितमाणेषु || १५४ || पद्मनि || गोऽपद्र, सेविताः सेविताः प्रमाणेषु ||

बृत्तस कोपातनि छुूः नियोऽपि सत्य न पर्यं सेविताः सेविताः प्रमाणेषु च विषये ||

The word गोप्यः is formed by छुूः when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity.

Thus गोप्यः देशः = गोऽपद्र देशः वस्तुचित्त देशः गोऽपद्र देशः। So also गोपायः यावद = गोपायः यावद = गोपायः यावद = गोपायः यावद। The word गोप्यः by itself does not mean ‘not visited by cows’. Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोपायः यावद = गोपायः यावद = गोपायः यावद। 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 गोपयः = गोऽपद्र = प्राप्तव्र॥ What is the use of the word असेवित in the सूत्र, the word गोपयः will give गोपयः by adding the negative particle, न गोपयः = गोपयः। The force of नमुः compound is that of सहृः “like that but not that”. As असेवित means “a man who is a Kshatriya &c. not a Brāhmaṇa, but does not mean a stone &c”. Therefore असेवित with नमुः 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 असेवित॥

आस्यः प्रतिष्ठायाम् || १५५ || पद्मनि || आस्यः प्रतिष्ठायाम्, (छुूः) ||

बृत्तस कोपातनि ऐतिहासिकां सत्यां प्रतिष्ठा सत्यां प्रतिष्ठायामिति छुूः नियोऽपि।
146. The word आध्ययि is formed by छेद when meaning ‘a place or position’.

The word प्रतिष्ठा means ‘firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority’. Thus आध्ययि अनेन लघुमः। Why do we say when meaning a place? Observe भा परःकै आश्रयः।

आध्ययिनिति ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आध्ययि, अनिति ॥

शुचि: ॥ भानिष्ठयुता विषयवृद्धिया परमार्थान्तरावतं तस्मात् ब्रम्हवाच्यम् निपातते। वेदशास्त्रे धार्मिकतार्थं विज्ञानं इन निपाततान्तरं।

147. The word आध्ययि is formed by छेद, when meaning something ‘unusual’.

The word आध्ययि is formed by adding the suffix यो to the verb छेद with the preposition भा, and the augment छेद॥ Thus आध्ययि वर्ति स इच्छान्ति, आध्ययि वर्ति को आशीर्ति॥ When not having this sense, we have आध्ययि कर्म शीतलम्॥

वचन्द्रके स्वस्ते: ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचन्द्रके, स्वस्त:॥

शुचि: ॥ कुलसत्वा बभो, ब्रह्मवृद्धिया टस्तार्थः इति निपातते। वेदपूर्वके किस्ते: क्रतीन ब्रह्माचरम्, प्रवार्य निपाततान्तरं॥

148. The word स्वस्तक is formed with छेद meaning “excrement”.

That which has bad lustre is called भष्यक (कुलित)॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root छेद is added the suffix भा (III. 3. 57), the preposition भा and irregularly the छेद॥ Thus अस्त्रकार्याभचरम्॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have अस्त्रकः॥

अस्त्रकः र्याभचरम् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्त्रकः, र्याभचरम॥

शुचि: ॥ अस्त्रकार्य इति निपातते र्याभचरम् इति। वेदपूर्वकायेमार्शुतं, निपाततान्तरं छेद॥

149. The word अस्त्रक is formed with छेद meaning ‘the part of a chariot’.

This word is also derived from छेद with the preposition भा and the suffix भा (III. 3. 57) and छेद augment. When not having this meaning, we have अस्त्रकः॥

विषकर: धाौकिनिविकरेऽवा ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विषकरः, धाौकिनिः, विषकरः, वा॥

शुचि: ॥ विषकर्ष इति किलसत्वान्तरावतं विषकरे। क: इति कार्यके विशेषं इति छेद निपातते। धाौकिनिवाच्यं ॥ विषकर्षान्तरावते यथा धाौकिनिवाच्यं॥

Verse ॥ भाौकिनसत्वार्थ्या भष्यसुकिर: कुलिताते।

150. The word विषकर is formed with छेद optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being विषकर॥
This word is formed by adding the affix ० (III. 1. 135) to ० with the preposition वि and the augment छुट. The word विकिर also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase एकुण्डिकिर वा is added from the Vārtika and is no part of the original शृङ्ग. Though the शृङ्ग would have given the optional form विकिर, the specific mention of this form in the शृङ्ग indicates that विकिर always means ‘bird’ and nothing else. Otherwise विकिर would have referred to some thing other than a bird.

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

Thus यग्नो युग्मव || Why do we say after a short vowel? Observe सुखाण्डकसारी || Why do we say ‘in a Mantra’? Observe, यग्नो पौर्णमा ||

152. To the root कण ‘to go, to punish’, is added the augment छुट, when preceded by the preposition प्रति, the form being प्रतिकर्णः.

The word प्रतिकर्ण is formed by adding प्रति affix (III. 1. 134) to the root, with adding the prefix प्रति. Thus मानकार्ण मानकार्ण मव मे ख प्रतिकर्णः ‘I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary’. The word प्रतिकर्ण means “a messenger, a herald, an emissary”. Why do we say “to the root कण”? Observe प्रतिकर्णः कणोऽ-प्रतिकर्णः ‘a horse guided by the whip’. Here though कण is derived from कण, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कण, and not to a derivative word.

153. The words प्रस्त्रण and हरिश्चंद्र are formed by छुट, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्त्रण द्वारः, हरिश्चंद्र चापि || The word हरिश्चंद्र could be formed by VI. 1. 151 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. When not referring to Rishis, we have प्रस्त्रणः (कण्ज्ञानं तल्यगंतं वल्लक) हरिश्चंद्र: (हरि: चण्डा वस्य गुणवतः )
154. The word मस्कर means ‘a bamboo’, and मस्कारिन् means ‘a mendicant monk’.

When not having these meanings, the form is मस्कर। This is an un-derived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which घुट is added when ‘a bamboo’ is meant; and the suffix दिन in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्कारिन्। Why do we say “when meaning a bamboo or a mendicant”? Observe मस्कारिन्: “an alligator”, मस्कर युग्म “an ocean”. Some say the word मस्कर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ ‘to do’ with the negative particle ना and the suffix भ, the long भ being shortened. Thus ना कृ यन या काव्यम् = मस्कर ‘a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made’. So also by adding दिन in the sense of साधृत्व to the root कृ preceded by the upapada ना; we get मस्कारिन्। Thus ना काव्यम् ना मस्कारि “a monk, who has renounced all works”. A mendicant always says “ना कुशः कर्माणि शानिनिः बेली” — “Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end”.

कास्तालीरजस्तुच्छे नगरे। १५५। पद्यम्। कास्ताल, अजस्तुच्छे, नगरे।

वर्षिनि: कास्ताल अजस्तुच्छे यथेऽयो चाली देशायते नगरे देशायते।

155. The words कास्ताल and अजस्तुच्छे are names of cities.

When not meaning cities, we have कास्तालि (स्थू तीरस्म) ; and अजस्तुच्छि (अजस्तुच्छि तुष्टिच्छि)

कास्तालि युग्म:। १५६। पद्यम्। कास्तालि। युग्म।

वर्षिनि: कास्तालि युग्म दिन दिन दिन युग्म दिन दिन दिन दिन।

156. The word कास्तालि means ‘a tree’.

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

पारस्करप्रमृत्यायि च संहायम्। १५७। पद्यम्। पारस्कर प्रमृत्यायि। स, संहायम्।

वर्षिनि: पारस्करप्रमृत्यायि च पारस्करप्रमृत्यायि दिन पारस्करप्रमृत्यायि दिन।

157. The words पारस्कर &c are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding घुट। Thus पारस्कर: ‘a country called पारस्कर’। कास्तालि: ‘N. of a tree’, अजस्तुच्छि ‘N. of a river’, करकर: ‘N. of a measure’, कारकर: ‘N. of a cave’, कस्कर ‘a thief’, formed by inserting घुट in the compound of स्थ + क, and eliding घुट। भुस्तानि ‘N. of a City’, formed similarly by inserting घुट between घुट + पालि and eliding the घुट। Why do we
say when meaning a thief and a dyer? Observe तरस्कि, वृहस्ति:। The words चौर and देवत्सा are used in the Ganapātha merely for the sake of diversity, the word संज्ञा would have connoted that परस्त्वति मी:। When the root तुष्ण दुर्गम 'to injure' is preceded by the preposition त, there is added शत्रु to त, when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रकृतिमयां पति:। In परस्त्वति the शत्रु is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated:—परस्त्वति शत्रुः, परस्त्वति गाशी, परस्त्वति गावः। This is an ākṛiti-gaṇa. Thus गायः, गायः।

1 पारस्करि देवः, 2 कारस्करि कृस्तः, 3 राप्स्तः मरी, 4 किक्कृ: प्रमायः, 5 किक्कृता दुर्गा, 6 सदक्षर: कवर्त्तोर्तयेवा: शत्रु, तत्वारथ (सदक्षर: देवः, शत्रुस्ति:—देवाः), 7 शत्रु तुष्ण सरः गाव सोरः (परस्त्वति मी:।)। बा:।

अनुवादां पारमेकत्रजयम् ॥ १५६॥ पदार्थि:। अनुवादां, परस्करि, पदार्थि, अनुवादां।

वृत्तः। प्रार्थिते क्षणिकलयम्। बन्धनः: अनुवादः। शत्रुस्ति:। शत्रुस्ति:। शत्रुस्ति:। शत्रुमुन्नलुस्तिर्य:। क्रिकृ।

Kārikā

विकारस्ति प्रक्रियां: प्रक्रियां:।

प्रार्थिते क्रिकृ। विकारस्ति प्रक्रियां:।

बीसुः। विकारस्ति प्रक्रियां:।

बीसुः। विकारस्ति प्रक्रियां:।

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 anudatta or unaccented. This is a Paribhāsha or maxim of interpretation with regard to the laws of accent. Wherever an accent—be it acute (udātta) or a circumflex (śvarita)—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 अनुवर्त्ति means 'having an anudatta vowel'. What is the one to be excepted? That one about which any particular accent has been taught in the rules here-in-after given. Thus VI. 1. 162 teaches that a root has acute accent on the final. Therefore, with the exception of the last syllable, all the other syllables are unaccented. Thus in गोपस्ति the acute accent is on ग, all the rest are unaccented. The root accent is superseded by the श्रो accent, thus शुरिद्वारा has acute accent on श्रो। The श्रो accent is superseded by the सु accent, as सुगंधः, has accent on सु। The सु accent is superseded by the नास्त्र accent, as नास्त्रस्तरः।

विकारस्ति प्रक्रियां: प्रक्रियां:। प्रार्थिते क्रिकृ। प्रार्थिते क्रिकृ। प्रार्थिते क्रिकृ। विकारस्ति प्रक्रियां:।

The words 'with the exception of one syllable' show that the separate accent of an augment, or a preparative clement, or a stem or an affix should cease, when a particular accent is taught for a word. Thus as to (1) augment:—VII. 1. 98 teaches “अनुवाद acutely accented is the augment of नत्तु and अनुवाद when a sarvanāmsthāna affix follows”. Thus नत्तुः, अनुवादः; here the augment-accen...
supersedes the accent of the stem, for चतुर was acutely accented on the first syllable, so also भन्तु, these being formed by the affixes त्र and भत्र respectively. Thus चतुर + वृ = चतुर (चतुरत्र Un V. 58, accent VI. 1. 197); भन्तु is thus derived: भनो भत्रि = भन्तु + वृ + त्रि, the स is replaced by रृ, and there is vocalisation of वृ of वृ VI. 1. 15 = भन्तु II. This word is formed by a Krit affix with a kāraka upapada, therefore, the second term will retain its original accent, namely the final acute of a root. (VI. 1. 162 and VI. 2. 139) भन्त्र itself is derived by adding the affix (Un IV. 189) भत्र which makes the word acutely accented on the first syllable. (2) Similarly as to विकार (विकारण):—VII. 1. 75 teaches “instead of आस्थ, चतु, चतुष्य, and भचि, there shall be भन्त्र acutely accented when वृ follows or any of the subsequent terminations beginning with a vowel”. This भन्त्र will supersedes the acute accent of the first वृ of the stem: as भन्त्री || The word आस्थ is derived from भचि by adding the affix चत्र (Un III. 154) which makes the word acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is an example of विकार || (3) Similarly in गोपालित the accent of the stem taught in VI. 1. 162 ‘a root has an accent on its final’, supersedes the accent of the vikaraṇa माय (III. 1. 28, 3), i.e. the acute accent on आ in आ। gives way to the root-accent which makes वृ acute. (4) So also the accent of the affix supersedes that of the stem: as अस्थ, and ात्म, which are formed by the affix लयत्र (III. 1. 96) here VI. 1. 185 debars the accent of the root (VI. 1. 162).

The determination of the proper accent of a word depends upon considering the various rules that have gone to form it, and the sequence of those rules, e.g. a latter rule (पर) supersedes a prior rule, a nitya rule supersedes an anitya rule, an antaranga supersedes 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 गोपालित || It is derived from गृह root, which as a root has accent on the syllable गृ (VI. 1. 162). When the affix माय is added to it by III. 1. 28, the word becomes मायित and it takes the accent of the affix (III. 1. 3), i.e. the accent now falls on पा but now comes rule III. 1. 32 which says that a word taking the affix माय is a root. Thus मायित gets the designation of root (पा), and thus takes the accent of a धातु (VI. 1. 162), and the accent falls on य II.

The rule is that except one special accent taught in a sūtra the other syllables take anudātta. Therefore, where there is a conflict of rules, the accent is guided by the following maxim: “परन्तु विकारणम् सत्तिः सत्तिहितस्थितिविद्यन” II namely (1) the sequence, a succeeding rule setting aside a prior rule (2) a Nitya rule is stronger than Anitya, (3) Antaranga stronger than Bahiranga, (4) the Apavāda is stronger than Utsarga. When all these are exhausted, as we have illustrated above, then we apply the rule of सतिः क || What is this rule? To quote the words of Kāsikā: धेहिवष्णुत्सति सतिः क || That which
does remain and must last in spite of the presence of another, debars such other. Thus in सोपायक्ष्य; here the अभ्यर्थन: “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 पाटुति (VI. 1. 192) by which the final of a dhātu is acute, and it debars the dhātu-accent; but this affix-accent is in its turn debared in the case of derivative verbs formed with affixes, by the rule of सत्विक्षय, because even after the addition of the affix, these words retain the designation of dhātu. Similarly in कार्यमोक्षाक्षाक्षुरे: “The son of him whose upper garment (uttarasanga) is of black color—the Son of Baladeva” the Bahuvrihi-accent (VI.2.1) being an apavāda to Samāsa-accent (VI. 1. 223), debars the samāsa-accent; but this Bahuvrihi-accent is in its turn debared by the rule of सत्विक्षय when a further compound is formed and the final word is a compound only and not a Bahuvrihi. Though the accent of the Vikarana is a सत्विक्षय, yet it does not debar the Sārvadhatuaka accent (VI. 1. 186). Thus in उपरीति, the accent of the vikarana दी does not debar the accent of सूम. II

Vārt:-The दी accent is stronger than the case-affix accent. Thus in अपिष्क, here the accent of भाग vibhakti after तथा (VI. 1. 166) though सत्विक्षय is debared by दी accent taught in VI. 2. 2, for Negative compounds are Tatpurusha.

Vārt:-The accent of दी is stronger than the accent of that which is caused or occasioned by a vibhakti. Thus स्वचालन: II Here the augment मान in स्वचालन is occasioned because of the case-affix, for it is added only then when a Sarvanāma case-affix follows (VI. 1. 98). This दी is udatta (VI. 1. 98). But this udatta is superseded by the accent of the Negative particle.

Why do we say ‘in the body of a pada? In a sentence, every word will retain its accent. As देवदत्त देवदत्त “O Devadatta, drive away the white cow”. The word पद in fact used in this sūtra in its secondary sense, namely that which will get the designation of पद when completed; had it meant the full ready made pada, this word would not have been repeated in पदार्थगता sūtra (VIII. 1. 16, 17). Had a full ‘pada’ been meant, the incongruity would arise in the following. The word कुष्ठ is acutely accented on the first as belonging to सारस्वत class (Phit II. 15), adding the feminine affix श्री to it by its belonging to ग्वाली class, we get कुष्ठी, which will retain its acute on the first because it is not technically a पद II But it is not so, the word कुष्ठी has anudatta accent on the first syllable (Phit II. 15), and hence we can apply the दी affix to it by IV. 2. 44, thus कुष्ठी विकाराणुक्ष: श्रीवनस्वय. II Similarly the word गार्बिकी formed from वर्ण (belonging to Grāmdhī class Phit II. 15), with, the affix दीवी (V. 2. 115) and the feminine श्रीवी II. If here the affix दीवी being udatta causes all the rest syllables anudatta, just at the very moment of its application, without seeing whether the word was a pada or not, then the word गार्बिकी being anudattādī would have taken दी, and therefore its exception is proper in the विषाणव class
(IV. 2. 38). But if the anudatta-bhood of the remaining syllables were to follow after a word had got the designation of श्र, then the word श्रवणी would remain acutely accented on the first, and its enumeration in IV. 2. 38 would be useless.

कर्णाओे ध्वनि अन्त उद्धारः॥ १९६. ॥ पदानि फर्म, अत्वत:, ध्वनि:, अन्त:, उद्धारः:॥
शर्तः:॥ कर्णास्यस्यार्पात्कारणसि प्रभृतिवाणा उद्धारोऽभावितः॥

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

Thus कृषि:, पाष:, ध्वनि:, श्रवणि:, श्रवणि:, ध्वनि:, पर्द:, पाष:॥ This is an exception to VI.
I. 197 by which affixes having an indicatory श्र have acute accent on the first syllable. The word कृषि is used in the aphorism instead of कृषि, to indicate that कृषि of Bhvādi gaṇa is affected by this rule, and not कृषि—कृत्तिति of Tuddāgana. The word कृषि: derived from Tuddādi कृषि has acute accent on the first syllable.

उद्धारानि च ॥ १६०. ॥ पदानि उद्धारानि च ॥
शर्तः:॥ उद्धारानि येवमात्रार्थमात्र उद्धारोऽभभावितः॥

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

Thus I. उर्धः:, 2. उर्धः:, 3. श्रवणि:, 4. श्रवणि:, 5. श्रवणि:, 6. श्रवणि: are formed by श्र affix (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 श्रवणि: also here.
7. श्रवणि: is derived from श्रवणि by श्र affix, the non-causing of गुणa is irregular, and the word means 'a cycle of time', 'a part of a carriage'. In other senses, the form is श्रवणि: 8. श्रास्त्रि: (श्रास्त्रि:) is formed by श्रास्त्रि, and has this accent when it means 'poison', in other senses, the acute is on the first syllable. 9. श्रास्त्रि:, श्रास्त्रि:, श्रास्त्रि: (श्रास्त्रि:) and श्रास्त्रि:, श्रास्त्रि: These words are formed by श्रास्त्रि by III. 3. 121. When denoting instrument (कला) they take the above accent, when denoting श्रास्त्र the accent falls on the first syllable.
10. श्रास्त्रत्वमुद्धिता:, ए. ए. श्रास्त्रत्वमुद्धिता:, श्रास्त्रत्वमुद्धिता:, ए. ए. समेतः 11. श्रास्त्रत्वमुद्धिता: स्तोत्रेः, the stotra means Sāma Veda, the word श्रास्त्रत्वमुद्धिता: occurring in the Sāma Veda has acute on the last: in other places, it has the accent on the middle. 12. श्रास्त्रत्वमुद्धिता: the श्रास्त्र has end-acute when meaning 'a cave', otherwise when formed by श्रास्त्र affix it has acute on the first. 13. सामालमः मा भाषान्वयम्, thus श्रास्त्रि:, श्रास्त्रि:, in other senses, the acute is on the first. 14. श्रास्त्रत्वमुद्धिता: स्तोत्रेः, ए. ए. श्रास्त्रत्वमुद्धिता:, ए. ए. Some read the limitation of मा भाषान्वयम् into this also. 15. श्रास्त्रत्वमुद्धिता: (श्रास्त्रत्वमुद्धिता:) These are formed by श्रास्त्र, श्रास्त्र though a श्रास्त्र root is here परमेश्वरः॥
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 कुर्ण + ह = कुर्णि. The word कुर्ण has acute on the last, when the unaccented (anudātta) ह is added to it, the ह is elided (VI. 1. 148), the anudātta ह becomes udātta. So also विधि + सुर = सुरेऽि, शिवि + स्र = स्रोि. The प्राकृत has acute on the last. So also कुर्ण + मुनि = कुर्णि (IV. 2. 87), विधि, शिवि = anudātta. The words कुर्णि &c, are end-acute, and the affixa गति (गति) is anudātta (III. 1. 4).

Why ‘an anudātta vowel gets &c’. Observe गष्टि + स्र = गष्टि (IV. 4. 76). Here though गष्टि is end-acute (VI. 2. 144 formed by स्र with gati) it is followed by स्र which is svarita. (VI. 1. 185), this svarita causes the lopa of ह udātta: but it does not itself become ucātta. 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 ह is taught to be svarita, all the other syllables (like ह) will become anudātta. So there is no lopa of udātta when ह comes. The word भुवः is used to indicate that the initial anudātta becomes udātta. If ad anudātta not been used, the श्रृ is would have been श्रुष्टिवर्तमण, which would have meant श्रुष्टि प्रकरण, उपासनाय सरस्वती उपासना भवत, for the anuvṛtti of भवत would then be read from the last. There would then be anomaly in the case of न ह पुष्पायम्, and म ा सुष्पायम्. From the root ह we have formed पुष्पायम् and सुष्पायम् in the Aorist Atmanepada, dual. ह + ह + श्र + ह (VII. 3. 72) + भायम्. Here हायम् causes the elision of the udātta ह of ह. Therefore the final of भायम् would be udātta, which is not desired. The augment ह is not added because of ह, had it been added, the ह would have been udātta (VI. 4. 71). Had ह not been given, then also the whole of पुष्पायम् would have become anudātta in मापायम् because of ति (VIII. 1. 28). See VIII. 1. 34 (हि ह). Why have we used the word हि in the śūtra? 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 नायम्, नायम्, नायम्. Here नायम् is plural of नायम्. The word नायम् is end-acute and this acute (अण) was elided in the plural, before the affixa गत् was added.
The elision here is not caused by अत, but is a subject of अत (not लित but विच्छ). Therefore अत does not become udātta, which would have been the case, had अत not been used. अत्व कुर्त्तम गोपंशयत्व ठुक. The gotra affix was elided prior to the adding of the case-ending. Why do we say “when an udātta is elided”? Observe न्द्र + काम् (IV. 1. 104) = घन् । The feminine of this will be न्द्र + कट्ट (IV. 1. 73 = दर्शति). Here न causes the elision of auudātta अ of अ, and hence remains unchanged. So also नार श्री. आतोः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदार्थः आतोः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥ शुरूः ऴ अत हंस । गोपंशयत् बहसि ॥

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

The word अत is understood here. Thus दर्शति, दर्शति, कृत्तित, मारात्ति, विद्वति ॥ चित् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदार्थः चित्, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥ शुरूः ॥ चित्ति न्द्र वहसि बहसि ॥

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

Thus भूष्ठत्, भूष्ठत्, निदर्शत्. These are formed by चु चु III. 2. 161. So also कुर्त्तम by II. 4. 70 where the substitute कुर्त्तम is employed. To कुर्त् is added अत in the sense of न्द्र, then is added the feminine affix अत, thus कुर्त्तम has middle-acute. The descendants of कुर्त्तम will be कुर्त्तम (by अत of Gargaṇḍi). The plural of Kaṇḍaryya will be formed by eliding अत and substituting कुर्त्तम 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 भूष्ठत्. The affix अत is one of those few affixes which are really prefixes. (V. 3. 68): The accent will not, therefore, fall on अत, but on the last syllable of the whole word compounded of the prefix + the base. So also with the affix अत. It is added in the middle of the word, but the accent will fall on the end; as रूफ्यः: (V. 3. 71).

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

Thus अवलुष्ठत्, formed by the affix अवलुष्ठत् (IV. 1. 98). कुर्त्तम + अत, and thus giving scope to च्छम accent). In this affix there are two indicatory letters च and अत; the च has only one function, namely, regulating the accent according to this rule, while अत 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 अत? The present rule declares that it should get
the accent of \( \text{त्र} \) and not of \( \text{म्} \), for the latter finds still a function left to it, while if \( \text{म्} \) was to regulate the accent, \( \text{त्र} \) would have no scope.

Thus \( \text{nāḍyān} \) formed by \( \text{त्र} \) (IV. 1. 99), so also \( \text{वर्त्त्मा} \). Similarly \( \text{अन्त्य} \) \( \text{वर्त्त्मा} \) \( \text{वर्त्त्मा} \) \( \text{वर्त्त्मा} \) \( \text{वर्त्त्मा} \) formed by \( \text{त्र} \) (IV. 4. 1).

Thus \( \text{nāḍyān} \) \( \text{वर्त्त्मा} \), \( \text{अन्त्य} \), \( \text{उद्दत्} \) have affixes beginning with a consonant, and by VI. 1. 179 they will be udatta. Thus the only case not covered by any special rule is \( \text{जस्} \) (nom. pl.) which would have been Svarita, but for this rule. If \( \text{जस्} \) be the only case not provided for, then merely saying \( \text{स्वरित} \) would have sufficed to make the rule applicable to \( \text{जस्} \) only, why has then it been employed in the śūtra? This is done, in order that in compounds, where \( \text{त्र} \) may come as a subordinate member, and where singular and dual endings will also be added, this rule will not apply. Had \( \text{जस्} \) been not used in toto śūtra, then in the case of simple \( \text{त्र} \) there would be no harm, but when it is seconed member in a compound there would be anomaly. Thus \( \text{स्वरित} \) would have become end-acute. But that is not desired. It is svarita on the final by VIII. 2. 4.

Thus \( \text{त्र} \) the accent is on \( \text{त्र} \) \( \text{स्वरित} \). The feminine of \( \text{त्र} \) is \( \text{स्वरित} \) (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 \( \text{त्र} \) has acute on the first, as formed by \( \text{स्वरित} \) affix. Its substitute \( \text{स्वरित} \) will also be so, by the rule of \( \text{स्वरित} \). The special enunciation of \( \text{स्वरित} \) with regard to \( \text{स्वरित} \) in the Vārtika \( \text{स्वरित} \) \( \text{स्वरित} \) \( \text{स्वरित} \) \( \text{स्वरित} \) (VII. 2. 99) indicates that the
present rule does not apply to चतुर्ण. Another reason for this is as follows: चतुर्ण + चतुर्ण = चतुर्ण + चतुर्ण. Now comes the present Sūtra; here, however, the रू substitute of चर being sthānātivat, will prevent the udātta formation of the रू of चतुर्ण; nor will रू be considered as final and take the acute, as there exists no vowel रू but a consonant रू which cannot take an accent. As चतुर्ण: रूद्वय. Professor Bohling places the accent thus चतुर्ण, Pro. Max Müller चतुर्ण. I have followed Prof. Max Muller in interpreting this sūtra; for Bohling's interpretation would make the ending रू accented, and not the final of चतुर्ण.

साधकायत्वतीयाविविधायाकहिः: ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, एकार्ये, द्वीयादिः,\nविविधिः ॥

चतुर्ण: ॥ साधकायत्वतीयाविविधायाकहिः सौ, एकार्ये, द्वीयादिः।

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 लहू (locative of लह) refers to the च of the Locative plural. Thus कर्ण, नाम्पास्त्र, नाम्पम्प, नाम्पम्प, नार्त�, नार्तृपास्त्र, नार्तृपम्प: ॥ Why do we say 'in the Locative plural'? Observe रूद्वय, रूद्वय. ॥ Why do we say 'monosyllabic'? Observe श्रीत्रास्त्र, श्रीत्रास्त्र, श्रीत्रास्त्र. ॥ Why do we say 'the Instrumentals and the rest'? Observe श्रीत्रास्त्र, श्रीत्रास्त्र. ॥ Why do we say "the case-endings (विविधिः)?" Observe रूद्वय, रूद्वय. ॥

The plural of the Locative being taken in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to लहू and लहू, as in the plural of the Locative they have more than one syllable, though in singular locative their stem has one syllable.

अन्तोदातुतप्रादत्वादयत्वायनत्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादित्वादि

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 "एकार्ये" and द्वीयाविविधायाकहिः are understood here also. The nitya or invariable compounds are excluded by this rule. Thus पुम्यक्षराङ्ग or पुम्यक्षराङ्ग, पुम्यक्षराङ्ग or पुम्यक्षराङ्ग; पुम्यक्षराङ्ग or पुम्यक्षराङ्ग &c. So also चराौण्डा or स्वच्छ &c. According to VI. 1. 223, the compounds have acute accent on the final; that rule applies in the alternative when the case-affixes are not acute and gives us
the alternative forms. Why do we say 'is acutely accented on the final'? Observe मत्स्या, द्वारण, द्वारिता। 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 नियमयांसेविकता indicated that the compound was meant? Had we not used the word उस्तर-पद्भ, the aphorism would have stood as, अस्तिःाचार्यास्तिः आरभास्वयमानिष्ठाः 'In a loose compound having acute on the final, the above affixes are acute, if the compound consists of a monosyllable'. The word एकाधि will thus qualify the compound and not the second member of the compound, which is intended. And thus the rule will apply to यास्त्र (मुख कहे) Ins. चार्ण, चार्ण &c, and not to compounds having more than one syllable. Why do we say 'in loose compounds'? Observe भास्त्रिष्ठ, सुन्दरभुता। These words form invariable (nitya) compounds by II. 2.19, and by VI. 2.139, the second member retains its original accent, which makes श्रवण udātta.

क्रेण्यस्वयस्वयाम्यामन्त्रपीड़ा || १७० || पदार्थ || अन्तरुण, चन्द्रसिंह, अस्वयम्य-व्यापनम অঃভিঃ। ||

वृत्ति: || अध्य: पि सर्बभुपालावभिभिषिक्षेत्रां भवति त्रहसिंह विशेष।

170. In the Chhandas, the case-endings other than the sarvanāmāsthāna, get the acute accent when coming after अंकं।

In the Vedas, a stem ending in the word श्रवण, has the acute not only on the affixes previously mentioned, but on the accusative plural affix also. Thus च्हरण पुत्रेषां मवस्तम (Rig I. 84.13). Here the word पुत्रेषा had accent on रा by VI. 1. 222, but by the present sūtra, the accent falls on the case-affix श्रवण। Though the anuvritti of "Instrumentals and the rest" was understood here, the word asarvanāṃsthāna has been used here to include the ending पुत्र also.

अविभुवश्वयस्वस्वयुधम || १७१ || पदार्थ || अक्ष, इक्रम, पदार्थ, अष, पुष, रै, श्रुत्यः।

वृत्ति: || अंकं हरण पारि चा पुत्र रे चित्र हेदेत्यो जस्मानवावभिभिषिक्षेत्रां भवति।

171. The same (asarvanāṃsthāna) case-endings have the acute accent, when the stem ends in वाह, also after इक्रम, after पुत्र &c (upto निः VI. 1. 63), after अष, पुष, रै and विश।

The अंकं is the substitute of the वा of वाहः (VI. 4.132) and not the अंकं taught in VI. 4.19 &c. Thus प्रत्येकः, प्रत्येकः, but not in वाहः (Ins. sing of अंकं) derived by अंकं substitution of वा in अस्तिः (VI. 4.19 &c). इक्रम—याम्यो, एते: The anuvritti of "सर्वभुिस्त्रां" is understood here, therefore, when the word
is not end-acute, this rule will not apply. When, therefore, there is anvädśa under II. 4. 32, the final being anudätta, this rule does not apply, as अग्नि आरिन्यो
निपुणिपिष्टि। The दाृहि words are प्र, श्र, &c. upto तिथिं in VI. 1. 63. Thus निर्मितिज्ञति अहि, वा दृष्ठांभारि, अभि: पद्ध, भारि:; अग्नि:; पुंसि; पुर्वोब्, पुर्वि; पुंसि; पुंसि, पुंसि, राथि: पद्ध, पर्वोब्धि:
अण्डि, निलि, निलि, निलि॥ As regards the other cases of दाृहि the accent is governed by VI. 1. 183. The word अग्नि and those which follow it, in VI. 1. 63, are not governed by this rule because they consist of more than one vowel, and the anuvṛtti of एकादः: is understood here from VI. 1. 168. When these become monosyllable by the elision of अ (penultimate), then the vibhakti will be udätta by VI. 1. 161 even after these. The case endings after these words are of course, anudätta, except when these words become monosyllable: —As नीं काल अग्नि आसि वास्ति, मल्ल न शीर्ष उपस्ति विस्ताति॥

अग्निो दाृहि दाृहि । १७२॥ पद्धाति अग्नि, दाृहि ॥

१७२. The asarvanâmasthâna case-endings after अग्नि
‘eight’, have acute accent, when it gets the form अग्नि ॥

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

शास्त्रद्वयो नयाजाति ॥ १७३॥ पद्धाति अग्नि, नयाजाति, नयाजाति, अग्नि ॥

१७३. After an oxotone Participle in अग्नि the feminine suffix नी(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 र (i.e. is not अनुरूप).

The word अनुरूपार्थम् ‘after an oxytoned word’ is understood here. Thus तुर्थोर, तुर्थीर, तुर्थिर, तुर्थोर, तुर्थोर, तुर्थोर from तुर्थ, तुर्थ, तुर्थ, तुर्थ and तुर्थ.

Why do we say “not having the augment र”? Observe तुर्थीर, तुर्थोर.

Here also by VI. 1. 186, after the root तुर which has an indicator भ, in the Dhātupāṭha, being written तुर, the sārvadhatu affix चुरु (यथ: ) is anudatta. This anudatta भ, coalescing with the udatta भ of तुर (VI. 1. 162), becomes udatta (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 \( \text{भ} \) (feminine in य) word and before vowel-endings?” Observe तुर्थोरभ, तुर्थोरभ तथापि &c. If the participle is not an oxytone, the rule does not apply. As तुर्थीर, तुर्थीर Here the accent is on the first syllable by VI. 1. 189.

\[ \text{Vārt:} \]—The words तुर्थीर and तुर्थीर should also be included: as तुर्थीर

महतीर, धृष्टीर, महतीर

उदाहरणं हल्ल्युरुषीर || १७४ || पदार्थ || उदाहरण, यथ: || हल, पूर्वोर ||

चुरु: || उदाहरणम् यथ: मणिहल्ल्युरुषेऽमथस्य महती अधिकारिण्यं उदाहरणमधर्मिकिष्टहराता भवति ||

पारिक्रमं || नक्तारामवं च करण्यं ||

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 कुर्थोर, कुर्थोर, कुर्थोर, कुर्थोर, कुर्थोर, कुर्थोर, कुर्थोर, कुर्थोर ||

All these are चुरु ends, and have consequently acute accent on the final (VI. 1. 163). Why ‘acutely accented final vowel is replaced &c’? Observe कुर्थीर, कुर्थीर, कुर्थीर, कुर्थीर, formed by नु having acute on the first syllable. Why do we say ‘preceded by a consonant’? Observe बहुतमार्दी—बहुतमार्दीभायवः (VIII. 2. 4) बहुतमार्दीभायवः इति अनुरूपः || This compound with बहु gets udatta on the final by VI. 2. 175. In making the Instrumental singular of बहुतमार्दी, the त is replaced by त, but as this त is preceded by a vowel, the affix gets the svarita accent.

\[ \text{Vārt:} \]—The rule applies when the stem ends in त though not in a semi-vowel, as चाकाय्य, चिन्तुर्प्रयी ||

नीक्ष: पात्रोः || १७५ || पदार्थ || न, उद्ध, धातुहोः ||

चुरु: || उद्धा पात्रोऽर्थ उद्धुरुषेऽमथस्य आधारविभावमधर्मिकिष्टहराता भवति ||

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

After the semi-vowel substitutes of the udatta र (IV. 1. 66) or of the udatta final vowels of the root, when preceded by a consonant, the weak case-
endings beginning with a vowel do not take the acute accent. Thus कहा, कहते, कहते, परि-कहते, परि-कहते, which has acute accent on क, because क is udatta (III. 1, 3), and the ekadesa of it, when it combines with the preceding vowel is also udatta (VIII. 2, 5). The य substituted for े before the ending या, is a semi-vowel substitute of an udatta (व्यय्यम्) the affix after it would have become udatta by the last sūtra, but not being so, the general rule VIII. 2, 4 applies and makes it svarita. Let us take an example of a semi-vowel substitute of the vowel of a root (भात्र-वष्णुके):—सुतु, सुतु; शत्तत्र from शतु, शतु formed by क्रिया 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.

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

The word अनुदानतां is understood here also. Thus अनुदानत, मानुनां, नानुनां, अनुनां, अनुनां. So also when तयत् takes तयत्, as अस्तुपतिता, श्रीप्रतिता. Here by VII. 1, 76, the word मृत takes मृत and becomes मृत, then is added तयत् by VIII. 2, 16, and we have मृत मृत. The preceding य is elided. When the stem is not oxytone (antotāta) this rule does not apply: as तयत् मृत. The word मृत has acute on the first syllable, as it is formed from मृत with the affix य (Up I. 10) which is तयत् (Up I. 9) so the मृत retains its anudatta here. So also in the case of महानां. The affix does not become acute, though the word मृत has acute on the final as the intervening य makes the य of the heavy when the affix is added: the general maxim त्रिभवायोऽनुत्तरसाधनाद्य does not apply here, because the very fact that य is only taken as an exception, shows this.

Vṛt.—The affix मृत् becomes acute after the heavy vowel of र as तली-र्यायं-र्यायं-र्यायं. There is vocalisation of य of र्यायं, as र्यायं then substitution of one, as र्यायं, then गुप्त, र्यायं.

Vṛt.—The prohibition should be stated after य as भांति श्रव्यायकम्.

177. After an oxytoned stem which ends in a light vowel, the genitive ending नाम has optionally the acute accent,
Thus भर्तीभाष्म or खड़ीभाष्म, बहुद्रम्भ or बाहुद्रम्भ, कप्रम्भ or कप्रम्भ (see VII. 1. 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 anuvṛtti of खृष्ण ‘short or light vowel’ be read into this sūtra? The reply is that the anuvṛtti of खृष्ण should also be read into this sūtra, the meaning being “a stem which has a light vowel when followed by ग्रुप, 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 तिलुष्ण, वतस्वर्णम् having light vowels before नाम and not to the forms above given. Why do we read नाम with the हूँ augment (VII. 1. 54) and not खृष्ण? The rule will not apply to धन्यां धन्यां which get the acute on the final by VI. 1. 174. Why do we say ‘after a stem ending in a light vowel’? Observe कृपार्ज्जु (the word कृपार्ज्जु is end-acute by Up. III. 138 and so is कृपार्ज्जु by VI. 1. 161). Why do we say after an oxytoned word? Observe खृष्णाम्, खृष्णाम् the words खृष्ण and खृष्ण have acute on the first syllable.

व्रतिः. खृष्णाम्यासिन्दुरीयाम् विनवि नांदकासा भवति खृष्णाम्।

178. In the Chhandas, the ending नाम has diversely the acute accent after the feminine affix ः।

Thus हंसाराम, हंसाराम, खसाराम, खसाराम, ऴिना। Sometimes it does not take place, as नृत्यां पुरा; जथवलानां ग्यन।।

प्रतिच्छायाः हतादि:। १७९। पद्धानि। पद्, त्रि, चन्द्रपर्वः, हतादि:।

व्रतिः। अन्तोदातासिलोधिशिवस्य। पदार्थोद्भोविशिष्ठ्य च पर इत्यादिविशिष्ठसां भवति।।

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

The anuvṛtti of अन्तोदातासि ceases, for the present rule applies even to words like मैत्रि and मैत्रि which are acute on the initial by Phit II. 5. Thus नृत्यां, पद्धारेः, पद्धारेः, पन्नालैः, नमालैः, भिन्ने: पद्धारेः, पन्नालैः, नमालैः (See VII. 1. 55). Why do we say ‘before case-affixes beginning with consonants’? Observe खृष्ण (VI. 1. 167 and VII. 2. 99).

नृत्यां खृष्णाम्। १८०। पद्धानि। खृष्ण, खृष्णाम्।

व्रतिः। प्रतिच्छायाः यथायात्तिधितः परि यथादिकमस्यां भवति। विनविनाम्यासिलोधिशिवस्य तत्त्वात् तद्देव। खृष्णाम्यासिलोधिशिवस्य।।

180. The above numerals, when taking a case-affix beginning with a म or श्र, get the acute accent on the penultimate syllable, when the said numerals assume a form consisting of three or more syllables.
The numerals पद्यं, निर्वि and नित्यम् when ending in a case-affix beginning with a हर् consonant, form a full word (पद्यं), in such a word the penultimate syllable gets the acute accent. The very word penultimate shows that the पद्य must be of three syllables at least. Thus पद्यम्, निर्वि, निस्मात्, नित्यम्: || Why do we say 'beginning with' भ्र and भ्र? Observe, पद्यम्, सङ्कनाम् || Why do we say 'the penultimate syllable'? Observe भ्रम्भ, भ्र: ||

विभाषा मायायाम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पद्यम् विभाषा, माय शाद् ॥ पद्यम्: || पद्यम् चाहि विभाषा मायायाम् माय शाद् विभाषा मायायाम् विभाषा ॥

181. In the Secular language this is optional.

The हर् case-affixes coming after the above numerals पद्यं, निर्वि and नित्यम् may make the words so formed take the acute on the penultimate optionally, in the spoken ordinary language. Thus पद्यम्: or पद्यम्ब: || In the alternative VI. 1. 179 applies. So also सङ्कनाम्: or सङ्कनाम्ब: || न गोस्त्यस्यायाम् राज्ञकुकुर्व: ॥ १८२ ॥ पद्यम् || न, गो, द्रव्य, सी, अभ्य, राज्ञ, अर्न, कुर्व, कुकुर्व: || पद्यम्: || गो द्रव्यस्यायाम् क्ष प्राचीनम् वश्याम्नां राज्ञ अर्न कुर्व वे द्रव्यस्यायाम् वश्याम्नां तत्स्वतः ॥

182. The foregoing rules from VI. 1. 168 downwards have no applicability after गो, and द्रव्य and words ending in them; nor after a stem which before the case ending of the Nominative singular has अ or आ, nor after राज्ञ, or after a stem ending in राज्ञ, nor as well as after कुकुर्व and कुकुर्व: ||

Thus गोङ्ग, गोंगे, गोङ्गायाम्: || Here by VI. 1. 168, the case-endings would have got otherwise the accent, which is however prohibited. So also छोट्य, छोट्ये and छोट्यायाम्: || Here VI. 1. 169 is prohibited. So also द्रव्य, द्रव्ये, द्रायाय, परायाय, परायाये and परायायायाम्: || The word साधवय: (सी सवय:) means 'what has अ or आ before इ (1st sing.)' Thus षोड्य, षोद्ये, षोद्यायाम्: || राज्ञ:—राज्ञ: राज्ञे, राज्ञायाम्: || (The word राज्ञ is formed by कु कु र्व affix): अर्न = अर्न + कुकुर्व; the prohibition applies to that form of this word wherein the nasal is not elided (VI. 4. 30). Thus श्रायायाम्, श्रायायाम्: || Where the nasal is elided, there the case-ending must take the accent; as गोङ्गा, गोङ्गा गोङ्गायाम्: || कुकुर्व is also a कु कु र्व formed word. Thus छुङ्गा, छुङ्गा, परायाय: || कुकुर्व is derived from इ 'to do' or from इ 'to cut' by छुङ्गा; as हंसा हंसे and परायाय: || Why has the word छुङ्गा been especially mentioned in this सौत्र, when the rule would have applied to it even without such enumeration, because in the Nominative Singular this word assumes the form अर्न and consequently it is साधवय: || The inclusion of द्रव्य indicates that the elision of श should not be considered asidhā for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, the present rule will not apply to words like हर्ष and द्रव्य which in Nom. Sing. end in अ, as षोड्य and षोद्य: after the elision of ष of अर्न (VII. 3. 94). Thus the Locative Singular of छुङ्गा will
be not by VI. 1. 168, this prohibition not applying, and the suffix न्व will get udātta after लिता by VI. 1. 176 as न्विन्वोऽव. But rule VI. 1. 176 will be debarred by the present in the case of न्वित्वा, because न्व is a सावर्तम.

तिरिक्तः न्वम् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदार्थः प्रियः, न्वम् ॥

चुन्तः ॥ चुन्तः परा हालाक्षिकत्वमेलोऽसा न्यासी ॥

183. After न्व, a case-ending beginning with म or ए is unaccented.

Thus न्वपुष्पः, न्वधनः ॥ This debars VI. 1. 168, 171. Why do we say 'beginning with a हत् consonant'? Observe तित्तः, तिपः ॥

सु चान्तरस्यां ॥ १८४ ॥ पदार्थः सु, च, अन्यतरस्यां ॥

चुन्तः ॥ सु हेतुसाधारान्म हालाक्षिकत्वस्यां नासासा न्यासी ॥

184. After सु, a case ending beginning with म or ए is optionally unaccented.

Thus चुन्तः or सुधिः, सुधीम्, दुधिः, दुधिः, दुधिः, दुधिः, दुधिः ॥ But not so च्रो, च्रो ॥

तित्तः स्वरित्तः ॥ १८५ ॥ पदार्थः तित्त, स्वरित्तः, ॥

चुन्तः ॥ चुन्तः स्वरित्तः न्यासी ॥

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

Thus न्वस्वरित्तः, न्वस्वरित्तः, formed by ग्रृ (III. 1. 97). कार्यः, नामः with न्वस्व (III. 1. 124). This is an exception to III. 1. 3 which makes all affixes एद्युद्दत्तः. For exception to this rule see VI. 1. 213 &c.

तास्यविद्यधिकत्रपदशास्त्रात्प्राप्तेऽनुवाचस्यातुकमुदात्तसाधिविश्वः: ॥ १८६ ॥ पदार्थः साधित्र चुन्तिः, अनुवाचस्यातुकमुदात्तसाधिविश्वः: धिकत्रुकस्य हर्वाचहारं नासासा स्वाम्यः सुन्वः, अनुवाचस्यातुकमुदात्तसाधिविश्वः ॥

186. The Personal-endings and their substitutes (III. 2. 124-126) are, when they are सार्वद्धान्तन (III. 4. 113 &c), unaccented, after the characteristic of the Peripheral future (तास्य), after a root which in the द्वापात्त्वa has an unaccented vowel or ए (with the exception of हुः and हूः) as indicatory letter, as well as after what has a final ए in the Grammatical system of Instruction (upadeśa).

Thus तास्यः कसाः, कसाः, कसाः, this debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). Anudāttetc:—as, अन्धः, अन्धं, अन्धशः ॥ रूपः:—रूपः, रूपः, रूपस्य:—रूपस्य, रूपस्य, रूपस्य:—कार्यः, नामः, नामः, नामः ॥ A root taking ए, (ए) is considered as
taught (upadesa) as if ending with an श, as the indicator letters च and ए are disregarded on the maxim अनुवर्तनां स्वकामिनिकर्तवं (अनान्वयवलं). Thus वेदमानसः, ब्यजनान:।। The augment मुक्त is added by ब्यानु मुक्त VII 2.82 which may be explained in two ways; first, the augment मुक्त is added to the final भ of the base (āṅga) when ब्यान (भानपूर्व &c) follows; or secondly, the the augment मुक्त is added to the base (āṅga) which ends in भ, when ब्यान follows. In the first case मुक्त becomes part and parcel of भ and will be taken and included by the enunciation of भ, and therefore ब्यानुरूपे will mean and include an भ having such मुक्त, on the maxim वेदतामातुरुत्तुमहतात्तप्रसेन मुदान्ते “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 मुक्त will not prevent the verb becoming ब्यानुरूपे।। But if secondly मुक्त be taken as part of the base which ends in भ, then the तत्सात्तप्रत्युक्त does not follow an ब्यानुरूपे, because भ intervenes. But we get rid of this difficulty by considering मुक्त augment as Bahiranga and therefore asidhara, when the Antaranga operation of accent is to be performed. The augment मुक्त (ष) in the last two examples consequently does not prevent the application of the rule. Though the affix भानपूर्व has an indicator ष, yet ष accent (VI. 1.163) is debarked by this rule, as it is subsequent.

Why do we say after भानपूर्व &c. Observe भिनुसः भिनिनः।। The vikaraṇa न्यू is न्यू (I. 2.4) with regard to operations affecting the prior term, and not those which affect the subsequent. Therefore though न्यू is considered as न्यू for the purposes of preventing the guna of the prior term न्यू, it will not be considered so for the purposes of subsequent accent. Or the word न्यू in this sūtra may be taken as equal to हृद्युपूर्व and not the आत्मासिद्ध हृद्यu like मुक्त।।

Why do we use the word upadesa? So that the rule may apply to वेदान्त, प्रमाण, but not to एत, एष्य: the dual of एष्य which ends in य in upadesa. though before एत and एष्य it has assumed the form ए।। Therefore एष्यः प्रमाणः।। Why do we use the word ए (Personal endings)? Observe कततिसः वेदमानसा formed by ब्यान added to ए (III.2.128) which not being a substitute of मुक्त, is not a personal ending like शानष।। Why do we use the word Sārvadhātuka? Observe भाद्यं, ब्यान, ब्यिनिनः, प्राचेरे।। "Why do we say with the exception of हृद्य and एत? Observe हृद्ये एत, यु शानष।।

शानषः सितो स्वत्तरस्यां ॥ १८७ ॥ पदावन।। आदिः, सिचः, अन्त्यतरस्यां, चूँचः।। उपात्र हृदि वर्षिते। सितो व्यान्तरस्यांतत्त्वाभावाद्याऽम्बो भवति।। भार्षिकः।। भिष भायुशात्रे दिनिः।। पिते: पसे उपासनेष्य श्रवन्तयः।।

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

The word एत is understood here. Thus ना ना कार्यम्, ना ना कार्यं; ना ना कार्यम् or ना ना कार्यं।। In the last example the accent is on नी; and the
reason why य and हि are used in these illustrations, has already been explained in VI. 1. 161. The indicatory य of किष्क्र shows that by VI. 1. 163 the acute will be on the otherwise unaccented augment ह्र, when it takes this augment. The ह्र, being a वखरिं affix will take the augment ह्र (VII. 2. 35), and it is a general rule that augment 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 य of लिख, which otherwise would find no scope. Thus हि gets acute.

Vārt.:—An affix having an indicatory य (लिख) when coming after an Aorist formed by लिख without the augment ह्र (अविद लिख) is in one alternative udātta (in the other, it is non-acute). This vārtika restricts the scope of the sūtra with regard to दिख affixes. Thus we get the following two forms, which otherwise would have one form only by dhatu-accent, namely, acute on the first, for लिख is anudātta. Thus सा हि ह्र or य हि ह्र. But when it takes the ह्र augment, there are two forms (1st.) य हि न्यायम् as a न्यायम्, (2nd.) य हि न्यायम् accent on हि (VI. 1. 163), but never य हि लिखम्. When however the augment य is added, the accent falls on this augment (VI. 4. 71).

स्वपरिविधिसङ्गमयसिद्धिः || १५५ || पदानि || स्वपरिविधिः हिलसाम, अवि, अनिदिः इति;
वृत्तिः न्यायार्थाद्भावतन्त्रहन्यतुवर्त्तते तत्स्वरितिः सम्बन्धितसम्बन्धितसम्बन्धितसम्बन्धितसम्बन्धितसम्बन्धितसम्बन्धितसम्बन्धितसम्बन्धितसम्बन्धितसम्बन्धित

188. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable when a Personal-ending, being a सर्वदात्तुकa tense affix beginning with a vowel, provided that the vowel is not the augment ह्र, follows after स्वर्ण &c., or after हिलसाम.

The phrase न्यायार्थाद्भावतन्त्रहन्यतुवर्त्तते is the locative case is understood here. Thus स्वयम्नतिः or स्वयम्नतिः, भास्यम् or भास्यम्, हिलसामिः or हिलसामाः. 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 beginning with a vowel’? Observe स्वयम्नम्, हिलसाम्. Why do we say ‘not taking the augment ह्र’? Observe स्वयम्नम् and हिलसाम. This rule applies to those vowel-beginning affixes which are ज्ञेय; it does not apply to दिख, हिलसाम.

अभ्यस्ततासिद्धिः || १८९ || पदानि || अभ्यस्ततासिद्धिः आदि; इति;
वृत्तिः अभ्यस्ततासिद्धिः न्यायार्थाद्भावतन्त्रहन्यतुवर्त्तते पति भास्यम्नतिः भास्यम् इति.

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 ह्र) and being a सर्वदात्तुकa personal ending.

Thus वैस्यां, वैसया, वैसयसं, वैसयसं, वैसयसं, वैसयसं, वैसयसं, वैसयसं, वैसयसं, वैसयसं, वैसयसं, वैसयसं. Before consonant affixes: एवंत् || Before the श अर श अर affixes:—असिः || Though the word वैस्या 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.

*अनुद्राते च॥ १९०॥* पदार्थ万美元 अनुद्राते, च, ||

बुद्धि॥ मनविधमातसङ्के पद्मारववालो कवर्तते भव्यसारामातमाथाली मनवित॥

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 तिर and तिर are anudatta (III. I. 4). This sutra applies to those personal endings which do not begin with a vowel. Thus इशानि, हैकाि, हैपाि, निश्चिपि, निम्नि्सि॥ The word अनुद्रातa is to be construed here as a Bahuvrthi i.e. an affix in which there is no uddatta vowel, so that the rule may apply when a portion of the affix is elided or a semiwovk is substituted : as ना हि यद इशानि, तथापति॥

*सर्वेश्व सुपि॥ १९१॥* पदार्थम॥ सर्वेश्व, सुपि॥

बुद्धि॥ सर्वेश्व सुपि पद्मारववालो भव्यसारामातमाथाली मनवित॥

चार्षिका॥ सर्वेश्वकी प्रत्ययस्विचि वसन्तवय॥

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

Thus सर्वेश्व, सर्वेश्व॥ Why do we say when the case-endings follow ? Observe सर्वेश्व, सर्वेश्व: the acute is on it. The word सर्वेश्व has acute on the final, as it is so taught in the उन्द्रि list by विश्वामि. It thus being anudárta takes the affix भव्य and forms सर्वेश्व (सर्वेश्व वियवर: ). This rule applies even when the case affix is elided in spite of the prohibition of न द्रवितकाल (I. 1. 63) : as लेनमिभी॥

*वादः*—The rule does not apply when the affix अवम इ पुत्र is put in : as सर्वेश्व॥ Here the accent is on the final by द्रवित accent (VI. 1. 163).

*भृगुद्रस्यः* अवमधजस्यः नरिद्रायांगरः नपस्यायूः पति॥ १९२॥ पदार्थम॥ भी, ही, यु, हु, सर, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, जगाराम, निधवत, पूवेष, पिति॥

बुद्धि॥ भी ही यु हु सर जन धन दरिद्रा जगाराम निधवत निधवत के पिति प्रत्ययःपूवेष के पिति प्रत्ययःपूवेष के मनवित॥

192. In भी, ही, यु, हु, सर, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, and जगार, in their reduplicates, the acute accent is, before the सर्ववधातुका unaccented endings of the three persons in singular, (पितृ), on the syllable which precedes the affix.

This debars the accent on the beginning. Thus विश्वामि, विश्वासि, विश्वाि, विश्वाि, भृगुद्रः परिभाषा॥ Here the root यु has diversely taken in the Chhandas the vikaranा यु, though it belongs to Divādi class. अष्टि, इत्यदः॥ The verb is here लेव or the Vedic Subjunctive, so also is the next example. पन् from पन् पाथे,
the इ of ति being elided by III. 4. 97, and the augment तर being added by III. 4. 94. श्रवणे, श्रवणि, श्रवणि ॥ In the case of other verbs we have हृति ॥ Before affixes which have not the indicator ं (i.e. all endings other than the three singular endings), the accent will be on the first syllable: as हृति ॥

लिति ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिति ॥
बुनि: ॥ लिति वर्तवयुपूर्यमुहति भगवति ॥

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

Thus विबोधकः, विबोधकः with the affix न्दन (III. 1. 133), विततिवितं and विततिवितः न्दन ॥ with the affixes विचन and न्दन (IV. 2. 54) accent on the कि and रि ॥

आदियुम्यत्तरस्यायम् ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि; श्रमुदि, अन्यतरस्यायम् ॥
बुनि: ॥ श्रमुदि सर्वा शृवध्वायमाहितस्या समस्या ॥

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

Thus लेख्यता or लेख्यतः ॥ In the reduplicate form नसु, the second part मु is unaccented by VIII. 1. 3. The present सूत्र makes के accented. When के is not accented, मु will get the accent by नसु accent. This rule is confined to polysyllabic Absolutes, namely to reduplicated Absolutes (VIII. 1. 4).

अच: कद्दूळि ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, कद्दूळि ॥
बुनि: ॥ उपर्ययाति च द्विग्नि । भजन्ति वे उपर्ययाति च कद्दूळि भवति भवति ॥

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

The word उपर्ययाति is understood here. Thus द्विमुति or द्विमुति कैसार: सचयेन ॥ द्वीमुति or द्वीमुति कैसार: सचयेन ॥ When the accent does not fall on the first syllable, it falls on ब (VI. 1. 186). This rule applies to जन्त, जर्त, and सर्त when they get the form जाल्पि, साय्यि and नाय्यि; the long बा (VI. 4. 43) substitute is considered as if these verbs were taught in the Dhātu-pātha with long बा ॥ Thus जाल्पि or जाल्पि सचयेन साय्यि or साय्यि सचयेन; स्याय्यि or स्याय्यि सचयेन ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in a vowel'? Observe विकैसार: सचयेन ॥ Why do we say "when the sense is Reflexive (कछूः)"? Observe द्विमुति कैसार: सचयेन ॥

थलि च लेक्रोडिन्तर् तथा ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, देवि, इलान्तः; गा ॥
बुनि: ॥ देवि यति हत वा देविः भवति वा भार्तरः अन्यतरस्यात् ॥
196. Before the ending य of the Perfect, second person singular, when this ending takes the augment र; the acute accent falls either on the first syllable, or on this र, or on the personal ending.

Thus सन्निध, सन्निधिः, सन्निधिः, and सन्निधिः. As य has an indicative र, the syllable preceding the affix may have also the accent (VI. 1. 193). Thus we get the four forms given above. In short, with य termination, the accent may fall on any syllable. When the य is not हृ, the accent falls on the root and we have one form only by य accent (VI. 1. 193):—बोधिः

वृत्तिज्ञानिविभावम् १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, आदि; विभावम् ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ भिन्न निग्रिक व विभाविभावणासो भवति ॥

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

Thus गर्भं with य (IV. 1. 105), गर्भेतकं, गर्भेषु with य (IV. 3. 98). This is an exception to III. 1. 3. When the affixes are, however, elided, the word loses this accent, i.e., the affix does not leave its mark behind, as it generally does by I. 1. 62. Therefore गर्भं, विरिक्, नवं: having lost य, यम् and य, have lost their accent also.

आमृतिवेश्य च १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमृतिवेश्य, च ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ आमृतिवेश्यानिविभावणासो भवति ॥

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

Thus वैहर्ष्य, वैहर्ष्यति, वैहर्ष्यति. This debars the final accent ordained by VI. 2. 148. Though the affix may be elided by a य word (ु, य or यम्), yet the effect of the affix remains behind in spite of I. 1. 63. As दक्षिणं-

गण्डक: ॥ दक्षिण: गण्डक: ॥

पृथियमोऽ: संस्कारानां १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृथियमोऽ: संस्कारानां ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ पृथियमोऽ: संस्कारानां ॥ पृथियमोऽ: संस्कारानां ॥

पृथियमोऽ: संस्कारानां ॥ भवति ॥ पृथियमोऽ: संस्कारानां ॥ पृथियमोऽ: संस्कारानां ॥

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

The words पिठुर and मधिय are derived by the उन्नदि affix दिः, (IV. 12, and 13) and are oxytone by III. 1. 3. They become आद्युद्भत्ता before strong cases. Thus दस्य, दस्यं, दस्यन्ति, दस्यन्, दस्यान्, दस्यानि. Before other cases we have:—पिठुर पदि, मधिय: पदि. The accent is on the final by VI. 1. 162, there being elision of the udātta हृ. The rule I. 1. 62, about the remaining effect of the affix, does not apply here. As पिठुर, has acute on the final of the first
word, by retaining its original accent.

अतः तबे युग्मव || 200 || पदार्थ || अन्तः, च, तवैः, युग्मव, ||

वृत्ति: || तोपक्षवधमस्तथानः तथाविश्व युग्मवदनाँ भव||

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

Thus घनेः, घनेः || This is an exception to III. 1. 3 by which त of तवै ought to have got the accent, and it also countermands rule VI. 1. 158 by which there can be only a single acute in a single word.

श्यो निवासे || 201 || पदार्थ || ष्यः, निवासे ||

वृत्ति: || तवधवस्थिनिवासे रतनवे भाषातानां भवति ||

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

Thus के व जागुः प्रवदव || The word is formed by च अर्ध (III. 1. 118) and would have had accent on the affix (III. 1. 3). When not meaning a house we have: ष्यः न रतने हस्ताश् || The word is formed by ष्यः (III. 1. 31).

जयः कारणम् || 202 || पदार्थ || जयः, कारणम् ||

वृत्ति: || तवधवस्थिनिकारणान्न भवति ||

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

Thus यवस्मन, but otherwise तवधवस्थिनि भाषानाम || The former जय is by च अर्ध (III. 1. 118) the second by ष्यः (III. 2. 31).

इवादिनां च || 203 || पदार्थ || इवादिनाम, च, ||

वृत्ति: || वष इवादिनामिनामिनिहरि भवति ||

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

Thus 1. ष्यः, 2. श्यः, 3. वषः, 4. ष्यः, 5. बषः, 6. ष्यः || These are formed by ष्यः (III. 1. 134). The word गयः is from चानादेढः, irregularly it is treated as ष्यः || 7. गषः, 8. गषः, 9. गषः, 10. गषः, 11. गषः, 12. गषः, 13. गषः, 14. गषः (formed by गषः numbers 8 to 11 are not in Kāśika). गषः is formed by क (III. 1. 133).

15. गषः, 16. गषः (formed by गषः III. 3. 104).
17. गषः एकतायां विनाशकारमिती: —
18. गषः, 19. गषः (formed by गषः III. 1. 134), 19. गषः (formed by गषः), 20. गषः.
21. गषः, both formed by गषः, 22. गषः, 23. गषः, 24. गषः, (all three formed by गषः III. 3. 104), 25. गषः नासासितु गषः formed by गषः 26. कणः, 27. गषः formed by गषः, which may either take the accent indicated by the affix or by VI. 1. 150, 28. गषः, 29. गषः.|| It is साक्तिस्वयः || 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.
204. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of that word with which something is likened, provided that it is a name.

Thus चन्द्रश श्रीर, श्रीरका, श्रीरकद, श्रीरी. All these are उपमान words used as names of the उपमेय (the thing compared). The suffix कत्र (V. 3, 96) is elided here by V. 3. 98. It might be asked when कत्र 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 प्रवक्क्त्र रुल is not of universal application in the rules relating to accent.

When the word is not a Name, we have अष्टविन्यवेदः. When it is not an upamāna we have वेदवर्गः (VI. 2. 148).

निष्ठा च द्रव्यजनाति ॥ २०५ ॥ पदार्थः निष्ठा, च, द्रजप, अनाति ॥

Thus द्रजप, द्रजप, द्रजप. This debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). In non-participles we have है, है, है, है. In polysyllabic Participles we have विलयितविषयित. In Participles having long आ in the first syllable, we have, आसः, आसः. When the Participle is not a Name we have, आसः, आसः.

शुच्क, शुच्की ॥ २०६ ॥ पदार्थः शुच्क, धृष्टी ॥

These are non-Names. Thus शुच्क: and धृष्ट:.

आर्जितः कर्ता ॥ २०७ ॥ पदार्थः आर्जितः, कर्ता ॥

207. The word आर्जित meaning ‘having eaten’ has acute on the first syllable.
Thus धर्मस्तवः देवदत्त: ‘Devadatta, having eaten’. Here it is used as an active participle. The क is added to दाहु preceded by भव, 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 भार्जुर्ण्य प्रेस्वरेन ‘eaten by Devadatta’. भार्जुर्ण्य ‘the eaten food’. The former is भवे क, the second is भवे न.

रक्ते विभाषा || 208 || पदानि || रक्ते, विभाषा ||
बृहि: || रक्ते विभाषा भार्जुर्ण्यस्वरेन भवे ||
208. The word रक्त may have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus रक्ते: or रक्ते: || This debars VI. 1. 204 and 205.

पदानि || च चुटा, आर्जि: || 209 || पदानि || चुटा, आर्जि: ||
बृहि: || चुटा आर्जि चुटे आर्जि चुटे आर्जि बृहि विभाषा भार्जुर्ण्यस्वरेन भवे: ||
209. In the Chhandas, the words चुटा and आर्जि have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus चुटे: or चुटे: ; आर्जि: or आर्जि: || In the secular literature the accent is always on the last syllable (III. 1. 3).

तितल्य शन्ते || 210 || पदानि || नियोम, शन्ते ||
बृहि: || चुटा आर्जि हवेन देवदत्तः देवदत्तः देवदत्तः देवदत्तः: ||
210. In the Mantras, these words चुटा and आर्जि have always the acute on the first syllable.

Thus चुटे ह्वः मन्त्रामूर्त्वां विगुष्ठां || Some say that this rule applies only to चुटे and not to आर्जि:; in which option is allowed even in the Mantra: so that it has acute on the last in the Mantra even: e. g. तितल्यां विधि तितल्यां विधि तितल्यां विधि গুপ্তঃ সম্মূর্ধঃ ||

পদানি || ব্যুঝত্সব্যবচ্ছিন্নঃ || 211 || পদানি || ব্যুঝত্সব্যবচ্ছিন্নঃ: ||
বৃহि: || ব্যুঝত্সব্যবচ্ছিন্ন মন্ত্রায় ব্যুঝত্সব্যবচ্ছিন্ন মন্ত্রায় ব্যুঝত্সব্যবচ্ছিন্ন: ||
211. The acute accent is on the first syllable of গুপ্তঃ and অস্ত্রঃ in the Genitive Singular.

This applies when the forms are মন and ভব, and not মন and ভব || Thus মন ধাত: তথ: ভব: || The word গুপ্তঃ and অস্ত্রঃ are derived from গুঝ and ব্যব: by adding the affix ভার্জ. (Un I. 139) গুপ্তঃ + ভার্জ = গুপ্ত: + ভার্জ (VII. 1. 27) = ভার্জ + ব্যব: (VI. 2. 96) = ভার্জ + ভার্জ (VII. 2. 90) = ভার্জ (VI. 1. 97). Here by VIII. 2. 5, ভব: would have been udatta, the present sūtra makes ভব: udatta. So also with মন: ||

ভধি: || 212 || পদানি || ভধি: ||
ভৃতি: || গুপ্তাসব্যবচ্ছিন্নঃ ভধি: ভধি: ভধি: ভধি: ||
212. The acute accent is on the first syllable of গুপ্তঃ and অস্ত্রঃ in the Dative Singular.
Thus क्रमण and निम्न, the forms त and ि are not governed by this rule. The making of two separate sūtras is for the sake of preventing the application of वधण्यन्त्र rule (I. 3. 10). If had the sūtra been च्वत्समत्र ध्रुवम, then yushmad in the Dative, and asmad in the Genitive alone would have taken this accent.

यतोअन्त: \| २९५ \| पदानि \| यतः; \| अनान्द: \| वृत्ति: \| निधिः व यथानामित्वतो यथापविन्यासपूजः \| यथावात्यन्त्रस्य यथाप्न्यासभारीर्षाचो भवति न च श्रवणी-श्रवणीपरे भवति .

213. Whatever is formed by the affix यत्, has, if it is a disyllabic word, the acute on the first syllable, with the exception of नाव्य: from नी ||

The word नाव्य is understood here from VI. 1. 205. Thus वेलु, वेलु (III. 1. 97); वेलु, वेलु (V. 1. 6). This rule debars the Svarita accent required by नव्य (VI. 1. 185) || But नी—नाव्य || The rule does not apply to words of more than two syllables, thus:—सिद्धिप्राप्तः, समाधेः ||

वृद्धवन्यन्त्रकुकुद्धाम प्रयत्: \| २९६ \| पदानि \| धेर, धेर, धेर, धेर, धेर, धेर, प्रयत्: \| वृत्ति: || धेर वरी खः केश दुह इत्यविच्यो भवतु तद्व्यथाययात्वसातृताय भवति .

214. The acute accent is on the first syllable of धेर, धेर, धेर, धेर and धेर, when they are followed by the affix प्रयत् ||

Thus धेर, धेर, धेर, धेर, धेर, धेर, धेर; || The two letters ि and ि being indicatory, the ‘न्यत्व’ is not included in ‘यत्व’ of the last sūtra. The accent would be regulated by ि || The accent of ि however is debarked by this rule. The ि in the sūtra is ि संहस्तो of Kriyadī class: the ि of स्वर्ण class takes kṣyap affix. See III. 1. 109.

विस्म्यव क्विन्यागान्योः || २९७ || पदानि || विषा: वेगु, वेगु, इण्यान्योः ||

215. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable of वेगु and इण्यान ||

Thus बेगु: or बेगु; इण्यान: or इण्यान: || The word बेगु is derived by the उण्यान affix तु (III. 39), which being a मितु would always have acute on the first. This allows an option. The word इण्यान, if it is formed by धारण: it will have the accent on the final. If it is considered to be formed by धारण: the affix being a sāvasīśātāka is anuddatta, and as it replaces uddāta final of the root, it becomes uddāta (VI. 1. 161), and thus इण्यान gets acute on the middle. It would never have acute on the first syllable, the present rule ordains that also. When बेगु is used as an upamāṇa स्वप्नितम बेगु, then it is invariably acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 204).
216. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllables of खम, रम, हस, कह, खद, क्षक्षानाम. These are formed by the affix and by VI. 1. 159 would take acute on the final, this ordains acute on the first syllable also. खम: or कह, खद: or क्षक्षानाम: खम: or क्षक्षानाम: खद: or क्षक्षानाम: formed by खद (III. 1. 13).

217. What is formed by an affix having an indicator ऐ, 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 कर्मविक्षिप्त and कर्मविद्या formed by अनुदेश (III. 1. 96); यद्धारोही: by आतीत (V. 3. 10). This debars III. 1. 3. चक्रवीर्यस्यायम् ऐ 218. The acute accent may be optionally on the penultimate syllable of the reduplicated Aorist in खश्, the word consisting of more than two syllables.

Thus ना न चार्जः कर्मविक्षिप्त. चार्जः कर्मविद्या. The augment खश् is elided by the addition of चार्जः, VI. 4. 74; नै prevents the verb from becoming anudatta VIII. 1. 34 then comes the खश् accent of खश्. The augmented form with खश् 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 वन्यमयम् 219. The खश् before the affix खश् has the acute accent, when the word is a name in the Feminine Gender.

Thus खश्चन्द्रासिद्धि, खश्चन्द्रासिद्धि, खश्चन्द्रासिद्धि (IV. 2. 85). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 120. खश्चन्द्रासिद्धि. Why do we say 'the खश्'? Observe खश्चन्द्रासिद्धि, खश्चन्द्रासिद्धि. The words खश्च Un. III. 157 and खश्च (V. 2. 108) are end-acute, so accent is on खश्च by VI. 1. 176. Why do we say when a name? Observe खश्चन्द्रासिद्धि, खश्च is formed by खश् and has acute on the first (Un. I. 151). Why do we say in
the Feminine Gender? Observe नववरः। Why do we say when followed by मृ? Observe ग्यापायी।

अय्यरः प्रयासः। दुश्चिमः द्रुपानन्दः कारणः। These words being formed by स्वेदः would have been unaccented on the final (III. 1. 4). Why do we use अमृती and not स्वेदः? Then the rule would apply to राजसः also, for this word is really राजसः ending in अमृती, the subsequent elision of त्र is held to be non-valid for the purposes of the application of this rule (VIII. 2. 2). But the change of मृ into स (मृृः) is considered siddha for the purposes of this rule.

ईवरः: दुर्दारा। पदार्थः। ईवरः; (उद्वर्ढः)। ईवरः। ईवरसीधात्रायास्य सहस्यकृच्चितुष्यकृ।

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

Thus बलीरः, इति, इति, इति।

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

Thus द्रभः, द्रभः, द्रभः, द्रभः, द्रभः, पदः, पदः, पदः। This is an exception to VI. 1. 161, 170 and VI. 2. 52.

Vār.:—This rule does not apply before a Taddhita affix. As श्वीरः.

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

Thus अष्टरः: अष्टरायास्यः, कारणः, पदः, मृत्योः, राजसः, अष्टरायास्यः। 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.

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

The word पूर्वप्रच is means here the accent—whether udāṭta or swarita—which is in the first member: महत्वा means, retains its own nature, does not become modified into an anudāṭta accent. By the rule VI. 1. 223, the final of a compound gets the accent, so that all the preceding members lose their accent and become anudāṭta, as in one word all syllables are unaccented except one. VI. 1. 158. Thus the first member of a Bahuvrihi would have lost its accent and become anudāṭta; with the present sūtra commences the exceptions to the rule that the final of a compound is always udāṭta. Thus भ्राण्योत्साहक is. The word कार्ण is derived by the Taddhita affix कार्ण (IV. 3. 154) from कर्ण 'a kind of antelope,' and has the निम्न accent (VI. 1. 197) i.e. on the first syllable: which the word preserves in the compound also. So also लूक्य; the word जु is derived from जु by the Uṇādi affix ज (Uṇ III. 27), before which the vowel becomes lengthened (Uṇ III. 25) and the affix is treated as निम्न (Uṇ III. 26), and hence the word is acutely accented on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). So also भ्राण्योत्साहक, the word भ्राण्योत्साहक has a Kṛi-formed word as its second part, and gets the acute on the final (VI. 2. 139). So also नात्सा, the word नात्सा is derived by कार्ण (V. 4. 29) affix and has हिम accent (VI. 1. 197) i.e. udāṭta on the first syllable. So also महान्प्रभुत, the word महान्प्रभुत is accented on the middle as it is formed by a निम्न affix (III. 1, 133, VI. 1. 193), भ्राण्योत्साहक, the भ्राण्य being enounced with an indicator ज in Sūtra V. 2. 84 is acutely accented on the first. नात्सा, the word नात्सा being formed by कार्ण (IV. 1. 161) a निम्न affix is svarita (VI. 1. 185).
The words udātta and svarita are understood in this aphorism. Therefore if all the syllables of the pārvapada 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 समाय; here स being all anudātta, the accent falls on it.

तत्त्वके तत्त्वाद्वितीयासत्त्वप्रमाणात्यवश्यतीयाधिकार्यः। ॥ ॥ पदार्थः। तत्त्वममेच, तत्त्वपरं, तत्त्वीया, सत्त्वी, उपमान, अवयव, द्वितीया, त्रित्या: ॥

गुणः। तत्त्वके समाय तत्त्वाद्वितीयादिश्यामात्यवश्यतीयाधिकार्यः। भव्यम द्वितीयात्म कृताल च भव्यांत्रे प्रत्यक्षितशर्य नकाशः।

पार्श्वशः। भव्यश्च न भव्यप्रमाणाविश्व प्रवज्ञः।

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) श्रेष्ठेऽै, श्रेष्ठवैत्व, श्रेष्ठमात्र, श्रेष्ठकिर्तिः, श्रेष्ठमूलः, श्रेष्ठेऽैः. These are Karmadhāraya compounds formed under II. 1. 68: and तुष्य being formed by तुष्य is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 216). The word तुष्य is formed by कृत्त्र (III. 2. 60 Vārt), and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 197 and VI. 2. 139). So also तुष्येऽै, तुष्ये्तित्र; तुष्यसमानः. The word तुष्य is formed by तुष्य added to तुष्य, and by VI. 1. 197 the accent falls on तुष्य (VI. 2. 139). (2) When the first member is in the Instrumental case, as:—प्रकुल्प्य लङ्कः = प्रकुल्म-लङ्कः; so also दक्षिः (II. 1. 30) दक्षः is derived from दक्षः + तः. To the root तः is added the affix क with the force of प्रत्य, and thus the noun तः is udātta; or the whole word दक्षः is a word formed by क affix and hence VI. 1. 165 applies and is final-acute. दक्षिः is formed by the Uṇādi affix त to क (Uṇ. IV. 143), and it being treated as a तित (Uṇ. IV. 142) has udātta on the final.

(3) When the first member is a word in the Locative case, as:—श्रेष्ठेऽतित्रः = श्रेष्ठेऽतित्रः, so also हृदयेऽतित्रः. The word हृदय is formed by the affix ह added to हृदय (Uṇ III. 65), and is final acute (III. 1. 3). The word हृदय is formed by हृदय, affix added to हृ, and is acute on the first (VI. 1. 193) owing to the तित accent. (4) When the first member is a word with which the second member is compared, as:—सवीकार्याः, श्रेष्ठसंस्कृति, श्रेष्ठप्रतिष्ठा, श्रेष्ठक्षेष्ठा, श्रेष्ठप्राप्तिः, श्रेष्ठप्राप्तिः, श्रेष्ठप्राप्तिः. These compounds are formed by II. 1. 55. श्रेष्ठ is formed by सवीकार्य, and is final-acute; क्षेष्ठ is formed by क affix (की श्रेष्ठ-क्षेष्ठ) and is final-acute; श्रेष्ठ is formed by the Uṇādi affix त added to हृ.
(Up III. 62), and is finally accented (III. 1. 3). स्वायोष्टि—स्वायोष is formed by अर्ज to (III. 1. 134), and श is irregularly changed into श as Pāṇini himself uses this form (VII. 3. 5) and it is accented in the middle. The words पृथ्वीकाण्ठ, शतक्रान्त 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, द्वारिक, वद्वारिक, द्वारिक, द्वारिक: निपाणिका, निपाणिका, निपाणिका, निपाणिका. 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 न, by क्ष and by Particles (nipāta). Though न is one of the Nipātas, its separate mention indicates that न-accent debars even the subsequent क्ष-accent as भक्त्रितम. Therefore, it does not apply here न्यायाकलक्ष which has acute on the final and belongs to Mayuravāsakādi class.

(6) When the first member is in the accusative case, as:—पुष्करंसूचिसू, परशुरामिलाम, शर्मायककान्तिक, शर्मायककान्तिक. They are formed by II. 1. 29. अ० belongs to प्रवेशात्ती class and is acutely accented on the last. सर्वाय is formed by the समासांता affix अ० and is finally accented.

(7) When the first member is a Kriya-formed word, as, भूत्यत्तिक्त, भूत्यत्तिक्त, भूत्यत्तिक्त (II. 1. 68). भूत्यत्तिक्त is formed by यो and has svarita on the final; परनेत and क्षणेत are formed by स्मृतिक्त and are accented on the penultimate (VI. 1. 185 and 217) i.e. on यो.

वायुतप्योपनवेत (II. 3) पदानि || यत्र}}, यत्रेऽ, अनेते ||

'क्षणितध', 'क्षणितध', अनेते ||

'क्षणितध'—क्षणितध, क्षणितध, अनेते ||

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 परम ||

Thus कुष्णाक्रमृत, कुष्णाक्रमृत, कुष्णाक्रमृत, कुष्णाक्रमृत: कुष्ण is formed by पक affix (Up. III. 4) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). क्षणित is formed by the affix शक added to क्षण (Up. III. 94) and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 197).

Why do we say 'color-denoting word'? Observe प्रतिमन (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'with another color denoting word'? Observe कुष्णाक्रमृत (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'but not when it is परम'? Observe कुष्णाक्रमृत, कुष्णाक्रमृत ||

The compounding takes place by II.1. 69.
4. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when the second term is गाय or लघु, and the compound expresses a ‘measure or mass’.

Thus दुर्गमापसङ्कर, भूत संस्थापसङ्कर, ‘water as low or fordable as a Samba or an Aritra i.e. of the depth of an oar or a pestle’. दूसरमधय, दृष्टान्तवर्ण, ‘so much salt as may be given to a cow or a horse’. These are Genitive Tatpurusha compounds. गाय is formed by adding गाय to गाय (Uप. IV. 94), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). गृहित is formed by the affix गृह added to गृह (III. 2. 184), and has acute on the middle (III. 1. 3); ब्रह्म is formed by ब्रह्म (Uप. II. 68) and has acute on the final ब्र; ज्ञान is formed by ज्ञान affix added to ज्ञान (Uप. 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 परमाणुपः and परतत्त्व्यपः ||

व्रतार्थ व्रतार्थे || 5 || पद्यम || दृष्टान्तम, दृष्टान्ते ||

ब्रह्म: || तदाद्विषे वाच्य-विश्वासवर्गालोके शास्त्रवाचार्य पूर्वप्रजे क्षत्रियस्य भवति ||

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

Thus निष्क्यातार्थ, भूतातार्थ: || The word निष्क्या is formed by the affix निष्क्य। (III. 3. 99) which is udātta (III. 3. 96). The word भूता is derived by adding भूता to भूटा (Uप. II. 81). Though the Uपादि सूत्रा II. 81 ordains क्षु after the root भूत preceded by नि, yet by नि (III. 3. 1) rule it comes after भूत also when it is not preceded by नि and भूत has acute on the first (III. 1. 3).

In the forms निष्क्यातार्थ: &c, what Genitive case has been taken? If it is the Genitive case which the word दृष्टान्त requires by Rule II. 3. 39, then by the Vārtika निष्क्यातार्थः भूतातार्थ न पद्याद्विषे समझते (II. 2. 10 Vart), there can be no compounding. The Genitive case there is the ordinary Genitive case of II. 3. 59, i.e. a श्रेष्ठ Genitive case, and not a श्रेष्ठ Genitive. If it is a श्रेष्ठ Genitive case, then why the other Genitive case is taught in II. 3. 39 with regard to दृष्टान्त &c. That sūtra only indicates the existence of the Locative case in the alternative, and does not prevent the Genitive. In fact, had merely Locative been ordained in that sūtra, this particular case would have prevented the Genitive on the maxim that a particular rule debars the general. But the employment of both terms Genitive and Locative in that sūtra indicates the alternative nature of the rule and shows that the Genitive case so taught is not a श्रेष्ठ 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 शतानांविक्षम् (VI. 1. 223) taking the final acute of a compound.

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

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

Why do we say 'when meaning a pretext'? Observe विश्वास्य पदः विश्वास्य पदः विश्वास्य पदः विश्वास्य पदः

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

Thus कुष्ठेऽनुष्ठीति 'a hut as the only shelter from the wind'.

So also धोमः कुष्ठीति, कुष्ठीविश्वास, or कुष्ठीविश्वास. The word विश्वास is an Avyayi-
bhāva compound - गलत्स्व भवाय (II. 1. 6): or a Bahuvrihi =निष्क्रिय भावात्प्रियम्. The words कुमारिविषयतम् &c, are examples of compounds of two words in apposition. कुमारि and विषयतम् are formed by त्रिभु (IV. 1. 41) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). Some say that कुमारि is derived from कुमार् by adding विषयतम् and treating it as कुमारात्, is has the acute on the first; others hold that it is derived by the affix विषयतम् to कुमार् and the affix has the accent.

Why do we say when meaning 'a shelter from wind'? Observe राजनिःसत्यं पसि, घायल भानुभिनिःसत् = 'he lives under the shelter of the king'; 'pleasant is the shelter or the protection of the mother'. Here निःसत् = पश्चायं or vicinity.

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

The word शारद्य means appertaining to season (कालस्त) i.e. when the word शारद्य does not refer to the season of गोद्व or autumn. Thus रसायनाःसिद्धान्तम् 'fresh drawn water'. So also श्रिवं शारदा: सन्तोः 'the saktu flour fresh from the mill'. The word शारद्य means here 'fresh' 'new': and it forms an invariable compound. The word रसायनम् is formed by श अन्यत्र शारद्य (Ug. I. 15), the श being elided. The affix श is treated as निः (Ug. I. 9) and the accent falls on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word रसायनम् is formed by the augment ऌ and shortening of the vowel of the root र 'to tear' (रणि), and the affix भरियम् (Ug. I. 131) and has accent on the final (III. 1. 3).

Why do we say 'when not meaning autumnal'? Observe पर्याथार्थः, सतमाथार्थः 'the best autumnal grass &c'. (VI. 1. 223).

अध्ययुक्तकार्योऽस्तिती II १० II पदानि II अप्प्यु, कार्योऽस्तिती ||

१०. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting a genus, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word अध्युप्तु or कार्य.

Thus शास्त्राकार्यः, कार्यदानः, कार्यसृजः II These are Appositional compounds denoting 'genus or kind', with a fixed meaning. शास्त्र is formed by श, and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 213). कार्य is derived by श अन्यत्र शास्त्र (III. 1. 34), and to it is added the Taddhita affix जनि (IV. 3. 104), in the sense of कर्म जनिन्त (IV. 3. 101), and the affix is then elided by IV. 3. 107. The word कार्य comes from कार्यसृजः + जनि, (IV. 3. 108) in the sense of कार्यसृजः जनिन्त (IV. 3.
110), and it would have preserved its form without change before this affix (VI. 4. 164) but for a vārtika which declares that the दृष्ट द of कल्याण will be elided (See VI. 1. 144 var). Thus कल्याण gets accent on the final (III. 1. 3). So also सर्वप्रतिकृतता, उपप्रतिकृतता, सर्वप्रशासन. These are Genitive compounds. The words सर्वप्रतिकृत and उपप्रतिकृत are Genitive compounds and have accent on the final (VI. 1. 223). The word सर्वप्रतिकृत is formed by दृष्ट द affix added to दृष्ट and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 165). Why do we say when meaning a ‘genus’? Observe, परमाथुः, परमाथ्य (VI. 1. 223).

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

Thus नानाभव, मातृपति. The words नाना and मातृ are formed by उष्णादि affix. (Un. II. 95) and are finally accented. By II. 1. 31, सर्वप्रति 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 हर्षिन् सर्वप्रति, बुद्धिप्रति सर्वप्रति. Here हर्षिन् and बुद्धिप्रति are finally acute, and the case-affix gets the accent when semivowel is substituted (VI. 1. 174).

So also मातृ, मातृपति. Why do we say ‘when meaning resemblance’? Observe दललय, दललय (VI. 1. 223): here the sense of the compound is that of ‘honour’ and not ‘resemblance’.

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

Thus दललय, मातृपति: and दललय, मातृपति: The word दललय: सर्वप्रति मातृपति: the affix मातृपति denoting ‘measure’ (V. 2. 37) is elided (See V. 2. 37 Vart) मातृपति: सर्वप्रति “an Eastern seven-years old”. So also मातृपति: मातृपति: or दललय: मातृपति: has acute on the first; while मातृपति is either accented on the first or on the middle; as it belongs to the Kardamādi class (Phit III. 10). Why do we say ‘before a Dvīgu’? Observe मातृपति: Why do we say ‘when denoting measure’? Observe दललय: II
13. Before the word वाणिि '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 मद्रासाचिनि, बाईसीराचिनि, गार्भाराचिनि = मद्रासु गार्भाराचिनि 'the Madra-merchants i.e. who trade by going to Madra &c.' All these are Locative compounds. गार्भा is derived by अक affix (Un II, 13) and is acutely accented on the last (VI. 1. 165). बाईसीरा belongs to क्रोधदाराधि class (VI. 3. 109), and has acute either on the first or the second syllable. The word गार्भारि belongs to the कार्डामादि class, and is consequently acute on the first or the second (Phit III. 10). In the sense of पशु we have: मृगाचिनि = 'a dealer in cows', भोजसाचिनि &c. भोज is finally accented (Un II. 67); and पशु has acute on the first (Un I. 151) the affix being शुद्ध.

Why do we say 'the place whither one goes, or the goods in which one deals'? Observe पुराणाचिनि, उदयनाचिनि.

मार्गोपपुकाचि स्योंस्ये नूपुस्ये. II १५ II पद्यि II मात्रा, उपक्रम, उपक्रम, छाये, नूपुस्ये II

वृति: II मात्रा उपक्रम उपक्रम छाया उपक्रम उपक्रम नूपुस्या छोड़ि वाणिि एकाः पुराणाः शिक्षितय भविषया

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

Thus मात्राचिनि न शुद्धिः बाणिः, सापुस्ये न स्मृदिः क्षिप्रया II The word मात्रा is here synonymous with पुर्ण, the phrase being मात्राचिनि = मात्रा पुर्णाचिनि, and is a Genitive compound. The word मात्रा is derived from मात्र, by the feminine affix अ (III. 3. 103), and has acute on the final (III I. 3). The word वाणिि has also acute on the final as it is a word denoting 'a sea', (Phit सूत्रा I. 2). So also with उपक्रम, as पाणिनिि पाणिनिि पुर्णाश्चि, वाघुपाश्चि वाघुपाश्चि वाग्नाश्चि उपक्रम (see II. 4. 21). All these are Genitive compounds. The word पाणिि is derived by अक affix from पाणिि (पाणिनिि पाणिनिि पाणिनिि), and has acute on the final (III I. 3). The word वाणिि being formed by अक affix has acute on the first (VI 1. 197), so also वाणिि. So also with पुर्ण, as बाईसीराचिनि वाणिि, बाईसीराचिनि वाणिि, बाईसीराचिनि वाणिि, बाईसीराचिनि वाणिि. All these are Genitive compounds. The word मात्रा (वाणिि अक) is derived from मात्र, by added with the force of पुर्ण, the अ being changed to पुर्णमित्र, the word belonging to पुर्णमित्र class (VI. 3. 109), and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. The word पाणिि is formed by अक and has acute on the penultimate अ owing to the indicatory अ (VI. 1. 217). The word बाणिि has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172. The word मात्रा is formed by अक (III. 1. 134). The Tatpurusha compounds ending in उपक्रम and उपक्रम are neuter by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, as उपक्रम.
TATPURUSHA-ACCENT.

The word दुः र is derived from दुः by ा affix (Un I. 13), and it being treated as निर्देश (Un I. 9) the acute falls on त the first syllable (VI. i. 197). The word थुरेन has also acute on the first by Phii tū śtra II. 3. The compound is a Genitive Tatpurusha—दुः रा त्या; and it is Neuter by II. 4. 22. When the compound is not a Neuter we have दुः रा त्या (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 दुः कर्ण ‘the pleasure of going’. So also दुः कर्ण, चाहिएकर्ण, तन्नि, वेधपि, वेधपि, चाहिएकर्ण। 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 हि 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 परस्परादि, परस्परादि।

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 दुः रा त्या चाहिएकर्ण “the sweetmilk desired by or agreeable to the Brāhmaṇas”, चाहिएकर्णः. कन्यापियोत्तिकर्णः कन्यापियोत्तिकर्ण रा त्या. The words रा त्या and चाहिएकर्ण have acute on the final being formed by the affixes कन्या and र (V. 4. 62) respectively (III. 1. 3) and कन्या has svarita on the final. When not meaning agreeable to or desired, we have राजार्द्ध, राजार्द्ध।

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 रा त्या चाहिएकर्ण, रा त्या चाहिएकर्ण। The accents of सी, ब्रम्ह and चा have already been mentioned before in VI. 2. 14. When the first member is not a word denoting possession, we have परस्परादि।
18. In a Tatpurusha ending in पति when it means 'master' or 'lord', the first member preserves its original accent.

Thus मुूः, मुूः, पतसूः, वदयतिः; पापसिः. The word मुूः is formed by व (III. 1. 144) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सन्न is a Bahuvrihi (सह सन्न यते = सन्न), and by VI. 2. 1 the first member retains its accent. The word सन्न is derived from न 'to lead' by the suffix शु (III. 3. 57) and has acute on the first (III. 1. 4), the word नाम्ब has svarita on the final (See Phit II. 23). Why do we say when meaning 'lord'? Observe भाष्को वृद्धिपार्थि: "a Brahmana, husband of a Sūdrā".

रा भू सावधिधिश्रुणु || १९ || पदावि || न, भू, धार, प्रीत, दिशिनु ||

पुस्ति: परिवारनोर्ते ऐवंशयाठिन्ति तदुपयो समायस भू भार निष्ठ निमिते ह्रत्याच तदुपयो महतिः

19. The words भू, धार, प्रीत and दिशिनु, however, do not preserve their original accent in a Tatpurusha when coming before the word पति denoting 'lord'.

This debarrs the accent taught by the last aphorism. Thus मुूःति, वधु-पति, विसुधिपति, विदिति. All these are Genitive compounds and are finally accepted by VI. 1. 223.

दा भूवनम || २० || पदावि || दा, भूवनम ||

पुस्ति: परिवारनोर्ते ऐवंशयाठिन्ति तदुपयो समायस भूवनमः गृहसूल या महतिः महति ||

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

Thus भूवनमपतिः or हृष्णमपतिः. The word भूवन is formed by भू (Ung. II. 80), and has acute on the first (VI. I. 197). Though Sūtra II. 80 (Unadi) ordains भू after भू in the Vedas only, yet on the theory of भू (III. 1. 3), it comes in the secular literature also, as भूवनमपतिः.

आचार्याभान्तीव्रसन्नं संसाधने || २१ || पदावि || आचार्य, आचार्य, नेूव्रसन्न, संसाधने ||

पुस्ति: पञ्चास्य पूर्ववेत् तदुपपतिः यते साह। आचार्य आचार्य नेूव्रसन्न द्वैशयस्य शतसंगान्नभासिनि तदुपयो समायस गृहसूल या महतिः महति ||

21. Before आचार्य, आचार्य and नेूव्रसन्न, the first member in a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when it treats about a supposition.

The word संभालस्य - स्वतीस्यम-स्वत: "the hesitation about the existence of a thing". Thus संभालस्य सत्सो 'one fears the journey'; so also इतिस्ततं, आचार्य-पति, &c. Similarly संभालस्य सत्सो गमन याप्ते ईति संभालस्य "it has stepped in as
an obstacle to journey”. So also चलनामार्थः, चलनामार्थः. Similarly समनदेशीयः वर्तते, चलनामार्थः: चलनामार्थः — सामग्रिकता विकासार्थिनि संशोधनः “the journey stands directly before”.

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

२२ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ पूर्वः, सूत्पूर्वः ॥

२२. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent when the word पूर्वः is the second member, and the sense is “this had been lately——”.

Thus भाष्ये सूत्पूर्वः: भाष्ये: “formely had been rich”. The compound must be analysed in the above way. The compounding takes place by III. 57 or it belongs to Mayura-vyaasakādi class. So also लघुप्राप्तिः, लघुप्राप्तिः: ॥

Why do we say when meaning ‘had been lately’. Observe परमेष्वरः, चलनार्थः, which should be analysed as परमेश्वरः परमेश्वरः: ॥ If it is analysed as परमेश्वरः परमेश्वरः 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.

२३ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ सविच, सनीडः, समर्थः, सवेशः, सदेशेशः, सामीये ॥

२३. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when the second ‘member is सविच, सनीडः, समर्थः, सवेशः, and सदेशः in the sense of “what can be found in the vicinity thereof”.

Thus तथाविचारः, गाम्यार्थिनि, गाम्यार्थिनि, गाम्यार्थिनि. So also महर्षि, महर्षि, महर्षि, and महर्षि. So also with महार्षि and कामार्षि. The accents of these words have been taught before in Sūtra VI. 2. 12, 13. The words सविच &c, are derived from सविच ‘a field having boundary’. परमेश्वरः समार्थः: “the bounded field of D”. Why do we say सविच &c? Observe सविचनमार्थः ॥

२४ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ विस्पदः, वापीदः-युग्मचन्द्रः ॥

२४. विस्पदः, वापीदः-युग्मचन्द्रः. प्रधानः: विस्पदः युग्मचन्द्रः समार्थः महार्षिकार्थिनि संशोधनः ॥
24. The words विस्फोट &c preserve their accent when followed by an Adjective word in a compound,

Thus विस्फोट कादम्ब, विस्फोटकदम्ब, विस्फोटककदम्ब, विस्फोटकदम्ब, विस्फोटककदम्ब, विस्फोटककदम्ब. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 4, and it should be analysed thus विस्फोट कादम्ब &c.

The words विस्फोट &c, are indeed here adjectives, and in conjunction with कदम्ब &c, they denote an object possessing those qualities; and therefore not being in apposition, the compound is not a Karmadhraya.

The word विस्फोट has acute on the first by VI. 2. 49. The word विश्राम is also acute on the first as it gets the accent of the Indeclinable. Some read the word as विश्रम, which being a Bahuvrihi has also first acute. The word व्यक्त has svarita on the first by VIII. 3. 2. The remaining words of this class are व्यक्त, व्यक्त, प्रभाव, प्रभावित, प्रभावित, प्रभावित, and प्रभावित. Of these, the word व्यक्त has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144; व्यक्त is formed by े (Uṣṇ. I. 18), which being considered as े (Uṣṇ. I. 9), it has acute on the first. प्रभाव is formed by े to the root प्र, and is finally acute (VI. 2. 144). कुहल has accent on the final being formed by a krit suffix (कुहल लति = कुहल, सा घातको, or Uṣṇ. I. 106). प्रभाव being formed by a ि suffix (Uṣṇ. I. 111), has acute on the final (VI. 1. 163), for ि is understood in the Uṇādi sūtra Uṣṇ. I. 111 from sūtra Uṣṇ. I. 106. The word विद्वंस has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, being formed by ि suffix added to ृष्ट &c.

Why do we say ‘of विस्फोट &c’ Observe कमलावर्जगुल्ल, कमलावर्जगुल्ल, both having acute on the final. Why do we say “when followed by a word expressing a quality”? Observe विस्फोटङ्कुम्रय।

अन्यायकृष्णपापबस्तु मायेः क्रमांयायेः ॥ २५ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अ, ज्ञ, अथव, कद, पापवर्ज, माय, क्रमांयायेः ॥

कुस्ति ॥ यदि ब्रम्ह कद, हेतुपद्धार्यात्मा प्रीतस्य उपचारायं क्रमांयायं समासे भाषाशीर्ष वृपपथं महत्तस्यं न भवति ॥

25. In a Karmadhraya compound, the first member consisting of a Verbal noun (भाव), preserves its original accent before adjective forms built from अ (V. 3. 60), ज्ञ (V. 3. 61) अथव and कद (V. 3. 64), and before a form built from the word पुर ॥

Thus श्रमन्निष्ठ, or श्रमन्निष्ठ, श्रमन्निष्ठ, or श्रमन्निष्ठ; श्रमन्निष्ठ, श्रमन्निष्ठ, श्रमन्निष्ठ, or श्रमन्निष्ठ. So also श्रमन्निष्ठ, श्रमन्निष्ठ, श्रमन्निष्ठ. All the first members are श्रमन्निष्ठ formed words and have भव �accent i.e. on the first syllable. (VI I. 193). The words अ, ज्ञ and कद are substitutes which certain adjectives take in the comparative and superlative degree, and the employment of these forms in the sūtra indicates that the comparative and superlative words having these ele-
ments should be taken as second members, and so also of चा, the comparative and superlative are taken, for this is the meaning here of the word चारवाल।

Why do we say "चा & चा"? Observe गनस्तोल्लासर। Why do we say 'a verbal Noun'? Observe गनस्तोल्लासर, where the word गनस्तोल्लासर is गनस्तोल्लासर, 'a carraige'. Why do we say 'a Karmadhāraya compound'? Observe गनस्तोल्लासर, गनस्तोल्लासर।

कुमारस्य || 26 || पद्याः || कुमारः, च ||

पुः: || कुमारस्य: पूःपां कर्न्यायां गमने प्रकृतिदृश्यं गमने ||

26. The word कुमार preserves its original accent when standing as a first member in a Karmadhāraya compound.

Thus कुमारकूलक, कुमारकूलक न, कुमारकूलकरस्ती। The word कुमार has acute on the final as it is derived from the root कुमार निजःग्रहणार्थ with the affix निजः of प्राचुः। By 11. 1. 70, it is ordained that कुमार is compounded with गमन &. Some commentators hold that the word कुमार must be followed by गमन &. (11. 1. 70) to make this rule applicable. They refer to the maxim अन्नमयप्रदेशोऽवशोऽवणूः प्रवण हों "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 कुमार।

आदि: प्रस्नेनसि || 27 || पद्याः || आदि: प्रस्नेनसि ||

पुः: || कर्न्यायार्थ: गर्न्याः। प्रतिवेदा गुरूसा प्रतिवेदमेवे या सि: प्रस्नेन:। तत्सिद्धसि कर्न्यायार्थिनोऽसि गमने ||

27. In a Karmadhāraya compound of Kumāra followed by प्रस्नेन, the acute falls on the first syllable of Kumāra.

The word प्रस्नेन, प्रतिवेदा गुरूसा or प्रतिवेदमेवे या सि। Thus कुमारमेवे। The word udātta is required to be read into the sūtra to complete the sense: for the construction of the sūtra requires it, and the anuvriti of the 'first member preserves its accent' would be inappropriate because the word आदि is employed here.

पूर्वोपचरस्वास्तम् || 28 || पद्याः || पूर्वोपचरस्वास्तम् ||

पुः: || पूर्वोपचरस्वास्तमेवे कर्न्यायाः गमने कुमारस्यव्यवस्थितार्थिनोऽसि गमने ||
28. The first syllable of Kumāra is acute optionally, when the second member is a word denoting 'the name of a horde'.

The word वर्ग means 'a multitude, a collection &c.' See V. 3. 112 also. Thus कुमारवक्ता; or कुमारस्वक्ता (VII. 2. 26), or कुमारपाल्ली. So also कुमारवेष्ट्या; or कुमारस्वेष्ट्या; or कुमाराम्भा. So also with कुमारस्वक्ता, कुमार-
विधेय:। Here वर्ग, &c, are horde-names; and the affix अ्य 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 VII. 2. 26, when the भिन्नकुर्म maxim is not applied: when that maxim is applied, the final of the compound takes the accent by the general rule VI. 1. 223.

29. In a Dvīgu compound, the first member preserves its original accent, before a stem ending in a simple vowel, with the exception of अ (ूष), before a word denoting time, as well as before कान्त, मर्ग and शार.

Thus दैवत्सिक: दैवतसिक:। The above are examples of Taddhītārthā Dvīgu (II. 1. 52), equal to दैवतसिक: प्राक्तनसिक, the prākta denoting-affix अूष is always elided in Dvīgu (V. 2. 3 Vārt). So also दैवतदृष्ट: दैवतदृष्ट:—दैवत मात्र: चतुरी मुंगो मात्र:। This is also a Taddhītārthā Dvīgu (II. 1. 52), formed by the affix अूष (V. 1. 80—82). So also दैवतसिक: दैवतसिक: the affix अूष being elided (V. 1. 88). So also दैवतसिक: दैवतसिक: दैवतसिक: दैवतसिक:। These are also Taddhītārthā Dvīgu formed by IV. 2. 16, the affix अूष being elided by IV. 1. 88.

Why do we say "before an अूष stem &c."? Observe दैवतसिक: अूष—
प्राक्त:। Why do we say "in a Dvīgu Compound?" Observe प्राक्त: अूष—
प्राक्त:।

When these Dvīgu compounds, by case-modifications do not end in अूष vowel, but the vowel is replaced by a semi-vowel or Guṇa, the rule will still apply. Thus दैवतसिक: or दैवतसिक। This is done on the strength of the maxim अूषसिक विभिन्नकुर्म:। "That which is bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect or as not existing, when that which is antaranga is to take effect: because the substitution of semivowel or guṇa is a bahiranga opera-
tion in relation to accent. Or the substitutes may be considered as sthānivat to the short-vowel which they replace.

बहुन्यतरस्यां || 30 || पदार्थ || बहु, अन्यतरस्याम्

पुरुष: || बहुपन: || पूर्वमपिगतायस्ततस्पर्शु हि गी समसी ज्ञातास्य प्रक्ततस्य भंसति ||

30. In a Dvigu compound, the word बहु may optionally preserve its accent when followed by an ik-ending stem, or by a time-word, or by kapāla, bhagāla and sarāva.

This allows option where the last rule required the accent necessarily. Thus बहुन्यतरस्यां: or बहुपन: बहुस्याम्: or बहुपन: बहुस्याम् , बहुस्याम्: or बहुस्याम् , बहुस्याम्: or बहुस्याम्.

भंसति: || बहुरिततः स्त्रहेक्षरस्यांस्यांत्वमेव किंवदपत्तिः स्त्रहेक्षरस्यां भंसति ||

31. In a Dvigu compound, the first member may optionally preserve its accent, when followed by the words विद्धि and विद्धित्समदेव, च:.

Thus विततिस्मितः: or प्रवतिस्मितः, प्रवतिस्मितः: or प्रवतिस्मितः || The suffix मार्य is elided after the प्रमाण denoting words दिश्ति and वितस्था (V. 2. 37).

सातम्यसिद्धमहे पदार्थकालः || 32 || पदार्थ || साततम्यसिद्धमहे पदार्थकालः

पक भक्तोऽकालः || साततम्यसिद्धमहे पदार्थकालः ||

पक भक्तोऽकालः || सातम्यसिद्धमहे पदार्थकालः ||

32. A locative-ending word when it does not denote time, preserves its original accent, when followed by सिद्ध, भक्त, भयं and वचन in a compound.

Thus सातम्यसिद्धमहे: or सातम्यसिद्धमहे, कालिकाभक्ति: or कालिकाभक्ति || The words सामकृत्य and कृत्य have acute on the final, and by द्वितीय Sūtra (III. 16) in the alternative the accent falls on the middle also. So also निर्देशतः, कालिकाभक्ति: || The word भिन्न is derived by कः suffix added to निर्देशतः and has acute on the middle; the word भिन्न is formed from भिन् root by the suffix कः, and has acute on the final. So also शरदुङ्कः, कालिकाभक्ति: || The words कुम्भिर and कालस्य are formed by शरदुङ्कः suffix and have acute on the final; the word शरदुङ्कः is formed by शरदुङ्कः affix, and has acute on the beginning. So also चारकः: चारकः || The word chakra has acute on the final, and chāraka being formed by चारकः has acute on the first.
Why do we say ‘when not denoting time’? Observe परित्रयोगिता; संज्ञाणसंस्कारः. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 41. The accent of the Locative Tatpurusha taught in VI. 2. 1 was debared by Kṛit-accents taught VI. 2. 144. The present sūtra debars this last rule regarding Kṛit accent, and records the Locative Tatpurusha accent when the Kṛit-words are विन्यास &c.

परित्रयोगिता संज्ञाणसंस्कारः || 32.|| पदानि || परि, यस्मि, उप, अपि, धर्म-भावन, अहोरात्राय-परतु ||

४३२ || पदानि || परि, यस्मि, उप, अपि, धर्म-भावन, अहोरात्राय-परतु ||

33. The particles परि, यस्मि, उप and अपि preserve their accent before that word, which specifies an exclusion, or a portion of day and night, (in an Avyayībhāva compound also).

Thus सर्वा-सिद्धां || यथा यथा || “It rained all round (but not in) Trīgarta”. (See II. 1. 11 and 12). So also परित्रयोगिता, संज्ञाणसंस्कारः. So also अक्षार-सिद्धां, अक्षार-सिद्धां, अक्षार-सिद्धां, अक्षार-सिद्धां, अक्षार-सिद्धां || अक्षार-सिद्धां (II. 1. 11 and 12).

By Phit śūtras IV. 12, and 13 all Particles (Nipāta) have acute on the first syllable. So also upasargas with the exception of भान || Therefore परि &c, have acute on the first. In a Tatpurusha and Bahuvrhi compounds, these words ‘pari’, ‘prati’ &c, as first members would have retained their accent by the rules already gone before; the present sūtra, therefore, extends the principle of the preservation of the accent to Avyayībhāva compounds also. The prepositions अपि and परि alone denote the limit exclusive or व्यतीत, and it is therefore with these two prepositions only that the second member can denote the thing excluded, and not with यस्मि and उप || With these prepositions अपि 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 परित्रयोगिता शालना: परित्रयोगिता || In परित्रयोगिता “all round the forest, but not in it”, the accent falls on the last by VI. 2. 178, which debars this general rule, as well as all special rules which might affect व्यतीत in a compound.

राजन्यसङ्कारवेचनकस्यन्धकस्यन्धिः || 34.|| पदानि || राजन्य, शुचि धन, इति, अस्थवन, वृद्धिः (पूर्वपर्यायस्य)

४३४ || पदानि || राजन्य, शुचि धन, इति, अस्थवन, वृद्धिः (पूर्वपर्यायस्य)

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 भाग्यामध्ये, भैरवस्य, भैरवाध्यस्य, भैरवाध्यामध्ये:। The words भवाल्क and Chaitraka are formed by अम्ब affix (IV. 1. 114) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). The word भंगि has acute on the first syllable, and does not change in denoting Patronymic. Why do we say ‘in denoting a Warrior clan’? Observe हैक्योंवयानमः। Here हैक्य is derived from हैक्य by the affix यान् (IV. 3. 10) = हैक्ये मना; हैवानम् = हैक्येर्या धुः। These names belong to Andhaka and Vrishni clans, but are not the warrior-names. The word राजक्षेत्र here means those Khatriyas who belong to the family of anointed kings and warriors (वर्मिन्दकवर्म); these (Dvaipya and Haimyana) do not belong to any such family. Why do we say ‘in the Plural number’? Observe संकर्षणायांसेवने:। Why do we say ‘in a Dvandva compound’? Observe सुप्रेमी उनम् = सुप्रेमीकृताः। Why do we say ‘of Andhaka and Vrishni clans’? Observe कृष्णरामनारायण:।

संबंधः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितः।

पृशिः। इसलग्यारं संबंधानारेष पूर्णवर्ष महतिस्वरूप गति।

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

Thus हैक्यादेशः, हैक्येदेशः, हैक्येदेशकः or वृशिकः। The word एक is derived from हैक्य by क्षप affix (Uṣṇ. III. 43) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The चाचे is the substitute of च (VI. 3. 48) and has acute on the final.

अधिकारोपोपत्तिमार्थवाचस्य। ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि। अधिकारोपोपत्तिमार्थ: च, अनेकाः

(महतिस्वरूपः)

पृशिः। अधिकारोपोपत्तिमार्थवाचस्य के इसलग्यारं महतिस्वरूप गति।

36. When words denoting scholars are named after their teachers and are compounded into a Dvandva, the first member retains its accent.

The word अनेकाः 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 अधिकारोपोपत्तिमार्थ: or teacher-derived name. Thus अधिकारोपोपत्तिमार्थवाचस्य:। अधिकारोपोपत्तिमार्थवाचस्य:। राधकृष्णाचार्यः।। The son of Apiśalā is अधिकारिः the name of a Teacher or founder of a school—an āchārya: formed by एक affix (IV. 1. 95). The science taught by him is called अधिकारिः, formed by adding अम्ब affix to अधिकारिः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 11). The scholars who study the Apiśalam are also called अधिकारिः: the affix denoting ‘to study’ is elided by (IV. 2. 59 and 64). Or the pupils of Apiśali will be also called Apiśalāḥ. Thus in both ways Apiśalāḥ is a scholar name derived from the name of a teacher. The word अधिकारिः अनेकाः 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 गुरुभित्तिः पूर्वव्रती where though the first is a teacher-derived name, the second is not. Why do we say "names derived from the teacher's"? Observe छन्दनेर्वान्धरणः. Why do we say "a Scholar"? Observe भाविष्यतानेंत्रीये शाखा॥ कार्त्तिकोज्यास्यधिकोऽऽ सः प्रदाति न कार्त्तिकोज्य, आदयः, च॥ युक्तः॥ कार्त्तिकोज्यास्य वे हत्त्रात्मापु गुरूपरं मक्कालसं मनति ॥

37. Also in the Dvandvas कार्त्तिकोज्य &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. कार्त्तिकोज्या (formed by भ्रम IV. 1. 114 in the sense of Patronymic, from हत्त्र and हत्त्र these being Rishi names)॥ सावर्गाण्वमुनेमी (sāvarni is formed by भ्रम Patron. affix and माण्डल्ये by हत्त्र IV. 1. 119).

2. भ्रमान्वमकः: The word Avanti is end-acute, to which is added the patron affix न्याह by IV. 1. 171, which being a Tatrāj is elided in the plural; माण्डल्या निशानो जनपदः = माण्डल्या the quadruple significant भ्रम being elided.

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

5. कपिकरणेवा: (Kapi has acute on the final. The son of Kapi will be formed by भ्रम IV. 1. 107, which is however elided by II. 4. 64. This compound must, therefore, be always in the plural.

6. शिरिकाक्षापराणेवा: (Śitikākṣa is the name of a Rishi, his son will be Śaitikākṣa by भ्रम IV. 1. 114, the yuvan descendent of the latter will be formed by हत्त्र which is elided by II. 4. 58. Pāchālā's female descendent is Pāchālī, her yuvan descendent is Pāchāleya. The plural number here is not compulsory. We have पालिकरणेवा also.)

7. कालकावरणेवा: or कालिकाकष्ठाबो: (The son of Kaṭuka will be formed by हत्त्र IV. 1. 59, which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 65. The son of Varchalā is Vārchaleya).

8. शाकालाश्वका: (The son of Śakala is Śakalya, his pupils are Śakalāḥ by भ्रम IV. 2. 111. The son of Śunaka will be Šuṇaka by हत्त्र IV. 1. 104, which will be elided in the Plural by II. 4. 64). Some read it as शाकलाश्वका, where the हत्त्र affix after Saṇaka is elided by II. 4. 66. So also हत्त्राशश्वका: ॥

9. शाकाश्वका: (the son of Babhru is Bābhra). 10. वार्तालाश्वका: अर्पाविनायः are those who study the work produced by Rīchāva, the affix
gni being added by IV. 3. 104. Mudgala belongs to Kaśvādi class IV. 2. 111; Maudgalāḥ are pupils of the son of Mudgala. 11. कुनिचुक्ता: This a Dvandva of Kunti and Surāśṭra in the plural or of the country-names derived from them like Avanti. Kunti and Chinti have acute on the final. 12. चितिनिधुराय: as the last. 13. त्रिसा: (Both belong to Pachādi class formed by अभ्य रू० III. 1. 134, from सिव लार्ज़िन Bīvāḍi 300, त्रिसा is formed from the same root with the prefix त्रि, the अ being elided, and both have acute on the final: and are enumerated in the Gargādi list IV. 1. 105. In the plural the patronymic affix बस is elided by II. 4. 64. 14. गर्भस्ता: Here also द्व भ affix is elided II. 4. 64. 15. भैरवनक्तमं: or विजा: Avimatta has acute on the first being formed by the न् particle. Both the words lose द्व० patronymic by II. 4. 66.

16. साक्षाल्पकम्: The son of Babhrū is Bābhravā, and the son of Śalāniku or Śalānika of Nārāya IV. 1. 99 is Śalānikāya

17. बाक्षाशाल्पकम्: Dānchyaśa takes द्व० in the patronymic which is elided by II. 4. 66.

18. काल्पकम्: Kaḷāpik 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 Kaḷāpi are Kaḷāpik, the ब्र० being added by IV. 3. 108, which required the द्व० of kalāpī to be retained by VI. 4. 164 but by a Vārtika under VI. 4. 144 the द्व० portion is elided before ब्र०.

19. कम्शाशाल्पकम्: Those who study the work of Kuthumin are कौम्भा: formed by अभ्य IV. 1. 83 the द्व० being elided before ब्र० by VI. 4. 144 Vārt already referred to above.

20. कीचुपार्यकम्: Those who study the work of Lokāksha are Laukākshāḥ. Or the son of Lokākha is Laukākshi, the pupils of latter are Laukākshāḥ.

21. कीकुमारी: Strī has accent on the final.

22. मार्यपाल्पकम्: the son of Mūda is Maudā, the pupils of latter are Maudāḥ. So also Paippalādāḥ.

23. मार्यपाल्पकम्: The double reading of this word indicates that Rule VI. 1. 233 also applies.

24. वस्त्राजुष्ट वस्त्राजुष्ट: = ब्रह्म औष्टर: Vatsa has acute on the final.

25. So also सीषुवतायवर्य: The pupils of Suṣruta and Pṛthu are so called they take अभ्य IV. 1. 83. 26. कारुनु: 27. वृक्षाक्षाये Yājya is formed by धर्म, added to धर्म the ज is not changed to a Guttural by VII. 3. 66. It has svarīta on the final by लं accent (VI. 1. 185). Anuvākya is derived from anu+ vach+ व्याक्ति

महार्य भिक्षुपार्यस्मिन्स्यास्मि जानातामात्रामात्रात्यिष्टिष्टिहितयोशिरमथहुःमुख्ये II २५ II प्राचार्य: महार्य, महा, अपराध, सुधि, उपवास, जावाल, भार, भारत, हैलिकृष्ट, वैरव, मुख्ये, ( कृतिस्वरम् )
38. The word महात् (mahā) retains its accent before the following: शालिः, अपराहः, शालपि, दशास्त, जापात्, भािर, भाित, इत्यदि, रूपव, and महङ्गः

Thus महाशालिः, महाअपाहः, महाशालपि, महादशास्त, महाजापात्, महाभािर, महाभाित, महािङ्गः

The mahā has acute on the final. (Uṇ II. 84) On the प्रतिवाक्य maxim already mentioned under VI. 2. 26, this accent will apply to that compound of mahā which it forms under rule II. 1. 61, for that is the particular rule of Karmadāraya compounding relating to mahā (pratipadokta). This rule therefore, will not apply to Genitive Tatpurusha. Thus महाशालिः = महाशालपि, which has accent on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Q. The word महात् 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 महाविचारेऽन्त्र, and क्षुल्लकेऽन्त्र. The word kshullaka is derived thus सूत्रं शालिः = सूत्रं to which the Diminutive क (V. 3. 73 &c) is added: and the word has udatta on the final.

उष्णं साविभाष्यः इति ॥ ४० ॥ पदार्थ उष्णं, साविभाष्यः, जातः

40. The word ‘ushta’ retains its accent before ‘sādi’ and ‘vāmi’.

Thus आष्ट्रवानि and उष्ठवानि. The word ushta is derived from ushta by उष्ठ affix (Uṇ IV. 162) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is either a Karmadāraya or a Genitive compound. In some texts the above examples are given with a visarga in the masculine, and not Neuter.

गी: सादसाधिसारयिष्ठु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदार्थ गीं, साद, साधि, सार्थियिष्ठु, प्रकृति स्वतः

Thus गी: लूपिश्च साद साधि सार्थिष्ठि दशादसारयिष्ठु यथास्वरूपः भवति
41. The word 'गो' retains its accent before 'सादा', 'सादि', and 'सारथि'.

Thus गो-वारा; or गो शारस्यि = गो-वारा, गों शारि = गों-राशि, and गों-सारथि: II गार is formed from गार with the affix या, and forms a Genitive compound (गो: गार). Or from the causative verb गारति, we get गारति: by adding अत्र (III. 9. 1) गारति is formed by गार from the same causative root. The Krit-accident is debared in the case of गार and गारि, the Samas-accident VI. 1. 223 in the case of गारि।

कुरुगाहस्यारिकिस्मुःकृत्वरसुतेस्त्वस्मिनित्वसमीपाराणि च || १२ || पदानि: कुरुगाहस्य, रिक्तस्य, असुतारस्य; अश्रुद्वाराणि, पारेयहना, तैतित्वक्त्रू: एष्यक्षयः; दासीभाराणि, च, प्रकृतिस्वरस्य।

युक्ति: कुरुगाहस्य रिक्तस्य असुतारस्य अश्रुद्वाराणि पारेयहना तैतित्वक्त्रू एष्यक्षयः इत्यदि समाशयामि शारस्याः शारस्याः च दुप्परेयहनदित्वस्य सत्ति।

वारिष्णः कुरुवास्यारिकिस्मुःकृत्वरस्य वस्तुं || १२ || संसारायणिः उस्तनवः

42. The first member retains its accent in the following:—'Kuru-gārhapata', 'Rikta-guru', 'Āsūta-jarati', 'Āsūla-drīḍha-rūpā', 'Pāre-vaḍabā', 'Taitila-kadrū', 'Pāṇya-kambalaḥ' and 'Dāst-bhāra &c'.

The first seven words are compounds, the first two of these are exhibited without any case-ending, the remaining five are in nom. Singular. Thus कुरुगाहस्यतम (कुरुगाः गोमृहस्त, Kuru is formed by गो affix added to गो Uṇi I. 24,) and has acute on the final.

Vārt:—So also शुभवारिष्णस्तम, the word Vṛiji has acute accent on the first.

So also रीको शुभ = रीको-कृत: or रीको-कृत: for rikta has acute either on the first or on the second (VI. 1. 208). So also मृत्तिका जराति = बृत्तिका जराति, अश्रुद्वाराणि = अश्रुद्वाराणि

Asūta and asūla being formed by अ इ particle have acute on the first: (VI. 2. 2). That which has भ is called रीकत, the affix भ, being added by its belonging to Sidhmādi class, and च changed to च by its belonging to kapilakādi class. So also पारेष्यहन च भ, this is पारेष्यहन च. This is a samāsa with the force of च, and there is elision of the case ending. The word पार belongs to Ghritādi class, and has acute on the final. तैतित्वाः कास्तुः = तैतित्वाः, the son or pupil of Titilin is Taitila formed by अ भ affix. प्रस्वर्णस्त, panya ends in अ भ and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 213).

Vārt:—प्रस्वर्णस्त has acute on the first only when it is a name. Otherwise in प्रस्वर्णस्त कम्प्ले compound, the accent will be on the final by the general rule VI. 1. 223. The word प्रस्वर्ण being formed by कास्तु affix (III. 1. 101) is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 213). The word प्रस्वर्ण: is as Name when it means the market-blanket i.e. a blanket of a well known determinate size.
and fixed price, which is generally kept for sale by the blanket-sellers. But when the compound means a saleable blanket, it takes the samasa accent (VI. i. 223). If it be objected what is the use this Vartika, for the word पञ्च being formed by a kritya affix, will retain its accent in the Tatpurusha, by VI. 2. 2, we reply that the कुप्त used in VI. 2. 2 relates to pratipadokta kritya compounds such as ordained by कुशतुष्ट्यवस्त्र अजीभा II. 1. 68, while here the compound is by वियविण्वनिषेधण II. 1. 51 and is a general compound. So also शास्त्रिकारणि as शास्त्रिकारणि. The words belonging to Dasi bhārādi class are all those Tatpurusha compound words, not governed by any of the rules of accent, in which it is desired that the first member should retain its accent. Some of them are एवेणी, एवेणी, एवेणी, एवेणी, एवेणी. Vasu has acute on the first being formed by a विन्द affix Un I. 9 10. ओषधि is ओषधिपीयविवेधण, formed by ति affix (III. 3. 93), ओषधि being formed by पञ्च, has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). चन्द्रयम is formed by अति affix added to the root माय मान preceded by the upapada चन्द्र as, चन्द्र + माय + अति = चन्द्रयम, the affix being treated as विन्द (Un IV. 228), and चन्द्र is formed by a जक affix (Un II. 13) and has acute on the final.

चतुर्थेन तद्वेयं II ४३ II पदार्थादि II चतुर्थेन, तद्वेयं, प्रक्षिप्तवर्तमान II.

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 वैतरण, कुप्तिप्रवर्तमान II The word सृष्टि has accent on the first syllable, as it is formed by व (Un III. 27) treated as a ति (Un III. 26). The word कुप्तिप्रवर्तमान is formed by कल affix which is treated as ति (Un. I. 108) and has acute on the final. So also राजस्व, तात्त्विकवर्तमान II Ratha is first-acute formed by kthan affix (Un II. 2). Valli has acute on the final formed by डी. affix. (IV. 1. 41) Why do we say 'it being suited to the first'? Observe कुप्तिप्रवर्तमान II 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.

अर्थादि II ४४ II पदार्थादि II अर्थादि II प्रक्षिप्तवर्तमान II.

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

Thus मात्रेः प्रतिप्रवर्त्तनं, वेश्वरतयमान, भविष्यप्रवर्तमान II The words मात्र and विन्द are finally acute as taught so in Unadi śūtra (Un II. 95): देवता being formed by a ति affix (V. 4. 27) has acute on the middle; भविष्य is formed by धर्म affix and has acute on the first.
The difference between सर्व and अर्थ is that the former, like शाल 'wood', हितम 'gold', has not inherent in it the sense of adaptability, while सर्व means 'adapted'. Some say that the making of two सूत्रas, one with सर्व and the other with अर्थ, indicates that the former rule is applicable only to that compound where the material itself is changed into the substance of the first. Therefore the rule does not apply to शालपातृक, ग्रामभूत &c, though 'grass be suited for the horse' &c.

सूचक || ४५ || पदार्थ || के, ल, प्रकृतिसंरचना ||
पृष्ठ: || क्यों चूजन सर्वथा परिवर्तन प्रकृति से महति ||

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

Thus शालिनीति, ग्रामभूतिनी, अपादिति, ग्रामभूति, धन्यचितिनी, नारुसितिनी, नारुसितिनी वतन ||
The compounding takes place by II. 1. 36. The compound सर्वजीति means शाल-वीजीति and is a sampadana Dative.

कमीपार्थक अनिता || ५६ || पदार्थ || कमीपार्थक, अनिता, प्रकृतिसंरचना ||
पृष्ठ: || कमीपार्थक सर्वधौत मुतियर्व सर्वधौत प्रकृति से महति ||

46. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', the first member, when it itself is not a Past Participle, retains its original accent in a Karmadhāraya compound.

This rule is confined to the Past Participles and the Nouns specifically mentioned in II. 1. 59; on the maxim of pratipadokta &c. Thus नरक्रियातः, पुर्वक्रियातः, वर्तक्रियातः, निर्माणक्रियातः. The word शालि has acute on the first as it is formed by the affix शालि which is considered मित्र (Upan IV. 51). The word पृष्ठ is end-acute as it is formed by the affix पृष्ठ (Upan I. 124). The word जीति is also end-acute (VI. 2. 32). The word निधि has acute on the middle. Why do we say in a Karmadhāraya compound? Observe शालिनिः कृत्ति = नियत्किताः. Why do we say 'when it is a non-nishtha word'? Observe हृदाकृत्ति. Here the compounding is by II. 1. 60.

अशीः त्रिविदधा || ४७ || पदार्थ || अशीः, त्रिविदधा ||
पृष्ठ: || अशीन्तिनिः सामसे वायुपालसे त्रिविदधा पुर्वसंर महति से महति ||
शालिनति || त्रिविदावशायकं महति ||

47. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', a word ending in the Accusative case retains its accent, when it does not mean a separation.

Thus शालिनिः, त्रिविदावशायकं, अशीः. Kashṭha has acute on the end, triśakala is a Bahuvrihi compound (त्रिशीकलाः आग्न), and consequently acute on the first: grāma has acute on the first as it is formed by the ग्रा. affix
 Added to मत, the final being replaced by कर (Un I. 143). Why do we say ‘when not meaning separation’? Observe कलासकर्ते, कोजनातिति, because one has taken himself beyond काल्याणे and yojana.

Vārt:- This rule does not apply when the Past Participle has an upasarga attached; as छूट, छूटक, छूटप, छूटप। (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 श्रीत्वस् or श्रीत्वहि: श्रीत्वस्, श्रीत्वहि, महाराज्वस्, महाराज्वहि, नागानित्वत्, नागानित्वहि। The word ‘ahi’ is derived from हृद with the proposition श्री which is shortened, and the affix हृद (Un IV. 138), and has acute on the final, according to others the acute is on the first: Rudra is formed by स्रृ affix (Un II. 22) added to the causative स्रृ; Mahārāja is formed by the Samāsanta affix स्रृ; nakha is formed by ख affix added to न (Un V. 23) or it may be a Bahuvrihi नस्म नराशिः नक्षत्र, formed by मुनि (V. 4. 121), and has acute on the final: Dātra is formed by हृद (III. 2. 182). Why do we say when having a Passive signification? Observe रिष्यति बालकाः = रिष्यति, 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 इष्ट, इष्टत: II Here one of the following rules would have applied otherwise, namely, either (1) the Samasa end-acute IV. 1. 223 (2) or the Indeclinable first member to retain its accent VI. 2. 2, (3) or the end acute by VI. 2. 139 and 144. The present sūtra debar all these. Why do we say ‘immediately’? Observe समयुपस्तु, सौदुर्गस्तु, सहस्त्रहि। Where the distant Gati words मिति and सह do not preserve their accent, but the immediately preceding Gati, as कर does retain its accent, though it is not the first member of the compound word. Compare also VIII. 2. 70. But in युधिष्ठिर + ब्रह्मा (agata being governed by this rule) we have युधिष्ठिरक्षे (II. 1. 39 and VI. 3. 2) where VI. 2. 144 has its scope, though it had not its scope in मिति + इष्टहि = मिति-इष्टहि। In the former case this maxim applies: कलसकर्ते कोजनातिति महा। “A Krit 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 आनन्द in this aphorism. When the Participle has not a Passive significance, the rule does not apply because the word करणी is understood here also; as, प्रकृति: कटे द्रव्यं।

This sutra debars VI. 2. 144.

50. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before (a word formed by) a Krit-affix beginning with त, which has an indicatory त, but not before तत्.

Thus (तत्त्वो) (with तत्त्वो) (with तत्त्वो), प्रकृति: (with तत्त्वो). This sutra debars the Krit-affix accent (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say “before an affix beginning with तत्”? Observe प्रकृति: formed with the affix पत्तो (III. 2. 155), and the Gati, the accent being governed by VI. 2. 139. Why do we say “which is तत्”? Observe प्रकृति: formed by तत् affix. When a Krit-affix takes the augment तत्, it does not lose its character of beginning with तत् on the Vartika कुरुतेजा या तथाकालंतिर्य यथा. Thus मनोपिन्य, यन्त्रिक्रमः। Why do we say “but not before तत्”? Observe भागास्तेय: with the Uṇādi affix तत्.

51. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before an Infinitive in तत् (III. 4. 14) but whereby simultaneously the final has the acute as well.

Thus अनवरिते, अर्थारिते, विचारिते, भविष्यिते। All upasargas have acute on the first except ‘abhi’: which therefore has acute on the final. (Phit Su IV. 13) which declares उपसर्गं भावार्थशा भविष्यिते। This debars कृत accent (VI. 2. 139) and is an exception to the rule that in a single word, a single syllable only has acute.

अनिगद्योख्यतो विप्रतयेः। 52. पदार्थः प्रकृति: अनय्यः, अप्रत्येक: (प्र-कृतिक्षणः)

वृः: प्रकृति: भविष्यित: प्रकृतिक्षणाः भविष्यितः विप्रतये गतः।
52. An immediately preceding Gati not ending in र or श, retains its original accent before स द्विश when an affix having a स follows.

Thus द्वीः, द्वीयः, द्वीणः or द्वीः, द्वीनः, द्वीणः: The accent is acute and optionally svarita by VIII. 2. 6. So also द्वाहः, द्वास्मी, द्वास्मणः, द्वाषम, द्वाणः द्वाशः. But with मुम्ब which ends in र, we have मलहः, मलमी, मलमणः: here by VI. 2. 139 the second member retains its original accent. Why do we say ‘before an affix र’? Observe त्रयुर्द्वृत्तम: When the nasal of ‘अङ्क’ is elided, then rule VI. 1. 222 presents itself; but that rule is superseded when a Gati not ending in र or श precedes, because the present rule is subsequent. Thus द्वाशः and द्वानः: In some texts, the reading is द्वादशाध्यायः The affix र is like फ्रेंच &c. (VI. 1. 67).

न्यायी व इति ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, अवी, ज, (प्रकृतिस्वरो इति) ॥

53. The Gatis त and अवी, however, retain their original accent before ‘अङ्क’ followed by a स affix.

Thus अंहः, अंकपी, अंकणः ॥ The र �becomes svarita by VIII. 2. 4. So also अंकशः, अंकपीस्मा, अंकपीण: अंकपीच, अंकपीत, अंकशः, अंकशः ॥

िद्वद्वन्तरस्ययामु ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नवः, अन्तरस्या, (प्रकृतिस्वरो इति) ॥

54. The word नव when first member of a compound may optionally preserve its original accent.

Thus नवः, नवान्तरः, नवरिता: नवतिक्षितः नवविक्षितः: नवः has acute on the final. But in नवन्तरः &c, the क्रिष्ण-अक्ष्य 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 pratipadakta, those formed by नव with non-क्रिष्ण words under II. 2. 7.

हिद्वध्यायम् इति ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिद्वध्य-परिश्रमण: धाने, (प्रकृतिस्वरो इति) ॥

55. The first member, denoting the quantity of gold, retains optionally its original accent, before the word धान इति।

Thus हिद्वध्य-धानम: or हिद्वध्य-धानम: This is a Karmadhāraya compound हिद्वध्यम् परिश्रमणम् = हिद्वध्यम्, तत्त्व धनम्: It may also be treated as a Bahuviṣṭhi compound, then the accent will be of that compound, as हिद्वध्यम: or हिद्वध्य-धानम: Why do we say ‘gold’? Observe प्रक्षणम्: Why do we say ‘quantity’? Observe धानम्: Why do we say ‘धन’? Observe निम्बः.
56. The word प्रथम when standing first in a compound, retains optionally its original accent when meaning 'a novice'.

The word अभिरिपद्यं = अभिरिपद्येव or अभिव्यक्तम्. Thus प्रथमव्यक्त: or प्रथमीयतः = संपतित्त्वाकारणसाधृतः प्रतुतः = 'one who has recently commenced to study Grammar'. The word प्रथम is derived from प्रय by अभस्त्र (Upan. V. 68) and by नित्य accent the acute falls on the last. Why do we say when meaning 'a Novice'? Observe प्रथमव्यक्तः = ('वेदाहाराणामायिनुः युवाः वि वि: ) 'the first Grammarian or a Grammarian of the first rank'. It will always have acute on the final.

कतरकक्तमि कर्मयायिः ॥ ५७ ॥ पद्ति ग । कतर-कतमि, कर्मयायिः, मक्कतिस्वरः ॥

57. The words कतर and कतम standing as the first member of a compound retain optionally their original accent in a Karmadhāraya.

Thus कतरकः or कतरकः, कर्म्यकः or कर्म्यकः. The word Karmadhāraya is used for the sake of the next sutra, this sūtra could have done without it, as 'katar' and 'katana' by the maxim of pratipadokta, form only Karmadhāraya compound by II. 1. 63.

आये ब्राह्मणकुमारिः ॥ ५८ ॥ पद्ति ॥ आये, ब्राह्मण-कुमारिः, मक्कतिस्वरः ॥

58. The word आये optionally retains its original accent in a Karmadhāraya, before the words ब्राह्मण and कुमार ॥

Thus आयेःब्राह्मणः or आयेःब्राह्मणः, आयेःकुमारः or आयेःकुमारः. The word आये is formed by अये affix and has svarita on the final. Why do we say 'Arya'? Observe परमाजः, परस्त्र: Why do we say before 'Brahma' and 'Kumāra'? Observe आये कुमारः. Why 'Karmadhāraya'? Observe आयेः ब्राह्मणः = आयेःब्राह्मणः. According to the Accentuated Text the accent is हाये (Pro. Bohtlingk).

राजा ज ॥ ५९ ॥ पद्ति ॥ राजा, ज ॥

59. The word राजा retains optionally its accent before the words 'Brahma' and 'Kumāra', in a Karmadhāraya.
Thus राजयान्त्र or राजायान्त्र; राजमुनार or राजमुनारः। The word राजय is formed by the affix कानिर added to राज (Up I. 156). But राजस्य मुनार = राजम्यान्त्र where the compound is not Karmadhāraya. The making of this a separate aphorism is for the purpose of preventing the yathāśankhya rule and also for the sake of the subsequent śūtra into which the anuvṛtti of राजय runs and not of राजस्य।

पादि प्रेषेन्सि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ पादि, प्रेषेन्सि, (अन्यतरस्वाय राजा प्रकाशि स्वरम्)॥

वृष्टि: ॥ राजयति राजयी, अन्यतरस्वाय राजयान् ॥ चढ़ते राजयान्: चढ़ते राजयान् ॥ पूर्वस्य प्रेषेन्सि उन्नयत्स्य प्रकाशि स्वरम् मभषि ॥

60. The word ‘राजय’ ending in the Genitive case optionally retains its accent before the word प्रेषेन्।

The words राजया and अन्यतरस्वाय are understood here also. Thus राजस्य अमेला: राजस्य अमेला: अमेला: अमेला: ॥ The sign of the Genitive is not elided by VI.3. 21. When अमेला is not meant we have, दानस्य अमेला: ॥ Why do we say‘ending in the Genitive’? Observe राजया धारणार्थ = राजयान्: no option.

के निलायं ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, निलायं (पूर्वपद्य अन्यतरस्वाय प्रकाशि स्वरम्)॥

वृष्टि: ॥ के, निलायं निलायं समायं पूर्वपद्य स्वरम्य प्रकाशिस्तरं मभषि ॥

61. A word having the sense of ‘always’, retains optionally its accent before a Past Participle in क्।

Thus विनायपवित्तिः को विनायपवित्ति, सत्यविद्धिः को सत्यविद्धी। These are Accusative compounds formed under Rule 11. 1. 28. निलाय is formed by the पूर्व affix added to the upsarga निक (IV. 2. 104 Vārt); and has acute on the first, the upasarga retaining its accent, the affix being anudatta (III. 1.4). The word सत्य being formed by क् affix with the force of नात्र, has acute on final by VI. 2. 144. If it be considered to have been formed by कवित्तिः क्, then the accent will be on the beginning by VI. 2. 49. Why do we say when the first term means ‘always’? Observe विनायपवित्तिः। In the case of निविद्धिः &c the samāsa accent VI. 1. 223 was first set aside by the Accusative Tatpurusha accent VI. 2. 2; this in its turn was set aside by क् accent VI. 2. 144, which is again debarred by the present.

प्राम: विनायपवित्ति ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राम: विनायपवित्ति, (अन्यतरस्वाय प्रकाशि स्वरम्)॥

वृष्टि: ॥ प्रामका: विनायपवित्ति उन्नयत्तरं पूर्वस्य प्रकाशि स्वरम् मभषि ॥

62. The word प्राम when first member of a compound, optionally retains its accent before a word denoting “a professional man or artisan”.
Thus भाषणापितः or भाषणापितः, भाषणकुलः or भाषणकुलः. The word माम has acute on the first. Why do we say “माम”? Observe परमनापितः. Why do we say ‘a silpi a professional workman’? Observe भाषणआ. Where there is no option.

राजा च मद्रासायमः ॥ ६३ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ राजा, च, मद्रासायमः, (अन्वतरस्यांगुप् श्रावति स्वरवः) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ राजाः: पूर्वेपर्व भाषणापितारस्यस्य पर्वतायां सम्भवानां मन्त्रततायां व्रतात्सिद्ध नवारः ॥

63. The word राजा followed by a profession-denoting noun, optionally retains its accent, when praise is to be expressed.

Thus भाषणापितः or भाषणापितः. भाषणकुलः or भाषणकुलः “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 ‘राजा’? Observe परमनापितः ॥ Why do we say ‘when denoting praise’? Observe भाषणापितः* king’s barber*. Why do we say ‘a professional man’? Observe भाषणापितः “a royal elephant”.

आदिरूपः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ आदिः, उदासः,

वृत्तः ॥ भाषणारी इत्येक्षेपितानि उदासां सम्भवानां पूर्वप्रवास्या भाषणारीः मन्त्रावित्वां व्रतसिद्धाः ॥

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 भूषण will get the acute in the following aphorisms. In short, the phrase ‘ādir udātta’ should be supplied to complete the sense of the subsequent sūtras. The very next sūtra illustrates it. That sūtra literally means “a word in the Locative case or a word denoting the name of the receiver of a tax or tribute, standing before a word denoting that which is lawful, but not before हुण”. To complete the sense we must supply the words “has acute on the first syllable”. Thus सैन्यावरणः, शूलकारणांच, शूलकारणांच, द्रवकारणांच ॥ The word आदिः ‘the first syllable’ is understood upto VI. 2. 91, the word उदास has longer stretch: it governs up to VI. 2. 137.

समस्माहिरिणी च श्रावणः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ समस्माहिरिणी, चारिणी, घरम्, अहरम्,

(आदिरूपः) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ समस्माहिरिणी च शूलकारणां शूलकारणां द्रवकारणां अहरमाः अहरमाः ॥

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 हुणः ॥
The word शासित means ‘appropriates the dues or taxes’; and धर्मस्थल 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 धर्म is formed by ध्वसु under IV. 4. 91 and 92 and has the sense of both. Of Locative words we have the following examples: —धर्मनात्य, धर्मस्थल, धर्मद्वार, धर्मद्वार, धर्मानुसार. 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 हरण we have the following: —हरानिकाम तिर ‘the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer’. So also हरकारकाम, हरानिकाम, हरानिकाम āज्ञा. In some places the established usage is to give a शासित coin in every sacred Tope &c; or to give a horse to a sacrificer &c. Why do we say ‘what is lawful’? Observe सामवेदी, कर्मकार परिवर्तक: परिवर्तको नाम हरण स्वतंत्र शृंगार भवन विषय, हरण कर्म कर्म न कर्मपरिवर्तित, न नले ध्वश्च. Why do we say “but not before हरण”? Observe सामवेदी: ‘that which is given to a mare’. हरण is that customary food which is given to a mare after she has been covered, in order to strengthen her. The word हरण is a Kṛit-formed word, its exclusion here indicates that other Kṛit-formed words however are governed by this rule when preceded by a हरण denoting word; and thus this sūtra supersedes the Kṛit accent enjoined by VI. 2. 139, so far. Thus सामवेदी has acute on the first by this rule, the subsequent VI. 2. 139 not applying.

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 हरण means ‘he who is prompt in the discharge of his appointed duty’ i.e. the person appointed to look after. Thus हरण: ‘a cowherd looking after cow’: हरणमहार, हरणमहार, हरणमहार, हरणमहार, हरणमहार, हरणमहार. All these word वस्त्र, ग्रामिक, सख्य, &c mean गार्भक: ‘the protector &c.

67. The acute is optionally on the first syllable when the word धर्मस्थल follows.

Thus धर्मस्थल: or गार्भक: ‘a superintendent of cows’: धर्मस्थल: or धर्मस्थल: II
68. The word पाप has optionally acute on the first syllable when followed by a word denoting a professional man.

Thus पापः क्रियारूप, पापन्ति, पापानुसारः. त्वमेवः This rule applies to the pratipadoka samsa of पाप in the sense of censure as taught in II. 1. 54, when it is an appositional compound; and not when it forms a Genitive compound. Thus पापमानितः = पापानुसारः.

गोजन्त्वचारिसिद्धान्तवाचार्यने क्षेत्रे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदान्ति ॥ गोजन्त्व, अस्त्वचारिः, माणव, ब्राह्मणेणु, क्षेत्रे, (पूर्वेयप्रथम आदुपदस्ते) ॥

बृहस्पति: गोजन्त्वचारिसिद्धान्तवाचारिणि चौरास्त्रे माणवब्राह्मणोऽथ क्षेत्रानिन्य समाते पर्वमपायसतिः महात् ॥

69. The first syllable of the first member of a compound has the acute accent before a Patronymic name or a scholar-name, as well as before माणव and ब्राह्मण, when a reproach is meant.

Thus श्रावणस्यप्राप्त: = येह श्रावणस्य श्रावणस्यस्य ताल्लुकः, संपर्कमेव सः. बन्ध बाहुल्य: बाहुल्यानुमानमने किमेव, तमासाय तस्य बाहुल्यानुमानमेव इते तस्याय सः। अर्थाति: 'a descendant of Śuṅkala under the petticoat government of his wife'. The compounding takes place by the analogy of श्रावणाधिक्रयः. Shāravatāṅgala: (Brahmakrita belongs to Subrahâdi class). The above are examples of Gotra words. Now with scholar names. भणिर्मयं श्रारम्भमयं: ‘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’. कृत्याञ्चरणधितीष्ठा, दुःखेशीर्या, और श्रीमान्ताप्रतिपादिभि: &c. अनुवाचः = तिसां श्राप्तिर्महिष्ठिनि माणवेऽ भाषयो भवति. दशीब्राह्मणः, भुपाली भ्रामणः, भृद्धभ्रामणः के मेयेन भ्रामणः: संपर्कमेव। Compounding by II. 1. 4 where no other rule applies. Why do we say ‘when followed by a Gotra word?’ Observe श्रावणस्यप्राप्ति: ॥ Why do we say ‘when reproach is meant?’ Observe महाभ्रामणः: ॥

अर्जुनः मैरेिः ॥ ७० ॥ पदान्ति ॥ अर्जुनः, मैरेिः, (आदुपदस्ते) ॥

बृहस्पति: मैरेिः मैरेिः ताल्लुकः पूर्वेयप्रथम श्रावणाधिक्रयः भविष्यति।

70. The first syllable of the word preceding मैरेि, gets the acute, when it denotes the ingredient of the same.

Thus मैरेिः ‘the wine maireya prepared from treacle or molasses’. मैरेिः भविष्यति: ‘the maireya prepared from honey’. Why do we say when denoting ‘an ingredient?’ Observe परस्मार्थः ॥ Why do we say “before मैरेि?” Observe पूर्वयाः। Every sort of spirituous liquor except पुरा is called मैरेि।

भारतकार्त्तवः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदान्ति ॥ भारतकार्त्तवः, तत्त्वेऽद्वा (आदुपदस्ते) ॥

बृहस्पति: भारतकार्त्तवः परस्मार्थः श्रारम्भानि: श्रारम्भानि: तत्त्वेऽद्वा भविष्यति।
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 निस्या, भक्ष्यंतेः, भोजनंकं, भौलीकंः. The words like निस्या, भक्ष्यंतेः, भोजनंकं, भौलीकंः are names of food. Why do we say 'when denoting the name of food'?
Observe समाधात्तालंकः (the word समाधात्तालंकः is the name of an 'action' and not of a 'substance'). Why do we say 'tadarsheshu suited to contain that'? Observe निशालीः which is a Bahuvihi, and the first member gets acute on the final.

72. A word denoting the object of comparison gets the acute on the first syllable when standing before गो, विड़ाल, सिंह, सेन्यवेशु, उपमने, (आदुरुवालम्).

Thus आदुवालम्, धार्मिकम्. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 56, the words गो &c, being considered to belong to vyaghradi class, which is an Akritigana. The meaning of the compound must be given according to usage and appropriateness. Thus आदुवालम् means गवात्सारात्वसिंहोऽस्त्यान्. So also चर्चित्यायं, निशालीः, विनेश्वरवाल, दुर्गानंतिः, दुर्गासिः, हृदुतेन्द्र, हृदसिंहः, निशालीः. Why do we say "when denoting the object of comparison"? Observe निशालीः.

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 ब्रह्म, and the compound expresses a calling by which one gets his living.

Thus ईंतलेखकः, निस्यास्त्रकः, अवस्कर्यशकः, रंगीनवकः. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say when meaning 'means of living'? Observe ईंतलेखकः ने परस्यि। All affixes which ultimately become ब्रह्म by taking substitutes, are called ब्रह्म affixes. Thus ब्रह्म, द्रुतः &c are ब्रह्म affixes (VII. 1. 1). Why do we say "ending in the affix ब्रह्म"? Observe निशालीः. Here the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17, and the affix द्रुतः is added in the sense of sport and not of livelihood.
74. A compound the second member of which is
a word ending in अक्षः affix, and which denotes the sport of
the Eastern people, gets the the acute accent on the first
syllable.

Thus ईङ्गस्मार्यम्बस्मस्मायः, ईङ्गस्मार्यम्बस्मायः, ईङ्गस्मार्यम्बस्मायः, ईङ्गस्मार्यम्बस्मायः. These
are formed by अक्षः affix (III. 3. 109), and the compounding takes place by II.
2. 17. Why do we say ‘of the Eastern Folk’? Observe ईङ्गस्मार्यम्बस्मायः, which
is a sport of the Western People. Why do we say ‘when denoting a sport’?
Observe ईङ्गस्मार्यम्बस्मायः ‘thy turn for &c;’ which is formed by अक्षः (III. 3. 111)
and denotes ‘rotation or turn’.

अखः नियुक्ते || भः || पदानि || अखः, नियुक्ते, (आद्यावाचम्) ||

वृत्ति: || अखः नियुक्ते समाते सङ्करतिपरस्यं मनवति.

75. A compound, the second member of which
is a word ending in the Kritis affix अणः, and which denotes
a functionary, gets the acute on the first syllable.

Thus हेंचारः, हेंचारः, हेंचारः, हेंचारः. Why do we say when
meaning ‘a functionary’? Observe कान्तिकलः, कान्तिकलः.

शिल्पिनि चाहेः || भः || शिल्पिनि, चि, ब्रह्मः, (पूर्वकथम आद्यावाचम्) ||

वृत्ति: || शिल्पिनि समाते सङ्करतिपरस्यं पूर्वकथमानायां भवति त सुषियो म भवति.

76. And when such a compound ending in अणः
affix denotes the name of a professional man, but not when
the second term is कार (derived from क्रमः), the acute is on
the first syllable of the first word.

Here also the second term ends in अणः affix. Thus सङ्करतिपरस्यं, सङ्करतिपरस्यं,
सङ्करतिपरस्यं. Why do we say when denoting ‘a work-man or professional person’?
Observe कान्तिकलः, कान्तिकलः. Why do we say ‘but not when the affix अणः comes
after क्रमः’? Observe क्रमकारः, क्रमकारः.

संभायं च || भः || पदानि || संभायं, चि, (पूर्वकथम आद्यावाचम्) ||

वृत्ति: || संभायं सिद्धेऽस्माते सङ्करतिपरस्यं चक्रम: पूर्वकथमानायां भवति.

77. Also when such an upapada compound end-
ing in अणः affix denotes a Name, the acute falls on the first
syllable: but not when the second term is कार.

Thus हेंचारः ‘a kind of insect, spider’. हेंचारः ‘the hill Vālavāya’.
But not so क्रमः with क्रमः as क्रमः ‘the name of a Brāhmaṇa caste’.

गोत्त्वियि पाले� || भः || पदानि || गो, तन्त्रि, यथम, पालें, (आद्यावाचम्) ||

वृत्ति: || गो तन्त्रि यथ इसेताः पूर्वकथम पालकालात्सतरस्यं आद्यावाचम भवति.
78. The words गी, तन्त्र and यथ �get the acute on the first syllable when followed by पाल.

Thus पाल, तन्त्र, पाल: The word पाल is the rope with which calves are tied. (त क नित्य तित्तु) This applies to words not denoting a functionary, which would be governed by VI. 2. 75. Why do we say गी &c? Observe गा। Why do we say ‘followed by पाल’? Observe गा।

गीति ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गीति, (पूर्वपदम आद्यांसः) ॥

उपमागीति: गीति, न्यायार्थसः, शुचिः ॥

79. A compound ending in the Kṛt-affix गीति (गीति) has the acute on the first syllable of the first member.

Thus पूर्वदार्थस्य, शङ्कारार्थस्य, तृय्युक्तार्थसः।

उपमाने शास्त्रायमः ड्रालावेष ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानम, शास्त्रे, प्रक्षासि, यथा, आद्यार्थाति ॥

उपमानमाधिकृतेऽपि शास्त्रायमः प्रक्षासि गीति न्यायार्थसः भवति ॥

80. When the first member of a compound expresses that with which resemblance is denoted, then it has acute on the first syllable, before a word formed by गीति 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: शास्त्रायम means ‘expressing a sound’; प्रक्षासि means ‘root, without any preposition’. Thus पूर्वदार्थस्य, शङ्कारार्थस्य, तृय्युक्तार्थसः। 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 गीति formed word. When the second term is not a word denoting sound, the rule will not apply. As पुक्कतिर्थस्य, पुक्कतिर्थस्य which retain kṛt accent (VI. 2. 139) Why do we say ‘a radical word without any preposition’? Observe गीति शङ्कारार्थसः, कोकिकार्थसः। Here the second terms radically (i.e. चौर्थि and हार्दि) do not denote sounds, but it is with the help of the Prepositions तथा and नित्य, वि and यथा 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. (शास्त्रायम प्रक्षासि चतुर्थायम चातुर्थासः)। As पुक्कतिर्थसः, for had एव not been used, the sūtra would have run
thus: उपमानं शवाङ्कनकि तथा 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 त्रः therefore restricts upamāna; i.e. a first member denoting उपमानं will get the accent then only, when the second term is a sound-denoting radical. If the second term is not a sound denoting radical, the first term denoting उपमानं will not get the accent. The compounding takes place by III. 2. 79.

युक्तारोपणणयम् च ८१ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ युक्तारोपणणयम् ॥ (आयुर्वेदः) ॥

८१. युक्तारोपणणयम् ॥ The compounds युक्तारोपणणयम् &c, have acute on the first syllable.

Thus १ युक्तारोपणण, २ युक्तारोपणण, ३ युक्तारोपणण, ४ युक्तारोपणण, ५ युक्तारोपणण, ६ युक्तारोपणण, ७ युक्तारोपणण ॥ These are formed by युक्तः 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 युक्तारोपणण &c must be preceded by युक्तः &c and युक्तिः &c to make this rule VI. 2. 79 applicable. Thus युक्तारोपणण च though ending in युक्तः does not take acute on the first, so युक्तारोपणण ॥

८ । युक्तारोपणण ॥ ८ युक्तारोपणण ॥ । युक्तारोपणण ॥ The last two are Genitive compounds under Rule II. 2. 9. । युक्तारोपणण, । युक्तारोपणण ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. । युक्तारोपणण, । युक्तारोपणण ॥ This is a Bahuvrihi of three terms. The word युक्तारोपणण is a Tadbhitārtha 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 युक्तारोपणण would have acute on the first, as it is a Dvigu ending in a single vowel. But the very fact that this word is enumerated here, shows that other Dvigu compounds in युक्तः are not governed by VI. 2. 29, therefore युक्तारोपणण has acute on,८ च. The enumeration of the युक्तारोपणण further proves by implication that the (युक्तारोपणण) शवाङ्ककि नित्यभः accent for the application of which a case is present is stronger. (See Mahābhāṣya II. 1. 1.) The class of compounds known as युक्तारोपणण &c, (II. 1. 48) also belong to this class.

१ युक्तारोपणण, २ युक्तारोपणण, ३ युक्तारोपणण, ४ युक्तारोपणण, ५ युक्तारोपणण (युक्तारोपणण), ६ युक्तारोपणण, ७ युक्तारोपणण (युक्तारोपणण), ८ युक्तारोपणण, ९ युक्तारोपणण, ३ युक्तारोपणण, १० युक्तारोपणण, ११ युक्तारोपणण, १२ युक्तारोपणण, १३ युक्तारोपणण, १४ युक्तारोपणण, १५ युक्तारोपणण, १६ युक्तारोपणण

२२। पदार्थ ॥ युक्तारोपणण, कार्य, तथा, यह, यहां, तद्भरन, जे, (आयुर्वेदः) ॥

२२। युक्तारोपणण, कार्य, तथा, यह, यहां, तद्भरन, जे, (आयुर्वेदः) ॥

२२। युक्तारोपणण, कार्य, तथा, यह, यहां, तद्भरन, जे, (आयुर्वेदः) ॥
82. When the first member is a word ending in a long vowel, or is काय, तुष, स्रोत or घट, and is followed by ज, the acute falls on the first syllable.

Thus तुषीज, तृषीज, कावज, तुषज, भृषेज देशज: These are formed by the affix ज added to ज (III. 2. 97).

अत्यायः वहत्त्र: II च इ पदावि II अत्यायः, वृषेज, वहत्त्र: (उदाहरः से) II नृति: II अत्यायः वहत्त्र: वृषेज पातसार्याचारयस्य विधिः II

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

Thus अमरज, छल्लज, भामलिच: and द्विवाच: (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 नृत्तानि नृत्तिः.

प्रासेरिवस्तः: II च इ पदावि II प्रामे, अनिवस्तः: II नृति: II प्रामायक्यतापदे पूर्वविपादस्यार्थं भवति य प्रेक्षितं वाचिचिमित्तः II

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

Thus भवीमायः, भाविनिमायः: II Here प्राम is equal to सत्सु 'an assembly'. प्रेक्षितं वाचिचिमित्तः: II Why do we say 'when not meaning inhabitants'? Observe भविनिमायः: 'a village inhabited by the descendants of Daksha', महिमायः: 'a village inhabited by Māhikas'.

घोषितः च इ च इ पदावि II घोषितः च, (प्रेक्षितं वाचिचिमित्तः II नृति: II गृष्णितः च, च, पूर्बविपादस्यार्थं भवति II

85. The first member has acute on the first syllable when followed by भोष &c.


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 वाचिचिस्तः in this aphorism, others however read it.

1 भोष, 2 कान्त (पत्र), 3 अभास (सत्सु), 4 भाव, 5 वृषेज (वाचिचिस्तः), 6 घृषेज, 7 वृषेज, 8 मान, 9 अत्यायः (उदाहरः), 10 शालिस्त्रा (उदाहरः), 11 नृत्तिः, 12 शालिस्त्रा, 13 अभास, 14 भविनिमायः, 15 नृत्तिः, 16 शालिस्त्रा, 17 नृत्तिः (प्रेक्षितं वाचिचिस्तः)

शालिस्त्रा: शालिस्त्रा: II च इ पदावि II च इ प्रेक्षितं वाचिचिस्तः, शालिस्त्रा: (आपदरसा:) II नृति: II शालिस्त्रा विपादात्रे च इ प्रेक्षितं वाचिचिस्तः नृत्तिः II
86. The words छात्र &c, get acute on the first syllable when followed by the word शाला 

Thus छात्रिवान, छात्रिवान, छात्रिवान।
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 छात्रिवान, छात्रिवान।

1 छात्र, 2 विद्यार्थी (विद्यार्थी), 3 मात्रक, 4 व्यक्ति, 5 व्यक्ति, 6 मात्र, 7 मात्र (मात्र)।

87. The first member, which has not a Vṛddhi in the first syllable, or which is not कक्षी &c, gets the acute on the first syllable before प्रस्थ।

Thus द्वितीयस्य, द्वितीयस्य, द्वितीयस्य, द्वितीयस्य। But not in शासकस्य, शासक:स्य शासक: which have Vṛddhi in the first syllable; nor also in कर्मवेदस्य: कर्मवेद: &c.

1 कक्षी, 2 नाथी (नाथी), 3 मात्रक, 4 कक्षी (कक्षी), 5 जयी, 6 कार, 7 कन्या (कन्या),
8 वन (वन), 9 बरी (बरी)।

88. The first syllable of माला &c, gets the acute when प्रस्थ follows.

Thus मालास्य, मालास्य। This sutra applies even though the first syllables are Vṛddhi vowel. In the words एक and दोनों the letters ए and औि are treated as Vṛddhi (I. 1. 75).

1 माला, 2 धाला, 3 धोणि (धोणि), 4 ब्राह्म, 5 शास, 6 शाम, 7 कार्थी, 8 एक, 9 आ, 10 भीमा।

89. The first member has acute on the first syllable before the word नगर, but not when it is the word महल or नगर, nor when it refers to a city in the lands of the Northern People.

Thus महानगरस्य, महानगरस्य, महानगरस्य। But not in महानगरस्य, महानगरस्य, महानगरस्य। Why do we say “but not of Northern People”? Observe मालास्य मालास्य।
FIRST-ACUTE.

90. A word of two or three syllables ending in अ or आ (with the exception of महा and नव), standing before the word अमेः has acute on the first syllable.

Thus इन्द्रम्, इन्द्राम्, इन्द्रकुलम्, इन्द्रसामस्य। Why do we say ‘ending in अ (long or short)? Observe भृगुम्। Why do we say ‘consisting of two or three syllables’? Observe काबिखुजनामम्। The words महा and नव are to be read here also. The rule therefore does not apply to महाम् and नामाम्।

91. The following words do not get acute on the first syllable, when standing before ‘arma’, viz: भृत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्य, अद्य, कद्जलम् (आधुनिकान्त)।

Thus भृतात्म, अधिकात्म, संजीवान्त, मद्यात्म, अद्यात्म, कद्जलात्म। (because the sūtra shows the compounding of those words in madram) कद्जलात्म। All these compounds have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Vārtt.:—In the Vedas the words विधावत, &c, have acute on the first syllable. Thus विधावत गामा, धृष्टा चापुं।

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 Nominaive 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 भर्त gets acute on the final. This adhikāra extends upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive.

93. The acute is on the final of the word सर्वः standing as first member before an attributive word, in the sense of ‘whole, through and through’.
Thus प्रमोक्षस्य, भृगुक्षणः, वर्णकाथ्याः. Why do we say सर्ब्बाच:? Observe प्रमोक्षस्य, here the attribute of भृगु pervades through and through the object referred: but the accent is not on the final of प्रमः. Why do we say ‘attributive word’? Observe सर्वत्राच्यः, ‘golden’, सर्ववेषजः, ‘silvery’, which do not denote any attribute in their original state but modification. In fact it is not शून्यकात्वः here at all, but a शून्यकात्वः. Why do we use the word ‘शून्यस्य or complete perva-sion’? Observe सर्वत्राचः भृत्ताः,—सर्ववेषजः: here the compounding takes place by the elision of the affix सर्वः denoting comparison, and as it shows only comparative, not absolute, whiteness, the rule does not apply. Moreover, in this example, the “ैैै शून्यस्य” is not that of “गुणस्य” but of “गुणस्य”, not of the ‘attribute’, but of the ‘substance’. Objection:—How do you form such a compound सर्वत्राचः? रेषः, for it is prohibited by II. 2.11.? Ans. We do it on the strength of the following वृत्तिका भृंगोत्तरम् समासो भृगूः; हर्वत्तरम्.

संस्कारस्य निर्विन्दि निकायः: II २४ ं पद्यां परमाणुम् मिति निकायः: II

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

Thus भृगुभृगू, महाभृगूगिरिः, The finals of अन्त्य and भान्त्य are lengthened by VI. 3. 117. भृगुभृगूगिरिः, महाभृगूगिरिः, गृहस्य निकायः: II Why do we say ‘when it is a Name’? Observe परमाणुम्, महाभृगूगिरिः: II

२५. The last syllable of the first member gets the acute when the word कुमारी follows, the compound denoting age.

Thus बुद्धकुमारी ‘an old maid’. The compounding is by II. 1. 57. बुद्धकुमारी: II This compound is formed by II. 1. 49 with जस्ती: II The words become masculine by VI. 3. 42 in both examples. Q. The word कुमारी was formed by द्वीप 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 पुजः or ग्रीः? it is a contradiction in terms. Ans; The word कुमारी has two senses; one denoting “a young maiden” and second “unmarried virgin”. It is in the latter sense, that the attribute पुजः or ग्रीः is applied. Why do we say “when the compound denotes age”? Observe पुजः कुमारी: II

२६. प्रेक्षण: II २६ ं पद्यां प्रेक्षण: प्रेक्षण:, अ, केवले, (पुजःप्रेक्ष्यष्य अस्त्यःशः).

२६. Before the word प्रेक्षण, when the compound denotes a mixture, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.
97. Before a Dvign, when the compound denotes a sacrifice, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus ग्रंथविषया, ग्रंथविषया, कुचुक्कविनंसरावः — ग्रंथविषया विनंसरावः &c. Why do we say 'before a Dvign compound'? Observe अतिरिक्तवान्न : (रामायणकाला इति मातिरितमात्र) which being formed by the Samāsānta affix अप (V. 4. 87) has acute on the final (VI. 1, 163). Why do we say 'when denoting a sacrifice'? Observe विनंसरावः = विनंसरावः विनंसरावः तस्मां तस्मां.

98. Before the word समा when it is exhibited as Neuter, the first member of the compound gets acute on the last syllable.

Thus सोपालसम, पृथिवीसराव, वि०सराव, वि०सराव, गान्धारसमसम. Why do we say 'before समा'? Observe आपालसमसम. Why do we say 'when in the Neuter'? Observe राजसम, आपालसम. 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 Pratipadokta &c: the accent does not fall on the final of the preceding term as, रामायणम, here the word समा is neuter not by the force of any particular rules, but because the thing designated (वामिवतम) is neuter.

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 प्राचाचा, प्राचाचा, विवर्तोपुरचा, गांगुरचा, गान्धारचा. Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe विवर्तोपुरचा.
100. When the words अरिद् and गौर stand first, the first member has the acute on the final before the word पुरुष

Thus नारदेपुरुष, गौरेपुरुष. By the force of the word पुरुष in the aphorism, we can apply the rule to अरिदेपुरुष, गौरेपुरुष.

न हारितनफलकारणाय: ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, हारितन, फलक, मार्दनः (अन्नोद्वाराणि) ॥

वृध्वः ॥ हारितन कलक मार्दन विविधताम पूर्वपश्चात् उत्तरसे मानोबसानि मनवति ॥

101. But when the words हारितन, फलक and मार्दन precede पुरुष, the acute does not fall on their final.

This is an exception to VI. 2. 99. Thus हारितनपुरुष, फलकपुरुष, मार्दनपुरुष. The son of पुरुष is मार्दन formed by गौर, the word belonging to Subhrādi class. The गौर is elided by VI. 4. 147.

कुशुल्कुमारपुरुषाय विले ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुशुल, कूप, कुम्म, शालम, विलेल॥

बृध्वः ॥ कुशुल कूप कुम्म शालम हरवताम पूर्वपश्चात् विलायतुरारसे मनोवसानि मनवति ॥

102. The words कुशुल, कूप, कुम्म and शालम have the acute on the last syllable before the word विले.

Thus कुशुलविलेल, कूपविलेल, कुम्मविलेल, शालमविलेल. But not so here विलेल. Why do we say ‘before विलेल’? Observe कुशुलविलेल.

दिशाश्च भारतल्पदातान चाराचारादेशु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिशाश्च, भारतल्पदातान, चाराचारादेशु ॥

बृध्वः ॥ दिशाश्चाम पूर्वपश्चात् अन्नोद्वाराणि मनवति भारतल्पदातानविभाषाय शास्त्रपदार्थार्थे च ॥

103. Words expressing direction (in space or time) have acute on the last syllable, when followed by a word denoting a village, or a country or a narrative, and before the word चारारदेश.

Thus पूर्वपुरुषानी, अरिद्देपुरुषानी or गौरेपुरुषानी (VIII. 2. 6). The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. वृध्वः विलेलः. अरिदेपुरुषानी: These are Karmadhāraya compounds (II. 1. 58). Story name:—पूर्वपुरुषानी or पूर्व, पूर्वपश्चात्, पूर्वाशिनमन, अरिदेपुरुषानी: So also पूर्वपुरुषानी, अरिद्दे चारारदेश. The employment of the term पूर्व in the aphorism shows that time-denoting विलेल words as in पूर्वपश्चात् should also be included. The word भारतल्पदातान is derived from भारतल्पदातान क्रोण प्रथम: (IV. 3. 87).

आचार्यपदेश्चनाथात्वाचतिसिद्धिः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आचार्यपदेश्चनाथात्वाचतिसिद्धिः, ज्ञ, अस्त्रेपादानि, (अन्नोद्वाराणि) ॥

बृध्वः ॥ आचार्यपदेश्चनाथात्वाचतिसिद्धिः पूर्वपपदातानविभाषाय शास्त्रपदार्थार्थे भारतल्पदातान मनवति ॥
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 पूर्वः पारिनीयः, अपरः पारिनीयः, पूर्वकारकाम्, अपरकारकाम्. Compare VI. 2. 36 Why do we say ‘when derived from the names of their Teachers’? Observe पूर्वलिङ्गः. Why do we say ‘Scholar-names’? Observe पूर्वपारिनीयं शालः (पारिनीयं शालं पूर्वं शालस्त्रयम्).

उत्तरपदः च च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदार्थः उत्तर-पदः हृदः, सर्वः च ॥

पुरुषः उत्तरपदः तथा विभिन्ना परिपूर्वकारकारकाः कार्यात्मकाः भवति ॥

105. Words denoting direction and the word सर्व have acute on the final, before a word which takes Vyuddhi in the first syllable of the second term by VII. 3. 12 and 13.

By the स्त्रोत् उत्तरपदः VII. 3. 10, 12, the Vyuddhi of the Uttarapada is ordained when the Taddhita affixes having षः, ष or ष follow, the Purvapada being षः, सर्वः and कार्यः. The word उत्तरपदः therefore, means that word which takes Vyuddhi, under the rule relating to uttarapada, i.e. under rule VII. 3. 12 and 13. Thus पूर्वकारकारकः, अपरकारकारकः, सर्वपास्खः ओऽ These are formed by ओऽ affix (IV. 2. 125). Why do we say “which takes Vyuddhi in the second term?” Had the word उत्तरपदः not been used, then the sūtra would have run thus पूर्वः सर्वः षः, and would have applied to cases like सर्वपास्खः, सर्वपास्खः: where षः and कार्यः are Vyuddha words not by virtue of VII. 3. 12.

बहुवीर्यः विश्वः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदार्थः बहुवीर्यः, विश्वः, संज्ञायाम् ॥

पुरुषः बहुवीर्यः च विभिन्नः पूर्वपदः संज्ञायाम् विभिन्नः स्वार्थात् भवति ॥

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

Thus विश्वेऽद्वैतं, विश्वेऽद्वैतं, विश्वेऽद्वैतं. This is an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first member in a Bahuvarhī would have retained its original accent. Why do we say in a Bahuvarhī compound? Observe विभिन्नः च द्वैतं=विभिन्नः. Why do we say ‘when a name’? Observe विश्वेऽद्वैतं विभिन्नः विभिन्नः. But विभिन्नः and विभिन्नः have acute on the final, as they are governed by the subsequent rule VI. 2. 165 which supersedes this. The word Bahuvarhī governs the succeeding sūtras upto VI. 2. 120 inclusive. The word विश्वः is originally acute on the first, as it is formed by the affix षः added to विभिन्नः. This rule has unrestricted scope in विश्वेऽद्वैतं, विश्वेऽद्वैतं: and rule VI. 2. 165 has unrestricted scope in शास्त्रीयेऽ, शास्त्रीयेऽ: But in शास्त्रीयेऽ: and शास्त्रीयेऽ: there is a conflict, as both these rules would apply, therefore by the maxim of vipratischedha, VI. 2. 165 supersedes this,
107. The first member in a Bahuvrthi, before the words उद्र, अभ्य, र्थ, gets acute on the final syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

Thus स्त्रीलोक, स्त्रीवस्तु, स्त्रीधर, स्त्रीस्वर्ग, स्त्रीपुरुषवेद्य: and नेक्षुः। This sūtra is also an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first term would have retained its original accent. The word हृद has acute on the first by Phit II. 7. The word सौम is formed by मन्त्र affix (Up IV. 145) and is first acute; हृद is also first acute as formed by हृ (Up IV. 118). The word श्रीम if considered as an undeveloped primitive, has acute on the first by Phit II. 19. If it be considered as derived from द्रव्य with the affix भ्र, then it is already end-acute and would retain its accent even by VI. 2. 1. The first Bahuvrthi word श्रुतम् has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, the second Bahuvrthi compound श्रुतमुक्ता: has acute on श by VI. 2. 1, the third Bahuvrthi with श्रा gets accent on श। The word महादेव is end-acute by V. 2. 38. Its mention here appears redundant.

क्रेये || १०८ || पदार्थी || क्रेये ||

108. A word before उद्र, अभ्य and र्थ in a Bahuvṛthi gets acute on the final, when reproach is meant.

Thus कृपाय, कृपया, कृपय, कृपित, कृपिता, अनिपत, न, नन्यलं, नु:। The word हृद has acute on the first as it is a Neuter name (Phit II. 3), and it would have retained this accent in the Bahuvrthi by VI. 2. 1, but for this sūtra. The word धर is formed by धर (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 हृद in being formed by हृ (V. 3. 75) has acute on the first. वानास is formed by the Nishṭā affix श। The word अयायिन being an avayālēhā, 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 वानास: and नु: have acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, which being a subsequent sūtra, supersedes this present, so far as त्रा and र्थ are concerned.

कर्मणु || १०९ || पदार्थी || कर्मणु ||

109. In a Bahuvrthi compound having the word एष्य as its second member, the first member ending in the Feminine affix र्थ (कर्मणु word) has the acute on its final syllable.
Thus गर्ग्वकुलिः सरसीवनुः। The words गर्ग्वकुलिः and सरसीवनुः are formed by adding गुकुल (IV.1.16) to गर्ग्व and सरस्व ending in कुल (IV.1.105), and therefore, they are first acute. By VI.2.1 this accent would have been retained, but for the present सूत्रा. Why do we say “a Nadi (Feminine in ी) word”? Observe ध्रुवसनुः, the word ध्रुव has acute on the first syllable as it is formed by मन्न (Uṇ IV.146) and it retains that accent (VI.2.1). Why do we say “before ध्रुव”? Observe नागसिनिः।

मिन्नापसगृहे यथायथपथाय अन्यतरस्यायः॥ २१०॥ पदार्थं निष्ठा, उपसेनूपम, अन्यतरस्यायः।।

पुष्प:। वघ्रीसी सुमाश्च चिन्हान्य पुरातनान्य दुःखसृष्टिस्वाभावशीलोऽभिन्नोऽभिन्।

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

Thus श्रेष्ठवालक: or श्रेष्ठसहितकः (VI.2.169), or श्रेष्ठसहितकः (VI.2.49 and 1) प्रशालवालकः or प्रशालवालकः। When the word श्रेष्ठ means (mouth) then by VI.2.167 which is an optional rule, the accent falls on the last syllable श्रेष्ठ:।। When the other alternative is taken or when it does not mean (mouth) then by VI.2.49 the acute falls on श्रेष्ठ श्रेष्ठ, which accent is retained (VI.2.1). Why do we say “a Nishṭḥā”? Observe श्रेष्ठवालक: which is acute in the middle by the क्लियत accent being retained after श्रेष्ठ (VI.2.139). Why do we say ‘preceded by a preposition’? Observe श्रेष्ठसहितकः which has acute on the first by VI.1.206.

उत्तराधि:॥ २११॥ पदार्थं उत्तरं, पदार्थं। (उत्तराधि:)॥

पुष्प:। उत्तराधिस्वरूपिकागुणम्। विशेष श्रूङ्गादिकम् देवास्माश्रमस्य कपिलेष्वरः तद्वित्तिकः॥

111. In the following सूत्रास, upto VI.2.136 inclusive, should always be supplied the phrase “the first syllable of the second member has the acute”.

This is an adhikātra aphorism and the word उत्तराधि exerts its influence upto the end of the chapter, while the word श्रेष्ठ has scope upto VI.2.187 exclusive.

कर्ण: कर्णेश्वरात्॥ २१२॥ पदार्थं कर्ण: कर्ण, कर्ण, कर्ण, (कापाराधम)॥

पुष्प:। बहुतीसी समाने गर्गवाक्षि: लक्षणप्रवृत्तिनध कर्णावर्शरस्वातु:स्वतं भवति॥

112. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, the word कर्ण: standing as second member, has acute on the first syllable, when it is preceded by a word denoting color or mark.

Thus with color we have गुलाकर्ण:, कुष्ठकर्ण:, and with mark-name, we have चेतावकर्ण सिंहसुकर्ण:, the lengthening of श्रेष्ठ and श्रेष्ठ 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 शूरुव्याप्तः. Why do we say कण्ठ? Observe चेकरास्; कुंटकुंटकूर्त: here कुंटकूर्त being formed by अत् (II. 1. 134) is end-acute, and कुंटूर्त 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 शोभनपास: where शोभन being formed by वृष्ण (III. 2. 149) is end-acute and this accent is retained (VI. 2. 1).

संलोकयोगः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ संहः, औपस्याः: ॥ तः ॥
बृहः: ॥ संहाबागमयः च थो बहुविधिः सत्र तन्त्रमालयावाचः भवति संलोकः ॥

113. In a Baluvrīhi the second member कण्ठ has acute on the first syllable, when the compound denotes a Name or a Resemblance.

Thus कर्तारम्भम्, मानक्षम्, are Names: कर्तारे, मानक्षेत denote resemblance i.e. "persons having ears like a cow or an ass".

कण्ठपुष्पिकासजस्तः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, प्रीवा, जंघम, च (आदि-
बृहः) ॥
बृहः: ॥ कण्ठ गुड़ बीवा जंघम हैलाबारिव उत्तरमालय बहुविधी सत्र संलोकयोगायावाचः भवति ॥

114. In a Baluvrīhi expressing a Name or comparison, the second members कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, प्रीवा and जंघम have acute on the first syllable.

Thus Name: सिद्धार्थम्, नीलक्षम्: ॥ Comparison सत्कृम्म:; उत्कृम्मः: ॥ Name काण्डम्, नाकृम्म:; ॥ Resemblance गोर्गम्, गर्जम्: ॥ Name चुम्म:; नीलक्षम्, नीलक्षम्:; ॥ Resemblance गोर्गम्, गर्जम्: ॥ Name नातोहप्प, नातोहप्प:; ॥ Resemblance गोर्जम्, गर्जम्:; ॥

The sūtra कण्ठपुष्पिकासजस्तः is in Neuter gender, and तः is shortened as it is a Samāhāra Dvandva. In the case of बृहः, the accent would have fallen on the final ः by VI. 2. 172, this ordains acute on थी ॥

स्त्रुस्तमवस्यायाः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ स्त्रुस्तम, अवस्थयाम, च (आदि-राम) ॥
पृहः: ॥ गुड़ पृह उत्तरमालयावाच संलोकयोगः बहुविधी आदि-रामालय भवति ॥

115. In a Baluvrīhi denoting age, (as well as a Name or a Resemblance), the second member गुड़ gets acute on the first syllable.

Thus गुड़गुड़म्, गुड़गुड़म्, गुड़गुड़म्: ॥ Here the word गुड़ denotes the particular age of the cattle at which the horns come out, or become one or two inches long. Name:—गुड़गुड़म्: comparison: गुड़गुड़म्; गुड़गुड़म्: ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'age &c.' Observe शूरुव्याप्तः: ॥
116. After a Negative Particle, in a Bahuvartha, the acute falls on the first syllable of तर, मर, सिर, and जूत.

Thus भारी, भारी, भारी, and भारी. Why do we say after a Negative Particle? Observe भारीसमाप्ति. Why do we say “जर &c.” Observe भारी when the final gets the acute by VI. 2. 172.

सोमस्नाती सोमस्नाती ॥ ११६॥ पदार्थिः सोः, मर्यस्ति, अ लोम, उपरी ॥

Thus भारी, भारी, भारी, and भारी. The final स्त्र is changed to त्व by VIII. 2. 72. But this substitution is considered asdissa for the purposes of accent, and these words are taken as if still ending in तरु. Why do we say 'after सु?' Observe क्लयण, क्लयण. Why do we say 'ending in तरु and सुरु?' Observe क्लयण and क्लयण formed by the affix क्लयण (Uɐ 1. 156), and the accent is on त् and स्, but with सु, the accent is thrown on the final by VI. 2. 172. Why do we say with the exception of लोम and रुस्त? Observe क्लयण and क्लयण (VI. 2. 172). The following maxim applies here: अतिनामस्य व्यक्तिव्यपमस्य चारायोक्तिः पम चतुष्पिन्यम पयोवजनिन “whenever तरु, or तरु or मरु or मरु, when they are employed in Grammar, denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with तरु or रुस्त or सुरु or मरु, there (तरु, रुस्त, तरु and मरु) 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 तरु and सुरु void of meaning are also included here. Thus क्लयण is formed by मरु (Uɐ 1. 140), but क्लयण is formed by तरु (Uɐ. IV. 145), and परशुम is formed by हर्षयण affix (V. 1. 122) in which मरु is only a part. Similarly भारी is formed by भारु (Uɐ IV. 191), and so also भारी (Uɐ IV. 202); but in भारी (सुरु from अंस्त्र with the affix भारु III. 2. 76) the rule applies also, though भारी is here part of the root. But when the समसात्ता affix तरु is added (V. 4. 154), then the accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding तरु, for there the subsequent Rule VI. 2. 173 supersedes the present rule: thus भारी, भारी, भारी.

कत्वायक ॥ ११८॥ पदार्थिः कत्वायक; त, ॥

Thus: त. कत्वायक: लोकांस्य वर्गीकृते व्याख्या भाष्यता भाषितः.
118. After सु in a Bahuvihi, the acute falls on the first syllable of कु &c.

Thus सुकुट, सुर्दहीकु, सुर्मृग, सुग्रीव, सुर्पंज, सुर्मलकीकु.

आधुत्तांसे द्रव्ययन्त्रसितर्षि ॥ ११७॥ पदवनि ॥ आधुत्तांसे, द्रव्ययन्त्रसितर्षि ॥

सूर्य: ॥ आधुत्तांसे द्रव्ययन्त्रसितर्षि ॥

119. In a Bahuvihi 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:—सुर्दहीकु, सुर्मृग, सुग्रीव, सुर्पंज, सुर्मलकीकु (Rig Veda X. 76. 8). Here दही and दर्प: have acute on द and र, which they had originally also, for दहि and दर्प are formed by कु (Ug I. 151) and क्ष। (Ug II. 2) respectively and have the निस्र accent (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say ‘having acute on the first syllable’? Observe वा दहंदद: भस्भीकु (Rig II. 32. 7). Here दहिं has acute on the final (Ug I. 27 formed by द and has the accent of the affix III. 1. 3). Why do we say ‘having two syllables’? Observe दहंदद: भस्भीकु. This सूर्य is an exception to VI. 2. 172.

सूर्य: ॥ २०॥ पदवनि ॥ दहि, दर्प: ॥

120. In a Bahuvihi compound in the Chhandas, after सु, the words दहि and दर्प: have acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुर्दहीकु ले, सुर्मृग, सुग्रीव (Rig IV. 17. 4) सुर्मृग, सुग्रीव (Rig VIII. 13 36) where सुग्रीव has acute on गी. ॥ So also सुर्मृग, सुग्रीव (रग विमान ॥ The word दहि is formed by द्रू अर्ध and by VI. 1. 213, it would have acute on the first. But its enumeration in this सूर्य shows that Rule VI. 1. 213 does not apply to दहिं. ॥ The word दहिं has svarita on the final in the Chhandas, by Phit IV. 9. In the secular literature it is Adyudatta.

सुर्दहीकु, सुर्मृग, सुग्रीव (समस्त भाषा मायामैी ॥ १२१॥ पदवनि ॥ सुर्दहि, दहि, दर्प:,

121. In an Avayabhāva compound, the following second terms have acute on their first syllable: कु, दहि,

Thus दहिं, दर्प:,

कु, दहिं, दर्प: ॥

These last four are to be found in Tishṭhadgu class of compounds (II. 1. 17). Why do we say ‘कु &c’? Observe वर्कुम् ॥ Why do we say “in an Avayabhāva
compound?"  Observe प्रभुकुलम्, उत्तकुलम् । After the prepositions ततः, प्रभि, रूप and चर, the words कृत्ति &c would have become accentless by VI. 2. 33, the present सूत्रa supersedes VI. 2. 33, and we have accent on कृत्ति &c and not on the Prepositions.

कृत्तमयःपुपपवष्कान्तिः दिम्बगी ॥ १२२ ॥ पञ्चविङ्ग || कन्य, मन्त्र, शृङ्ख, पायथ, काण्डेव, दिम्बगी ॥

भूमि : || कन्य सम्म पृथ्वि पायथ काण्डे दृष्टान्तयुक्तेवरणांसि विग्री सामसामथाधार्याः मस्तिनि ॥

122. In a Dvigu Compound the following second members get acute on their first syllable:—कन्य, मन्त्र, शृङ्ख, पायथ and काण्डे।

Thus देवोऽति, (i.e., the affix देवोऽति V. 1. 25 is elided by V. 1. 28) विनितेऽति, विनितेऽति, (the affix देवोऽति V. 1. 19 is elided by V. 1. 28) विरितेऽति, विरितेऽति, (the affix देवोऽति V. 1. 26 is elided) विरितेऽति, विरितेऽति, विरितेऽति, विरितेऽति ॥ Why do we say in a Dvigu? Observe पञ्चविङ्ग || दृष्टान्तयुक्तेः

तत्पुरुषे शान्तायाः नासुक्ते ॥ १२३ ॥ पञ्चविङ्ग || तत्पुरुषे, शालायास, नासुक्ते ॥

भूमि : || शालायासाः तत्पुरुषे तत्पुरुषे तत्पुरुषे नासुक्ते नासुक्ते नासुक्ते मस्तिनि ॥

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

Thus शालापुरुषाः, शालिकान्तिः ॥ The compound becomes Neuter by II. 4. 25. Why do we say “in a Tatpurusha”? Observe देवेत्तेः विनितेऽति which is a Bahuvrīhi compound and therefore first member retains its accent VI. 2. 1, and as the first member is a निष्ठा word, it has acute on the final. Why do we say “the word शाला”? Observe शालापुरुषाः ॥ Why do we say ‘in the Neuter’? Observe शालापुरुषाः ॥ Compare VI. 2. 86.

काश्या च ॥ १२४ ॥ पञ्चविङ्ग || काश्या, च। ॥

भूमि : || तत्पुरुषे समस्ते नासुक्ते नासुक्ते काश्यास उत्तरपश्चादिश्चे चतुर्दशि ॥

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

Thus शािकात्मकम्, अद्यम्मकम्, पथ्यकाम्मकम् ॥ The word शािकात्मकम् denotes the descendant of हुष्टवम् (समान: शािका बाल) माहर is formed by the preposition मा with the verb हुष्टव and the affix का (III. 1. 136) The compound is Neuter by II. 4. 20. These are Genitive compounds. When the word is not Neuter we have शािकात्मकम् ॥

आदिुक्तद्रातिलाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पञ्चविङ्ग || आदि, विनिताद्रातिलाम् ॥

भूमि : || काश्यात्मकम् तत्पुरुषे समस्ते नासुक्ते नासुक्ते नासुक्ते नासुक्ते नासुक्ते मस्तिनि ॥

125. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in काश्या, the first syllable of विनित्ता &c have the acute.
As विज्ञमस्य, काण्डकनस्य, काँडकनस्य ॥ The repetition of the word भावेव in this सूत्र, though its anusvṛtti was present, indicates that the first syllable of the first member gets the acute. The word विज्ञान is derived from the root न्यान्त्यित which gives न्युन and हम is formed by adding अभ्य (III. 1. 134) to हम ॥ न्युन + हम = विज्ञान the elision of ह is irregular.

चेलकेननकनकाण्ड गाह्रायम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेल, चेट, कुडक, काण्ड, गाह्रायम् ॥

पूर्वि: ॥ चेल चेट कुडक काण्ड हेतातुजुलुप्यसि संस्करणे समाषे महायां गम्यानायमायुष्याकाति मयेन ॥

126. The words चेल, चेट, कुडक and काण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha have acute on the first syllable, when a reproach is meant.

Thus पुण्यनः, नायोऽन्यनः, वनात्रकटम, सूर्पकटम, (केट इति ज्ञानम, त्यत इति बयानम्) तथा इति (काण्डनस्यादि तत्त्वोऽस्मात्) इति (काण्डनिति प्रवर्तय, तथा श्वस्ती श्च ये भवन्य) प्रवाहस्य ॥ The reproach is denoted of the sons &c by comparing them to चेल &c. The analysis will be पुण्यनः पुण्यनम् and the compounding takes place under II. 1. 56: the Vyaghṛādī class being an akṛti-gana. When reproach is not meant, we have प्रसन्ननः ॥

चोरस्यमस्यम् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चोरस्य, उपगामम् ॥

पूर्वि: ॥ चोरस्यमस्यम्यसि संस्करणे समाषे महायां मयेन ॥

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

Thus चोर चोर्यानि = चोरीचर्याः, चोरीचर्याः, कर्तव्यचर्याः ॥ Why do we say 'when comparison is meant?' Observe परमचार्याः ॥

परलवपरलुपासकम सिशेः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परलू, सुपू, शाकम, सिशेः ॥

पूर्वि: ॥ परलू शाक इति तत्त्वानायुर्मयायिनि तत्त्वेऽशते समाषे भायुष्यायिनि मयेन ॥

128. In a Tatpurusha ending in परलू, सुपू and शाक the acute falls on the first syllable of these, when the compound denotes a food mixed or seasoned with something.

Thus शाकपानसेः, पुष्पपानसेः, पुष्पसेः, पुष्पकानसेः, पुष्पकानसेः = पुष्प गम्य पाले &c. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 35. Why do we say 'when meaning mixed or seasoned?' Observe परमपनसेः ॥

कुलस्थितवर्णकारोऽसस्यायम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुल, शूर, श्याल, कर्म, सवारायम् ॥

पूर्वि: ॥ कुल शूर श्याल कर्म हेतातुजुलुप्यसि संस्करणे समाषे संस्करणे तिष्टे भायुष्यायिनि मयेन ॥
129. The words कृत, पूर्ण, स्थल and कवः have acute on their first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha denoting a Name.

Thus शासिकंदेष्ठ, भाविकंदेष्ठ, देवीरूपम्, मार्केश्वर, सन्द्ह्वनसकसी, माहकर्मींती, शाबि-हरे। All these are names of villages. The feminine of स्थल is taken here, formed by हीं (IV. 1. 42). When not a name we have परमकृतम्।

अक्षरमध्ये राज्यम् १३०॥ पदार्थ अ, अनुच्छारये, राज्यम् (आधुनिकम्)॥

130. The word राज्यम् has acute on the first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, which is not a Karmadhārya.

Thus आद्रमेनाशे, शाबिकेनाशे। In a Karmadhārya we have परमराशे।
The accent taught in VI. 2. 125 to 130 is superseded by the accent of the Indeclinable taught in VI. 2. 2, though that rule stands first and this subsequent. As हृणेश्, हृणस्य।

वध्याद्याः १३१॥ पदार्थ ध्यानम्, च, (आधुनिकम्)

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

Thus शाबिकेनाशे, शाबिकेनाशे, शाबिकेनाशे, शाबिकेनाशे। In a Karmadhārya we have परमराशे। The words ध्यानम् &c are nowhere exhibited as such; the primitive words ध्यानम्, पूर्ण, मणि &c sub-division of (तिराये (IV. 3. 54) are here referred to, as ending with यु अर्थ.

पुजः पुजः १३२॥ पदार्थ पुजः पुजः (आधुनिकम्)॥

132. The word पुजः coming after a Masculine noun in a Tatpurusha has acute on the first syllable.

Thus कौटिक्वलयाः, कौटिक्वलयाः, कौटिक्वलयाः। Why do we say ‘a पुजः’? Observe कौटिक्वलयाः। Why do we say ‘after a masculine word’? Observe मारिक्वलयाः, शाबिकेनाशे।

शाबिकेनाशे, कौटिक्वलयाः, कौटिक्वलयाः।
133. The word घृत 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 भाष्य means ‘teacher’, राजा ‘prince, king’, अन्तिम ‘a sacrificing priest’, संपुत्र ‘relations through the wife’s side’ as भास्म ‘brother-in-law’ &c; शास्त्र means ‘all kinsmen related through father and mother or blood-relations’. The word भाष्य shows that the rule applies to the synonyms of ‘teacher’ &c, as well as to particular ‘teacher’ &c. Thus भाष्यस्य, उपाध्यायस्य, वाचकत्वस्य, राजस्य, राजस्याधिकारिणेः, नन्दकुमार, द्रविष्टकुमार, वानस्तुकुमार, (VI. 3. 23) संपुत्रस्य, शास्त्रियोऽपि, शास्त्रियोऽपि, (VI. 3. 23). Here the special accent of घृत taught in the last सूत्र being prohibited, the accent falls on the last syllable by the general rule VI. 1. 2. 23.

च्छूतान्त्यमानिनिहः: || १२४ || पदानि || घृतान्तिनि, त, माणि, बघ्या; ( आ-भुदानाति ) ||

घृतानि || उपाध्यायावरिणि चरसि तदुपाति च || च्छूतान्त्यमानिनिहः अध्यायावरिणि चरसि च सदेहाति भाष्याति महसि ||

134. The words च्छूत &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 च्छूतोऽपि, सस्मरिताः, but नस्तवधूमिः where the first term is a living being, and यणयणेऽपि where it is not Genitive. Another reading of the सूत्र is च्छूतान्त्यमानिनिहाः, the word च्छूत being the ancient name of पत् given by old Grammarians.

1 घृत, 2 करिं, 3 करिः, 4 शालिस्य, 5 शालक, 6 शाल्ला, 7 द्राक्ष, 8 क्रवर ( क्रवर ), 9 लक्, 10 चमली, 11 चमल ( चमल चमल ), 12 चाल ||

The word च्छूत is derived from the root चूती शाहे (Div 50) with the affix च्; करिः and करिः are formed with the upapada करिः and the verbs स्त ‘to go’ and स्त to protect respectively, and the affix च् ( करिनाति - करिः ) (III. 2. 3); चछा with the affix एषः added diversely (Uṣ II. 159); चछा with चतुष (Uṣ IV. 81) gives चछा; this with चतुष ( चतुष्टि ) gives चछा; चछा शालिः - चछा ( Prishodaradi ); चछा ( करिः ) with चछा gives चछा the penultimate being lengthened; the word क्रवर is formed by the affix शिखः added to the root श् with the upapada श् ( श् मलानाति क्रवरिः श् मलानाति ) the augment श् being added to श् || क्रवरनीयाः - क्रवर || श् with the affix श् gives श्, चस with चस चस forms चस, then is added क्रिः; चस क्रिः is formed by चस ( III. 1. 134 ) added to क्रिः and reduplication, चल्लिकाश्यं - चाल ||
The six words काण्ड, चीर, पज्ज, घुर, शाक and कुण्ड of Sutras VI. 2. 126–129, preceded by a non-living genitive word, have acute on the first syllable.

As ज्ञात्स्रष्ट्रम्ब, शाकायन्त्रम; श्रम्बोप, कुण्डोप. In the last two examples श्रम्ब is not used as a comparison, that case being governed by VI. 2. 127, निःस्फलात्मी, नमस्कारात्मी, नमस्कारम. Here नस्फ, नमस्कार and नमस्कार do not denote mixing, which is governed by VI. 2. 128. नमोहरु, सबहरु, here the compound does not denote a Name, which would be the case under VI. 2. 129. Why these 'six' only? Observe राजस्वम.

कुण्ड सन्म || १३६ || पद्यतिः || कुण्डम, वनम ( आयुर्वादम )
शुविः || कुण्डवालवाण कृष्णसार्देवन वण वर्षति || कुण्डवालवाण कृष्णसार्देवन वण वर्षति ||

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 ज्ञात्स्रष्ट्रम्ब, शाकायन्त्रम. Why do we say when denoting 'a wood'? Observe ज्ञात्स्रष्ट्रम. The word कुण्ड means (1) a basin (2) a caste called kunḍa. Some say it means 'forest' also primarily and metaphorically. The force here is that of सवास, i.e. सवासविवाह; = शाकायन्त्रम.

प्रकृत्य भगात || १३७ || पद्यतिः || प्रकृत्या, भगात, ( प्रकृतिस्वरम )
शुविः || भगातप्रकृतिपरिघण्य नस्फहो समाने प्रकृतिस्वरम् भवति.

137. The word भगात at the end of a Tatpurusha, preserves its original accent.

The synonyms of भगात are also included. As कुण्डाभगात, कुण्डोभगात, कुण्डाभगातम. The words भगात &c., have acute on the middle. Phit II. 9. The word भगात governs the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 2. 143.

शिष्याविलापवहर, शुद्धावर्तस्वर || १३८ || पद्यतिः || शिष्याविलापवहर, शिष्याविलापवहर, शिष्याविलापवहर, ( प्रकृतिस्वरम )
शुविः || शिष्याविलापवहर, शिष्याविलापवहर, शिष्याविलापवहर, शिष्याविलापवहर, शिष्याविलापवहर, ( प्रकृतिस्वरम )

138. After शिष्याविलापवहर, a word retains in a Bahuvrihi its original accent, when it is always of not more than two syllables, with the exception of सस्त्रम.
Thus फिलियेस, फिलियेन, फिलियेन. II The word यत belongs to युक्ति class (VI. i. 203) and has acute on the first, and बोध: and बोध: being formed by लम (U. V. 21) and यत (U. II. 4) affixes, have acute on the first (VI. i. 197). Why do we say ‘after फिलियेस’? Observe शनीवर: which being formed by the affix अमीर has acute on the penultimate syllable दी by VI. i. 217. II Why do we say ‘always’? Observe फिलियेनकुर, for though कुर is here of two syllables, it is an abbreviated form of कुर, the final ब being elided in denoting condition of life (V. 4. 146), in compounds other than those denoting ‘age’, we have फिलियेनकुर, hence this word is not such which is always of two syllables. The word फिलियेस has acute on the first syllable, by Philosophy, and retains this accent in the Bahuvrhi (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say ‘abahvach or not many-syllable’? Observe फिलियेसकुर. II Why do we say in a Bahuvrhi? Observe नि: नि: नि: नि: II Why do we say ‘with the exception of नि:’? Observe नि: नि: नि: नि: This sutra is an exception to VI. 2. 1.

गति कारक, उपपद, प्रतिस्वरवण्यम्. II १३९ II पदार्थिति गति, कारक, उपपद, प्रतिस्वरवण्यम् (प्र- प्रतिस्वरवण्यम्). II

प्रत्स्वरवण्यम्. II प्रत्स्वरवण्यम् न भाषीशास्त्रिति. II प्रत्स्वरवण्यम् कारकाप्रत्स्वरवण्यम् कराम्ययपरसे शक्ते स्थाने मेतिति प्रतिस्वरवण्यम्

139. In a Tatpurusha, a word ending in a Krit-affix preserves its original accent, when preceded by an Indeclinable called Gati (I. 4. 60), or a noun standing in intimate relation to a verb (Karaka), or any word which gives occasion for compounding (Upapada see III. 1. 92).

The above is according to Professor Bohltlingk. Thus मकारकः, प्रकारकः, पारकः; प्रकारकः; यहतः; प्रकारकः; प्रकारकः: यहतः: (III. 3. 117). With upapada words, we have:—प्रकारकः, प्रकारकः, प्रकारकः: (III. 3. 117). All these are formed by क्रिया affixes and the accent is governed by VI. i. 193. i. e. the word मकारक is formed by क्रिया (I. क्रिया क्रिया क्रिया क्रिया क्रिया); so also with शास्त्री (सामाजिक शास्त्री हेतु यह; II. 2. 16. see also II. 3. 65). The word क्रिया 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 लिङ्ग and क्रियां. II A samasa can take place with krit-formed words, but
not with tīñanta words. So that without employing क्रियां in the sūtra, we could have inferred that क्रिया was meant. Therefore, it is said the ‘Krit' is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness. According to this view we explain the accent in प्रपातितामना, प्रपातितामना, by saying that first compounding takes place with न and the words प्रपातिता and प्रपातिताम्य ending in ताम and सत्व and then अन्त, is added and the accent of the whole word is regulated by अन्त by the rule of अन्ताणि (see V. 3. 56. and V. 4. 11.). According to others, the क्रिया is taken in this sūtra, in order to prevent the gati accent applying to verbal compounds in words like प्रपातिता घोषणां, or प्रपातिता द्वीपं (V. 3. 67.), or प्रपातितात्मक (V. 3. 66.). The accent of these will be governed by the rule of the Indeclinable first term retaining its accent.

उद्दे वनस्पतार्थिका युगपत || १५० || पदार्थ || उद्दे, वनस्पतार्थिका युगपत, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ||

श्रि: || महतस्वि वर्षव || वनस्पतार्थिका संगमिका उद्दे पूर्वस्वर्ये युगपत प्रकृतिस्वरे मनस: ||

140. In वनस्पति &c, both members of the compound preserve their original accent simultaneously.

Thus वनस्पति, both वन and पति have acute on the first syllable, and अन्त augment comes by VI. 1. 157. (2) श्रि: || श्रि: || श्रि: || श्रि: || श्रि: || (VI. 1. 157)
The word श्रि: is acutely accented on the final, some say it has acute on the first. (3) श्रि: (Sachi being formed by र्युष), some make Sachi acute on the first श्रि:, by including it in Sarangrava class (IV. 1. 73). (4) तथंपत्तु (तत्त्व being formed by त् Un I. 80 has acute on the final, according to others it has acute on the first and नपति: na पति or na palayati with क्रिया and has acute on the first). (5) श्रि: || तथंपत्तु: (tathā) तत्त्विनातितात्मकः: तत्त्विनातितात्मकः तत्त्विनाति: तत्त्विनाति: तत्त्विनाति: तत्त्विनाति: तत्त्विनाति: (nara) is formed by अन्त and has acute on the first, Saśa is formed by पति, the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. (6) श्रि: र्युषः= श्रि: र्युषः र्युषः र्युषः is a Bahuvihi: the Genitive is not elided by (VI. 3. 21. Vārt.), and both have acute on the first. (7) र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः || र्युषः ||

141. In a Dvandva compound of names of Divinities, the both members retain their original accent.
Thus, द्वान्तर, द्वान्तर्यो, द्वान्तर्कालिखिता है. The word द्वान्तर has acute on the first (by nipaṭana), द्वान्तर has acute on the first (VI.1. 197), द्वान्तर is formed by द्वान्तर (Uṣṇi III. 53) and by VI. 1. 197 has acute on the first. द्वान्तर has two acutes by VI. 2. 140, and Indra-Brihaspati has three acutes. Why do we say “names of divinities”? Observe विष्णुमायोः. Why do we say 'a Dvandva'? Observe वर्णितह्.

Thus, न ऊतसरण, न ऊतसरण, अनुसरण, अ पूर्विक, युक्त, पूर्व, मन्नियुता है. १४२ पदार्थी है, उ, ऊर्वर्ण, अनुरूपार्थी, अ पूर्विक, युक्त, पूर्व, मन्नियुता है.

वृस्टि: उसरण ऊर्वर्ण, अ पूर्विक, युक्त, पूर्व, मन्नियुता है. द्वान्तरकालिखिता गौरे 'स्मृतिकालिखिता है.

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 पूर्विक, युक्त, पूर्व, and मन्नियुता.

Thus, द्वान्तर, द्वान्तर्यो, the words Agni and Vāyu have acute on the final. The word uttarapada is repeated in the sūtra, in order that it should be qualified by the word 'anudattādau', which latter would otherwise have qualified Dvandva. The word “anudattādau” shows the scope of the prohibition and the injunction. Why do we say with the exception of ‘prīhi’? Observe द्वान्तरपितामहो य ध्वनि. dvāvat has acute on the first, 'prithivi' being formed by 'ṣiṣṭ', has acute on the final. गौरे, Rudra is formed by 'rak' affix (Uṣṇi II. 22.), and has acute on the final. द्वान्तरकालिखिता, Pāshana has acute on the end. (Uṣṇi I. 159) द्वान्तरपितामहो, the words Śukra and manthini have acute on the final.

वृस्टि: उ, ऊर्वर्ण, अ अनुरूपार्थी, अ पूर्विक, युक्त, पूर्व, मन्नियुता है.

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.

व भ अ र भ अ र क भ अ र क अ र क अ र क. कालिखिता है.

144. The last syllable of the second member has the acute, in the verbal nouns ending in भ, अ र, र भ, अ, अ र, अ, अ र, र भ, when preceded by a Gati, a Kāraka or an Upapada (VI. 2. 139).
Thus ञुतिः, अनवर्त्तः: formed by कष्ठः affix (Up II. 2 and 3), and but for this sūtra, by VI. 2. 139 these words would have retained their original accent which was acute on the first. अस्य—भास्तः: वप्पस्तः: formed by कष्ठः affix (Up III. 116). प्रति—प्रति:, कारयति:, राखऽयति:॥ क:—प्रति:, Here क: has the force of कः, and the gati अः would retain its accent (VI. 2. 49) therefore, भास्तः is first acute: this accent would have been retained when compounded with the kāraka word दृष्टः, but for this sūtra. विद्यतः: भास्तः:॥ अस्य (III. 3. 56):—कः, प्रति:, क:—प्रति:, the words कः ‘dwellings’, and कः ‘victory’ are acute otherwise on the first (VI. 1. 201, 202). अस्य—प्रति:, प्रति:, इत्ययति:, प्रति:, क:—प्रति:, गोष्टिः:—गोष्टिः:। गोष्टिः:॥ गोष्टिः:॥ राखऽयति:, राखऽयति: (III. 2. 5 Vārt): प्रति:, प्रति:, (क: being added by III. 1. 135). The word वृष्टः has acute on the first as it belongs to वृष्टः class (VI. 1. 203). When the preceding words are not Gati, Kāraka or Upapada, this rule does not apply: as चुन्तः भवति, अनवर्त्तः भवति, where चुन्तः and अवर्त्तः being Karmapravachaniya, the words’ get the accent of the Indecinable.

सुप्रमानाशः कः:॥ १४५॥ पदानि सु, उपप्रमादः, कः:॥

145. The Participle in कः: has acute on the final, when it is preceded by सु or by a word with which the second member is compared.

Thus छुल्लः, चुल्लः, चुल्लः: With Upamāna words we have—वुल्लः, चुल्लः, चुल्लः:॥ वुल्लः:॥ चुल्लः:॥ वुल्लः:॥ चुल्लः:॥ With Gati, the rule does not apply, as छुल्लः भवति:॥

संज्ञायामान्यचिन्तामणिः॥ १४६॥ पदानि संज्ञायाम, अनवर्त्तः, चिन्तामणिः॥

146. The Participle in ‘kta’ has acute on the last syllable, when preceded by a Gati, or a Kāraka or an Upapada, if the compound denotes a Name, but not in आचित &c.

Thus राहुलः: राधकः, राहुलः: परिष्ठः: काँपिन्यः:॥ This debars VI. 2. 49, भुवपालो नैनि, भुवपालः नैनाय, भुवपालः महत्तः:॥ Here VI. 2. 48 is debarred. Why do we say “when it is not आचित &c.” Observe भूदितस: &c.

1 आचित, 2 पराचित, 3 भास्तः, 4 परिष्ठः, 5 निर्मदः, 6 भण्डः, 7 अष्टिन्द्रः, 8 प्रस्तृतः, 9 वप्पस्तः (वप्पस्तः) 10 वधस्तः, 11 संहितायिनी (संहितायिनी) भवति:॥ वरा युगे: संहितायिनी तदावेः॥

The word संहितायिनी 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.

प्रभुवाक्ष्योचारः च:॥ १४७॥ पदानि प्रभुवाक्ष्योचारः, च: (अन्तोदातपः)॥

147. The Participle प्रभुवाक्ष्योचारः च: form a compound with चाचारः (अन्तोदातपः)॥

बृहत्तः॥ प्रभुवाक्ष्योचारः च: चाचारः अन्तोदातपः भवति:॥
147. The words प्रकृति, तत्त्व, तत्त्वात्मक, भौतिकता, भावान्वित, अभिव्यक्ति, द्वस्तम्, नात्रेषु, पुनर्लिखिता रूपम्, तथा आदि. The words have acute on the final, even when not followed by यानि और, though in the Gāṇapāṭha they are read along with these words. Some hold it is only in connection with यानि और that these words have acute on the final. This being an Akritiṇa we have पुनर्लिखिता रूपम्, तथा आदि.

1 प्रकृति यानि, 2 तत्त्व, 3 तत्त्वात्मक, 4 भौतिकता, 5 भावान्वित, 6 अभिव्यक्ति, 7 द्वस्तम्. Why do we say "of च and चतुर्"?

148. The final of Part Participles चतुर् and चतुर् alone has acute, in a compound denoting a Name and a benediction, the preceding word being in close relation to an action (कारका).

Thus इव एवमेवाद्योः=देवदर्शः, विष्णुपुष्पा भूत्वाः-विष्णुपुष्पे. Why do we say "of एव and एवम्"?

Observe इव एव. (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 चतुर् is preceded by a kāraka, and the compound donotes 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 चतुर्, when the present rule applies. The word कारक indicates that the rule will not apply when a gāti or upapada precedes. Why do we use चतुर् (alone)? So that the restriction should apply to 'कारका', and not to 'Datta' and 'चतुर्'. For the words 'Datta' and 'चतुर्' will have acute on the final even after a nonkāraka word. As तत्त्वात्, विष्णुपुष्पे. Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'? The rule will not apply where benediction is not meant. As इव, तत्राः=प्रकृति. This rule applies to Datta and चतुर् after a kāraka-word, only when benediction is meant. It therefore does not apply to इद्भुतं 'the name of Arjuna's conch', as भावान्वित देवदर्शः, which is governed by VI. 2. 48.

इष्ठमूलन कृत्तमिति च ॥ १४२ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ इष्ठमूलन कृत्तमिति च ॥  (अन्तःसूत्रम्) ॥

१४९. The Participle in चतुर् has acute on the final, when the compound denotes 'done by one in such a condition';
The word हस्याण्वत means 'being in such a condition'. Thus षुष्याण्वति, षुष्याण्वतेः, षुष्याण्वते, षुष्याण्वते as Adjectives and Abstract verbal nouns. This is an exception to VI. 2. 48. When the words प्रविष्टि एवc are used to denote Noun of Action (अभाव, तत् etc.) by VI. 2. 144 they get of course acute on the final.

अनेक अभावकाशाचन:॥ १५० ॥ पदार्थि एवः, अभाव, काशाचन:ः (अभावार्थाः)॥

शृष्टि:॥ अभ अवश्याण्वति अभचन्ति काशाचने व वाक्यातमकरणानां मन्यितः॥

150. After a kāraka as mentioned in VI. 2. 148, the second member ending in the affix अभि, 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 अभावमवनां हस्याण्वति, वाक्यानां हस्याण्वति, अभाविनिवर्त्तनातः हस्याण्वति. All these are examples of अभि or Abstract Verbal Nouns. राजस्वानां: शाल्यं, राजाधिकारानां शाल्यं, are examples of काशाचन or Passive Adjectives. These are formed by स्वौ under III. 3. 116. For the Sūtra III. 3. 116 may be explained by saying that (1) स्वौ is applied when the Upapada is in the objective case and भावा is meant, (2) as well as when object is to be expressed. When the first explanation is taken, the above are examples of भावा; when the second explanation is taken, they are examples of Karma. Why do we say “ending in अभि”? Observe, हस्याण्वतिः॥ Why do we say “when expressing an action in the abstract (भावा), or an Object (karma)? Observe हस्याण्वति, here स्वौ is added after an Instrumental kāraka (III. 3. 117). Why do we say “after a kāraka”? Observe विषयाण्वति, स्वतlicable. In all the counter-examples, the second members retain their original accent.

मर्करस्थात्नस्थात्नस्थानानां जाताकार्यकृतिः॥ १५१ ॥ पदार्थि एवः, किन्तु, तस्मात्, व्याख्यानं, शाल्यं, आसनं, स्थानं, याज्ञवल्क्यं, क्रीति:॥

शृष्टि:॥ तत्तथां किन्तु व्याख्यान गाढः भावान स्थान इत्यथा न व्याख्यान याज्ञवल्क्यानां मन्यितः॥

151. The words ending in मर्कर, कित्रित, तस्मात्, व्याख्यानं, आसनं, स्थानं, याज्ञवल्क्यं, and the words व्याख्यानं, शाल्यं, आसनं, स्थानं and क्रीति as well as याज्ञवल्क्यं, have acute on the final, when at the end of a compound, preceded by a kāraka word.

Thus मर्कर—रघुवंशम्, तस्मात्—वायुंकृत, कित्रित—पतिभिकतिः; व्याख्यान—


This is an exception to VI. 2. 150. and in the case of क्रीति, rule VI. 2. 48 is superseded. The words व्याख्यानं एवc do not denote here अभि or क्रीति, had they done so, rule
VI. 2. 149 would have covered them. When the first member is not a kāraka, we have प्रकृति: and प्रकृति:.

1 वास्तव: 2 पुन: स्व: 3 परिच्छेद: 4 परिश्रम: परिश्रम: 5 वायुक्त: वायुक्त: 6 अभ्यास: 7 व्याख्या (चः रचन: ) 8 उपदेश: 9 मूर्ति: 10 मूर्ति: 11 धार्मिक: 12 परिश्रम: 13 परिश्रम: 14 हास्य: 15 रस:.

सत्सम्यः पुनःस्वः ॥ १९२ ॥ पदार्थः सत्सम्यः पुनःस्वः ॥

पुन: सत्सम्यः पुनःस्वः सत्सम्यः पुनःस्वः ॥

पुन: सत्सम्यः पुनःस्वः सत्सम्यः पुनःस्वः ॥

152. The word पुनः has acute on the final when preceded by a noun in the Locative case.

Thus अभ्यास: पुनःस्वः = अभ्यास:पुनःस्वः, वेष्पुष्पः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 40 by the process of splitting the sūtra (yoga-vibhāga), taking सत्सम्यः there as a full sūtra, and पुनः another. Here by VI. 2. 2, the first member would have preserved its accent, the present sūtra superseded that and ordains acute on the final. The word पुनः is derived by the Uṇādi affix यु (Uṇ V. 15) and would have retained its natural accent (VI. 1. 213) and thus get acute on the first syllable by kṣit-accusative. (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'a locative case'? Observe वेष्पुष्पः = वेष्पुष्पः ॥

उनार्थादृश्यतात् वृत्ताद्वैयाम्: ॥ १९३ ॥ पदार्थः उनार्थः, कल्पः, वृत्ताद्वैयाम्: ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ उनार्थादृश्यतात् कल्पः वृत्ताद्वैयामः रावणः ॥

153. The acute falls on the final of words having the sense of उनः, and of कल्पः, when they are second members in a compound, preceded by a term in the instrumental case.

Thus गार्वः, कार्पेन्द्रः, गार्वानृतः, कार्पेन्द्रप्रभातः, असिकनः, शाक्कः ॥ 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 व्रतः in the sūtra means the word-form व्रतः, so that the aphorism would mean—"after an Instrumental case, the words उनः, कल्पः, and कल्पः get acute on the final". The examples will be in addition to the above.;—प्रत्येकः = प्रत्येकः ॥ If this be so, then the word-form उनः alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विकलप: &c. To this we reply, that उनः will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word व्रतः. By sūtra II. 1. 31. उन: व्रतः and कल्पः always take the Instrumental case, so we could have omitted the word तत्ततः, from this sūtra, for by the maxim of pratipadokta &c, उनार्थादृश्यादि would have referred to the compound ordained by II. 1. 31. The mention of वृत्ताद्वैयामः here is only for the sake of clearness.
154. The word निष्ठ 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 युद्धिष्ठ, निष्ठेष्ठ, सन्तिष्ठ हा: || Why do we say निष्ठ? Observe खुड्धिष्ठ: || Why do we say ‘not having a Preposition’? Observe खुड्धिष्ठ: || The employment in this सूत्र in the phrase ‘anupasargam’ implies, that wherever else, the word निष्ठ is used, it includes निष्ठ with a preposition also. Therefore in II. 1. 31 where the word निष्ठ is used, we can form the Instrumental compounds with निष्ठ preceded by a preposition also. Why do we say ‘not denoting a compact’? Observe अध्यात्माया राजा = भाष्यः: सह संहित एवकाशंकान: || 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 निष्ठ in which two things blend together into one. Therefore though the King and the Brâhmaṇa may be in close proximity as regards space, they both retain their several individualities: hence the counter-example अध्यात्माया: राजा: || While in the examples युद्धिष्ठ: &c there is no possibility of separating the two.

नभो गुणप्रतिपेधे संपादितोदितात्मोस्तत्तांति: || १५५ || पद्रानि || नभो: || गुण: प्रतिपेधे, संपादितो, अई, हित, अलम्, अर्थः: || तत्रति: ||

तृतीय: || संपादितो हा हित भाववतं व तत्रतास्तथाक्रम प्रतिपेधे नभो गुणप्रतिपेधे वर्त्तमानाः-श्रावणीप्रतायस्त्रयुतस्य नभो: ||

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 नम्, when it makes a negation with regard to the above mentioned attributes.

Thus संपादित ‘suited for that’ (V. 1. 99):—अध्यात्माया वेदायं खुड्धिष्ठ = न कार्यं वेद-किं राजा: (कर्म वेदायं सम्पादित: ) || The affix is खुड्धम: || अई ‘deserving that’ (V. 1. 63):—अत्रोंस्तरम् = न चाल क: (झगड़ाति)। The affix is खुड्धम (V. 1. 64 and V. 1. 19): हित ‘good for that’ (V. 1. 5):—अवस्यायं = न वस्ती घ: || The affix is खुड्धम (V. 1. 101):—अत्रतायस्त्रयुतस्य = न संहित अर्थः: || The affix is खुड्धम (V. 1. 18).

Why do we say ‘after नम्’? Observe गार्हस्तिमाहति = गार्हस्तिपिक: विगार्हस्तिमाहति, where the negative विम is used and therefore the avyaya विम retains its accent by VI. 2.

2. Why do we say ‘negation of that attribute’? Observe गार्हस्तिपिकः = गार्हस्तिपिक: || The word गुण here means the attribute denoted by the Taddhita affix, and not any attribute in general. Thus अध्यात्माया वेदायं खुड्धिष्ठ =
Why do we say 'in the sense of sampādi &c'? Observe पाठीमपत्राभिन्नत = पाठीमपत्राभिन्नत; न पाठीमपत्राभिन्नत; अपाठीमपत्राभिन्नत। Why do we say "Taddhita affixes"? Observe कन्यां चंडुरत्व = कन्यांचंडुरत्व; न कन्यांचंडुरत्व। Here न is a krit affix is added in the sense of 'deserving' (III. 3. 169).

156. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes य and यत्र when not denoting 'useful for that', have acute on the last syllable, after the particle नम् negating the attribute.

Thus पाँछांस समुद्र = पाँछांस; न पाँछांस = अपाँछांस; So also. महतः (IV. 2. 49); न नीर = नीर; न नीर = अनीर; अनीर (V. 1. 6). Why do we say 'atadhartha':—not useful for that. Observe पाण्यपत्र = पाण्य; न पाण्य = अपाण्य (V. 4. 25). This rule does not apply when the affixes are not Taddhita, as अनन्दम formed with the krit affix चत्र. There must be negation of the attribute, otherwise अपनन्दम = अपनन्दम. The affix य and यत्र, one without any anubandha and the other with the anubandha तु being specifically mentioned, excludes all other affixes having य as their effective element, such as यम &c. (IV. 2. 9), thus न चानयम = न चानयमतु; See IV. 2. 9.

अज्ञातवारधी || १५७ || पद्यत || अच्छ, कौ, अ दाक ||

वृत्तिः || अच्छ क अनुवयन्तमालेको सम्यकायावरादसरः नमः वर्गलोकाच भवति ||

157. A word formed with the krit affix अच्छ and क, preceded by the particle नम्. has acute on the final, when the meaning is 'not capable.'

Thus अपपर = य पक्ष = अपपर; न अपपर, so also अपपर; अपपर; अपपर; अपपर (III. 1. 134 &c). Why do we say when meaning 'not capable'? Observe अपपरो शोधितः, अपपरो शोधितः: अपपरो शोधितः। A शोधित and a शोधित 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.

आयोरे च || १५७ || पद्यत || आयोरे, च ||

वृत्तिः || आयोरे च गम्यमं नम उच्यतमोत्तमावरादसरः भवति ||

158. A word formed by the krit-affixes अच्छ or क, preceded by the Negative particle, has acute on the final when one abuses somebody by that word.

Thus अपपरे सं ज्ञान: '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 अपपरो ज्ञान; अपपरो ज्ञान:; अपपरो ज्ञान:;

संज्ञायाम || १५९ || पद्यत || संज्ञायाम; (अस्त्त दाराः) ||

वृत्तिः || संज्ञायाम गम्यमाणे नमः रसमलसंज्ञायायामोत्तमाच भवति ||
159. When abuse is meant, a word preceded by नमः, has acute on the final, in denoting a Name.

Thus कारणम्: 'No Devadatta, not deserving of this name' भावावधः
भविष्यति।

कृत्वे कुच इन्दुक, चायायद्यः च।

cuṛte kunára ṛkṣuṇa, chaṭṭāyaś, c.

160. After the Negative particle, the words formed by the kṛitya affixes (III. 1. 95), by उक्, and इन्दुक्, and the words चाचूः &c. have acute on the final.

Thus kṛitya:—अन्तःस्थलीग्नः, अन्तःकरणीयम्, उक्:—अन्तःग्रहणकारणे, अन्तःग्रहणकारणे।

The affix इन्दुक् includes चाचूः also: अन्तःकरणिभविष्यति, अन्तः
भविष्यति।

Thus चाच:—अन्तः, अन्तःकरणीयम्, अन्तःग्रहणकारणे, अन्तःग्रहणकारणे (double negation).

The words द्वितीय, द्वितीय शक्तिपाल, प्रथमपाल, त्रितीय, कौशिक, और श्रीमत्वत्तुम् preceded by त (नमः) when denoting names have acute on the final. भविष्यति, भविष्यति: and भविष्यति: (विकर्तः and श्री मत्तुम् taken jointly & separately). भविष्यति, भविष्यति: भविष्यति: and भविष्यति: in the Vedas only. In the Vernacular they have the accent of नमः, i.e. udātta on the first.

1 पाच, 2 सपुष, 3 श्रीमत (श्रीप्रकाश) 4 अन्तःकरणे, 5 वर्णम 6 अन्तःग्रहण, 7 वर्णमालक्षेपस्य-शक्तिपालकाः (भविष्यति) कौशिक, 8 श्रीमत प्रथमपाल, 9 श्रीमत प्रथमपाल, 10 साधक, 11 श्रीमत:.

विभाषा तुषारतीर्थभ्रमबिचूः 161 II पदानिः विब्रह्म, तृतुः, अश्व, सीतकोः, शुचिपूः, (अन्तःकरण:)

cuit: || तृतुः भव तृतुः तृतुः हरेन्द्रतुम नम उसेरु विभाषा उस भवोरी भविष्यति

161. After the Negative particle, the final of the following is optionally acute:—a word formed with the affix ठृः, and the words अश्वः, तीस्कोः, and शुचिः.

Thus तृतुः—अन्तः or अन्तःकरणे; अश्वः &c.—अन्तः or अन्तःकरणे, or अन्तः
भविष्यति: or भविष्यति: 

The alternative accent is that of the Indeclinable.

(VI. 2. 2)

बहुव्रीहाविभूतिप्रमहत्रः प्रथमपाले: कियावभावे (नमः) 162 II पदानि || बहुव्रीह, द्वितीय, प्रथम, पूर्णोः, कियावभावे, (अन्तःकरणे) 

cuit: || बहुव्रीही सत्यां दृष्टा तत्र विभूतिप्रमहत्रेः प्रथमपाले कियावभावे अन्तःकरणे विभूतिप्रमहत्रे भविष्यति.

162. In a Bahuvrihi, after the words द्वितीय, प्रथम, and तृतुः, the last syllable of प्रथम and of a proper Ordinal Numeral, has the acute, when the number of times of an action is meant.
Thus इहं प्रयमं गमनं भोजनं या हि प्रमयम्: ‘this is the first time of going or eating’. इहं ल्होस्वि: ।, रूत्स्वि: ।, एष्ययम्।, एस्त्तीस्वि: ।, एष्ययम्।, एस्त्तीस्वि: ।, तयम्।, तस्तूस्वि: ।। Why do we say ‘in a Bahuvarlihi’? Observe अतेन्य प्रयमं: हि प्रमयम्।। Here the first member being in the third case retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say “after idam &c”. Observe वत्ययमं: = वत्ययमं एष्याः, here the first term retains its accent by VI. 2. 1. Why do we say ‘of prathama and the Ordinals’? Observe सात्म हि प्रश्लोंस्ति: तः।। Why do we say ‘in counting an action’? Observe अत्यं प्रयमं एष्याः = इहं प्रयमं।। Here substances are counted and not action. Why do we say ‘in counting’? Observe अत्यं प्रयमं एष्याः = इहं प्रयमं: i.e. इहं प्रयमं: ।। and the word प्रयमं means here ‘foremost’, and is not a numeral. When the कृष्ण affix is added, the acute falls on the last syllable preceding कृष्ण।। As इहं प्रयमंकः।। The Bahuvarlihi governs the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 2. 178.

संख्यायः स्तनं । १६३ । पदायिन्याः संख्यायः स्तनं ।।

१६३. In a Bahuvarlihi, after a Numeral, the word स्तन has acute on the final.

Thus इहं प्रयमं, निघं, चतुर्स्तनं।। Why do we say after a Numeral? Observe हि प्रमयमं।। Why do we say ‘स्तन’? Observe हि प्रमयमं।।

विभाया छन्दसिः । १६४ । पदायिन्या विभाया, छन्दसिः। (अस्तन्त्रायः:) ।।

१६४. Optionally so, in the Vedas, the stana after a Numeral has acute on the final.

Thus इहं प्रयमं or इहं प्रयमं, चतुर्स्तनं or चतुर्स्तनं।।

संख्यायं मिन्यायिनयोः । १६५ । पदायिन्याः संख्यायं, मिन्या, अविनयिनयोः। (अन्तर-स्वरोः:) ।।

१६५. In a Bahuvarlihi, ending in मिन्यं and अविन्यं, the acute falls on the last syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

As देशविनयं, देशप्रयिनं, देशायिनं, देशमुत्तमं: देशमुत्तमं:।। Why do we say ‘a Name’? Observe विमिन्यं, मध्यिनं।।

Vatt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of मिन्यं when the name is that of a Rishi. As विभाया: which is governed by VI. 2. 106।।

व्यायामिनों र्ष्टरसः । १६६ । पदायिन्यं व्यायामिनं, अन्तरसः। (अस्तन्त्रायः:)।।

१६६. व्यायामतः र्ष्टरसः। तस्मिनः परस्तरं बहुवीश्यं समाते प्रात्मिकाः भवति।।
166. In a Bahuvrihi ending in अन्तर, the acute falls on the final, after a word which denotes 'that which lies between'.

Thus बलात्कर्षण through an intervened cloth or drapery, पद्मा, कर्णात्मक = पद्मात्मक, व्यवधानक = व्यवधानक, विषय &c. Why do we say 'when meaning lying between'?

Observe भवान्तर्तर = भवान्तर निवृत्रित्रात्मकत्वस्वभवन

मुख्य स्वाभिमान || १६७ || पद्यक || स्वाभिमान, स्वाभिमान (अन्तर्दास) ||

See: || इत्यदर्तरं स्वाभिमान अन्तर्दासं वर्गसे न्यायवस्ते अवगते ||

167. In a Bahuvrihi the acute is on the final, when the second member is अन्तर meaning mouth i.e. the actual bodily part of an animal and not used metaphorically.

Thus गोवर्धनम्, महावर्धनम् || Why do we say 'an actual part of a body'?

Observe श्वेतश्चारा शाला || Here श्वेत means "entrance or door". The word स्वाभिमान means "a non liquid substance actually to be found in living beings &c", as explained in III. 4. 54.

नायत्यादिमानोद्वितीयसूत्रमणिश्चर्यमस्तयस्य: || १६८ || पद्यक: || न, अव्यय, विशेष, प्रेम, महावर्धन, स्वाभिमान, पृथक, वत्सल: ||

वेदिता: || इत्यदर्तरं गो प्रेम स्वाभिमान न्यायवत: परं दृश्यात्मक अन्तर्दासं स्वाभिमानो अवगते ||

168. In a Bahuvrihi, the acute does not fall on such अन्तर denoting a real mouth, when it comes after an Indeclinable, and a name of a direction, or after गो, महावर्धन, स्वाभिमान, पृथक, वत्सल and ना: ||

Thus: प्रेमय:—प्रेमनं, प्रेमपद्यक: || The words न: and ना: are finally acute and retain their accent. प्रेम—प्रेमनं, प्रेमपद्यक: || The word प्रेम has acute on the first by VI. 2. 52, and प्रेमक: is finally acute by VI. 3. 139. गो &c.—गोप:—गोपक:—गोप, प्रेमनं, प्रेमपद्यक: ||

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, गोप: and ना:, the optional rule taught in the next sutta is also superseded by anticipation, though the words may denote comparison.

निम्नपापमाहातक्षमस्य: || १६९ || पद्यक: || निष्ठा, उपमानाव, अन्तर्दास: ||

वेदिता: || इत्यदर्तरं निष्ठा, उपमानाव, अन्तर्दासं स्वाभिमान: अन्तर्दासं स्वाभिमान: अवगते ||

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 इन्सानत्तुल्ल व यहात्तुल्ल व यहाविलिल्ल तत्त्व. 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. 49 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:\—

अतिकालः, सुमावः, अनान्वदः, कः, अक्तमितः।

२१०। पदार्थः अतितिकालः, रुपादिकः, अनान्वदः, कः, अक्तमितः।

१७०. 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 and its participle inक the participle inक has acute on the final, in a Bahuvrihi, but not so when the participle inक are हत, धन and विस्तरः।

Thus सर्वजनः, व्यावहारिकः, व्यापारः, कालः—नामात्, सन्तप्तात्, यहात्, स्वाक्षः।

२११। पदार्थः अतिकालः, रुपादिकः, साङ्ख्यः।

२१२। Why do we say "after a Species, a time or सुख &स त word"? Observe वेयः (II. 2. 37), the participle being placed after the word वेयः. Why do we say 'when not meaning a garment'? Observe वेयः, वेयः: from the root वेय with the affixes वेय and वेय respectively. Why do we say "when not काल &स त"? Observe कुष्ठः, कुष्ठः: कुष्ठः 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 सृद्रer implies. In the counter-examples, above given, the first members retain their original accent (VI. 2. 1.). The words सुख तc are given under III. 1. 18.

२१३। पदार्थः अतिकालः, रुपादिकः, साङ्ख्यः।

२१४। या जाते (या जाते: अन्तःहासः)।

२१५। After a species (with the exception of garment) or a time denoting word, or after सुख &c. in a Bahuvrihi, the word या has optionally acute on the final.

Thus संस्कारः, सत्संस्कारः, सत्संस्कारः, सत्संस्कारः, सत्संस्कारः।

२१६। या जाते: अतिकालः, रुपादिकः, साङ्ख्यः।

२१७। या जाते, (या जाते: अन्तःहासः)।

२१८। या जाते, (या जाते: अन्तःहासः)।
172. A Bahuvrīhi formed by the Negative particle नह् or by झ has acute on the last syllable of the compound.

Thus भवति, भवेत्, भवेिर्, भवेष्वर्, भवेष्वरि, भवेष्वरिः: 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 samāśanta affixes. Thus भवेत्: (formed by the samāśanta affix in V. 4. 74.). Though the word समास and उतरपद 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 (उतरपद) preceded by नह् and झ gets the acute, then there would have been no necessity of the next sūtra, for the present would have covered the case of झुकुसारेिक &c because कप is not a part of the second term (uttarapada) कुःपि but of the compound (Samasa) झुकुसारि; and therefore, if we translated the present sūtra, by saying that the end of second term gets acute, the accent would have fallen on झ in झुकुसारि: even by this sūtra. But this is not intended, because of the accent of the samasanta words भवेत् and झुकुसारि: There is necessity of the next sūtra, because a samāsa includes not only the simple samāsa, but one ending with a samāśanta affix. Therefore, had not the next sūtra been made, the accent would have fallen on झ and not on झ, for the affix कप is considered part of the samasa and not of the uttarapada समासात्मक: समाससंस्कारिक नासासिकस्व लोकस्वरः.

कपि पुण्यम् || १७३ || पदार्थम् || कपि, पुण्यम्

कृत्वा: || नमुष्का कपि पुण्यम्: पुण्यमललिनीम् भवति:

173. A Bahuvrīhi formed by नह् or झ 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 भवति, भवेत्, भवेिर्, भवेष्वर्, भवेष्वरि, भवेष्वरिः; झुकुसारि, झुकुसारेिक, झुकुसारेिक, झुकुसारेिक, झुकुसारेिलेिक, झुकुसारेिलेिक: कपि पुण्यम् || हस्तान्ते समाससारेि || १७४ || पदार्थम् || हस्तान्ते, अन्यात्, पुण्यम्, (उतरपद): कपि पुण्यम्.

174. When the compound ends in a light vowel, the acute falls on the syllable before such last, in a Bahuvrīhi preceded by नह् and झ to which कप is added.

Thus भवेत्, भवेत्, भवेत्, भवेत्, भवेत्, भवेत्, भवेत्, भवेत्, भवेत्: कपि पुण्यम्: The repetition of पुण्यम् in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present from the last,
shows, that in the last aphorism, the syllable preceding कः takes the acute, while here the syllable preceding the short-vowel-ending final syllable has the acute and not the syllable preceding कः. This is possible with a word which is, at least, of two syllables (not counting, of course, खः or कः). Therefore, in अर्ज कः and चालकः, the acute is on the syllable preceding कः by VI. 2. 173, because it has here no anuyāt-purvam.

बहुव्रिभिः पद्यान्तरप्रवृत्तिः II 175 II पदान्तरपद्यान्तरप्रवृत्तिः II
वृत्तिः II उपसमासितपद्यान्तरपद्यान्तरप्रवृत्तिः II नम्भवमित्वा नम्भवमित्वा II पदान्तरपद्यान्तरप्रवृत्तिः II

175. A Bahuvrihi with वहः, has the same accent as नम्भ, when it denotes muchness of the object expressed by the second member.

In other words a Bahuvrihi with the word वहः 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 multity of the objects denoted by the second member. Thus बहुः वहः, बहुः, बहुः, the same as VI. 2. 172. बहुः, बहुः, बहुः, बहुः, by VI. 2. 174. बहुः, बहुः, बहुः, बहुः: by VI. 2. 116: these examples of VI. 2. 116 are not given by Dr. Bohringk.

Why do we say ‘uttara-pada-bhumni—when multicity of the objects denoted by the second member is meant’? Observe वहः मनोवित् = बहुः भवः (VI. 2. 1).

न गुणाद्वयो द्वयवयः II 176 II पदान्तरपद्यान्तरपद्यान्तरप्रवृत्तिः II न, गुणाद्वयोः; अवयवयः (अन्तोदारासः)
वृत्तिः II गुणाद्वयो द्वयवयमानोऽवयवयमानो बहुः नात्तथारण्यम् भवन्ति II

176. In a Bahuvrihi, after वहः, the acute does not fall on the final of गुण &c. when they appear in the compound as ingredient of something else.

Thus बहुः द्वयः: रजः रजः, वहः वहः, वहः, वहः, वहः, वहः. (VI. 2. 1). गुणार्थम् is an Akṛti-gana. Why do we say “when it denotes an ayavaya or ingredient”? As बहुः द्वयः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः रजः (अन्तोदारासः)

वृत्तिः II उपसमां भवः परस्परप्रवृत्तिः II 177 II पदान्तरपद्यान्तरपद्यान्तरप्रवृत्तिः II उपसमां भवः, ज्वाकारः, प्रकारः, अपरः, अपरः, अपरः, अपरः.

177. A word denoting a part of the body, which is constant (and indispensable), with the exception of भवः, has, after a Preposition in a Bahuvrihi compound, the acute on the last syllable.
Thus श्रुः, सीरः, प्राणाः; सतमे बलक प्रयासे पृथ्वी भवति छ प्रसृः। Why do we say 'after a Preposition'? Observe तरालोकः। Why do we say 'part of the body'? Observe प्रासाकर्णः। Why do we say 'dhruva—constant and indispensable'? Observe द्राहः। कोशालि। Here the hand is raised up only at the time of cursing and not always, so the state of द्राहः is temporary and not permanent. Why do we say with the exception of प्रसृः? Observe त्रेक्षः, विषेषः (VI.2.1).

178. After a preposition, चन्द्र has acute on the final in compounds of every kind.

Thus प्रसृः भवेत्, निषेधः प्रभावितं, the न changed to न by VIII. 4. 5. The word 'samāsa' is used in the sūtra to indicate that all sorts of compounds are meant, otherwise only Bahuvrihi would have been meant.

अन्तः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदार्थः अन्तः ॥

बुधः ॥ अन्तःतिरं बनन्ति। नामान्तरसम मन्ति ॥

179. After अन्तः the acute falls on the final of चन्द्र ॥

Thus चन्द्र्यः वेषः। This sūtra is made in order to make चन्द्र oxytoned, when a preposition (upasarga) does not precede.

अन्तः ॥ १८० ॥ पदार्थः अन्तः, च ॥

बुधः ॥ अन्तःतिरं बनन्ति। चन्द्र्यः वेषः नामान्तरसम मन्ति ॥

180. The word अन्तः has acute on the final when preceded by a Preposition.

Thus पदार्थः वेषः। This is a Bahuvrihi or a प्रभावः compound.

न निषेधः ॥ १८१ ॥ पदार्थः न, नि, विषेधः, (अन्तः) ॥

बुधः ॥ विषेधः वेषः नामान्तरसम मन्ति। चन्द्र्यः वेषः नामान्तरसम मन्ति ॥

181. The word अन्तः has not acute on the final, after the prepositions नि and वि ॥

Thus नेन्द्रः, धन्तः, here the first member retains its acute, and semivowel is then substituted for the vowel ह, then the subsequent grave is changed to svarita by VIII. 2. 4.

परेक्षितोषः मणि ॥ १८२ ॥ पदार्थः परे, अमितः—मावि, मणि, द्राहः ॥

बुधः ॥ परेक्षितोषः अश्विनि मणि मन्ति। चन्द्रः अन्तः ॥

182. After द्राहः, a word, which expresses something, which has both this side and that side, as well as the word मणि, has acute on the final.

Thus प्रभावः, प्रभावः, परेक्षितः, परेक्षितः ॥ This is a Bahuvrihi or प्रभावः compound or an Avyayi bhāva. If it is an Avyayi bhāva, then rule VI. 2, 33 is superseded,
and the first member does not retain its original accent. अधिष्ठाते द्विष्ठाते: 'on both sides, अथवा भाषणं भाषणं: 'that which has both sides: namely those things which have naturally two sides such as 'banks', 'shores' &c.

प्रद्वस्तेः संधायां ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातः, अश्वाम्, संख्यायाम्, ॥

३२४: प्रद्वस्तेः प्रातः, अश्वाम्, संख्यायाम् ॥

३२५: परस्परप्रयोगाधर्मी शब्दे विषये उत्तरावै तथांतरं ॥

183. After प्र, a word, which does not denote a part of body, has acute on the final, when the compound is a name.

Thus प्रयोग, प्रयोगं, प्रत्येकम् ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting a body part'? Observe श्रेष्ठम्, श्रेष्ठस् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe प्रयोगम् ॥

निति द्वयार्थी च ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निति द्वयार्थी च, ( अन्तःद्रासम् ) ॥

३२७: निति द्वयार्थी च शब्दप्रयोगाधर्मी तथांतरं ॥

184. The words निति द्वयार्थी &c, have acute on the final.

Thus निति द्वयार्थी, निति द्वयार्थी, निति द्वयार्थी &c.

1 निति द्वयार्थी, 2 निति द्वयार्थी, 3 निति द्वयार्थी, 4 निति द्वयार्थी, 5 निति द्वयार्थी, 6 निति द्वयार्थी, 7 निति द्वयार्थी, 8 निति द्वयार्थी, 9 निति द्वयार्थी, 10 निति द्वयार्थी, 11 निति द्वयार्थी, 12 निति द्वयार्थी, 13 निति द्वयार्थी, 14 प्रायोगिक वाक्यां भावानं भावानं ॥

These may be considered either as शारि शमास or Bahuvrihi. If they be considered as शारि समास भाष्मास इत्यादि, तथांतरम् तथांतरम् ॥

The word निति द्वयार्थी: is a Prādi-samāsa with the word काल ending in the suffix काल ॥ The word इलान्तीरस: is thus formed: to the root इलान्तीरस and we have वसे ( Uṇ III. 158) काले, नापि = नापि ॥

३२८: निति द्वयार्थी ॥ The word निति द्वयार्थी: is formed by adding the suffix काल to the Bahuvrihi निति द्वयार्थी ॥ The words हस्, धार, अथ् आन्तः अथ् have acute on the final after प्रोक्ति ॥ प्रेम, प्रेम, प्रेमिक: ॥

अन्तःद्रासम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेम, प्रेम, ( अन्तःद्रासम् ) ॥

३२६: अन्तःद्रासम् प्रेमप्रेम निति द्वयार्थी ॥

185. The word मुख has acute on the final when preceded by असि ॥

As, भामिनेवते इत्यादि ॥ It is a Bahuvrihi or a शारि शमास. If it is an Avayayi-bhāva, then it would have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223 also. By VI. 2. 177, even मुखा would have oxytone after an upasarga, the present स्त्राम makes the additional declaration that मुखा is oxytone even when the compound is not a Bahuvrihi, when it does not denote an indispensable part of body, or a part of body even, as was the case in VI. 2. 177. Thus मुखाभासा धारा ॥

अपान ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपान: अथ, ( अन्तःद्रासम् ) ॥

३२७: अपान: अथ, ( अन्तःद्रासम् ) ॥
186. The word  मुख  has acute on the final, after
the preposition  अपूर्ण ।

Thus अभयज्ञात, अभयार्यः। The compound is in one case Avayayibhāva
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 anu-
vritti of अपूर्ण only goes.

187. The words  सिक्क, पूर्त, धीरा, अजयः, मर्याम, कुशि, सीर, नाम, जः,
धीरः। सिक्क अजयः मर्याम अध्वर्म कुशि इस्तेवाद्युत्सरसानि सीरनामानि नामाध्वर्मादुसरसानेत
शास्त्रानि भारतः।

These are माति compounds or Bahuvihi or Avayayibhavas. Some of these
viz. सिक्क, पूर्त and कुशि: will be end-acute by VI. 2. 177, also when they denote
parts of body and a permanent condition and the compound is a Bahuvihi.
Here the compound must not be a Bahuvihi, nor should these words denote
parts of body and permanent condition of these parts.

188. After अधि, that word, which denotes that
thing which overlaps or stands upon, has acute on the final.

Thus अधिक्रियः। एकत्रयोग्यार्थोऽयम्  आयाम ‘a tooth that grows over
another tooth’. अधिक्रियः। अधिक्रियः। These are माति samāsa or an appositional
compound in which the second member has been dropped. Why do we say
when meaning ‘standing upon’? Observe अधिक्रियः। Here the acute is on क, the
krit-formed second member retaining its accent (VI. 2. 139).

189. After अनु, a word which is not the Principal,
as well as कनीयन्द्र ह as acute on the final.

The word अनुग्रह means a word which stands in a dependant relation
in a compound. Thus अनुग्रहस्तेष्यां ग्रहः। अनुग्रहः। अनुग्रहः। These are माति samāsa
in which the first member is the principal or Pradhâna. \( \text{संज्ञार्थः: कानीवांसः } = \text{महन्त:-} \) here the second member is the Principal: the word कानीवांसः is taken as प्रधानः \( \text{Had it been non-pradhâna, it would be covered by the first portion of the sutra, and there would have been no necessity of its separate enumeration.} \) Why do we say "अप्पान"? Observe अनुगातो अवः: = अनुवः, where अवः is the Principal.

पुरुषःस्वाविद्धः: || १९० || पदार्थः || पुरुषः, च, अन्वासिवः: ||

\( \text{बृहस्पतः: पुरुषाविद्धः सांसारिकोपनिवेदना: भवः: ||} \)

190. After अनु, the acute falls on the final of पुरुषः, when it means a man of whom mention was already made.

The word अन्वासिवः means 'of a secondary importance, inferior', or 'mentioned again after having already been mentioned'. Thus अन्वासिवः:

\( \text{पुरुषः: = अनुदुःसः; } \) but अनुगातो अवः = अनुवः: \)

\( \text{अतः: पुरुषः = अनुदुःसः:} \)

\( \text{बृहस्पतः: अतः: परममान्यःस्वाविद्धः सांसारिकोपनिवेदना: भवः: ||} \)

\( \text{भवः: परममान्यःस्वाविद्धः सांसारिकोपनिवेदना: भवः: ||} \)

191. After अतः, a word not formed by a krit-affix, and the word पुरुषः, have acute on the last syllable.

Thus अन्वासिवः सांसारिकोपनिवेदना:

\( \text{पुरुषः: = अनुदुःसः; } \) Why do we say 'non-krit-word and \( \text{पुरुषः: भवः: ||} \) ? Observe अन्वासिवः: ||

\( \text{वैरितः: The rule is restricted to those compounds in which a root has been elided. That is, when in analysing the compound a verb like कर्म is to be employed to complete the sense. Therefore it does not apply to कर्मणि गायः: अतिकर्मणि: भवः: || But it would apply to अतिकर्मणि: which when analysed becomes equal to अतिकर्मणि: कर्मणि: ||} \)

\( \text{नेत्राविन्यासः:} || १९२ || पदार्थः: \) सः, अविन्यासः, (अस्तोत्रावस्था:) भवः: ||

\( \text{बृहस्पतः: अविन्यासः सांसारिकोपनिवेदना: भवः: ||} \)

192. After अविन्यासः the second member has the acute on the last syllable, when the sense is of 'not laying down'.

The word अविन्यासः अस्तोत्रावस्था 'not making manifest'. Thus नेत्राविन्यासः, नेत्र- विन्यासः, नेत्राविन्यासः: These are either Bahuvari or prādisamāsā. In the case of their being Aavyayībhāva, they would have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223. Why do we say when meaning 'not laying down'? Observe नेत्राविन्यासः निवासः सांसारिकोपनिवेदना: \( \) निवासः निवासः: || The force of निवासः is that of निवासः here.

\( \text{परतेषुपर्यः सांसारिकोपनिवेदना:} || १९३ || पदार्थः: \) परतेषु: अविन्यासः, ततः: नेत्राविन्यासः, (अस्तोत्रावस्था:) भवः: || परतेषु: सांसारिकोपनिवेदना: सांसारिकोपनिवेदना: भवः: \( \)

193. In a Tatpurusha compound, the words अविन्यासः इत्यादि have acute on the final when preceded by अविन्यासः ||
Thus भलाः, भागी, धमार्थि॥ In the case of राज्य this rule applies when the समाङता affix रेण्य is not added, when that affix is added, the acute will also be on the final by virtue of रेण्य which is a चित्र affix.

1 भोभ, 2 मन, 3 राज्य, 4 अनु (सर्व), 5 बीज (मार्ग), 6 राज्य, 7 बाह्य, 8 राज्य, 9 बुधिका, 10 बहु, 11 पुर (अनाधिपत आपूर्य)॥

The word भोभ is formed by the affix भुऽ under the general class गुणाः: (Upan. I. 32), राज्य is formed by the affix कालि (Upan. I. 156), अनु by adding भोभ to रेण्य 'to burn'. (Upan. IV. 162), लिङ्ग + गुण्य = लिङ्गः; अंडि is formed by किरण (Upan. I. 53) अव + धा + भुऽ (III. 3. 106), with the augment रेण्य added to भुऽ = भाजऽ || रेण्य + गुण्य = गुण्य, कुंश + विजन = विजनः (Upan. III. 147) गुण्य + अनु (III. 1. 134) = अनु ; दुर + कुंश = पुर ||

Why do we say ‘in the Tatpurusha’? Observe प्रतिवता लथानोवस्व = रथ-राजस्व॥

उपादु, लघजिनमेकारदाय: || १९४ || पदार्थि || उपादु, लघुच अलिनम, अ-गिरादायः; (अन्तर्दायः)॥

कृति: || उपादुसर्वं लघजिनां चालोप्रवः व भवति वतपुरेन समायेन गौरार्तिन्जङ्गिसः॥

194. In a Tatpurusha, the words of two syllables and अलिन have acute on the final when preceded by उप, but not when they are श्रीर and the rest.

Thus उपादु: रेण्य = उपदेशा, उपहर, उपदेशा, उपहर, उपदेशा || But not so in उपादु, उपे: व्य. &c.

1 मन, 2 मन (भोभ) 3 मन, 4 मन, 5 मन, 6 मन, 7 गुण्य (कुज्य) 8 गुण्य, 9 गुण्य (कुज्य) 10 गुण्य, 11 मन

Why “in a Tatpurusha”? Observe उपादु: लघजिनमेकारदाय = उपादु: ||

सोर्वशेषणः || १९५ || पदार्थि || सोः; क्षेषणः; ||

कृति: || श्वातत्तत्तताय तत्तत्त नमस्तीवाम महात्तस्य नमस्तीवाम गम्याने ||

195. After श्री, the second member has acute on the final in a Tatpurusha compound, when reproach is meant, in spite of the addition of श्री which denotes praise.

Thus श्री लघजिनमार्थि, श्रीह्वष्टेन श्रीह्वष्टेनमस्तीवाम श्रीह्वष्टेनमस्तीवाम: || The word श्री here verily denotes praise, but it is the sense of the whole sentence that indicates reproach or censure. Why do we say “after श्री”? Observe कुज्या: || Why ‘when reproach is meant’? Observe श्रोतोपदिः श्रीह्वष्टेन = श्रीह्वष्टेनु॥

विमागोतत्तत्त = १९६ || पदार्थि || विमागो, उद्तप्पुऽ, (अन्तत्तत्तताः) ||

कृति: || उद्तप्पुऽन्तथा नमस्तीवाम नमस्तीवाम नमस्तीवाम ||

196. In a Tatpurusha, the word उद्तप्पुऽ may optionally have acute on the final.
Thus वर्तमानः पुष्पवत् = दरुष्पालिः or दरुष्पालिः (VI. 2. 2) || When this word is derived by the affix थप from पुष्पपञ्चारणिः दरुष्पालिः, then it would always have taken acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, the present sūtra ordains option there also. The rule does not apply to a non-Tatpurusha: as, भरसे दुप्यालिः = दरुष्पालिः ||


dharmasya paścagamāḥ suḥ bahūshīrī || 197 || Padanī || śṛ, viśvām, pāt, dv, 

suḥ, bhūvīrī, ||


The word पानां is पान with its ए elided, (V. 4. 140) शत is the substitute of स्त (V. 4. 141) and स्तत्र retains its द 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 kārti is here the Bahuvrihi compound, and this is only a part of it. Thus हिः हिः: || Why after हिः and हिः? Observe कभीगुप्ति here the first member is middle acute by Phit II. 19 and this accent is retained VI. 2. 1. Why ‘पान’? Observe viśvatam, viśvatam: || Why ‘Bahuvrihi’? Observe श्वेतविरि = हिः: ||

śvāstam chaśnānta || 198 || Padanī || śākhyaḥ, ā, akānta, (anāntarastu) ('abhidāaya') ||


The word śākhya has acute on the final optionally, when preceded by any word other than what ends in ā: ||

The word śākhya is the samāsanta form of śākhya (V. 4. 113, ). Thus śākhya or gābhakṣa, śākhya or gābhakṣa: || śākhya or gābhakṣa: The word gābhakṣa being formed by प्राप्तग्न and अभाव by कल (Un III. 19) are both end-acute. Why ‘not after a word ending in अ’? Observe भक्तकृष्ण: which is always oxytone as it is formed by पञ्च (V. 4. 113) a स्थित affix.

paippikṣailaḥ varṣaḥ || 199 || Padanī || pādrī, devdrī, bhūdram ||


Kārika—paippikaḥ pādram puṣṭaṇī vādī: ।

paippikṣailaḥ dāsikāḥ bhūdram tāh: ||

śākhya || ।

paippikṣailaḥ puṣṭaṇī vādī: ।

paippikṣailaḥ pādram tāh: ||
199. The first syllable of the second member is diversely acute, in the Veda.

The word पर “the second member” refers to लक्ष्य, as well as to any other word in general. Thus चारिष्ठत्तामलके, but नौवैवक्य: so also चक्रवाहः, शाक्षपति; गिन्याति || In the non-Vedic literative these last two compounds will be final acute by VI. 1. 223, rule VI. 2. 18 not applying because of the prohibition contained in VI. 2. 19.

The rule is rather too restricted. It ought to be: “In the Veda, the first syllable and the final syllable of the second member, as well as the final syllable and the first syllable of the preceding member are seen to have the acute accent, in supersession of all the foregoing rules”.

As to where the final of the second terms takes the acute, we have this वृत्तिका—In the Veda, निवेश &c have acute on the final of the second term. As निवेशक्ष, निवेशमाय, निवेशमाय, || निवेश निवेशमाय ||

As to where the final of the preceding takes the acute, we have this वृत्तिका:—The words महाजल &c in the Vedas have acute on the final of the first term. As महाजल: and विषाधु ||

As to where the first syllable of the preceding takes the acute, we have this वृत्तिका:—In the Veda, the words निवेशसाय &c have acute on the first syllable of the first member. As निवेशसाय नाथभाग ||
BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER THIRD

1. In the following up to 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 अत्रुक्त, 'there is no elision', and द्वितीये "before the second member" are to be supplied in the subsequent śūtras. Both these words govern the śūtras up to VI. 3. 24, jointly; while उपर्युषे extends further up to that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अत्रुक्त (VI. 4. 1). Thus śūtra VI. 3. 2 says "the affixes of the Ablative after 'stoka' &c". The present śūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e.g. "the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c are not elided before the second member of the compound". Thus स्तोकायातुष्टः स्तोकायातुष्टः, अत्रुक्तः। Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe विद्याधिकः स्तोकायातुष्टः स्तोकायातुष्टः। The maxim of pratipadōka does not apply here.

2. The Ablative-ending after स्तोकायातुष्टः is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकायातुष्टः, अत्रुक्तः, विद्याधिकः, अत्रुक्तः, विद्याधिकः, अत्रुक्तः, विद्याधिकः। 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 स्तोकायातुष्टः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present śūtra prevents that. The words स्तोकायातुष्टः in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकायातुष्टः, स्तोकायातुष्टः 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 स्तोत्राकृति: being one compound word will have one acute (VI. 1. 158, VI. 2. 144), the word स्तोत्राकृति मुख्य: being treated as two words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39.

Vārt.:—The word आश्रयार्थिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus आश्रयार्थिन् शंसाति = आश्रयार्थिन् “a kind of Ritvik priest”.

ओजुः सङ्गमस्तमस्ततीयाया; || 3 || पदार्थ || बोजसुः, सहस्रः, वम्भसुः तमसः, दृष्टीयाया; ( बदुक: ) ||

वृत्ति: || भोजसुः सहस्रः वम्भसुः तमसः, दृष्टीयाया; बदुकः बदुकः किमित्वा उदरस्वास्त्तीयाया बदुकः नासिपरे ||

3. The Instrumental endings after भोजसुः, सहस्रः, वम्भसुः and तमसः are not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus भोजस्साकृति, सहस्साकृति, वम्भस्साकृति, तमस्साकृति ||

Vārt.—बदुकः also should be enumerated. Thus बदुकः सङ्गमस्तमस्तः, दृष्टीयाया; ||

Vārt.—The compound पुंसादुकः and जुपाँकः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसात् हेतुनासुः=पुंसादुकः || जुपात् हेतुनासुः=जुपाँकः || The word जुः is another name of जन्मः ‘birth’.

मनसः संहङ्गाय || 3 || पदार्थ || मनसः, संहङ्गाय, ( अस्तिकः ) ||

4. After मनसः when the compound is a Name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसाकान्ता, मनसायुक्ता, मनसाअन्वेष: || Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe मनसाकान्ता, मनसायुक्ता, मनसाअन्वेषः

आश्रयिन्नि च || 3 || पदार्थ || आश्रयिन्नि, च, ( अस्तिकः ) ||

वृत्ति: || आश्रयिन्नि: पुरुषः वर्णस्तमित्रविहित: ||

5. Also before आश्रयिन्नि, the Instrumental endings of मनसः are not elided.

Thus मनसाकान्ता=मनसाएकान्ता शोभः मनसः ||

आत्मानः कपः || 6 || पदार्थ || आत्मानः, कपः, पूर्णोः, ( अस्तिकः ) ||

वृत्ति: || अत्मानः उदरस्सास्ततीयाया: तुष्टिमयात्मकः नासिपरे ||

6. The Instrumental endings after आत्मानः are not elided when an Ordinal Numeral follows.
Thus the Instrumental case here takes place under the Vārtika (II. 3. 18 Vārt). And compounding takes place by II. 1. 30, by separating the sūtra of that aphorism and making it a separate sūtra or in this way:—

How do you explain the form when the compound is a Bahu- 

vrśihi compound? It is a later addition of the Vārtikakāra.

The Dative case ending is not elided after when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus the compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 36, and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha.

8. The Dative ending is not elided after when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus

9. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short a, when the compound is a Name.

Though the does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of VIII. 3. 95 which shows by implication that is governed by this rule. So also in the following words: as well as, etc. Why do we say “after a word ending in a consonant or a short a”?

What do we say when a Name?” Observe—

Vārt:—The Locative ending is not elided after and hence: as: etc.
10. The Locative-case affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short य, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus सूर्यचारणः, दृष्टिमापकः, हेमिपियिकः, हस्तिपियिकः. 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 अभ्याजितप्यः = कान्याकितप्यः. It is the name of ‘a duty or dues’, but not of a ‘tax’. Why do we say “of the Eastern people”? Observe श्रवणः = श्रुतः. Why do we say ‘before a second member beginning with a consonant’? Observe अभिकटः = अभिकारः. So also नाथः शीतः; नामीतः . For accent of these words see VI. 2. 65.

11. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when श्रुतः follows.

As, मध्येशु. ❄️

Vdr.:—So also after मनः; as मनेशुः.

अच्छौदन्तकातुः स्वाभाविकामः II 12 II पदार्थः || अ श्रुतः; मस्तकः, स्वभावः, जिकामः; (अवतृतः) II

12. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of श्रुतेन्द्र and मस्तक), before every word other than श्राब्धः.

Thus कृष्णेषु कान्तेशु = कृष्णकां, करिमेते, करेषुः. ❄️ But दृष्टिलिपः, मस्तक-पिशः; मुखः, कान्तेशु = मस्तकः. ❄️ When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply: as अभ्याजितप्यः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or य, as अभ्याजितप्यः, श्रविधामः.

बन्धे च विनामः II 13 II पदार्थः || बन्धे, च, विनामः; (अवतृतः) ||

बांसः || बन्धे बति पमन्तः गुणः || तत्स्यामुपर्ये इनस्य अवतृतसः: साम्यः विनामः अवतृतः ||
13. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or ॐ before शर्म।

Thus इत्य अनि: or इत्य एषांः, किमेक्ला: or ग्रहस्ववव:।। This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahufrilhi when the first member is a श्लेष word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19, when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्लां or not. The word श्लेष is श्लष्ण formed word. When the first member ends in a vowel (other than अ), the rule does not apply. As गुहिन्व:।।

तत्रुष्ये हृति बहुमुख द || 16 || पदार्थः तद् पुरुषे, हृति, प्रहुल्लय, (अद्वृत:।।

14. In a Tatpurusha compound, when the second member is a word formed with a krit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved.

As सामार्ग, कलेखः, but also क्रुष्ण:।।
भारुद्यदशकत्राधिवाः जे || 15 || पदार्थः भारुद्व, शारंग, काष्ठ, विधां, जे, (अद्वृत:।।

15. The Locative ending is retained after भारुद्व, शार, काष्ठ and किंतु when ज follows.

Thus प्रान्तिविया, पारिवेय, कलेखः, विधिः।। This sūtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sūtra.

विभाषा वर्णरेद्यवर्तमानः || 16 || पदार्थः विभाषा, चर्य, स्वर, शर, धरात, (अद्वृत:।।

16. The Locative ending is optionally retained after चर्य, स्वर, शर, and धर when ज follows.

Thus चर्य: or चर्येऽः, शर: or शर:; धर: or धर:, धरेऽः or धर:।।
कालान्त्वेदु कालान्त्वेदः || 17 || पदार्थः च, काष्ठ, तनेदु, काष्ठ नाशः, (अद्वृत:।।

17. The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time ending in a consonant or अ when तर्च or ताम्र, or the word काल or the affix तन follows.

The affixes शर and अष्ट are called च (1. 1. 22). Thus च:—पूर्वांग अष्टे or पूर्वाँग रीतिः, पूर्वांग रीते or पूर्वांग रीते।। काल:—पूर्वांगः काले or पूर्वांगः काले।। तन:—पूर्वांगः तने or पूर्वांगः तने।। Why do we say ‘after a time—name’? Observe श्राक्षेर, श्राक्षेर।। The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in श्राक्षेरः।।
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. Thus the word य, यथा &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in य affix &c. But in this chapter, so far as the jurisdiction of उदात्तत्व goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the following maxim: उदात्तत्वाभिःकरं व्याकरणवण न वस्त्रा महत्वप्रामाण्य. On the contrary the affix denotes its own-form. Thus सूर, सम and सन 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 “सूर इस the substitute of द्वार when the word नेत्र, and the affixes द्वार, द्वार, and द्वार follow”. Had the affix द्वार here meant the word-form ending in द्वार, then there would have been no necessity of using the word द्वार in the सूत्र, as द्वार is formed with the द्वार affix. The word काल in the apophism means the word-form काल. See झिः IV. 3. 23 for the affix सन.

18. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words द्वार, द्वार and द्वारिण when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ.

Thus द्वार, or द्वार, द्वार and द्वारिण when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ.

After a time-name we have द्वारिण! After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have द्वारिण! ।

Vārtt.—The Locative case-affix is retained after अत्र when द्वारि, or the affix द्वारि or द्वारि follows. Thus अत्र द्वारि, अत्र द्वारि, अत्र द्वारि. The affix द्वारि is added by treating द्वार as belonging to the द्वार class (अत्र द्वारि, IV. 3. 54).

नसक्ष्म्यविलान्यादिकु द्वारि । द्वारि । पध्यारि । अत्र, अत्र द्वारि, अत्र द्वारि, अत्र द्वारि, अत्र द्वारि, अत्र द्वारि.

19. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in द्वारि, before the word द्वारि, and before a word derived from द्वारि.

Thus द्वारिस्वयंभुव, द्वारिस्वयंभुव, द्वारिस्वयंभु, द्वारिस्वयंभु, द्वारिस्वयंभु. The compounding takes place by yoga-vibhāga of सूत्र II. 3. 40. Some use the word द्वारि as an illustration under this rule: काल then is derived by अत्र of III. 1. 134. The अत्र ending in अत्र is governed by VI. 3. 13. This is an exception to VI. 3. 14.

द्वारि अत्र भाषायाम् । द्वारि अत्र भाषायाम् । अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र अत्र.

20. The Locative ending is not preserved before द्वारि in the spoken language.
Thus निवन्ते, जस्ते,वर्तमानः: ॥ But अग्नि: in the Veda, as in तुम्नाते-क्षोरः: ॥ द is changed to द by VIII. 3. 106.
पञ्चा आकृतीशः ॥ २१ ॥ पदार्थः च पञ्चा: आकृति, (अशुर्यः) ॥
गुणः: आकृति गम्याने जतर्ये पर्वम् अहम्मार्थमिः।
वाचिनितम्: पञ्चा रक्षेन विकृतिवर्गः पञ्चित्वंउडः चायावंकम्यमहंस्तुः: ॥
वा ॥ आहुत्तांगानास्तुपञ्चार्थाविबुध्यस्मात: अहम्मार्थमिः: ॥
वा ॥ वेदानां विधेय हृदय ॥ पञ्चा अहम्मार्थमिः: ॥
वा ॥ वेदपुरुषार्थावस्तुनुष्ठल: ॥ भवां वेदम् पञ्चार्थावस्तुनुष्ठल: ॥
वा ॥ विषयस्तु पञ्चा अहम्मार्थमिः: ॥

21. The Genitive case affix is retained when the compound expresses an ‘affront or insult’.

Thus औरूस्कृतम्, पञ्चस्तम्भम्: ॥ Why do we say when insult is meant?

Observe भार्तृकृतम्: ॥

 Yönet:—The Genitive is not elided after शान् when followed by पुष्प, after सिद्ध before श्रु, and after पशु before हः ॥ As, शापीतिक्षि, शिक्षार्थत:, पद्मापूर्व:।

Verdi:—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words भायावाय, भायाशुद्धिका and भायाशुद्धिका: अशुर्य is the Genitive Singular of the Pronoun महान्, and is enumerated in the महान class (IV. 1. 99) and takes द्वार in forming the Patronymic, महायानस्तम् = महायान; महायानस्तम् भार: = महायानिका
formed by द्वार (V. 1. 133) ॥ So also भायाशुद्धिका ॥

Verdi:—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound वेदानांविन्य: ॥

The author of Siddhānta Kaumudi says “when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in द्वानाम्प्रिया” There is no authority for this, either in the Mahābhāshya or the Kaśika. This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Asoka, who would not have adopted it, had it meant ‘a fool’. The phrase तत् मूले has been added by Bhattoji Dikshit through Brahmanical spite.

Verdi:—The Genitive affix is not elided after शान् when श्रेष्ठ, पुष्प and लोकमात्र follow it :—हुः: श्रेष्ठः, हुः: पुष्पः; हुः: लोकमात्रः।

Verdi:—The Genitive affix is not elided after हः when शान् follows: as निवन्ते:।

पुष्पे चन्द्रास्तम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदार्थः पुष्प, अन्तरस्तम्, (अशुर्यः) ॥
गुणः: पुष्पाश्चातः उक्रेन आकृतिः महायाने जतर्ये पर्वम् अहम्मार्थमिः।

22. The genitive affix is optionally retained when insult is meant, when पुष्प follows.

Thus शार्तम्: पुष्प: or पुष्पीपुष्पः, पुष्पम्: पुष्प: or पुष्पीपुष्पः। But when insult is not meant we have भार्तृकृतम्: ॥

शुक्ली: विपायामिस्तत्बाच्य: ॥ २३ ॥ पदार्थः: पुष्पः; विया, योनि, सम्मथेश्वरः, (अशुर्यः)।
23. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in छ and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus हेतुरुपेन्येः, हेतुः पुः, विस्तुरुपेन्येः or विस्तुः पुः: I Why do we say "a word ending in छ"? Observe भाषायेः, भाषाः: I 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 हेतुरुपेन्येः, विस्तुरुपेन्येः, हेतुः पुः, विस्तुः पुः.

24. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in छ when स्वस्त and पाँि follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Thus मातुस्वस्ताः or मातुस्वस्तस: or मातुम्भाः, विस्तुस्वस्ताः or विस्तुस्वस्तस: or विस्तुस्ताः When the affix is elided, then छ is invariably changed to छ by VIII. 3. 85; and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII. 3. 85). So also इहितः पांि: or इहितुस्ताः, नानाः पांि: or नानाः पांि: I

आनक्र छती सर्वेः I 25 I पदानि II आनक्र, छुः, सर्वेः I

25. In a Dwandva compound of words ending in short छ and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनक्र is the substitute of the छ of the first member.

Thus हेतुरुप्ताः, हेतुः सर्वाः, प्रवासायनाः भाषा: पांि:, ब्राह्मणस: The substitute is really छ, the छ is useful only to prevent the application of I. 1. 51, by which a छ comes after every simple vowel substitute of छ.

Why do we say 'both words ending in छ'? Observe विस्तुस्ताः The anuvṛtti of उः is understood here, so that the छ of the first member is changed to छ before पुः also, though it does not end in छ. As विस्तुस्तः, नाताः II

26. The आनक्र is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dwandva compound of the names of the Devtās.

Thus ग्राह्नेः, ग्राह्नेः, ग्राह्नेः, ग्राह्नेः I The repetition of the word Dwandva in this sūtra, 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 \textit{क्षर्वाजापति}, \textit{विचित्रयमन्यि}. In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

\textit{Vdrti}.—Prohibition must be stated with regard to बायु in both cases, whether first or last, as भाग्याचार यो भाग्याचार यो.

27. For the final of अर्थ, is substituted the long ए, when सोम or रहस्य follow in a Dvandva.

Thus भाग्याचार, भाग्याचार यो. The ए is changed to ए by VIII. 3. 82.

28. The short ए is the substitute of the final of अर्थ in such a Dvandva in which both members take the \textit{व्र}iddhi.

Thus भाग्याचार, which would have required long ए by the last rule: भाग्याचार, which would have required भाग्य by VI. 3. 26. Thus भाग्याचार—\textit{सन} गुप्तामण्ड, भाग्याचार कर्षिकित \textit{सन} गुप्तामण्ड (IV. 2. 24), takes the Taddhita affix, and by VII. 3. 21, both members of the compound take \textit{व्र}iddhi. When both members do not take \textit{व्र}iddhi, the rule does not apply: as भाग्याचार: (भाग्य ए), because ए does not take \textit{व्र}iddhi, by VII. 3. 22.

\textit{Vdrti}.—Prohibition must be stated when the word \textit{विष्ठ} follows: as भाग्याचार ए, तन्येते, तन्येते.

29. For \textit{विष्ठ} is substituted धाया in a Dvandva of the names, of the Devata.

Thus धायामायाम, धायामायाम.

30. For \textit{विष्ठ} is also substituted \textit{विष्ठ} (as well as धाया) when \textit{प्रभुंध} follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatas.

Thus \textit{विष्ठप्रभुंध}, \textit{प्रभुंधप्रभुंध} यो. The word \textit{विष्ठ} is exhibited in the aphorism as \textit{विष्ठ} ending in ए, in order to indicate that the ए of \textit{विष्ठ} is not changed to \textit{सु} or a visarga or upadhanmani when followed by \textit{प्रभुंध} यो. Following is an
anomalous use there being no Dvandva compounding here. यथा तिरत्सै नृपिसी नमसे II

उपासोऽपि ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपासा, उपसः, (देवतादेवते) ॥

ृपि: ॥ उपासा ईश्वादेवाः भवति देवनादेवं उपासे ॥

31. For उपस्तु is substituted उपासा in a devata-
dvandva.

Thus:—उपासात्मणं, उपासान्तरा ॥

मातरपितराधुरीचाभ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातर, पितरी, उधुरीचाभ, ॥

ृपि: ॥ मातरपितराद्विनातीतानाते सनातनाते मात्रामस्त निपाते ॥

32. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरी is a valid form.

This is formed by भातो substitution of the ः of मात्र ॥ The other form is मातापितरे ॥

पितामतातर च भृजतः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितरा, मातरा, च, भृजतः, ॥

ृपि: ॥ पितामतातर इति च भृजति निपाते ॥

33. In the Vedas the form पितामतातर is valid.

In the ordinary language मातापितरे is the proper form. The Vedic form is derived by adding मात्र to the first member, and मात्र is added to the second by VII. 1. 39; and then Guṇa by VII. 3. 110. Thus भानु माता पितार मातर च ॥

स्वियाय: पुन्त्यास्थिपुत्रस्वादेव ॥ समानाधिकरणा स्वियायमपूर्णीपतिविविधु ॥ ३४ ॥

पदानि स्वियाय: पुन्त्यात, भायिपुत्रस्वादेव, अनुज, समानाधिकरणा स्वियायम, अपूर्णी, स्वियायविविध, ॥

ृपि: ॥ भायिपुत्रस्वादेव भास्वादेव यथं भवति समानाधिकरणवर्त्य स्वियायिन्ने पूर्णिविविधानितिः ॥

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 ऊँ, 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 स्मय &c.

The words of this śūtra require a detailed analysis; स्वियाय: 'for a feminine word', पुन्त्य "like the masculine", i.e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. माता पिताराः = मातापिताराः, by which a masculine is spoken of i.e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspond-
ence must be in the form (आकृति) and the connotation (आयाम) 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 कृः is called अनुरूपः। That feminine word which does not end in कृः and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a नानिन्दित्वाकारस्थूः धीयते। The word माणिक्यस्वाकारस्थूः is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously. Of such a नानिन्दित्वाकारस्थूः feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form. Provided that, the second member is a (समानाविन्यसित) i.e., a word in apposition with the first, and (विति) of the feminine gender: with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (मूलः) and of विव &c.

Thus श्रवणीयम् (॥ श्रवणीयम् सह)। Here श्रवणीयम् is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, श्रवणीयम्; moreover this feminine does not end in the affix कृः, but in the affix यम्; it is followed by another feminine word माणि which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the विबधि class; hence this word श्रवणीयम् is changed to the corresponding masculine word श्रवणीयम्। So also ज्ञातन्ययः। विधिषयः। Why do we say विधिषय: ‘for a feminine word?’ Observe भाषणिः भाषणान्तिः विधिषयः। ‘Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine (भाषणस्यः)’? Observe ख्यातन्ययः। There is no corresponding masculine of ख्यातन्यः। Why do we say “of the same connotation and form समानाविन्यसित” ? Observe ख्यातन्ययः; the masculine word ख्यातन्यम् has not the same significance as ख्यातन्यम्। The words माणि, महा, प्राजः, and प्राजः: are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in कृः? Observe हस्तन्ययः। Why do we say ‘both words being in the same case and referring to another person?’ Observe कः कः “the mother of Kalyāṇi”। Why do we say विधिषय: ‘followed by a feminine word?’ Observe कः प्राजः: प्राजः:। Here the second member प्राजः is a Neuter word. Why do we say ‘not being an Ordinal Numeral’? Observe कः कः प्राजः: वा ता: कः प्राजः:। so also कः कः। The Ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कः कः: प्राजः:। The samāsānta affix श्रवणि (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 श्रवणि। Why do we say not before विव &c. Observe कः कः।

1 विवः 2 नमोः 3 कः 4 श्रवणि 5 कः 6 मजसः 7 सत्या 8 श्रवणि 9 कः 10 श्रवणिः 11 श्रवणि 12 प्राजः 13 श्रवणिः 14 प्राजः 15 सत्या 16 श्रवणि। The compound श्रवणिः: is anomalous.
35. A feminine word not ending in the affix ऋ, and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिक्ष &c (V. 3. 7) and ending with कृत्वसूच (V. 4. 17).

Thus सत्त्वः धातुयाः = सत्त्, सत्त्वः = तत्, सत्त्वाः = सत्, सत्त्वः = तत्. The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: च and हस्, शर् and तम्, चर्, चासिन, कर्षभ, देव, देवी, देवस, पाण, पार, पारस, शर, शत and हिंद सिंग लाभित्. All other affixes do not affect the gender. Thus तरु, तार &c शासीत्वसत्त, शृङ्गीत्वसत्त, पुष्पी, वृक्षात्वसत्त, सन्नातिवसत्त, शारीरिकवसत्त, शारीरिकवसत्त, शारीरिकवसत्त. कस्म प्रकृत्वा = कपः, कथा कपः = धाता, तत्सत्ताः धाता = तत्, तदि एव एवितः.

Vdrd.—The feminine of शद्ध and शस्म is changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस्म:—शद्धा-सदिवो शद्धा = शद्धा-सदिव= शद्धा-सदिवी. शस्मा-शस्मी शस्मा = शस्मा-शस्मी शस्मा = शस्मा-शस्मी.

Vdrd.—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine before the affixes श and शस्म. As शस्मा मात्र = शस्मा मात्र शस्मा मात्र = शस्मा मात्र. Why do we say ‘an adjective’? Observe कस्म भाव = कस्मिद् अथवा कस्मिद्.

Vdrd.—The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except श. Thus शस्मित्वः शस्मित्वः शस्मित्वः. Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनि having lost its श (VI. 4. 148), the word शस्मित्व would not be elided be fore the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elastic being sthāṇinīyat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144, ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हस्मित्व instead of हस्मित्व. Why do we say ‘with the exception of श’? Observe शस्मित्व, शस्मित्व: the masculine being स्ते and स्ते. The word शस्मित्व = शस्मित्व शस्मित्व शस्मित्व शस्मित्व is an exception to this rule.

Vdrd.—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes शस्म and शस्म. As मध्वा शस्माः = मध्वाः, मध्वीशा.

क्वयः शस्मित्वः 36 II पदयति II शस्मित्वः, मानिलोः, च, च, च.

वृत्तः II वृत्तः पदयति मानिलोः शस्मित्वः शस्मित्वः उपर्युपति.

36. A feminine word not ending in ऋ and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed into masculine before the Denominative शस्मित्व and the affix मानिल. Thus from एशी—एशीते, एशी—एशीताः मानिल:—एशीताः मानिल: “He esteems her as handsome”. शस्मित्वमानिलवस्तपः (शस्मित्व भाव: “She esteems her as handsome”. The word मानिल is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words—एशीताः मानिल: देवसो मानिल:—
37. A Feminine word having a penultimate कः, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाणिनः, कार्यः, बुद्धिः, नक्षत्रः, नागः, गणः, गणेष्वरः, नक्षत्रेष्वरः.

This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36: and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vṛtt:—The rule applies to the क of the affix युध्योति and the Taddhita क and not to every क.
Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाणिनः, नक्षत्रः: The word पाणि means “young”; and नक्षत्र means ‘action’.

38. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus साः, स्त्रीः, समानः, संघः, समाते, समाति, समानः, समायः, समाये.

Vṛtt:—The rule applies to the क of the affix युध्योति and the Taddhita क, therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाणिनः.

39. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix, which causes the Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning ‘colored therewith’, and ‘made there of’.

Thus श्रीः, शाश्रीः, श्रीमातः, श्रीमानः, श्रीवरः, श्रीभक्तः, श्रीभक्ति, श्रीभक्तः, श्रीभक्ति.

Why do we say ‘which causes Vṛiddhi’? Observe व्रध्दम् (व्रध्दे व्रध्दम्) formed by the affix युध्योति.

Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe काण्डः (काण्डे काण्डम्) with कष्ठः (कष्ठः कष्ठम्) and कष्ठे.

Why do we say when not meaning ‘colored there with’ or ‘made thereof’? Observe.

The word व्रध्दिनिमित्तवष्टम् should be explained as a Bahuvihi, and not a Tatpurusha, i.e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like य or या or क तc which causes
Vriddhī. Therefore this exception does not apply to साधुः: दर्शनेच (सत्योत्ति भूरि बलि &c). Here the affix दत् V. 2. 39 added to सत् does not cause Vriddhī by its own force, but by VI. 3. 31.

स्वाभाविक अर्थम् अर्थमिन्नि॥ ४१॥ पदानि॥ स्वव्यः, च, इति, अर्थमिन्नि॥

ेति॥ स्वाध्युतम् न इत्यकारात्मायः ब्याया न पुनः तिस्सति अर्थमिन्नि परस्॥

40. A feminine in न ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine, except when the word मानिन्नि follows.

Thus सीतेश्वराय, श्रीनाथश्रीकृष्ण, श्रीपरशुराम, श्रीेश्वरप्रसाद, श्रीप्रभु, स्त्रियां काशीं, but पुनःसालयः (पुनः not denoting any bodily member), अयुगः (अयुग भूरि, not ending in long न), and श्रीनाथमालिनी। The exception अर्थमिन्नि has been added from the Vārtika and is not part of the original sūtra.

41. A feminine noun expressing a class or kind does not become masculine.

Thus कर्मचारी, श्रीरामी, श्रीमणिका, कर्मचारी, कर्मचारी, कर्मचारी, कर्मचारी। But not so when मानिन्नि follows, as कर्मचारी, कर्मचारी, कर्मचारी।

The exception does not apply to दशिनी, but दशिनी॥

पुनःकर्मचारी, जातिस्तरीय, देवीय॥ ४२॥ पदानि॥ पुनःसालयः, कर्मचारिः, जातिः, देवीय॥

ेति॥ कर्मचारिः समस्तं जातिः श्रीवृत्तम् श्रीवृत्तम् प्रतिपलयोमानय श्रुतः श्रृवति॥

राजान्यम्॥ कुर्मकुमुदीनामप्रवाहिः पुनःसालयः सकसा॥

42. The feminine (unless it ends in ओ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhāraya, and before जातिः and देवीय॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras. Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate ओ (VI. 3. 37). Thus पशुकुमरालिका, पशुकुमारिणी, पशुकुमारी॥

It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. Thus श्रीरामालिका, श्रीरामालिकिणी, श्रीमणिका, श्रीमणिकिणी, श्रीमणिका, श्रीमणिकिणी॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : कृष्णकुमलालिका, कृष्णकुमारिणी, कृष्णकुमारी॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, as श्रीमणिका, श्रीमणालिका, श्रीमणालिकिणी, श्रीमणालिका॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 41, as कृष्णकुमलालिका, कृष्णकुमारिणी, कृष्णकुमारी॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine (भाष्ट्रपूण्य), so the rule does not apply श्रीमणिका, as कृष्णकुमलालिका has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ओ, as श्रीमणिका॥

Vārt.:—The words कुष्कुली &c become masculine before अभ्य &c.: as, कुष्कुली वृत्तम् = कुष्कुलालिका ॥ गृहांशीय = गृहांशीय, गृहांशीय = गृहांशीय, कालिः = कालिः.
This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

*Vṛtṛ*:—When a word formed by an affix having an indicatory श, or the affixes त and तम &c. (VI. 3. 43) follow, the final long vowel of the first term becomes short instead of its becoming masculine. As कान्तीमालां मक्खि कांवेयाहस्त्र—कार्तिकम्या (compare VI. 3. 66) हरितिमन्य, पार्थियम्, पद्मिन्य, पद्मिक्य, पद्मक्या, पद्मित्र श्वसिता. We have said that the rule does not apply to the feminines in ऋ. The words इमित्र, ऋप्र, ऋप्र and ऋवित्र are names of countries denoting Kṣatriya clans. The tadrāja affix (VI. 1. 168 and 170), is elided in forming the feminine of these (IV. 1. 177). Thus we have the compound of हरितिमन्यः वृष्टिका. When the first words become masculine, we have एडाविच, शल्, &c.

Thus एडविचुदातिका, शल्विचुदातिका.

43. Before the affixes तर, तम, ऋप्र, कर्त्त, before चेल (with the feminine in ए), बुध, गोमेश्वर, मतरु and हतरु, a word ending in the feminine affix क्, it becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus प—भ्रमरित्वा. भ्रमरित्वा भ्रमरिधरा, भ्रमरिधरस्य, भ्रमरिधरस्य, भ्रमरिधरस्य भ्रमरिधरस्य, भ्रमरिधरस्य भ्रमरिधरस्य, भ्रमरिधरस्य. प्र, ऋप्र and कर्त्त are affixes, चेल &c. are words as second members; एडविचुदातिका is formed by एडाविचुदातिका (III. 1. 134) added to एडविचुदातिका, substitution being prevented anomalously. Why do we say ending in ए (एडविचुदातिका)? Observe इमित्र, ऋप्रिमा. 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 भ्रमरिधरस्य भ्रमरिधरस्य, where भ्रमरिधरस्य and भ्रमरिधरस्य have no equivalent masculine forms.

नद्या: शेषयाम्यतरस्याम् || प्रवर्तित || नद्या: शेषयाम्य परिशु परया: इन्द्रीय भ्रमरिधरस्याम् || कष्ट शेषयाम् || भ्रमरिधरस्य शरीरं नाति भ्रमरिधरस्याम् || शङ्कवेयाम् ||

मार्गिकम् || कुस्मादः प्रातिप्यो वक्तव्यम्.

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 नी or the remnants? Those feminines which are not formed by long ि (ि), and are called Nadi; and those feminines which end-in long ि but consist of one syllable. Thus श्य त्व or श्य त्व त्व, श्य त्व or श्य त्व, श्य त्व or श्य त्व.

Vṛt.: — Nadi words formed by कृ affixes are excepted: as नरीते, नरीते.

अनंतस् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विनिर्देश; च, ( हर्व: ) ( अन्यतरस्या ) ॥

बुद्धि: II विनिर्देश परस्पर यथा वाचित्यइ अन्यतरस्या कही भवति ॥

45. The feminine ि (ि) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory द or कृ, is optionally shortened before the थ &c ( VI. 3. 43).

Thus देवता or देवता, or देवता, विद्वेदिता or विद्वेदिता.
The first is formed by the Taddhita affix एतत्, and the second by कृ. In one alternative, there is masculisation also when we get the forms देवता &c. Or this latter form may be considered to have been evolved from देवता, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

आमहत: समानाधिकरणजातीयोऽ: ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतृ, महतः, समानाधिकरण जातीयोऽः, ॥

बुद्धि: II समानाधिकरणकल्पे आतृ व यथावच यथावच भवति ॥

वाचित्यः II वाचित्य वाचित्यकल्पसेवसेवां यथावच यथावचानाधिकरणाश्च ॥

वा ॥ भवताः कहले विद्वेदितावल् ॥ वा ॥ गौतेः च पुस्तेः उपनिषदारण कर्ष्यवच ॥

46. For the final of महत्, is substituted आतृ (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीय ॥

As महातृः, महाजातीयः, महाबद्ध, महाबल, महाजातीयः; इति. But महत्: युगः — महापृष्ठ: 

"the son of the great man": the two words are not in apposition. The compounding with महात् takes place under II. r. 61. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrihis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महातृः. In fact this is the object of using the word समानाधिकरण in this sūtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipaddāka, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurasha compounds of mahat taught under II. r. 61 but not to Bahuvrihis. In महापृष्ठप्रतिक: = महातृः महापृष्ठः; the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महत् is here secondary.

Vārt.: — आतृ is substituted for the final आतृ before पात, कर and विनिर्देश, the feminine महात् being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition.

As महात्व: पातः = महापातः, महाबल: करः = महाकारः, महाविर्दित: = महाविर्दितः.

Vārt.: — आतृ is substituted for the final आतृ before करः, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अर्थात्पातः च विनिर्देश ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe महाकारः महापृष्ठः ॥
Vart:—मा is substituted for the final of महाव्रत, when the meaning is that of ‘yoked’. As, महायोग शाब्दिकतर्व। तत्र महाव्रत्म कालमयक, where ‘yoking’ is not meant. The मा in महाव्रत is for the sake of distinctness.

47. मा is substituted for the final of द्रिः and महास् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvarli or before अस्तीति।

Thus द्रास्त, द्रास्तिः, द्रास्तर्व, महास्, महावर्तिः, महावर्तिः। Why do we say द्रिः and महास्? Observe पदार्थः। Why do we say ‘when followed by a Numeral’? Observe द्रिः मातृः, महास्तः। Why do we say ‘not when the compound is a Bahuvarli, or the word अस्तीति follows’? Observe द्रिः, द्रिः, अस्तीति।

Vart:—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, विषतम्, विलक्षणम्, भन्तिनः, भन्तिस्त्रलः।

भेस्यः। द्राः। पदार्थः। द्रिः, द्रिः। अस्तीति। द्रि हथलक्ष स्वयमविद्यमानः न विद्यति संवयायामविद्यमानः।

48. For द्रि is substituted महास् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvarli or before अस्तीति।

As, वेदनः, वेदमाधिनः, वेदार्द्वः। But not in वेदमाधि (the second word not being a Numeral), nor in विषयः which is a Bahuvarli, (II. 2. 25) अस्तीति।

This substitution takes place upto hundred: not here, विषयः, विलक्षणम्।

विषयः। विषयार्द्वमाधिनः। विषयार्द्वमाधिनः। विषयः। विषयः।

Vṛt: महास्त्रलीकृता शब्दविद्यमानी संवयायाम।

49. The above substitution in the case of all (द्रि, द्रिः and महास्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिशात् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus विश्वार्द्वत्व तत्र विश्वार्द्वत्व च विश्वार्द्वत्व तत्र च। This also before hundred: as, विषयः तथा महावर्तिः, विषयः।

इर्द्वस्त्र्व इर्द्वस्त्र्व, इर्द्वस्त्र्व, इर्द्वस्त्र्व।

Vṛt: इर्द्वस्त्र्व हविक्षणमांको व्यासिते न्याय तत्र इर्द्वस्त्र्व परस्त।

Vṛt:—सा is substituted for the final of महाव्रत before मा, when the meaning is that of ‘yoked’. As, महायोग शाब्दिकतर्व। तत्र महाव्रत्म कालमयक, where ‘yoking’ is not meant. The मा in महाव्रत is for the sake of distinctness.

47. मा is substituted for the final of द्रिः and महास् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvarli or before अस्तीति।

Thus द्रास्त, द्रास्तिः, द्रास्तर्व, महास्, महावर्तिः, महावर्तिः। Why do we say द्रिः and महास्? Observe पदार्थः। Why do we say ‘when followed by a Numeral’? Observe द्रिः मातृः, महास्तः। Why do we say ‘not when the compound is a Bahuvarli, or the word अस्तीति follows’? Observe द्रिः, द्रिः, अस्तीति।

Vart:—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, विषतम्, विलक्षणम्, भन्तिनः, भन्तिस्त्रलः।

भेस्यः। द्राः। पदार्थः। द्रिः, द्रिः। अस्तीति। द्रि हथलक्ष स्वयमविद्यमानः न विद्यति संवयायामविद्यमानः।

48. For द्रि is substituted महास् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvarli or before अस्तीति।

As, वेदनः, वेदमाधिनः, वेदार्द्वः। But not in वेदमाधि (the second word not being a Numeral), nor in विषयः which is a Bahuvarli, (II. 2. 25) अस्तीति।

This substitution takes place upto hundred: not here, विषयः, विलक्षणम्।

विषयः। विषयार्द्वमाधिनः। विषयार्द्वमाधिनः। विषयः। विषयः।

Vṛt: महास्त्रलीकृता शब्दविद्यमानी संवयायाम।

49. The above substitution in the case of all (द्रि, द्रिः and महास्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिशात् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus विश्वार्द्वत्व or विश्वार्द्वत्व, विश्वार्द्वत्व or विश्वार्द्वत्व, विश्वार्द्वत्व or विश्वार्द्वत्व। This also before hundred: as, विषयः तथा महावर्तिः, विषयः।

इर्द्वस्त्र्व इर्द्वस्त्र्व, इर्द्वस्त्र्व, इर्द्वस्त्र्व।

Vṛt: इर्द्वस्त्र्व हविक्षणमांको व्यासिते न्याय तत्र इर्द्वस्त्र्व परस्त।
50. स्वर is substituted for हृदय, before देख, and the affixes यद्य and आद्य and before लास्

Thus हृदयः निकालेत् स्वरः, हृदयः निम्नः—हृदयः, हृदयः स्वरः—स्वरः, हृदयः तलेयः—
हृदयः. The word स्वरः is derived by अनुभु affix from लेखः. Before the word लेखः formed by पञ्च affix, this substitution does not take place, as हृदयः. The inclusion of स्वरः in this सूत्र proves the existence of this maxim “उच्चरणार्थोऽऽिरूपम् वा सङ्कर्पणम्” See VI. 3. 17.

या शोकं चर्चित्तानेव || ५१ || पदानि || चार, शोकं, च्छु, रोगिणी ||

इति: || शोकं चर्चित्तानेव हृदयः परस्ते हृदयः च चर्चित्तानेवो भवति.

51. हृदय is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोकं, and रोग or the affix च्छु follows.

Thus हृदयः: or हृदयः, मृत्रिम्: or मृत्रिम् || Here पञ्च is added as हृदयः belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class. V. 1. 24. When हृदयः is substituted there is व्रिद्धिः of both the members हृदयः and हृदयः by VII. 3. 19. So also हृदयः: or हृदयः.

या शोकं चर्चित्तानेव || ५२ || पदानि || पादस्य, पति, आज्ञा, आतिं, ग,

उपहृद्य, ||

इति: || पादस्य पति हृदयः भावति भावति भावति ग उपहृद्य हृदयः चर्चित्तानेव.

52. पदृ is substituted for पादः, before आज्ञा, आतिं, ग, and उपहृद्य

Thus पादशः:—पादः-मात्रस्वतः; पट्टि:—पादः-मात्रस्वतः भावि: and भावि: are formed by हृदयः from हृदयः and हृदयः (Ug. IV. 131), and irregularly हृदयः is not changed to हृदयः though required by II. 4. 56; before this affix. So also पदृ:—पादशः गच्छति; पलोऽप:—पलोऽपत्तिः पाद: belongs to Vṛṣṇī class (VI. 1. 203) and has therefore acute on the first syllable, the प्र substitute however has acute on the final, only in the उपहृद्य, V. I. 1. 171), therefore in पादः, पदृ retains its accent (VI. 1. 205), and it becomes acute on the final. While पश्चः: पश्चः: and पश्चः have acute on the final (VI. 1. 223 and krit-accent).

पदानिकम् || ५३ || पदानि || पदृ, पति, अत्तर्य, ||

इति: || पादस्ये परस्ते: पादः पलोऽपातिकम् भवतिः पलोऽप: ||

पादशः: पादशः हृदयः पलोऽपातिकम्.

53. पदृ is substituted for पादः before the affix यद्य used in any sense other than that of “suited there to;”

Thus पादशः:—पादः: अत्तर्यः, पदानि: अत्तर्यः || When पादः has the force of “suited there to” we have पादः:—पादशः: (see IV. 4. 83 and V. 4. 25).
\textit{Vart.}—Before the affix \textit{पद्र्,} in the sense of ‘he walks there by’, \textit{पद्र्} is substituted for धर्म; as पारस्यः परत्—पविकः (IV. 4. 10) by \textit{पद्र्} affix. The word पारस्य in this sūtra means ‘the actual foot’, a part of animal organism. Therefore \textit{पद्र्} is not substituted before the धर्म of V. I. 34, as धर्मस्य, धर्माय गति because \textit{पद्र्} here denotes ‘a measure’.

54. पद्र् is substituted for धर्म before हिम, कायितृं and हति.

Thus पारम्यम्, (=पारम्य दीत्यं) पविकार्यम् (=पविकार्यम्) as in सत्य पविकार्यम् वाच्य, and पविकः (पविकः हन्यते).

55. पद्र् is the substitute for धर्म before the affix धर्म, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus यष्ठे गावी धर्मनिति—पारस्य परत्, the affix धर्म being added by V. 4.

56. This substitution of पद्र् for पारस्य is optional before धर्म, मिर्थ and पारस्य.

Thus प्राप्ते—or प्राप्तेऽ, पविकः—or पविकर्यम्, पविकः or पारस्यः.

\textit{Vart.}—So also before धर्म: as पविकः or पविकर्यम्.

उदक्ष्योऽस्: संशयः || ५६ || पविकः || वाच्य, धर्म, निर्मितिः, (पद्र्) ||

57. उद् is substituted for उदक्ष्य, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उदक्ष्यः ‘a person called Udamegha’, उदक्ष्यः “a person named Uda-

58. उद् is substituted for उदक्ष्य before धर्म, धर्म, धर्म, and धर्म.
Thus उद्ध निवृद्ध formed by गह्य by III. 4. 38; उद्धासः = उद्धासः, so also उद्धासः. इसका भीतिलिपिम = भविष्य = ‘a water jar’.

यथाहिन्दी पूर्ववित्तम् अन्यतत्त्वायम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदार्थम् एकः, हल्लावः, पूर्ववित्तम्,
अन्यतत्त्वायम्, ॥

बृहतः इस भाषिकांतरस्वयम् संकल्पान्तरस्वयमात्रमेकानां पूर्ववित्तम्यवित्तम्यान्यतत्त्वायम् कालः वा
हल्लावाशीको भविष्य ॥

59. उद्ध is optionally substituted for उद्ध, before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उद्धः, or उद्धः, उद्धः, or उद्धः. The word उद्धः means ‘a word beginning with a single simple consonant’. The rule does not apply to उद्धः as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant: nor to उद्धः, as the पद्धः is not a vessel which is to be filled.

मन्योदलनस्त्रुतिनियोज्यसंभवाहराविन्यवर्गादेशसदृश ॥ ६० ॥ पदार्थम् मन्यः, ओषधः,
रसः, विन्दुः, वनः, भागः, हारः, दीर्घः, गाण्डः, च। ॥

बृहतः इस भाषिक मन्यः निवृद्ध वन भाग हार दीर्घ गाण्ड इस्लेरूणातपेयापुक्रम उद्धः हल्लावाशीको भविष्य
अन्यतत्त्वायम् ॥

60. उद्ध is optionally substituted for उद्ध, before मन्यः, ओषधः, रसः, विन्दुः, वनः, भागः, हारः, दीर्घः, गाण्डः, च, और गाण्डः ॥

Thus उद्धः मन्यः = उद्धः, ओषधः = ओषधः, रसः = रसः, हारः = हारः, दीर्घः = दीर्घः, गाण्डः = गाण्डः आदिक।

उद्धः रसः, उद्धः, वनः, हारः, दीर्घः, गाण्डः आदिक। इस भाषिक उद्धः, ओषधः, रसः, हारः, दीर्घः, गाण्डः आदिक।

इसके इत्यादियो गाण्डःविः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदार्थम् एकः, हल्लावः, अरुपः, गाण्डः, आन्यतत्त्वायम्, आदिक।

बृहतः इस भाषिकाभयन्तरस्वयम् इत्यादियो भविष्य गाण्डःविः गाण्डःविः गाण्डःविः
राचिकम् इत्यादियान्तरस्वयम् अवस्था यावथम् ॥

61. According to the opinion of Gālava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second member, for the long हुः vowels (ह, क, नु), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix हुः (हुः).

In other words, for इ, when it is not the Feminine affix हुः (हुः) and for क, a short इ and उ are substituted in a compound before the second member. Thus चामिकुः or चामिकुः, मद्धुः, मद्धुः, or मद्धुः, इ इ, Why do we say इ, vowels? Observe बन्धुः, गाण्डः, मालिकः, Why do we say ‘not the long हुः of the Feminine affix हुः? Observe गाण्डः, गाण्डः, इ इ, The name of Gālava 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 kāriyamānīpañāt &c which are governed by VI. 3. 139.

Vart.:—It does not apply to Aavyayibhāva compounds, nor to those words which take मष्ट्र or तप्प augment in their declension, as भौतिक, भूमिक, वाणीमील, दक्षीमिल, वृषभमोहसम.

Vart. :—It does however apply to दुर्ज्ञस &c, as दुर्ज्ञस, दुर्ज्ञहि: II Others say भ is substituted for भ &c as वर्णस: and भूकितः.

एकं तद्विते च II ६२ II पदार्थो एकं तद्विते, च (हस्तशः) (उत्तरपदे) II वृत्तिः II एकन्द्रश्चतद्विते उत्तरपदे हस्तशोहि भवति II

62. The short is substituted for the long of एक, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकद्वाया भागसं=एकस्यस्य, एकतमस्य, एकस्या भागसं=एकस्य, एकतमः II So also एकस्या: शृंगारेऽ=एकोरेऽ, एकोरेऽगाः II The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एक, having the affix भा. II When एक is an adjective (शृंगारेऽ) 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 śūtra without any case-affix as a Chhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एक 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.

ङ्काशयोऽस्फोट्योहस्थितम् ६३ II पदार्थोऽस्फोट्योहस्थितम् II संस्कृतम्, चन्द्रस्तरोऽस्फोट्योहस्थितम् II वृत्तिः II संस्कृतसन्यायसृतस्य रस्यांस्यांसच्च भवति II

63. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes हि and आ (को and आप) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As नकशिवत: समाधीर्गद्वायसे: II Sometimes not, as नायसे: नायसे: II नायसे: नायसे: II So also in the Vedas, as कुचार्गद्वायसे: प्रचिति:; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as पायंगुर्योपयोगसति: जागतीष्ठम: II बाहु ending words in Name: शिनसम्य, शिनसम्य:; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लेखसावहस:; लेखसावहस: II So also in the Vedas:—अभासीर्ग सुशृंगारेऽतद्विते बिधेनम् भवति II Sometimes there is no shortening, as, रूपार्थिन जमिति: करणां सम्य वर्णितः च.

वचे च II ६४ II पदार्थो च च (हस्तव्) II वृत्तिः II वचे च च गत्रादिः प्रस्वते तद्विते सन्यासमानम् भवति II

64. The feminine affixes हि and आ diversely become short, before the affix च.

Thus चात्मका भवः=अज्ञातः or अभासितम् or रोज्जिलियस: II These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in च II
Shortening. [ Bk. VI. Ch. III. § 67

65. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in एका before ब्र, in एवीका before तु, and in माला before भारिण।

Thus एकादिक, एकादिकर, and मालाभारिणी कर्मा। The rule of tadanta applies to एका &c, so that the compounds ending in एका &c are also governed by this rule: as पद्माकरिष्ठ, एकादिकतुल, वन्यात्माभारिणी कर्मा।

66. A short is always substituted for the final of the first member, when the second member is a word formed by an affix having an indicatory ख, but not when the first member is an Indecinable.

Thus कालिन्य, कालिन्यम्य। The augment खुष्ठ does not prevent the shortening, had it done so, the rule would have been unnecessary. But शेषात्मकम्य, शेषामृताचिन्तय, where शेष and शेषत are Indecinables there is no shortening. The above words are formed by खुष्ठ (III. 2. 83). The phrase anavyavasya indicates by implication that the word खुष्ठ here means खुष्ठ, contrary to the maxim enunciated in VI. 3. 17 उपपत्तिकारणम प्रत्ययपूर्वं ततनुदिक्षेत्रं, For an Avyaya can never take a स्वतं अक्षो which are ordained only after धातू।

67. खुष्ठ is the augment added immediately after the final vowel, of अवस्त, ख्रिष्ठ, and of a stem ending in a vowel, unless it is an Indecinable, when a word formed by a स्वतं अक्षो affix follows.

Thus शेषात्मकम्य, शेषामृताचिन्तय, कालिन्यम्य। See III. 2. 35, 39, 83. The खुष्ठ of अवस्त and the खुष्ठ of ख्रिष्ठ are dropped by VIII. 2. 23.

Why do we say ‘of अवस्त &c.’? Observe ख्रिष्ठभाष्यम्। Why do we say ‘not an Indecinable’? Observe शेषात्मकम्य, शेषामृताचिन्तय। Why do we use the word अस्त in अवस्त, when merely saying अस्त would have sufficed by the rule of tadanta-vidhi? This indicates that the shortening taught in the preceding sthra does not debar the खुष्ठ augment, nor does खुष्ठ debar the shortening. So that खुष्ठ is added after the shortening has taken place.

तद कालीचो प्रस्त्यवेदिता 68. पद्मिनी इत्यादि। अवस्त, ख्रिष्ठ, अम्प्र, त्रियवेदन, च्, इत्यादि।

तद कालीचो। ख्रिष्ठभाष्यम्। प्रस्त्यवेदिता। भाषणो मध्य्य, भाषणात्मकत्व, शास्त्रिकत्व च मध्य्य।
68. A monosyllabic word, ending in any vowel other than भ, when followed by a word formed by a भिन्न affix, receives the augment भम, which is added in the same way as the affix भम of the Accusative singular.

The word भम is to be repeated here thus, भम एकाकोण्यम्, भत्रन्तस्वम:।
Thus भानम्, भृत्तम्, or भिन्ननम्, भिन्ननम्, भिन्ननम्। भा भत्रन्तस्वमः।
By force of the atideśa भत्रन्तस्वमः, the changes produced by the Accusative ending are caused by this augment also: viz.: the substitution of long भा, the substitution of a vowel homogenous with the first, the guna, the substitutes भक्त्व and भिन्न As भा—भा भत्रन्तस्वमः।
(७) भृत्तम् (VI. १. १०७); गुणम्, भृत्तम्, भृत्तम् (७)।
and भत्रन्तस्वम्, भिन्ननम्, भिन्ननम् (VI. ४. ८१ &c). Why do we say ending in a vowel other than भ (भम)?

Observe भथम्भम्। Why do we say 'a monosyllable'?

The affix भम is elided after a Neuter noun (VII. १. २३), therefore, will this भम also be elided when भी is treated as Neuter? As भिन्ननम् भानम् भत्रन्तस्वम् भिन्ननम् or भिन्ननम्? The second is the valid form according to Patanjali.

69. भाचयम्म and पुर्बर are irregularly formed.

Thus भाचयम्म: भाचय (III. २. ४० भम affix). पुर्बर: पुर्बर (III. २. ४२). The shortening of भम and भा takes place by VI. ४. ९४.

70. भम is the augment of भय and भ्रम when the word कार follows.

As भमेर्वकारः — भद्यकारोति or भद्यकारारः; So also भमेर्वकारः।

Vārt.—So also of भम, as भमेर्वकारः।

Vārt.—So also in Vedas, of भम before कार:–e. g. भमेर्वकारः, in secular language भमेर्वकारः।

Vārt.—Of भम before भय, e. g. भमेर्वकारः।

Vārt.—Of भम before भ्रम, e. g. भमेर्वकारः।
Mum augment.

Bk. VI. Ch. III § 74

Vṛtṛ — Of अन्नवाप्त before इत्य as अन्नवाप्तिन्यः.

Vṛtṛ — Of भाव and भर्ती, before इत्य, as भावान्मित्यः, भर्तिनिस्मित्यः.

Vṛtṛ — A word before गति takes मुष्ट, augment, unless it is also गति.

e.g. तिमिक्षित:, but गतिक्षित:.

Vṛtṛ — So also before भिन्नतिन्यः, e.g. तिमिक्षितिन्यः.

Vṛtṛ — Of द्वार and तब before करण, e.g. द्वार करण, तब करण.

Vṛtṛ — पप्पन्त is optionally the substitute of गुहित when the words तु, द्वार, ताल, ओत्त, and तिं are preceded by it e.g. फुलधुर्य or फुलधृतः, द्वारधुर्य or द्वारधृतः, ओत्तधुर्य or ओत्तधृतः, ओत्तधुर्य or ओत्तधृतः, ओत्तधुर्य or ओत्तधृतः, ओत्तधुर्य or ओत्तधृतः, ओत्तधुर्य or ओत्तधृतः.

Some read पुच्छ in the सारागारवादी class (IV. I. 73), and then this word has its feminine पुच्छ. This is seen in other places also, e.g. फुलधुर्य.

मनोनिःस्त्य पाते थे || ७१ || पदानि || द्वार, तिं, गतिः, पाते, थे. ||
बुधः. || द्वार तिंतितेनातो: पाताद्वारकर्त्तव्ये ममते ममाने महते. ||

71. मुष्ट is the augment of the words द्वार and तिं, before पात, when the affix थे is added.

Thus द्वारपातासां कौशान्यं—द्वारपाता, कौशाताता. See IV. 2. 58. Why do we say before थे? Observe द्वारपाता.

राज्ये: कृति विमाना || ७२ || पदानि || राज्ये, कृति, विमाना, (सुप्). ||
बुधः. || राज्ये: कृतावतासां विमाना मुष्टाने महते. ||

72. The word राज्ये optionally takes मुष्ट before a word formed by क्र्य-affix.

As राज्यं; or राज्यं; राज्यं; or राज्यं: This is an aprāpta-vibhāṣā.

The augment is compulsory before a क्र्य-affix having an indicator थे, As, राज्यं.

नष्टपोष्य मन: || ७३ || पदानि || मन: लोपः, मन: (उत्तरपदे) ||
बुधः. || मन: मण्डलस्तो लोपः मण्डलस्तो ||
वासिकान्त. || मन: पोष्य मण्डलस्तो विस्तृतपस्यायनम्. ||

The न of the Negative particle मन: is elided when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus बलायणः, बल्लचः, बलायणः, बलायणः. ||

Vṛtṛ — The न of मन: is elided before a verb also, when reproach is meant: as, कामभिः स्वं जानम्, कामभिः स्वं जानम्: ||

तस्माद्युक्तिः || ७४ || पदानि || तस्माद्, दुः, अति, (उत्तरपदे) ||
बुधः. || तस्माद्युक्तिनान्तत्त्वम: दुःबानाम् महते बलायणायातः. ||

74. After the above न-elided मन: (i.e. after थे) is added the augment दुः, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus मन:; अति; अति: Why do we use तस्माद् “after such a मन:”? Otherwise दुः would have been the augment of मन:, and not of the subsequent
word for: the sūtra would have read thus दुःखित्। Adding दुः to नभष् or rather to भ, we have दुःखित् (granting that दुः is not to be added before भ but after it, against I. 1. 46). Now दुः + भष् will be भषा: and not भनस्: for VIII. 3. 32 will cause the doubling of the final भ of भष्। Hence to prevent this contingency, दुः is ordained with regard to the second member and not with regard to भ or नभष्।

नभष्याणपरा नापेदासत्वा नमुनिनकूलन्मकपूर्वकक्ष्यत्रनक्षत्रनक्षत्रनक्षत्रनक्षत्रनक्षत्रनक्षत्रनक्षत्रनक्षत्रनक्षत्र

75. The Negative particle remains unchanged in नभष्य, नभष्य, नभक्ष्य, नासत्वा, (dual), नभष्य, नभष्य, नभष्य, नभष्य, नभष्य, नभष्य, नभष्य, नभष्य, नभष्य, नभष्य।

Upto नासत्वा the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative। नासत्वा = नासत्वा, formed by वियुः and नभष्य composition। न पाति = नपात, formed by वियुः suffix। न विवि = नग्नवेश, formed by अभग्न। शहुस लागवः = लागवः, न लागवः। शहुस लागवः = नासत्वा। न लागवः = लागवः, formed by वियुः suffix (Upadi)। नासत्वा कूलमतिः = नासत्वा। नासत्वा कूलमतिः = नासत्वा। न खी न गुगणाः = नासत्वा। न शरीते शरीते यथा = नासत्वा। न गुगणाः = नासत्वा।

एक्षणिकस्य चारुकस्य ॥ ७६ ॥ पदार्थाः। च, एक्षणिक, च, अभुक्तः।

76. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक्ष, and of this एक्ष, there is the augment अभुक्तः

Thus एक्ष न विघरति एक्षाभिधिः। एक्षामिति।। These are Instrumental compounds। The augment अभुक्तः is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एक्षाभिधिः and एक्षामिति। so by VIII. 4. 45.

77. The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in नभष्य, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नभष्य: or नभष्य: ‘trees’, or ‘mountains’, literally ‘what do not move’। The suffix अ is added to गुः। Why do we say when not referring
Some substitutes.

[ Bk. VI. Ch. III. 80.]

to animate beings. Observe भ्रम: धीरेण् No alternative form is allowed here.

सहस्यः सः संहायाय ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि सहस्यः सः संहायाय ॥

बृद्धिः सः सहायता सः हस्याधिको भवति संहायाय विषये ॥

78. सः is substituted for सहः in a Name.

Thus साधायम् सपलायम् साविकायम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहुष्णा सहकला ॥ The word सहः has acute on the first syllable, because all Particles have acute on the first syllable. The substitute त्र by coming in the room of the acute and the grave हः, will have an accent mid-way between हः acute and ह grave, namely, it would have the svarita accent. But, as a matter of fact, it has the acute accent. As हःृः हःृः ॥ These are Bahuvihi. In Avayalbhāva, the samāsa-accent will prevail (VI. 1. 223), as हृः ॥ सहायम् ॥

प्रस्थानार्थिको च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि प्रस्थानः अर्थिको च ॥

बृद्धिः प्रस्थानः अर्थिको च सहायता सः हस्याधिको भवति ॥

79. सः is the substitute for सहः, when it has the sense of ‘upto the end’ (in connection with a literary work), or ‘more’.

Thus सःकर्तम् कनालं व्यतिरेकः ॥ So also सहुष्णा ॥ संहः (संहायायः) सः सहः सः ॥ सहायम् (=संहायायः) व्याकरणमीपिते ॥ These are all Avayalbhāva compounds by ॐ भव-वचने (I. 1. 6). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सहः would not be changed to सः, 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 ‘of the end of a book’. When the sense is that of ‘more’, we have सहायायायः सः शास्त्रादिका सः सहायायायः भवति ॥

खलेचे चानुपास्ये गो ॥ पदानि कलेचे खलेचे अनुपास्ये चः (सहस्यः) ॥

बृद्धि: हलेचे चानुपास्ये सहम् स हस्याधिको भवति ॥

80. सः is the substitute for सहः, 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 हलेचे ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपास्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपास्य, i.e. what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, सः is added to such second word. Thus साधिः (कशोः) ‘a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where’, सहिष्ठाप्ता शास्त्रः "a storm-wind which announces the Piśāchas". सरकारी शास्त्रः Here the fire, the Piśācha or the Rakshasas are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon &c.
SOME SUBSTITUTES.

81. स is the substitute of सह, in an Ayayībhāva when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सथन्त्रः, महुः, गाँवः, but शहूः the second member being a time denoting word (II. 1. 5).

82. स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvarli.

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपपर्व— is a सामान्यसम्बन्ध, and the Bahuvarli is such a compound, because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood. Thus समुपयोः or समुपय, स्थानः or स्थानः. Why do we say of a Bahuvarli? Observe सहुः, सहस्वः. The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvarli like सहस्वप्रियः or सहस्वप्रियः.

83. The word सह retains its original form when the sentence denotes benediction, except when it is सी, घर्स or हुः.

Thus सीति सेवनः सहस्यः, सहस्यः, सहस्यः. But optionally here, as स्वाभि भोजः सहः or सहः, सहस्यः or सहस्यः, सहस्यः, or सहस्यः. The phrase भोजः is an important sūtra, but has been added by the Kaśīkā from a Vārtika.

84. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas, but not before मूः, मृति and उदरकः.

Thus मूः सर्पः, मूः सर्पः, थोः थोः. See IV. 4. 114. सर्पः सर्पः, सर्पः सर्पः. Formed by त्वा affix IV. 4. 114. But सर्पः सर्पः, सर्पः सर्पः, सर्पः सर्पः. This substitution takes place in secular literature also, as सर्पः, सर्पः, सर्पः, सर्पः, &c.

त्यौराङ्गेनपदर्मांहिमानोद्योगसनपाल्योऽक्षणनव्युः ।

85. पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः (समानसम्बन्धः) पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः पद्यः. This substitution takes place in secular literature also, as सर्पः, सर्पः, सर्पः, सर्पः, &c.
85. This substitution of स for समान takes place before ज्योतिः, जनवर, राशि, नामित, नामस्व, गोच्छ, रूप, स्थान घण्डे, वध्यु, चचन्त्र र बल्लु in the common language also.

Thus सर्वेशति, सर्ववर्ति, सर्वस्वि, सर्वमणि, सर्वस्मा, सर्वत्र, सर्वदा, सर्वोऽि, सर्वथा, सर्वपल्लि, सर्वस्मा, सर्वस्मा, सर्वस्मा.

चरणे, ब्रह्मचारिणि || 86 || पद्य || चरणे, ब्रह्मचारिणि (समानस्वस्य) (उत्तरपर्वे)

86. झ is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिणि when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समानो ब्रह्मचारी—सब्रह्मचारी झ means the Vedas. The vow of studying the Veda is also called झ. He who is engaged in the performance of that vow is called ब्रह्मचारिणि. समान refers to the vow, the vow of studying being common to both: i.e. समानो ब्रह्मचारि—सब्रह्मचारि. According to Bhattoji Dikshita चरणे in the sūtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study. He who has a common (समान) branch (चराना) is a सब्रह्मचारि.

87. झ is substituted for समान, before तथं when the prefix यथ is added to it.

Thus सत्यं यथं सत्यं तथं (IV. 4. 107). ' a fellow-student?

88. The substitution of झ for समान is optional before उत्तर when the prefix यथ is added to it.

Thus सत्यं यथं or सत्यं सत्यं (IV. 4. 108).

89. झ is substituted for समान, before झुक, झुक and the suffix झुक.

Thus झुक, सहस्र: The affixes कस्त and श्रुत्त is added to झुक under III. 2. 60. \( Vārtt: \) which give as the forms झुक and झुक. \( Vārtt: \) So also before झुक as सहस्र: झुक is formed by कस्त affix under III. 2. 60. Vārtika. The suffix झुक is taken for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

捣िकोरीयकि || 90 || पद्य || झुक, किमो, झुक, झुक (झुकहतु) ||

90. झुक is formed by कस्त affix under III. 2. 60. Vārtika.
90. इ is substituted for इम्य and क य for किय before the words इर्म, इसा and the affix वर्ण ॥

Thus इर्म, इसा: and इम्य, किय, किया: and कियाः ॥ इर्म and किय are changed to इ + इम्य and क य + इम्य by V. 2. 40 and the long इ is elided by VI. 4. 148: and we get इम्य and किय ॥

Vdrt:—So also before इसा, as इर्म: and किया: ॥

आ सर्वानां: ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, सर्वानां, ( रुपचारतुः ) ॥

पुनः: ॥ सर्वानां सर्वानादिकीष्ठो भवति भुपचारतुः ॥

पार्वित्याः ॥ इसे स्थिति स्थानायः ॥

91. आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (I. 1. 27) before these words इर्म, इसा and the affix वर्ण ॥

Thus इर्म, इसा: तासा: तासाः, इम्य, इम्या: यासा: ॥

Vdrt:—So also before इसा, as इसा: and यासा: ॥

विष्णुहे प्रशाश्व देहान्यात्स ( ता ) यमर्यभ: ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्णुहे, देहायो:, ख, टे:, वाद्व, अत्तो:, अपर्याये: ॥

पुनः: ॥ विष्णुहे प्रशाश्व देहान्यात्स ( ता ) यमर्यभ: भवति भुपचारतुः यमर्यधान्यात्स ( ता ) ॥

पार्वित्याः ॥ छष्ठसि विष्णुहे भवति स्थानायः ॥

92. In the room of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्णुहे and देहाय, is substituted अन्नः, when अन्न with the affix इ follows.

Thus नित्यनम्भति = नित्यनम्भः. This form is thus evolved. अन्नः + नित्यन = अन्नः + नि = अन्नः नि ( VII. 1. 70 ) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant नि, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the विष्णु affix ( VIII. 2. 62 ), e. i. इ is changed to इ and we have अन्नः which with नित्यन gives the above form. देहात, देहाय, देहायः अन्नः and संघः ( VI. 3. 95 ) have acute on the final irregularly (nipātan) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when is changed into इ the following vowel becomes svarita ( VIII. 2. 4 ). Why do we say of विष्णु and देहाय? Observe भाभाति = भाभायस्ति, the feminine कीष्ठ being added by IV. 1. 6 Vdrt. The इ of अन्नः is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अन्नः is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when अन्नः follows? Observe नित्यनम्भः. Why do we say 'when the affix इ follows? Observe नित्यनम्भः. The इ is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sutra is भाभाय ( भाभायस्ति ). It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word अन्नः or अन्नः 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 अन्नः not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when अन्नः followed, but when aṅchana ending in इर्म also followed. The maxim अन्नः तासाः विष्णुहेः is illustrated in अन्नः and
Some Substitutions. [Bk. VI. Ch. III. § 96

वब्यक्तान्तः for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that visarga is changed into क 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 कार्य and कृत:। Therefore the rule applies to forms like सब्यक्तः which is followed merely by the verb क; as well as to forms like अवयक्तः।।

Vārtt.:—In the Vedas, diversely before the feminine nouns: thus in "विभावी न प्रतापी न" there is no substitution in विभावी, but in मात्री there is this substitution. मात्री is derived from अम्य + सम्भव = कार्य + मात्र।। Then is added द्र्द्द and then like अवयक्तः।।

सम: समी॥ ९.३॥ पदार्थि समी समी॥ समी॥

बृः॥ समी। साप्तेन नर्त इत्यमानाः मद्यादिविभावी न (अ) प्रयाहान उपस्थित॥

93. समी is substituted for सम, before this अभ्य as when no affix (or न affix) follows.

Thus सम्यकः, सम्यकः, सम्यकः॥

तिरित्तेन् दृश्यो॥ ९.५॥ पदार्थि तिरित्तेन्, तिरित्तेन्, तिरित्तेन्॥

ृः॥ तिरित्तेन् हस्तेन्तु तिरित्तेन् हस्तेन्तु भवत्रपति न (अ) प्रयाहान उपस्थित॥ तिरित्तेन्॥ वहा सम् लोपे न भवति॥

94. तिरित्तेन् is substituted for तिरित्तेन् before this अभ्य as when no affix (or न affix) follows, provided that the न of अभ्य is not elided.

Thus तिरित्तेन्, तिरित्तेन्, तिरित्तेन्॥ Why do we say ‘when there is no elision’? Observe मात्र: मात्र:॥ Here न is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word मात्र: in the sūtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) "where न is elided" or (2) “Where there is no elision”. The latter meaning should be taken however.

सहस्र स्थः॥ ९.५॥ पदार्थि सहस्र स्थः, स्थः॥

ृः॥ सहस्रः सहस्रः सहस्रः सहस्रः भवत्रपति न अ न प्रयाहान उपस्थित॥

95. स्थः is the substitute of सह, before अम्य followed by no affix (or न affix).

Thus स्थः, स्थः, स्थः; and स्थः, स्थः॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

सध मात्रायोद्धम्वलः॥ ९.६॥ पदार्थि सध मात्र, लोकः, छन्दः॥

ृः॥ छन्दः लोकः गायण लोकः हस्तेन्त्राहम्पति: सहस्र सध हस्तेन्त्राहम्पति:।

96. सध is substituted for सह in the Veda, when मात्र and न लय follow.

Thus सम्यकःस्धमात्रायोद्धम्वलः, सम्यकः॥ Another example is मात्राः बृहत्ती एत्यो युहाना, पर्यायतः सवाहायो चेतु (Rig III. 3. 7) सहस्त्रायो एत्यो अस्तित॥

हस्तेन्त्राहम्पति: युहाना॥ ९.७॥ पदार्थि: हस्तेन्त्राहम्पति: अच्छत: अर्थः एत्य:॥

ृः॥ हस्तेन्त्राहम्पति: अच्छत: अर्थः एत्य:॥ हस्तेन्त्राहम्पति: अच्छत: अर्थः एत्य:॥

वास्तिस्थः॥ समापेर्यः प्रतिपोः सत्यः॥ ना॥ हस्तेन्त्राहम्पति: अच्छत: अर्थः एत्य:॥

100. दुः is optionally the augment of कन्य when अर्थ follows.

As काम्ब्रध: or काम्ब्रधः:

कौ: कल्लुरिक्ष अधि: १०१ II पदानि कौ:; कन्य तत्सुरुङ्खे बाचिः, अधि:

बुः: कु द्वितीय काशिकायांत्वे भवते तत्सुरुङ्खे समासे समाःभूवितत्वे।

बाचिः: काव्यानि भापुपनास्यायां

101. कन्य is substituted for कु in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As काहः, कार्ध, काहः, कामः.

Why do we say in a 'Tatpurusha? Observe कुं राकः

Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel?" Observe कुञ्जः.

कुञ्जः: कन्य is substituted before न, as कन्यः = कुञ्जः.

राष्टिक्षोऽः १०२ II पदानि रा: रा, रत्, रत्.

बुः: कु रा वर द्वितीय काशिकायांत्वे कौ: काशिकायांत्वे भवते।

102. कन्य is substituted for कु before रा and रत् also.

Thus कन्यः, कन्यः.

दुः जातोऽः १०३ II पदानि दुः, जातोऽः.

बुः: दुः द्वितीय काशिकायांत्वे जातोऽ कौ: काशिकायांत्वे भवते।

103. कन्य is substituted for कु, when दुः follows denoting a species.

As काम्ब्रधः नाम जाति: त।

का पवित्र: जात: १०४ II पदानि का, पवित्र: जात:.

बुः: पवित्र: नाम द्वितीय काशिकायांत्वे कौ: काशिकायांत्वे भवते।

104. का is the substitute of कु, before पवित्र and मात्सर.

Thus का त्यस्य and का:

पवित्रः १०५ II पदानि पवित्रः.

बुः: पवित्रः वर्षस्य कौ: का द्वितीय काशिकायांत्वे भवते।

105. का is the substitution for कु, when the meaning is 'a small'.

As काम्ब्रधः, काम्ब्रधः, काम्ब्रधः.

Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101: as का त्यस्य.

बुः: काम्ब्रधः १०६ II पदानि काम्ब्रधः.

बुः: काम्ब्रधः द्वितीय काशिकायांत्वे का द्वितीय काशिकायांत्वे भवते।

106. का is optionally substituted for कु, when the word पुरुष follows.
Thus कानुष्ठ: or कृस्म:। This is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. In the sense of ‘a little श्रद्ध’, the substitution is compulsory; as श्रद्ध: प्रक: = का प्रक:।

कानूष्ठोऽयों || १०७ || पदानि || कामः, च, उष्णः, ||

बूति: || वषायाकर्त्तेऽयोऽयोंं || कानूष्ठविभाशायणं पति || का यथिभाषम् ||

107. का and कृस्म are optionally the substitutes of कु when उष्ण follows.

As कानूष्ठम्, कृष्णम् or कुष्ठम्।

पधि चचचन्तिस् || १०८ || पदानि || पधि, च, छन्दसिः, ||

बूति: || पधिकार्याचरणं द्रौपदिम् विधयां करं का हन्तित्वदिष्टेऽपि भेदोऽविभाषम् ||

108. This substitution of का, and कृस्म for कु takes place in the Veda, before पथ।

Thus कामः; कानूष्ठ: and कृत्यः।

पुष्पोद्दराविनि वयोरविन्दूम || १०९. || पदानि || पुष्पोद्दराविनि, वयोरविन्दूम, ||

बूति: || पुष्पोद्दराविनि वारसस्माणि कुलु पोपरावपत्तिविकारः यास्कर्थः न विभित्ति द्रव्यः पि सारं मायायार्य-ऽविभाषाय सापोऽनि पति ||

वातिषातः || विभित्तिमयः उतायम सीतव तार भाषा च भवति ||

वाँ || वानी गोऽर्चर च नतायात्सर्वपरिविधिम पति ||

वाँ || पदविं वत्सायानासर्वपरिविधिम पि ||

वाँ || हुहायायानावयवधिग्रहं वक्तर्वदिक्षुसऽपेक्षक्याः ||

वाँ || स्वयं देहस्तव छन्दयते वसानूम || वाँ || वाॊॊतावण्णानि च लोगोऽत्वाद्वः ||

Kārikā—वण्णमेऽन्याविविधेः हृ ज्ञानोऽन्याविविधेः करीलकोण ।

पाचारायानावाच योगानसूत्रमृ । प्रत्येकेण लोकमहर्षजजने ||

109. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पुष्पादिक &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 भवाणामयः || सिद्धावाचार्यसनि || Thus पुष्पद्राक तद्यो || भवाणामयः || Here there is elision of इ च। So also पारितकाकः = बनाकः; here चारी is replaced by च, and च replaces च च धकः; जीवनस्य दृष्टः = जीवनस्यः जीवनस्यः; here च replaces चरः; and चानाः for चानाः इम || समस्यः || चानाः चानाः; here च replaces च, and चान replaces च चानाः = चानाः - चानाः; here च replaces चरः, and चान replaces चरः || चानाः = चानाः = चानाः; Here च replaces चरः, and चान replaces चरः || चानाः || चानाः || चानाः; Here च replaces चरः, and चान replaces चरः; and चान: before the affix यमः || And so on with वाचय, वाचय सक ||

Vādr—nār becomes optionally नार after a word denoting direction, as इश्वरायान: || भाग्यायान: || सांभायान: || जस्तीमायान: || उत्साहायान: ||

Vādr—Before the Patronymic हूः affix, शारयाः becomes शारयाः as, शारयाः-शालश्च = पातः।

Vādr—The final of हूः is changed to हूः before हूः, हूः, and वा (meaning
‘location’); and the first letter of the second member is changed to इ or ऐ॥
Thus पर्वते भेष्यति = पर्वत, so विवेचन : पर्वत or पर्वत कुह॥ The addition of इ is optional here. The putting of भाव in the plural number indicates that इ has here the meaning of “in many parts or ways” (नामाविभक्तयाः). In fact it has the force of an affix here. The rule therefore does not apply to these:—पर, ध्वाति or ध्वाति = पर्वता॥

Vārt.—The final of पर is changed to इ, before भाव, भाव, भव and भव and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus प्रवेश्यते, प्रवेश, प्रवेशं in the last (क्रम) there is elision of the nasal also. प्रवेश ध्वाति = प्रवेश॥ Here is added the affix क to the root भाव (इक्षु) preceded by the upapada हु, by III. 1. 136.

Vārt.—ि is substituted for the final of भाव when the verb िहः follows in the Vedas: as एवहिः जालोऽपि रोक्षयः (रोक्षति Imperative Ist. Pers. Dual).

Vārt.—The final of भाव, भाव &c. is elided in the Vedas. as भीतो वसनामि, भेरवसनामाः॥

संक्षयविचित्रयुक्तावधायायनयतरस्स्याः क्रोः ॥ १०॥ पदानि || संक्षयाः, विः, साय, पूर्वस्य, अहस्य, अहुः, अन्ततरस्त्राः, क्रोः ॥

वृचि: ॥ संक्षयाः विः साय हेक्रूपर्वायायनय स्थायि वहार्थवधायायनयं अहस्यततद्दक्षयाः क्रोः परतः ॥

110. अहृत may optionally be substituted for अहृ in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय precedes it.

Thus एकोऽपि भाय: = एके, एके: ॥ The Locative singular of these are भायि or भायिनि, एके or एकिनि ॥ So also एके, एके: ॥ With वि—व्याहि, व्याहिनि or व्याहि; साय—सायिनि, सायिनि, सायिनि ॥ These are एकोऽपिक्षयाः, and this very सूत्र is an indicator that महृत may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or साय ॥ Thus we have गभायि = गभयः (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वः and रोक्षः only.

दूरोऽपि पूर्वस्त्र दूरोऽपि पूर्वः, दूरोऽपि, अण: ॥

वृचि: ॥ व्यादीर्मक्षमां व्यादीर्मक्षमां दूरोऽपि: तत्व पूर्वस्त्राः सायाः भायि: ॥

111. तीव्र or त्र is elided, for the preceding अ, इ and उ a corresponding Long vowel is substituted.

Thus ग्वाह, ग्वाह, ग्वाह ॥ लोऽपि-निर-निर=नीति, अविशेष: = ाग्निशेषः, इन्द्र: इन्द्रः, पुरान कर्तवः, प्राचर राजाः: ॥ For the elision of इ see VII. 3. 13, and for the elision of द्र see VIII. 3. 14. But भाव, the इ is not lengthened because it is not included in the pratayahāra अण which is formed with the इ of भाि इा

सहित्योऽपि वधायायनय = १२॥ पदानि || सहि, यथः, भोः, अर्थः, अवज्ञायाय, ॥

वृचि: ॥ सहि यथि हेक्रूपर्वायायनय भायि: भायि हेक्रूपे ॥

112. तीव्र or त्र are elided, there is the substitution of औ for the अ or आ of the verbs साय and ध्वाय
Thus साङ्ग, साङ्गु, साब्नयम्, साब्न, साब्दुः, and साब्दवम्. Why do we say of अ or ए? Observe अ, ऊः, ऋः. Why do we say अवण which includes ए also? The rule will apply even when the short अ of तह and शह is changed to अ by Vṛddhi: as दुःसयस्यः, दुःसयद्रष्टः. Had merely अ been read into the सूत्रा, instead of अवण then coming after the त of भो, it would have denoted only short अ (ताब्र्यं परः स्मः प्र. I. 1. 75).

साक्षी सावश सावशति निगमे ॥ ११३ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ साक्षी, सावश, सावश, अवण, निगमे ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ साक्षी सावश सावश हर्ष निगमे निगमे निगमे ॥

113. साक्षी, सावश and सावश are irregularly formed in the Vedas.

Thus साक्षी सममताः, सावश शदृः ॥ The latter is formed by स्वा affix, the श substitution not taking place. In the other alternative श्व is changed to शौ ॥ सावश is formed by नृष affix. In the secular literature सावश and शदृः are the proper forms.

संवित्ताशाः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ संवित्ताशाः, ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ संवित्ताशाः संवित्ताशाः संवित्ताशाः संवित्ताशाः संवित्ताशाः ॥

114. In the following सूत्राः upto the end of the पाद, are to be supplied the following words:—“In an uninterrupted flow of speech”.

Thus सूत्रा VI. 3. 135 declares “अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns”. Thus विरुद्धाक्षेरः तथ्यदे धृतं गंगाम्. The word संवित्ताशाः should be read into that सूत्रा to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have धिः, धिः, संवित्ताः, धृतं गंगाम।

कदं संवित्ताशाः सुखायते तथ्यादेशानि संवित्ताशाः सुखायते ॥ ११५ ॥ पदार्थः ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ कदं संवित्ताशाः सुखायते तथ्यादेशानि संवित्ताशाः सुखायते ॥

115. Before कवि, 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 विष, अष्ट, प्र, मणि, निख, धिख, छिख, छू छु and स्वराधि.

Thus साब्र, ब्रह्माक्षरः, ब्रह्माक्षरः, ब्रह्माक्षरः, ब्रह्माक्षरः. The word अवण 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 संयुक्तम्: Why do we say 'with the exception of विद् &c'? Observe विद्वपप्ः: भवनस्य:; पालयाणे; विद्वपप्ः; विद्वपप्ः: विद्वपप्ः:; विद्वपप्ः:; विद्वपप्ः:; विद्वपप्ः:; अन्तर्गतसः; एवर्यम्:।

निर्विद्वपप्ःक्षयस्येविद्वपप्ठानिन्तु: कृ:।११६॥ पदानि:।निधि:; हृति:; वृत्ति:; व्याधि:; बाधि:; सत्ति:; तत्सिनु:; कैः।।

बुधिः:।।निधि हृति वृत्ति: सत्ति: तत्स:।।

बुधिः:।।निधि हृति वृत्ति: सत्ति: तत्स:।।

116. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नह, हृत, वृत, व्याधि, बाधि, सत्ति, तत्सि, कैः,।।

Thus वपपप्ः (वपपप्ः Nom. S.), so also, सत्ति, वपपप्ः, (with vrt) पालयाणे, वपपप्ः, (with vṛṣ) मन्त्राविष, वपपप्ः, भाविः, (with vyadh). निधि, अन्तर्गतस: (with ruch) निधिः, (with sah) तत्सिः।।

The nasal is elided after तत्सः (VI. 4. 40), by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तत्सः also. Why do we say when कैः? Observe परिवर्तनम्।।

बुधिः:।।निधि हृति वृत्ति: सत्ति: तत्सि।।

बुधिः:।।निधि हृति वृत्ति: सत्ति: तत्सि।।

117. For the final vowel of कोटि &c. a long vowel is substituted before चन, and so also of किंतु चन &c. before गिरि, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटिपतिः, भविः, बृत्ति:; विद्वपप्ः, अन्तर्गतसः;।।

So also किंतुचन:; गिरि:; ।।

The न is changed to म in चन by VIII. 4. 4. But अन्तर्गतसः and किंतु चन: as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटि, 2 भविः, 3 विद्वपप्ः, 4 चन (चनक), 5 चिरिः (चिरिः)।।

1 किंतुचन (किंतुचन), 2 गिरि (गिरि), 3 मन्त्राविष, 4 अन्तर्गत, 5 भविः, 6 चनः,।।

च्छेदत् ।। ११२॥ पदानि:।च्छेदत्।(च्छेदत् चीयः।)।।

बुधिः:।।च्छेदत्:।।च्छेदत्:।(च्छेदत् चीयः)।।

बुधिः:।।च्छेदत्:।।च्छेदत्:।(च्छेदत् चीयः)।।

बुधिः:।।च्छेदत्:।।च्छेदत्:।(च्छेदत् चीयः)।।

118. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix चनः।।

Thus भविः, चनः, बृत्ति:।।

These arc formed by the affix चनः (V. 2. 112).

Vārtt.—Not so, of वर्तम, भविः and चनः: as तत्सिः, इतिसम्: and वार्त्त:।।

सत्ति:।।सत्ति:।।सत्ति:।।सत्ति:।।

सत्ति:।।सत्ति:।।सत्ति:।।सत्ति:।।

सत्ति:।।सत्ति:।।सत्ति:।।सत्ति:।।
119. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix \textit{मत्र}, when it is a name, but not of the words \textit{अज्ञत्र} \\ 

Thus \textit{तुम्हारसती}, नन्दमरसती, श्रीरमसती, गुणमरसती. These are formed by the affix \textit{मत्र} (IV. 2. 85) The \textit{म} is changed to \textit{म्र}, by VIII. 2. 11. Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables'? Observe \textit{अज्ञत्र} \\ 

Why 'with the exception of \textit{अज्ञत्र} \\ 

120. The final vowel of \textit{धर} &c. is lengthened before \textit{मत्र} when it is a Name. \\ 

As \textit{तुम्हारसती}, नन्दमरसती. The \textit{म} of \textit{मत्र} is changed to \textit{म्र} because it is a Name (VIII. 2. 11). But not so after \textit{श्रीरमसती} &c. as these belong to शवत्र class (VIII. 2. 9). \\ 

121. The final \textit{ह} and the \textit{व} of a word, with the exception of \textit{पीह्नु}, are lengthened before \textit{वह} \\ 

Thus \textit{वस्थितस्य}, \textit{वस्त्रिस्य}, \textit{वस्सप्तस्य}. Why do we say 'ending in \textit{ह्न} vowels'? Observe \textit{विन्धम्यु} \\ 

Why not of \textit{ह्न}?

\textit{वध्यु}---It should be stated "with the exception of \textit{ह्न} and the rest." As \\ 

122. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the krit-affix \textit{धर्म}, but not when the compound denotes a human being. \\ 

Thus \textit{तीर्थप्रभु}, \textit{श्रीमान्}, \textit{मन्त्रार्थम्}. It does not take place, as \textit{कस्तोक्त}, \textit{कस्ते} \\ 

It is lengthened before \textit{धर्म} and \textit{वह}, when building is meant, as \textit{मन्त्रार्थम्} and \textit{नमन्त्रार्थम्}, otherwise \textit{कस्तप्रभु} and \textit{कस्तर्व} \\ 

Optionally in \textit{वध्यु} &c. as \textit{वध्यु} or \textit{वध्युक्तोऽ}, \textit{वध्यु} or \textit{वध्युक्तोऽ} \\ 

When human beings are meant, there is no lengthening, as 

निशाचे गुष्ठे.
123. A Preposition ending in ड, or द lengthens its final before काणा ड

As नीचत, नीचत, परीचत: काणा DDR is formed by पाण (III. 1. 134). Why do we say ‘ending in ड or द’? Observe काणा: where the Preposition does not end in ड.

124. A Preposition ending in ड or द lengthens its final vowel, before the verb द्रा, when the latter is changed to त.

Thus नीचत, नीचत, परीचत. See VII. 4. 47 for the change of द्रा to त.

But धतृ, धतृ, where the prepositions do not end in ड or द. Why do we say ‘द्रा is changed to त’? Observe नितीतायतत्वति. Why do we say ति ‘a substitute of द्रा, beginning with a त’? Observe द्रत्त, here द्रत्त is the substitute of द्रा (VII. 4. 46).

अधन: संहायम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधनः, संहायम्, (दीर्घे:) ॥

125. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अधन before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus खाद्यव: खाद्यवुधः खाद्यवः. But अधनः, खाद्यवः where the compounds are not names.

126. In the Veda also, the long vowel is substituted for the final of अधन before a second member.

Thus खाद्यवुधः खाद्यवुधः, खाद्यवुधः, खाद्यवुधः. खाद्यवुधः. The form खाद्यवः is the feminine in द्रा (IV. 1. 8) of खाद्यवः (V. 4. 138 the ख of पाय being elided in a Bahuvrhi). खाद्यव being substituted for द्रा by VI. 4. 130.

धत्त:—The final of अधन is lengthened before त even in the vernacular, when yoking is meant. Thus खाद्यवः खाद्यवः.

चिते: कपि ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिते: कपि, (दीर्घे:) ॥

127. The final vowel of चिते is lengthened before the affix कपि ॥
Thus एकपदीकः, विविधाविकः, विनिविकः।

विभवस्य वस्तुरातः। ५३२। पदानि। विभवस्य, वस्तु, राटे। ( दीर्घ: )

वृत्त: ॥ विश्वास्थर्थ वस्तु पादेवदीपकस्वपव्याप्निः भवेदो मनः।

128. The final vowel of विभव is lengthened before वस्तु and राट (the form assumed by राट).

Thus विश्वास्थर्थ, विश्वास्थः। The rule applies to the राट form of ग्रज in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form: as विश्वास्थः,

नरे संहायम् ॥ ५३३। पदानि। नरे, संहायम्, ( दीर्घ: )

वृत्त: ॥ नरसंहायस्य शरि संहायां विश्वास्थ शरि संहायां मनः।

129. The final of विभव is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a Name.

Thus विश्वास्थः, वेश्वास्थः (the son of Vishvanara). But विश्वास्थः: खिचे रत गर बल when it is not a name.

मिघे बघी। ५३४। पदानि। मिघे, च, खुभी, ( दीर्घ: )

वृत्त: ॥ मिघे खिचे रत गर बल विश्वास्थः शरि मनः।

130. The final of विभव is lengthened before खिचे when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वास्थः: 'the sage Viśvamitra'. But विश्वास्थः: 'a boy called Viśvamitra'.

मने सोमायंद्रियविभवस्यप्रति ॥ ५३५। पदानि। मने, सोम, अभस्य, इम्न्त्रः, विभवस्यप्रति, मने ( दीर्घ: )

वृत्त: ॥ मने सोमायंद्रियां अभस्य इम्न्त्रः विभवस्यप्रति धनवार्त धनवार्तः मनः।

131. In a Mantra, the final vowels of सोम, अभस्य, इम्न्त्र and विभवस्य are lengthened when the affix न्तुः follows.

Thus सोमायंद्रियां, अभस्यां, इम्न्त्रां, विभवस्यां।

ञोभेक विभवस्यमयायः ॥ ५३६। पदानि। ञोभेके, च, विभवस्यां, अभस्यायां ( मने )

वृत्त: ॥ ञोभेकस्य विभवस्यमयायां शरि मनः।

132. In a Mantra, the final of अभस्य is lengthened before the case-endings, but not in the Nominative.

Thus अभस्यप्रति: नम:। अभस्यप्रति: नम:। अभस्यप्रति:। Why do we say 'before case-endings'? Observe अभस्यः। Why do we say 'but not in the Nominative'? Observe विश्वास्थः।

ञोभेनुतुममस्त्रुतकुम्भः ॥ ५३७। पदानि। ञोभेनु, तु, उ, च, मद्ध, तृष्ण, कुल, उद्ययायाः ( दीर्घ: )

वृत्त: ॥ अभस्य खिचे तु दुः गभु तो चुः वर्ष वध्येष्ठः शरि मनः।
133. In the Rig-Veda the finals of the particles तः, अः, महः, ते, the tense-affix तकः, कः, the ending ः and the word उर्ध्वम् are lengthened.

Thus तृतीय :—तः अः न तत्र तुषारः (Rig IV. 32. 1) कः—कः करणे || ः—वत वत्वा स्वागतः || महः—महत् समर्पितः (Rig X. 176. 2). अः is the ः substitute of या, when it is treated as क्रिया, therefore it does not apply here, सूक्षम प्रभावः (I. 2. 4). कः—कन्यस् ; ः—समागमः ; उर्ध्वम् भोजः: ||

इः: चूँते || १३२ || पदार्थ || इः: चूँते, (दीर्घे: ) ||

वृत्ति || इः निपातस्य प्रमाणे || उर्ध्वस्य चूँते पर्वतो ज्ञात्विषेधः सौभाग्यम् मभिं ||

134. In a Mantra, the finals of the preceding member ending in ः or अ are lengthened before the particle तः ||

Thus अभी तः महत: (Rig. IV. 31. 3) पर्यः कः गुण जावेः (Rig I. 36. 13).
The ः is changed to अ by VII. 3. 107: and अ is changed to अ by VII. 4. 27.

दुर्धारांतिवेगः || १३५ || पदार्थ || घचः, अतः, तिरः; (चुँते दीर्घे: ) ||

वृत्ति || उर्ध्वावस्तुश्रुतः वृत्तिषेधः सौभाग्यम् मभिं ||

135. A tense affix ending in अ is lengthened in the Rig-veda, when the Verb consists of two syllables.

Thus निपातस्य च || १३६ || पदार्थ || निपातस्य, च, (चुँते) (दीर्घे: ) ||

वृत्ति || निपातस्य च वृत्तिषेधः वृत्तिषेधः मभिं भोजः ||

136. In the Rig Veda the final of a particle is lengthened.

Thus ध्वस ते, अष्टादशे, मक्खा जत्वार: (R. 1. 2. 2).

निपातांतिवेगः दृष्टे || १३७ || पदार्थ || निपातान्तिकर: अर्थे, दृष्टे, (दीर्घे: ) ||

वृत्ति || निपातान्तिमाण्यां दृष्टे किंवा स्त्रिया ज्ञात्वानां वृत्तिषेधः ||

वृत्तिषेधः || ध्वस निपातान्तिकर: निपातान्तिकरे ||

137. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

Here we must follow the usage of the Śishṭhas. Where the lengthening is not ordained by any of the rules of Grammar, but occurs in the writing of standard authors, there we should accept such lengthening as valid. Thus श्रेयस्कम्, कामकाशि, जागराद्, गरुः; तुलः: ||
§ 139. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्ज, when it assumes the form घ, having lost its nasal and the vowel.

Thus श्रीं: पञ्ज, श्रींडा, श्रींचि: पञ्ज, श्रींचि: पञ्ज, श्रींचि: पञ्ज, पञ्ज महान. The nasal of अञ्ज is elided by VI. 4. 24, and the घ by VI. 4. 138. In हरि+अञ्ज, the घ is not changed to its semivowel, though that is an antaranga rule, because the present sūtra ordains specifically long घ, and so also हरि+अञ्ज, and महान+अञ्ज. See also VI. 3. 92.

संप्रसारणस्य || रौर्य || पदात || संप्रसारणस्य, (उत्तरपौर्ये दीपमे:) ||
पुरश्च: || संप्रसारणस्य उपपौर्यां वाच्ये हि वव: ववः ||

§ 139. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कारार्गमीनपुर्ण:; कारार्गमीनपति:; कौड़मीनपति:; See VI. 1. 13. कौड़मीनपति: (कौड़मीनपति: 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 पञ्ज, '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 घं: पञ्ज विजये "occasionally ly the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule." For here the following maxim will prevent the revival एक्कमता.

नियमिता: एक्कमता: नियमिता: एक्कमता: “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

1. Whatever will be taught here after up to the end of the Seventh Adhyāya, is consequent upon the stem (āṅga).

This is an adhikāra sūtra. Thus in VI. 4. 2 is taught the lengthening of the vowel of a samprāśaraṇa: as हुम्, जीवः, संति:। That means that the vowel preceded by a consonant belonging to the stem is lengthened. Therefore in निन्नित्तिः + वेष + फक्स = निन्नित्तिः, the vocalised vowel ृ in निन्नित्तिः is not lengthened, as निन्नित्तिः upasarga and not stem. गृहसङ्ग्राहिः। Similarly VI. 4. 3, teaches the lengthening of the final before नातः, as नातः नाताः। But फक्सीमण्ड शस्त्रः, शास्त्राः, निविन्नित्तिः, निविन्नित्तिः, निविन्नित्तिः as नि and न are not the end-portions of a stem. The stem is फक्सीमण्ड and पाणि ‘a female having फक्स and नातः’, formed by न affix (V. 2. 100). The forms फक्सीमण्ड and पाणि of फक्सीमण्ड and पाणि are Accusative Singular. Similarly VII. 1. 9 teaches that after न, निन्नित्तिः is changed into शस्त्रः। As शस्त्रः, शस्त्रः। There also, the श श must be the श final in an अङ्ग or stem: hence not here आद्यनिर्घसः, गोपालनिर्घसः, गोपालनिर्घसः, the निविन्नित्तिः does not follow an अङ्ग। निविन्नित्तिः means boiled rice and निविन्नित्तिः means निविन्नित्तिः।

The maxim of शास्त्राणि नात्येऽक्षम does not apply here; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of making this sūtra. For example, in the sūtra नातः (VI. 4. 3), the affix नातः having a meaning would have been meant, and not any other नातः।

The word शास्त्रः must be read in the following sūtras, otherwise there would arise incongruity: first, sūtras teaching the lengthening of the vowel when सः or Samprāśaraṇa follows, thus: VI. 4. 16 ordains the lengthening of vowel before सः, as निविन्नित्तिः; but not here शिष्ठ समनित्तिः for शिष्ठ of शिष्ठ is not that of अङ्ग। So also in Samprāśaraṇa, but not in निविन्नित्ति &c as shown above.
2ndly—For the purposes of द्वार in sūtra VI. 4. 68. The optional change of म्या into द्व must refer to anga,, as भंवास्य or भवास्य, but not here निष्कान्त or निष्कान्त, for here द्व is not part of the anga, and so म्य cannot be considered a conjunct part of anga.

3rdly—For the change of द्व to साथ्, in VII. 1. 35. There also म्य must be portion of the anga, and not the particle द्व therefore, जीवित or जीवित, but not here जीव म्य तथा.

4thly—For the substitution of द्वम्य and साथ्, in VI. 4. 77. Therefore not here सत्यम् and सत्यम्.

5thly—For the sake of द्व augment in VII. 1. 54. But not here कृपान्ति आभान्.

6thly—For the sake of shortening of vowels. Thus VII. 4. 13 ordains the shortening of द्व व, vowels before द्व. It refers to the anga-vowel, as द्वारान्ति. But not here, कृपान्ति कल्य स्वाभिषित or कृपान्ति कल्य स्वाभिषित. And lastly for द्व म्य or म्य substitution. Thus VII. 4. 48 ordains the change of म्य into म्य in the case of द्व before म्य. It refers to anga, as म्यि. But not here कृपान्ति, for द्व म्य here is not anga.

To sum up in Sanskrit: द्व, सम्प्रसारण मिनस्य प्रतिस्थापनाय रजस्व तथा स पैदैवादिको इत्यति द्व तथा.

The word द्वस्य is in the Genitive case. But the force of Genitive is here not only that taught in I. 1. 49 (स्वाभिषित), but of mere relation-ship. Or द्वस्य may be considered as a mere pratipadika, 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 द्वस्य मिन स्वाभिषित (VII. 1. 9) द्वस्य should be read in the ablative case: द्वारान्ति: द्वस्य मिन स्वाभिषित. The Genitive case has force of स्वाभिषित in sūtras like रजस्व, where the whole of द्व is replaced (VI. 4. 36). It has the force of मिनस्य प्रतिस्थापनाय (VI. 4. 89). It has the force of निष्कान्ति निष्कान्ति सम्प्रसारण in द्वारान्ति (VII. 1. 1). Or the Genitive case in द्वस्य may be changed into any other case, as already shown.

हृद्:\ | मद्वान्ति: द्वस्य, ( द्वस्य सम्प्रसारण स्वाभिषित) द्वारान्ति: \ वृद्धि: द्वारान्ति: द्वारान्ति: द्वारान्ति: द्वारान्ति: द्वारान्ति:

2. The long vowel is substituted for a vocalised half-vowel अ, द्व, and द्व at the end of a stem, when it is preceded by a consonant which is a portion of the stem.

Both the words द्वार and द्वार from VI. 3. 111, and सम्प्रसारण from VI. 3. 139 are understood here. Thus हृद्: from हृद्, जीवि: from जीवि, सम्प्रसारण: from सम्प्रसारण. Why do we say ‘preceded by a consonant’? Observe द्वार and द्वार from द्वारि. Why do we say that the preceding consonant should be a portion of the stem?
Observe निहतस्, here र is not an integral part of the stem, but a portion of the upasarga नेत्र, and therefore र is not lengthened. Why do we say 'at the end of a stem'? Observe दिहस्, (विचित्रतम: दिष्ठे and दिष्ठे); here the vowel र is in the middle of the stem. Why do we say 'म, र and र substitutes of semivowels'? Observe दुर्विष्ठक: Here र has been vocalised into र, र being substituted for र before the affix तीर्थ (V. 2. 55). The र will not be lengthened. Or the absence of lengthening in हृदय is an irregularity countenanced by पाणिनि himself in सूत्रस like II. 1. 30 &c. The word यात्र should be repeated in this सूत्र, first to qualify the word हृदय, and then to qualify the letters म, र and र. नामिः र, पद्यानि नामिः (अरुप्य दीर्घचः)।

3. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नामिः (having the augment लुङ्के).

Thus अरुप्यानि, वधुवनिः, कथुनाथं, इत्यं नानिः। The anuvratti of नामि (VI. 3. 111) ceases. The augment दुर्म (VII. 1. 54) in मानिः is for the sake of the subsequent सूत्र, like VI. 4. 7, and the lengthening takes place after the addition of दुर्म to the genitive affix बास्के। For if the lengthening took place before the addition of दुर्म, there would be no occasion for दुर्म which comes only after short stems.

० तिउस्ततस् र, पद्यानि न, तिउस्ततस्, चतस्तस्, (नामिः दीर्घचः)।

4. The finals of तिउस्ततस् and चतस्तस् are not lengthened before नामिः।

As तिउस्तस्ताय, वत्सूयाय। The very fact of this prohibition proves by implication that the final र of these words is not changed to र before a genitive plural, VII. 2. 100 notwithstanding. In fact दुर्म 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.

छन्दृसुपाया र, पद्यानि छन्दृसिः, उम्ब्र या।

5. In the Veda, the finals of तिउस्ततस् and चतस्तस् are found in both ways, before the Genitive plural नामिः।

In some places they are seen as lengthened, in others not. As तिउस्ततस्ताय मप्यसिः तिउस्तस्ताय मप्यसिः। So also वत्सूयाय, and वत्सूयाय।

नु च र, पद्यानि नु, च।

In some places they are seen as lengthened, in others not. As तिउस्ततस्ताय मप्यसिः तिउस्तस्ताय मप्यसिः। So also वत्सूयाय, and वत्सूयाय।
6. So also र् before the Genitive Plural नाम is lengthened optionally.

As र् गुर्जर् प्रदेश्, and र् गुर्जर् दुस्ते॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others, it extends to secular literature also.

7. In a stem ending in र्, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम॥

Thus पन्यत्र + नाम (VII. 1. 55) = पन्यात्र + नाम (VI. 4. 7) = पन्यात्र + नाम (VIII. 2. 7); स्वयं + नाम, स्वयं + नाम॥ Why do we say ‘ending in र्’? Observe घटामुः॥ But not in अन्यमां where the affix is not नाम but ब्राह्मण without तुर॥

8. In a stem ending in र्, the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

As र्स, र्समी, र्समी, र्समी, र्समी॥ So also समान तिष्ठति॥ र्स was र्समी, the र् was elided by VI. 1. 68, and र् by VIII. 2. 7. Why do we say ‘in strong cases’? Observe र्स (Loc-Sing); समान (Loc. Sing). Why do we say ‘but not in the Vocative Singular’? Observe हे र्स || हे वक्तृ॥

9. The lengthening of the penultimate vowel of a stem ending in र्, before the affixes of the strong-case, is optional in the Veda, when र् precedes such a vowel.

Thus र्स सत्तम् or र्स तत्तम, तिष्ठति। र्समि or र्समिनिनिन्॥ Why do we say ‘in the Veda’? In the secular literature we have र्स, र्समी वस्त्रमा always.

10. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in र्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत्॥
That is, a stemmending in the conjunct consonant न, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases. Thus प्रसत्सति, प्रसत्सछ, प्रसत्सस्ति, प्रसत्सनिर्देश; प्रसत्सम्ध्य, प्रसत्सस्ति, प्रसत्सत्त्नि. But प्रसत्सि, प्रसत्सि in Vocative Singular. The Nasal is inserted by VII. 1. 70.

अनुन्तुष्क्ष्यास्वदेनेत्रवृष्टद्राश्विनप्रशालक्षुएः ॥ २१॥ पदानि: ॥ अपि, तुन, तुग, स्वस्त, नन्द, ने्द, लव, लुघ, होल, पौल, प्रशालक्षुएः ॥
वृत्ति: ॥ अपि इतिवद इष्टार्थं स्वस्त्तन्न नन्दत् लवाद् लुघां होलां पौलां प्रशालक्षुएः शास्तियां चाल्यायायायेः साधके शास्तियां चाल्यायायेः पशुः संजये तत् ॥

11. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative Singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अपि, in stems formed by तुणु and तुगु affixes, and in स्वस्त, नन्द, ने्द, लव, लुघ, होल, पौल and प्रशालक्षुएः.

Thus वामन: सिवानित्वा ॥ Some would have it even in compounds; as वामनित्व शास्तियाम् ॥ The Samāsanta rule is not applied here, because it is anītya. If it be considered niyama, then also there is lengthening, but without the addition of the nasal. तद्यथा सांस्कृतिकता विशिष्टित्वा हर्षं समास्तिकती ने निर्धारणम् ॥ गुणाण्यां गुणादिकां द्वारा स्मृतिः ॥ गुणान्यां गुणादिकां द्वारा स्मृतिः ॥

12. The penultimate vowel is lengthened before the affix दिनि (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in दिनि, or दिक्षि, or पुपुषि or अर्येष्मि ॥

According to the maxim (See VI. 4. 14 also) that “दिनि, दिक्षि, दिनि भाषान्यायते शास्त्रायकान्तु स तत्सन्धित्वं गृहानि”, the employment of दिनि in this śāstra includes and means “words ending in the syllable दिनि” ॥ As regards the rest (दिक्षि &c.), the affix दिनि (Neuter Pl.) is never added to them alone, but when they are parts of a compound. Thus दिक्षि is a noun formed by the addition of
the affix \textit{विसेष} to the root \textit{हर}; and the affix \textit{Kvip} is added to it only then, when it is preceded by another word like \textit{"Brahma"} &c. See III. 2. 87. Similarly the words \textit{पुत्र} and \textit{वर्षम} are masculine and cannot take the Neuter Plural affix \textit{स्त्र} in their original state. They must be parts of a neuter compound, to admit this affix. Hence we have used words \textit{"when the stem ends in हर"} &c.

Thus \textit{वहुर्प्लेमा} and \textit{वहुर्प्लेमा}, \textit{वहुर्प्लेमा}, \textit{वहुर्प्लेमा}, \textit{वहुर्प्लेमा} \textit{संग्रही} \textit{निनार्ण्य} \textit{हर्ग्य} \textit{स्वाप्यम्यादप्रक्षेप} \textit{भवतं} \textit{नमस्तं} \textit{शूष्णीयो} \textit{छत्रिणिमृ} \textit{बुधवरो} \textit{मार्गयो}.

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 \textit{श्रव्यो}, \textit{छत्रिणिमृ}, \textit{चुनत्रो}, \textit{चूज्जो}, \textit{चूज्जो}, \textit{चर्मयो}.

Kārttikā:—Regarding the rule of lengthening taught about \textit{हर} &c here, let the wise reader, after making a restrictive rule with regard to \textit{हर} (sarvanāmas thāna) affixes in general, make again another rule regarding the affix \textit{स्त्र} in particular, (i.e., make a yoga-bibhāga). By so doing, the form \textit{हर्ग्य} (Loc. sin.) of the Achārya, will not be found fault with.

2. (But if yoga-vibhāga be not made) then I rule that the anuvṛtti of \textit{हर} being dropped, let the rule be made with regard to \textit{स्त्र} affix in general (without regarding it as a Sarvanāmasthāna affix). And as the rule of lengthening applies to penultimate, there would arise no fault, if the vowel of \textit{हर} is lengthened before the demonstrative affix \textit{म} (in words like \textit{मुपस्वस्तो} = \textit{मुपस्वस्तो} \textit{हर} भास्मात). This refers to VII. 4. 25.

3. Or if the anuvṛtti of \textit{हर} (Sarvanamasthana) be taken into this Sūtra, because of the context, then the mention of \textit{स्त्र} 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 \textit{हर} &c to the affix \textit{स्त्र} and not to \textit{हर} affixes generally.

Note:—\textit{स्त्र} is the affix of the Nom. and Acc. Pl. in Neuter (VII. 1. 20.) It it a Sarvanamasthana by I. 1. 42. But the word Sarvanamasthana may be read into this sūtra from the preceding VI. 4. 8. What is then the necessity of employing \textit{स्त्र} in this? The above kārikā answers this.

In the case of \textit{हर} ending words, the subsequent rule VI. 4. 15, which required the lengthening of the penultimate vowel before an affix having an indicatory \textit{क} or \textit{म}, is however debarred by the present restrictive rule. Thus the Locative Singular (\textit{स्त्र}) is \textit{मुपस्वस्तो}, and \textit{स्त्र} \textit{मुपस्वस्तो}. How do you make this? By splitting up the present sūtra into two parts, the first part being \textit{हर} \textit{स्त्र} \textit{स्वाप्यम्याद}, and the second being \textit{हर} \textit{स्त्र} \textit{भवतं}. It would then mean:—
(1) The penultimate vowel is lengthened, in strong cases only and nowhere else, when the stem ends in र, or ल, or in त्रत्र, or त्रत्रत्र, &c. (2) So also it is lengthened before the strong case शिं and nowhere 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 बुधकार्येः, बुधकार्येः denote verbs in बधः.

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 शि considered a Sarvanāmasthāna or a Neuter affix शि 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 “नियमकर” — “of the Neuter” — is not to be taken.

For if it be taken, then the Sūtra would mean, the neuter stems in र, ल, &c are lengthened in शि only and nowhere else. The result would be that in examples like बुधबिन बापुबुधकुम (loc. sin.), there would be no lengthening at all (i.e. we shall never have the form बुधबिन in loc. sin. by force of VI. 4. 15); moreover, by so doing, there would arise this anomaly also, that words other than Neuter would also not be lengthened.

The force of the definition of Sarvanāmasthāna applies to Neuter also in certain cases, therefore, any rule (niyama) made with regard to Sarvanāmasthāna would apply to Neuter also.

सी च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सी, च, (उपपायः श्रीरः:) ॥

शृः ॥ सातसंधी ४ पति स्वरगायमालधवा शीर्य ॥

13. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in र, ल, त्रत्र, or त्रत्रत्र, are lengthened before the affix शि of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus बुधः, बुधस्त, बुधम्, बुधः ॥ The शि is elided by VIII. 2. 7, and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. In the Vocative singular we have हे स्मितः, हे प्रपन्हः, हे

अवस्यतरपः चाचातः: ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतु, असतस्य, च, अथातः: ॥

शृः: ॥ अतु याहि तेषवस्य स्मातारस्यायः सातसंधी पति शीर्य ॥

14. In the Nominative Singular (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस्त्र when the consonant (अतु) does not belong to a root.

Thus मन्धः (with मन्धः Up I. 63 from महा to shine), क्रमशः (with क्रम); अन्यः, and अधिकः (with मतः:) ॥ The शि (शि) is added to the above by VII. 1.

70, after the elongation has taken place, for if added before elongation, the
vowel no longer being *penultimate, will not be lengthened at all. आः:—व वर्ना; युवाः; युवरी:।। Why do we say ‘not belonging to a dhatu’? Observe विनिमय: where र्य belongs to the root दर्द (विष्ट्व्व मसस्य), so also वनमेव (भिन्न वल्ले)।। The दर्द having no significance as an affix &c is also included here, on the strength of the maxim “whenever दर्द or हृद or वाः or गद्द, 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”. (अनिविनिमय, वनमेव वार्ष्य च तत्त्वातिष्ठ नीति कटिबंध)।। The word र्यत् in the sutra indicates whatever "ends in दर्द whether when first enunciated (वाश्च), such as दर्द, वाच्च तथा, or which assumes the form दर्द in grammatical inflection, such as दर्द्धु विनादा which in upadesa ends in दर्द्धु, but becomes दर्द्धु in प्राकृत or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गोपाल, हे दर्द; this rule not applying there.

अनुवातिष्ठक सिद्धाः कृष्णिति ॥ १५ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अनुवातिष्ठक, कि, श्लोः, कृष्णिति, (ढीले: ) ॥

प्रभुः ॥ अनुवातिष्ठकात्मकोऽनुपात सिद्धाः तत्त्वातिष्ठ नीति कृष्णिति ॥

15. The *penultimate vowel of a stem, ending in a nasal, is lengthened before the affix कि, and before an affix having an indicatory क or क, which begins with a consonant other than a semivowel or a nasal.

Thus प्रश्न and प्रत्यां from the roots प्रम and प्रत्य by VIII. 2. 64. So also before an affix beginning with a हस्त consonant (any consonant but a nasal and a semivowel). As वाणस्य: (प्रम वाणस्य), वाणस्य (प्रम वाणस्य), वाणस्य (प्रम वाणस्य). These are all formed with कि affixes. As to कि affixes we have संसारन्त: and तत्त्वातिष्ठ: formed by तत्त्व 3rd Person Dual added to the Intensive roots प्रम and प्रत्य:।। तत्त्व विनिमय: by I. 2. 4. Why do we say 'ending in a Nasal'? Observe भोजनकश्च, प्रत्य, प्रत्याः।। Why do we say 'before कि and ज्वालादि affix'? Observe सम्मित, रत्न:।। Why do we say a कि or a कि affix? Observe गति: and रत्न:।।

अभिन्नाको सन्नि ॥ १६ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अच्छ, हृद, गमाम्. सन्नि, (वा दीर्घे: ) ॥

प्रभुः ॥ अभिन्नाको नामात्मकोऽनुपात सन्नि हालाये परेऽ वा दीर्घे भावति ॥

वानिष्ठक:।। गतिरिलोकितेऽवानिष्ठक ्वस्तथा:।।

16. The lengthening of the vowel takes place in the case of a stem ending in a vowel, as well as of हृद and गमाम, when the Desiderative affix मन्त्र being ज्वालादि (i. e. not taking the augment हृद) follows.

Thus of roots ending in vowel we have:—विनिमय: द्विपति, त्रिपति, तिश्रिपति, त्रिश्रिपति (VII. 1. 100); of हृद and गमाम, सियामित, औषधिवासित।।
Vārt:—The rule applies to that गह which is the substitute of हस (II. 4. 48) 'to study'. Therefore, not here, स्वितम्यवि वसी गान (cf. VII. 2. 58); In the Veda we read स्वग स्वगसाहसू, where though गह means 'to go' and is not, therefore, the substitute of हस, the lengthening takes place by the rule VI. 3, 137. Or the word गह should not be added in the sūtra at all: which should be read as हस्न गहिन meaning "There is lengthening of the stem when the Desiderative गह 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 गह also, in this way:—"A stem ending in a vowel is lengthened in the Desiderative, and so also of गह which is a substitute of the vowel-stem हस". In this way, we may see, that there is no necessity of the Vārtika.

17. The lengthening of the stem of तन्त्र is optional, before the Desiderative स्वस्त्र, when it does not take the augment हस.

Thus तन्त्रसंसति or तन्त्रसंसति. But in तन्त्रसंसति no alternative is allowed, as हस is added to तन्त्र by VII. 2. 49 Vārt; optionally.

18. The penultimate of कर्म is optionally lengthened, before the affix ज्ञा, when it is without the augment हस.

Thus कर्म or कर्मस्त्र; but कर्मस्त्र only, with हस augment. But when त्यस्त्र is replaced by त्यस्त्र, the rule does not apply: as प्रक्रम, उपक्रम. This is on the maxim से भयस्च विय च भयस्च विय च 'a bahiranga substitution of स्वस्त्र supercedes even antaranga rule'.

19. For पाण्ड (including the augment तुफ) is substituted हस, and for त्य is substituted हस, before an affix beginning with a Nasal, as well as before धी and धी, and धी, and धी, and धी, affixes (VI. 4. 15).

Thus पाण्ड; धी, from पाण्ड and धी, with the affix गह (III. 3. 90) the हस being replaced by हस. Similarly from the root लीत, we have लीत; thus: लीत न (Un III. 9).—लीत न नस्त्र नस्त्र नस्त्र (VII. 3. 84). Here the हस is added to the stem prior to the scope being given to the guṇa rule of VII. 3. 86, otherwise the form would be लीत न नस्त्र नस्त्र नस्त्र नस्त्र नस्त्र नस्त्र नस्त्र नस्त्र. Having thus added हस,
before scope could be given to the guna rule VII. 3. 86, we make sandhi of रि + क्रु = रक्रु, because semivowel substitution is antaranga operation and of wider scope than guna, and the maxim of वार्त्ताणि वक्ष्यिति नक्षिति has no scope here. “An operation which is taught in the अर्घद्विषिका, 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 रक्रु we have चतुर्वारणण formed with क्रिया (Un II. 57) added to प्रत्य, there is no vocalisation of the semivowel र, and there is lengthening of र, and ग्रु changed to ग्र. So also भविष्या।  

Of the change of र into क्र we have the following:—अरुप्र, निरुप्र: (विर + क्रि = रि + क्रु = रक्रु)। Here the क्र substitution is Bahiranga, and रि + क्रु = प्रत्य, the change of र into क्र is antaranga, therefore on the maxim of व्यासके वाचिकः वन्य-मन्त्राएँ (a bahiranga is non-existent for the purposes of an antaranga); there should be no change of र into क्र for र is non-existent. That maxim is however set aside by अरुप्र and क्रियां वर्षां वक्ष्यि: “A bahiranga operation is not regarded as bahiranga, and consequently asidha, when an antaranga operation is to take effect, which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else”.

So also before a jhaladi affix; as प्रत्य + क्रु = प्रत्यक्रु, प्रत्यवाच (क्रवाच), प्रत्य (क्रा); here क्रु is changed to ग्रु, there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, and ग्रु changed to ग्र by VIII. 2. 36.

So also ग्रु is changed to क्रु, ग्रुवाच, भुरवाच।  

When the affixes are not क्रि or क्रिया, the rule does not apply: as शुक्लिका, शुभिका। Some do not read the anuvṛtti of क्रि and क्रिया into this sūtra, and explain वाच्य and शुभिका: by VI. 1. 131: शुष्क short being substituted for शुष्क of क्रि।  

In “छांग शु (VIII. 2. 36) the letter शु should not be taken, because by the force of the present sūtra, शु is ordained to come every where in the place of शु।

The indicatory शु in शु is for the sake of distinguishing this शु in sūtras like एष्य पशु (VI. 1. 89). In the sūtra शु तंत्र (VI. 4. 132) there is also indicatory शु।

उत्तरत्वरूपसिद्धिमानसुपापायां शूक्लाः॥ २० ॥ पशुनाः॥ उत्तर, त्वर, धिवि, अवि, 

मिहाम, उपायाः। शु (क्रिवति: व्यव)॥

वृत्ति:॥ उत्तर त्वर धिवि अवि ग्नि व्यवस्था शुपापायाः। स्थाने अविद्वयांशी नवति तवी परं अविद्वयांशी हस्तारी प्रकृतिः॥

20. In उत्तर, त्वर धिवि, अवि, and ग्नि, before the above-mentioned affixes (क्रिया a Nasal or a jhaladi ‘क्रिया’ or क्रिया) there is the single substitution of शु for the शु and the vowel preceding the final consonant.
Thus इँ, श्र, त्र, ख्र, ख्र्यः इँ त्त्र—इँ, सूरी, हुर, हुरीः इँ त्त्र्यः इँ त्त्र्यः। Thus इँ, श्र, त्र, ख्र, ख्र्यः इँ त्त्र—इँ, सूरी, हुर, हुरीः इँ त्त्र्यः।

In इँ and त्त्र, the इ replaces इ as well as the इ which follows इ, and in इँ and त्त्र it replaces the इ and the vowel इ and इ which precede इ. Another reading is इँ।

राज्यः। इँ। ॥ पदानि। इँ। राजः। जोऽह्। (किन्नोः)।

Thus from श्रुः—श्रू, श्रृः, श्रृः। श्रुः श्रुः। श्रुः। श्रुः। इँ।

So also from श्रूः, we have श्रूः, श्रृः, श्रृः। श्रृः।

So also the इ is elided, as from श्रुः—श्रूः, श्रृः, श्रृः। श्रृः।

This from श्रुः—श्रूः, श्रृः, श्रृः। श्रुः। इँ।

वृत्तः। वृत्तः। वृत्तः। वृत्तः। वृत्तः।

21. After र there is the elision of ख and ख before ‘क्त’ and ज्ञात ‘क्त’ and ‘क्त’ affixes.

Thus from श्रुः—श्रूः, श्रृः, श्रृः। श्रुः।

So also the इ is not changed into इ by VII. 2. 57. So also from श्रूः we have श्रूः, श्रृः, श्रृः। श्रृः।

Also also the इ is elided, as from श्रुः—श्रूः, श्रृः, श्रृः। श्रृः।

असिद्धसः ज्ञातः। इँ। इँ। असिद्धसः, अत, अभायः।

22. The change, which a stem will undergo by the application of any of the rules from this श्रुः up to 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 Kâsika the adhikāra extends up to the end of the chapter. Dr. Ballantyne translates it thus:—“The rules, reckoning from this one to the end of the chapter, are called Abhiya, because the chapter ends with a series of rules dependant on the aphorism ‘bhasya’ VI. 4. 129. When that (i.e. one of the Abhiya rules) is to be brought into operation, having the same place for coming into operation as another Abhiya, which has already taken effect, that one which has taken effect, shall be regarded as not having taken effect”.

The word ज्ञातः means ‘up to’ i.e. upto VI. 4. 129. in which last वृत्त the word इ occurs: i.e. in applying the rules taught upto VI. 4. 129. The word इँ shows that the two rules must have the same अभाय or place of operation, where their places of operation are different, they are not asidha to each other. The word असिद्ध shows that an utsarga or general rule must take effect, as if existing in spite of a special rule, and that an ‘ādeśa’ or substitution taught by another rule should not be considered to have taken effect in applying the special rule. Thus in forming श्रूः and श्रृः (Imperative 2nd person)
is first substituted for तस्य 'to be' by VI. 4. 119: and या for शास्य by VI. 4. 35 and then is तिं added by VI. 4. 101. The latter rule says that तिं is added in the Imperative, only after those roots which end in a consonant of श्वर class. Now शास्य and शास्य end in a जात consonant, and can take तिं, but their substitute तिं and तिं end in a vowel and not a consonant and should not take तिं. The present rule helps us here, and for the application of तिं (VI. 4. 101) the substitution of तिं for शास्य or या for शास्य should be considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect. Similarly in ताम्गहि (Vedic Imperative, ताम्गहि being elided by II. 4. 73) and तात्ति from ताम्ग and हात्ति, the nasal being elided in the case of तात्ति, VI. 4. 36 and ज being substituted for हात्ति (VI. 2. 36) we have the stems तात्ति and तात्ति, which ending in त could require the elision of तिं by VI. 4. 105. But since the change of ज &c is not regarded as having been accomplished, the elision of तिं does not take place.

Why do we say तात्ति 'up to VI. 4. 129'? In applying any other rule the changes ordained by Abhiya rules would not be considered as asiddha. Thus ताम्गहि and तात्ति: from ताम्ग and हात्ति. Here the nasals of तात्ति and शास्य have been elided by VI. 4. 27-28 and 33 before the affixes तात्ति and तात्ति respectively, and we have the stems तात्ति and हात्ति to which rule VII. 2. 146 applies and we have Vṛiddhi 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 त could not have taken Vṛiddhi, as it would not then be तपमन or penultimate.

Why do we use the word तस्य in the aphorism? The rules are asiddha to each other with regard to a common place of operation and not otherwise. Thus या + तस्य (तस्य) + तस्य (तस्य Acc. Pl.) = तस्य + तस्य + तस्य (VI. 4. 131 vocalisation of त). If this त substitute be considered as asiddha for the purposes of सूत्र VI. 4. 64, then we cannot elide the त of त, because त is not then followed by a vowel (त being non-existent). त however is not considered as asiddha, and त being thus elided, we have पुस्य: पुस्य. Similarly तिं + तस्य + तस्य = तिं + तस्य + तस्य. Here also त is not considered asiddha, and we apply rule VI. 4. 82, and substitute त for त as तिं। तिं। Similarly तिं + तस्य + तस्य तिं। तिं। तिं। Here also त is not considered asiddha, and we change the त of त into त by VI. 4. 77. In all the above three cases, the elision of त nor change of त to त or of त to त, takes place in reference to पुस्य, while the samprastāraṇa of त takes place with reference to the Accusative plural case-ending तस्य, which makes the stem तस्य. So they have not the same तस्य. Nor does the maxim of तस्य तिंतोस्यस्तस्य apply here, because the special maxim of Abhiya governs the सूत्रas of this section, so there cannot be the relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga among these सूत्रs, simultaneously with their being asiddha to each other.
**Vārtt.**—The substitute बुकः (VI. 488), and बुकः (VI. 463) should however be considered as not asiddha, and rule VI. 477 teaching वाकः and VI. 482, teaching बुकः substitution should not be applied simultaneously with them. Thus बुकः—बुकः, बुकः—बुकः; with बुकः, and उपस्वरूपः, उपस्वरूपा वर्तुः with बुकः of VI. 463. In the case of बुकः, when बुकः is added, there is not the addition of वाकः, and in the case of वाकः, when बुकः is added, there is not वाकः.

The न in वाकः has the force of a limit inclusive, so that, the asiddha rule applies to the sūtras governed by न.

_रामाय.: II 23 I. पदानि II नात्, न लोपः,’ II._

उपि: II धार्मिक मवनुवृत्तफऽपि गुहा: तत् नकार्या नोपेया भावः II.

23. After न, which is added to the roots of the seventh class as a characteristic (i.e. the vikaraṇa अयः), there is the elision of the following न.

Thus बुकः and मवनुवृत्तफऽ from अयः ‘to anoint’, and अयः ‘to break’. Thus अयः + नात् + तिः = अयः + तिः (I. 1. 47) = अयः + तिः (VI. 4. 23) = अयः II. So also विलीन from हिँसा (हिसा) ‘to injure’. Why do we say ‘after न’ and not merely ‘after न’ without the indicatory द? Observe यज्ञावः, ज्ञानावः, where the न of ज्ञानावः is not elided after the न of ज्ञान और ज्ञान, the lengthening of ध्वनि by VII. 3. 102 being sthānivat would not have prevented the elision. In the case of विज्ञानावः and ज्ञानावः (formed by व्विः + नात् and व्विः + नात् also, the न of ज्ञानावः is not elided after न of व्विः II. For the न of the sūtra is the technical न the vikaraṇa, and not any combination of the letters न and न. II. The prati-padokta maxim applies here.

_अनिवित्ता हल् उपचाया: कुदिति II 24 I. पदानि II अनिवित्ताय, हल्लः, उपचाया: न, कुदिति II._

उपि: II धार्मिकताणां हि ज्ञानावािणवात्स नकार्या नोपेया भावः कुदिति मवनुवृत्तफऽ परि: II. पादिकण: II धार्मिकताणां नन्दो: नन्दकाक्ष्यायस्यधिकारिणोऽपि विस्रवनुवृत्तत्वान् कार्यवध्वन्न्वयः II.

24. In a root-stem ending in a consonant precede by न,—this न not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory द (VII. 1. 58)—the बृहः is elided when an affix having an indicatory द or बृहः follows.

Thus from अयः and अयः are formed अयः: and अयः: with न्तः, न्तः, न्तः with न्तः, सूक्ष्मावः, सूक्ष्मावः with न्तः the न being added by VII. 4. 84. But न्तः and न्तः, the न is not elided, the root being written in the Dātupātha as न्तः न्तः, and न being added by VII. 1. 58. Why do we say ending in a consonant? Observe नीः, नीः from नी which has a penulti-
Elision of nasal. mate nasal, but ends in a vowel. Why do we say ‘penultimate’? Observe नाति, नाति || Why do we say having an indicatory ख or ध? Observe खंगम, खंगम with खुर ||

Vṛddh.—The roots लघ (लघिन) and कन्य (कन्यि) are exceptions, where meaning ‘to feel pain or difficulty’ and ‘a disease of the body’. These, though exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with an indicatory ख, are treated as exceptions to the rule of विनिति: thus नित्यम्: and नित्यित, when not having the above meanings, we have विनित्र्द्धिनि and विनित्र्द्धिनि.

Vṛddh.—The causative of the root ऋज, loses its nasal when meaning ‘to hunt deer’ as, ऋजतिर् ऋजनुं ‘he hunts the deer’, but ऋजतिर् ऋजनि ‘he colors the clothes’.

Vṛddh.—दध्य loses its nasal before the affix विनु, as राधी ||

Vṛddh.—The words ऋजक, ऋजन, and ऋज: are formed from ऋज by the elision of the nasal.

दध्यक्षृञ्जङ्गा शारि || २५ || पदार्थ || धम्मः, सः, स्वर्णः, शापि ||

र्वर्ति: || एष दध्य ऋजवः शुभे गदयालाः शापि परत संपत्ती सुभासः लेपी मद्यति ||

25. The nasal of दध्य, धन्य, and स्वर्ण is elided before the vikarana शाप of the roots of the 1st class.

Thus शापति, शापति and परिवर्तति for the change of the श of स्वर्ण to श see VIII. 3. 65

ऋज्ञ || २६ || पदार्थ || ऋङ्गेः, ध, ||

र्वर्ति: || ऋज्ञथः शापि परत संपत्ती सुभासः लेपी मद्यति ||

26. The nasal of ऋज्ञ is also elided before शाप ||

As गति, राजः, राजिनिः. The separation of this from the preceding is for the sake of the subsequent सूत्रs in which the anuvṛti of राजः only runs and not of दासा &c.

गति श मायवधरयोः || २७ || पदार्थ || गति, ध, मायवधरयोः ||

र्वर्ति: || मायवधरयोगच्च गति परस्य सामपद्या सुभासः लेपी मद्यति ||

27. The penultimate nasal of ऋज्ञ is elided before शाप, when the word formed with it expresses a state or an instrument.

Thus शाप: ‘passion, color, or the coloring stuff’. Thus शामोः शामः, विस्तिः शामः: denote शाम, while शामोजनिनि शामः denotes instrument. The शाप is added by III. 3. 121; and श changed to श by VII. 3. 52. But शापः = राजिनिः तस्माद् ‘a theatre;

ऋम्भो जजे || २८ || ऋम्, जजे, ||

र्वर्ति: || जजे अधिकारे तथा शापति प्रमाणे निपातले। शापमास्यो शरणमाशय।

28. The word ऋम is formed by ऋम in the sense of ‘speed’.
This word is derived from स्वन्न, the nasal is elided, and the Vṛddhi prohibited irregularly. Though the अर्थदाहातुका affix यम causes here the elision of a portion of the root, viz. of न् of स्वन्न, yet rule I. 1. 4 does not apply here. That rule prohibits Guṇa and Vṛddhi, only in case of द्व vowels, here the Vṛddhi is prevented with regard to य. The prevention of this Vṛddhi is irregular and not governed by I. 1. 4. Thus गीताम्, अ व धिमात्रेव अवै भा द्वीपम् अवै भा द्वीपम् विद्वतं द्वीपम् नियमते।

29. अब्रो, एष, ओष, प्रष, and धिमात्र are irregularly formed by the elision of न।

Thus सन्न—वन्न + एष, बन्न = बन्न; द्वन्न + एष, बन्न = बन्न, the guna is irregular, for I. 1. 4 applied here, and prevented गुणञ्ज. द्वन्न + गुणञ्ज = गुणञ्ज (Uṇadi गुणञ्ज). द्वन्न + गुणञ्ज = गुणञ्ज (The want of Vṛddhi is the irregularity). So also विद्वतं।

नाचे: पुजायाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पद्धति ॥ अब्रो, पुजायाम्,

वृदि: अब्रो: पुजायाम् निकाये न भवति।

30. The nasal of तस्य is not elided when the meaning is to honor.

Thus अमिटस्य बलस्य दुर्दा, अमिटस्य दीर्घो न प्रति। The द्वृ augment is added by VII. 2. 53. When the sense is not that of ‘honoring’, we have तस्य स्तन्त्रं दृश्य “the water was drawn from the well.” Here the द्वृ is prohibited by VII. 2. 15.

कः स्वन्निसिद्धं: ॥ ३१ ॥ पद्धति ॥ कः, स्वन्निस्त, स्वन्नी: ( न लोप: ) ॥

वृदि: स्तन्त्रस्य पर्यन्तः स्तन्त्र स्तन्त्र दृश्योंन्द्राबर्तप्रलोकस्य न भवति।

31. स्तन्त्र and स्तन्त्र retain their nasal before the affix द्वृ।

Thus स्तन्त्र, and स्तन्त्र, or स्तन्त्र, the द्वृ being added when स्तन्त्र is considered as having an indicator य in the dhatupātha. When द्वृ is added, स्तन्त्र is no longer किल by virtue of the rule I. 2. 18, and elision would not take place, for no rule of elision would apply in that case.

आत्मवर्षि विभाषा ॥ ३२ ॥ पद्धति जान्त, निमाय, विभाषा ( न लोप: ) ॥

वृदि: जान्तानात्मवर्षि म्यातिस्य स्तन्त्रस्य पर्यन्तः विभाषा निकाये न भवति।

32. The nasal may be optionally elided before श्त्र in a root ending in ज and in न।

Thus स्त्रस्त्र or स्त्रस्त्र, भदर्श्त्र or भदर्श्त्र, नन्द्र or नन्द्र. See VII. 1. 60 for the augment य in यद्व। When दृ comes, we have मक्षिका।

भदर्श्त्र चिन्ति: ॥ ३३ ॥ पद्धति मक्ष्यि:; च, चिन्ति: ( विभाषा न लोप: ) ॥

वृदि: मक्ष्यि चिन्ति पर्यन्तः विभाषा निकाये म्यातिः।
33. The nasal may be optionally elided in भ्र before the third person Passive of the Aorist in विप. (७)

Thus भमा or भमाः. This is an apraptä vibhärsha, and teaches for the first time the elision of न in a certain contingency.

शास तदःक्लोऽ || ४४ || पद्यम || शासः; इत्य भ्र, अभ्र, हलोऽ; (सहिष्ठि) ||
भुषि: || शास दुःध्वन्यात् शासः नामस्रृष्टि अभ्रि परतः हलोऽ न कथिति ||
वाक्रिकम || । भ्री न शास इत्य भ्रातिः भ्रयमयः ॥ श्रृ || भ्रष्टे प्रस्थते तस्याति भ्रातिः भ्रयमयः ॥

34. Before the Aorist in भ्र and before an affix beginning with a consonant having an indicatory क or क्ष, there is the substitution of ह for the vowel of शासः.

Thus भमावर्यस्य, भमावर्यस्यम and भमावर्यस्य; so also भिषम् (with क), भिषमम् (with कन्ठम्), भी भिषम्: (with the tense-affixes भ्र: and भ्र: which are हिन्न by I. 2. 4). The न is changed to ह by VIII. 3. 60. Why do we say ‘before the affixes of भ्र Aorist and consonant affixes’? Observe शासाति, भ्रातृतः, भ्रात्रः ॥

Vart:—There is the substitution of ह for the vowel of शासः before the affix हिन्न. As भासिः = भासिः, भासिः ॥ So also भिषमी: ॥ The form is thus evolved, भासः + हिन्न = हिन्न + हिन्न + हिन्न + हिन्न: (the short ह being lengthened by VIII. 2. 76.

The root शासः is that root which takes भ्र aorist; namely the second ।

35. Before the Imperative affix हिन्न, शास is substituted for शासः ॥

Thus श्मावर्यसि, श्मावर्यसि ॥ The हिन्न is changed to हिन्न by VI. 4. 101. See VI 4. 22. The anuvritti of द्विपान् is not here; so हिन्न is substituted in the room of the full word शासः and not only for the penultimate vowel of शासः ॥ The anuvritti of हिन्न and हिन्न also is not here. Therefore, when this हिन्न is treated as हिन्न (III. 4. 88), then too the substitution takes place, though a हिन्न स्वर्धातुका is not हिन्न (I. 2. 4). Thus हिन्न is also found in the Vedas as having acute on the first syllable, which can only be when हिन्न is हिन्न and consequently anudatta (III. 1. 4)

हःन्ते || ३५ || पद्यम || हःन्ते; जः; (हि) ||
भुषि: || हःन्ते तस्यात् हिन्नावर्यसि भ्राति हि परतः ||
36. ज is substituted for ह्र्द्र before चि।
Thus थसि चिुङ्ग।
अनुआरोपितवनितत्त्वादातिदातिममतुसिलकोपो ह्रासित चिकित।
पदानि।
अनुवर्तीप्रेमग्निः, वनति, तनोत्तर्यादिनाम्, अनुवर्तीक लोङ्गः, ह्रासित, चकित।
शृङ्गः।
भूत्वा।
भूत्वा।

37. The final nasal of those roots which in the Dhâtapâthha have an unaccented root-vowel, as well as of बन and तन चे, is elided before an affix beginning with a consonant (except a semi-vowel or nasal), when these have an indicatory य or यः।
Thus यः gives us साय (with लय), सत (with नः), सत्यांत् (with न्यः), सति: (with सतिः), Similarly यः gives us संस्त, सतः, नविनः, नारः।
सतः, रतः, नृतः, सहः, रहः, नहः, रहः and
नहः which end in a nasal are to be considered as unaccented roots, though taught as accented in the Dhâtapâthha. So also of यः: i.e. यमः: with सितः: with सितः the nasal is not elided as पितः: (VI. 4. 39): and before other jhalâdi affixes यः, retains यः as all those affixes take the augment ह्र्द्रः। The तनायि roots belong to the eighth class. Thus तसः, तस्तः।
The Tanâdia roots are ten in number, तसः, तस्तः, तस्तः, तस्तः, तस्तः, तस्तः, तस्तः, तस्तः, तस्तः, तस्तः, तस्तः।
Of these तसः takes long ता also (VI. 4. 45). तसः—तसः, तस्तः, तस्तः—तस्तः, तस्तः, 
तस्तः, तस्तः, तस्तः—तस्तः, तस्तः, तस्तः, तस्तः।

Why do we say before a ह्र्द्रः affix? Observable भास्त, भास्तः: (I. 2. 11 these affixes are ह्र्द्रः) So also not in धातुः, धातुः, धातुः, धातुः, धातुः, धातुः,
not being anudatta in the Dhâtapâthha. If the root does not end in a nasal, the rule does not apply, as in पन्तः, पन्तः। If the affix does not begin with a jhal consonant, the rule does not apply: as गायस्ते, गायस्ते। If the affix is not ह्र्द्रः or ह्र्द्रः the rule does not apply: as, बन्तः, बन्त्यायः। Why do we say
“anudatta by upadesa”? So that the rule may apply to ग्रुङ्ग root, as ग्रुङ्गः, but
not to ग्रुङ्गः, as ग्रुङ्गः।

38. The nasal of the above roots (i.e. anudatta ending in a nasal, and चन and तनायि) is optionally elided before the Absolutive affix ल्यः।
This is a vyavasthita-vibhāsha. The option applies to roots ending in \( h \). In the case of roots ending in other nasals, the elision is compulsory. Thus

\[
\text{prasād or prasād, prat or prast, prañ or pranm, aha or aham, but no option in maḥa, maṇḍ,}
\]

\[
\text{prasād, maṇḍ, \text{ etc.}}
\]

\[
\text{n śrīnāḥ \| \text{padanāḥ} \| \text{n, śrīnāḥ, dīrgha, &c.}}
\]

\[
\text{व्रतः न किंचि पि द्विप्रत्येक तद्वासोपभवेनात्मकाद्विकलंकारि संपर्यं न भवति।}
\]

39. Before the affix *śrūṇau*, the above roots neither drop their nasal nor lengthen their root-vowel.

The above roots i.e. anudāttapadaśa, ending in a nasal, and *ṇa* and *ṣaṇi*, do not lose their nasal before *śrūṇau*. Thus *śrūṇa*, *śrūṇā*, *śrūṇi* &c. The lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 15, when the nasal was not elided: that also is prohibited.

\[
\text{गम: कौ \| \text{padanāḥ} \| \text{गम:) कौ, (अनुनासिकलोकः) \||}
\]

\[
\text{व्रतः \| अनुनासिकलोकः पि द्विप्रत्येक तद्वासेऽपि संपर्यं न भवति।}
\]

\[
\text{शार्यकः म् \| गमावनागितिः नक्ष्यवः \| शाः \| कौ \| गमावनागितिः सक्ष्यवः}.
\]

40. The nasal of *गम* is always elided before *कौ*.

Thus *राम, कालिन्द, नरणाथ, हरे* &c. The *h* is added by VI. 1. 71.

\[
\text{VArt:—It should be stated of गम and the rest. The elision takes place here also संपर्यं, पदीसऽः।}
\]

\[
\text{VArt:—The nasal of गम &c. is elided before कौ: as, वल्लभः, मरणः।}
\]

\[
\text{विण्डनोपननासिकलोकः \| \text{padanāḥ} \| \text{विण्डनोपननासिकलोकः} \text{ आद्वः} \|}
\]

\[
\text{व्रतः \| विण्डनोपननासिकलोकः पि द्विप्रत्येक तद्वासोपभवेत् काव्योपभवेत्।}
\]

41. A stem ending in a nasal, and followed by the affix *विण्ड, विण्ड, आद्व, आद्व*, always substitutes long *आ* for its nasal.

Thus *राम, गोप, हरे, नरण, नरण*, *गोप* \( \text{(e.g. गोपा इत्यादिः भविः RIG V.)} \)

\[
\text{कौपालः, महापालः, तामसः, तामसः, धर्मः, धर्मः इत्यादिः।}
\]

\[
\text{The affix विण्ड (which is totally elided) is added under III. 2. 67. The *h* of श्री is changed to \*h by VIII. 3. 106. In गोपा \| With the affix विण्ड we have the following:—रिनाचा, अनवेशज्ञाः}
\]

\[
\text{(III. 2. 75). The repetition of the word अनुनासिक in this श्रुति shows that the}
\]

\[
\text{limitation of anudāttapadaśa &c. which applied to the अनुनासिक of श्रुति VI. 4.}
\]

\[
\text{37 does not apply here.}
\]

\[
\text{अनुनासिकलोकः \| \text{padanāḥ} \| \text{जन-सन- कौपालः, कौपालः, (अद्वः) \|}
\]

\[
\text{व्रतः \| जन सन सन इत्यादिपुण्याम् द्विप्रत्येक तद्वासोपभवेत् काव्योपभवेत्।}
\]

42. The long *आ* is substituted for the final of *कौ*, *णु* and *व्रत* before the consonant beginning Desiderative affix *णु*, and before any other affix beginning with a jhal consonant, which has an indicatory *क* or *श*.
Thus जाति, अनावर, असाति, शास, लाभावर, लाति, सिक्कारिति, लासा, नालखार, लाति; वृति; In जान and लान the Desiderative does not begin with a consonant, but takes the augment हृ, the ॐ is not therefore elided, as विज्ञापिति, विशाािषि. In the case of the root शति, the Desiderative takes हृ, so we have two forms विशाषैति and विशाषिति (VII. 2. 49). The Desiderative has, therefore, been mentioned in the aphorism, only for the sake of the root शति.

If the phrase सन्तानाणि, be taken to mean ‘the Desiderative beginning with a consonant’, then we should read the anusvṛtti of शति कार्यित 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 कर्ति or हृष्ण jhalādi affix long रा is the substitute of the अ of ‘jan’, ‘san’ and ‘khan’. (2) And so is the case, when the Desiderative affix follows, not having the augment हृ, for then also the अ of ‘jan’, ‘san’ and ‘khan’ is replaced by long रा.

The अ of the root शति would have required elision by VI. 4. 37, because this verb belongs to Tanādi class, still the रा substitution taught in this sūtra takes place, by preference, on the maxim of विनाशिति पर कार्यित (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 vîpratisedha. That that maxim applies in this section also, is to be inferred from the employment of the term शति in VI. 4. 66, which supersedes the lopa of रा taught in VI. 4. 64, and substitutes instead the long रा.

ये विनाशिति वे, विनाशिति (जनसत्तशास्त्र असति) वृति; वृति; वकारिति हृष्ण वर्तित वर्ति जनसत्तशास्त्रांकर अविभाजनी भिन्नति विभाषा।

43. There is optionally the substitution of long रा for the finals of जन, शति and लान before an affix beginning with य and marked with an indicatory फ or फ़.

Thus आयस्ति or जन्ति (with कर्ति) आयस्ति or जन्ति (with हृष्ण). So also नायस्ति or नयन, नामास्ति, or सन्यस्ति, साहेष्टि, or नायस्ति, चायस्ति or यायस्ति. Before the vikaraṇa भ्रम of the Fourth class, which is हृष्ण according to I. 2. 4; the रा is always substituted for जन by VII. 3. 79. No option is allowed there.

तनोत्तेघकि बाधू पदानि तेनोधि; युक्ति, बाधू पदानि जाति विभाषा।

44. The long रा may be optionally substituted for the final of त्वर before the Passive characteristic यक्ष.

Thus तायस्ति or त्वस्ति; but no option is allowed in तत्वस्ति with यक्ष.

शति: विनाशिति लोपसारामेतस्त्यसंस्थाम ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, विनाशिति लोपः, च, अस्ति, अन्तर्स्ति, अधिग्रहण:।

यूक्ति: तनोत्तेघकि विनाशिति परं भावार्थं भावार्थं भावार्थं लोपसारामेतस्त्यसंस्थाम।
45. The long \( \text{a} \) is optionally substituted for the final of \( \text{सन्} \) before the affix \( \text{किंच} \); and there is also elision optionally of the Nasal.

Thus we have three forms \( \text{sās} \), \( \text{sāī} \), and \( \text{sā} \). The word अन्वयस्यास, 'optionally' has been employed in the sūtra for the sake of clearness only; for the अन्वय of VI. 4. 43 could have been read into it by anuvṛtti. Lest anyone should doubt, that the anuvṛtti of अन्वय had ceased with the last aphorism, this word अन्वयस्यास is employed here.

46. From this upto VI. 4. 68 inclusive, is always to be supplied “before an affix called अर्धवहःतुक (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 अर्धवहःतुक”. Thus VI. 4. 48 teaches “the अ n the end of a verbal stem is elided”. To complete the sense we should add: “before an ardhadhātuka affix”. Thus the final अ of the verbal stem विचार is elided before the अधधातुक affix, as विचारित, विचारित, but the final अ is not elided before a sārvadhatuka affix, as the अ of अध in अधि, अधि: The luk-elision of अध after roots of अधि class, implies that there is never लोक of अध.

The following purposes are served by this sūtra, i.e. an अधधातुक affix causes the following special changes (1) वास्तव:—The elision of अ of a stem, as shown above, in विचारित, विचारित, (2) अधधि: The elision of अ by VI. 4. 49, 50 as विचारित, विचारित, विचारित from विचार the Intensive stem. Before Sārvadhatu, we have विचारित, विचारित, विचारित, विचारित, विचारित. The elision of अ by VI. 4. 51, as अनेकणा हारणा पाप्विन्ते (पाप्वि + अ + अ = पाप्वि + अ + अ), अवाति. In Sārvadhatu, पाप्विन्ति, अनवाति, अवाति, अवाति. अवाति. (4) वास्तव: the elision of अ, VI. 4. 64— as अपुरु:; अपुरु: अपुरु: In Sārvadhatu, अपुरु: अपुरु: (5) नित्य:—The substitution of अ long अ for अ in some roots, VI. 4. 65 as भीकोति, भीकोति; in Sārvadhatu, भीकोति, भीकोति. (6) नित्य:—The substitution of अ अ for अ in Sārvadhatu, अवाति, अवाति. This is confined to the Precative (Aśīrī). (7) नित्य: the treatment of the Precative like Aorist Passive in विचार, by VI. 4. 62, as कार्यित, कार्यित: In Sārvadhatu, कार्यित, कार्यित.
47. In the room of the र and the penultimate letter स्र of the root स्रस्त्र, there is optionally the substitute रस्र, when an अर्धद्वातुक affix follows.

The र and स्र cease to exist and र takes their place. The substitute having an indicatory म comes after the final vowel (I. 1. 49). Thus अर्श + म = अर्श + म = अर्श, the ज being changed to र by VIII. 2. 36, and to र by VIII. 4. 41. The other form will be अर्श; so also अर्शि and अर्शि, अर्शि and अर्शि, अर्शि or अर्शि. But अर्शि and अर्शि by VI. 1. 16, in spite of this rule. The word अर्शि (VI. 4. 37) is understood here also. The rule therefore applies to the simple root ब्रह्मज as originally taught in the Dhatu-pātha, and not to any Derivative root from it. As the Intensive (ब्रह्म) is ब्रह्मिष्टि.

अतो लोपः ॥ ४८ ॥ प्रदाति ॥ अर्शः, लोपः; (आर्धद्वातुकः) ॥

वृत्ते: || अर्तादिरासाधारिताकेले फ्रिति अस्ति।

वापिक्रमः ॥ वृत्तार्थसाधारितेष्यो वर्ते: । वृत्तार्थसाधारितेष्यो ॥

48. The र standing at the end of a stem is elided before an अर्धद्वातुक affix.

Thus निल्क्रियः, निल्क्रियः, and निल्क्रियः, from the Desirerative stem निल्क्रियः ॥ So also दिन्तु: and कृत्तु: from the roots दिन्तु: and कृत्तु: thus, दिन्तु + र (III. 1. 80) = दिन्तु + र + द (III. 1. 80) = दिन्तु + र (र being elided before the अर्धद्वातुक र) = प्रदाति, the 3rd Personal dual of it is प्रदाति: ॥ The addition of र by III. 1. 80 and its subsequent elision by the present सृत्र, may appear a redundancy, but the elided र being sthānivat, prevents गुः of दिन्तु: ॥ So also कृत्तु: ॥ See सृत्र III. 1. 80. Why do we say “the र is elided”? Observe चतुः, ब्रह्मता: here र and र have not been elided. Why do we say “सत्य: with a र”? The long र र will not be elided: as वास्त, वास्ता ॥ Why do we say ‘before an Arhada-tukan’? Before a Sarvadhātuka there will be no elision of र nor before a Taddhita: as वृत्तार्थ, and निल्क्रियः ॥

Vārāṇ.:—The elision of such र takes place even to the supersession of the subsequent rules relating to Vṛddhi and lengthening. As निल्क्रियः, निल्क्रियः, निल्क्रियः, निल्क्रियः, निल्क्रियः, निल्क्रियः ॥

यथा हृदः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रस्तम, हृदः ॥

वृत्ते: ॥ इस उद्धर्त स्वयं धारिताकेले फ्रिति अस्ति।

49. When a consonant precedes the final य in a verbal stem, this य is elided also before an अर्धद्वातुक affix.

Thus ब्रह्महत, ब्रह्मिष्टु: from the Intensive stem ब्रह्मि. In the सृत्र रस्त is given, which is the Genitive singular of य namely of the letters रस्त ॥ By the rule of अर्शद्वातुक (I. 1. 52), the र of य ought to be elided.
and not य; but that rule is evidently inapplicable here, since the elision of य would have taken place by the preceding rule: the present rule therefore teaches the elision of य (ya). Or the word हम्म: may be considered as in the ablative case, and then by I. 1. 54, the first letter would be elided namely ह। Why have we taken [the two letters (संयोग) conjointly viz.] ह and not ह? Observe दंडिता, नामिता, यमिता from the simple roots द्वे, अन्व, and स्त्रा। Here ह not being followed by य, is not elided (see Bhvadi 541—546). Why do we say ‘when preceded by a consonant?’ Observe लक्षिता, संपुष्किता।

कथ्य विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदार्थं कथ्यः, विभाषा: ( आवेष्ठातुकः ) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ कथ्यं हन विभाषा विभाष्या केवलं महति आवेष्ठातूके।

50. The elision of य of the Denominative stem (कथ्य) is optional, when preceded by a consonant and followed by an आर्धधातुका affix.

The य in denotes the affixes कथ्य and कथः। Thus सन्यिता or सन्यित्स, आपारिता or आपारित्स meaning सन्यित्यानन्द र्र्यित्स or सन्यित्यानन्द सन्यित्स। लक्षिता ॥ ५१ ॥ पदार्थं कः; आवेष्ठा, ( आवेष्ठातुकः ) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ लक्षितासारायणानु नैनोषेती महति।

51. The र of the verbal stem formed with the affix विध, is elided before an आर्धधातुका affix which does not take the augment हइ ॥

This debars हस्य, the semi-vowel य, the गुप्त, व्रीड्डि and the long substitutions. Thus नीतस्य, भलस्य, नामितस, आवेष्ठात, आवेष्ठा, आवेष्ठका, आवेष्ठकः, आवेष्ठकः, आवेष्ठकः, आवेष्ठकः, कारकः, कारकः and स्त्रा (see VII. 4. 1 for the shortening of the stem of the Aorists in these). Why do we say ‘not having the augment हइ?’ Observe कारिता and हातिमा।

निष्क्रान्ति सैरिता ॥ ५२ ॥ पदार्थं निष्क्रान्तयाय, सैरिता ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ निष्क्रान्ति सैरिति परस्य नैनोषेती महति।

52. The affix विध is elided before the affixes क and कवतु when these take the augment हइ ॥

Thus कारित, हातिम, नामितस, आवितम। Why do we say “before an आर्धधातुका affix having the augment हइ”? Observe संयोगिता: पदा: ॥ This is the part participle of the causative, the ह beings the sign of the causative. By VII. 2. 15 read with VII. 2. 49, हइ is a root which takes no हइ augment in the निष्क्रान्ति. It may be objected that VII. 2. 15 preventing हइ augment applies to verbs of one syllable (VII. 2. 10), and the causative हइ being of two syllables will always have हइ in the निष्क्रान्ति, and so it is useless to use the word सैरि in the sūtra. The word सैरि in the sūtra fixes the time when the elision of विध should take place. Namely, first there should be added the
augment हृ and then, there should take place the elision of वि || Otherwise we shall have this difficulty कारि + न, here let us elide the वि first: and we get कारि + न, now we cannot add हृ to न, for कारि, 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 शास्त्र: see also VII. 2. 27.

अजिता मन्त्रे || ५२ || पदानि || जनिता, मन्त्रे ||

53. In a Mantra, the word जनिता is formed irregularly by the elision of वि before the affix हृ with the augment हृ ||

Thus शी || विष जनिता || Otherwise जनिता in secular literature. It is an exception to VI. 4. 51.

शामिता यथे || ५४ || पदानि || शामिता, यथे ||

54. शामिता is formed irregularly by the elision of वि before an हृ augmented affix, when meaning a sacrificial act.

Thus पूर्ण हृ: शामिता || It is formed by हृ and is in the Vocative case. Why do we say ‘when referring to a sacrificial act’? See पूर्ण हृ: शामिता || See Śatpatha Br. III. 8. 3. 4 and 5.

अयामन्तायेवद्विविचिच्ययुः || ५५ || पदानि || अय, अयम-अन्त-आयुँ-आयम-हृ-क्षयुः ||

55. अयू is substituted for the हृ of वि, before the affixes आय, अन्त, आयुँ, आयम, हृ, and क्षयु ||

Thus कार्याः पश्चात्, हृयाः पश्चात्, गण्याः; कथाः (formed by the Uṇādi affix हृ, हृ = अन्त, added to the roots मंड and मंड) बालुः। स्वावलं: || शामिता, शृङ्खाला; शृङ्खाला; हृयाः: स्वावलं: || हृयाः: स्वावलं: || हृयाः: प्राचीनविकाल: || हृयाः: प्राचीनविकाल: || Thus sūtra could have been well dispensed with; for the हृ of ति would take गुण हृ which will be changed to हृ by the rules of Sandhi, be fore these affixes. This substitution of अयू for हृ is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra however, because there हृ could not be changed to हृ by any sandhi-rules.

व्यपि कथयुचोदित || ५६ || पदानि || व्यपि, हृचु पूर्वांत (ये: अय ||

56. अयू is substituted for the हृ of वि, before the Absolutive affix हृ, when the vowel preceding the हृ is light.

Thus भवाम् मतः, संवर्ध्य मतः, ब्रह्मविद्या, प्रणामम् || But प्रणाम गतः: the vowel preceding the हृ being long. Here VI. 4. 51 applies. The shortening, the
elision of य and the elision of अ should not be considered as asiddha, as their place of operation is not the same. Thus घाषण+विषी = शारण; this मा is shortened by VI. 4. 92, and we have छन्न. This shortening is not to be considered as asiddha, for if asiddha, there being no laghu pūrva, the present rule would not apply. Similarly वेषिय is the Intensive root, its य is elided by VI. 4. 49, this elision is not considered as asiddha, if it were asiddha, the ड of फिल would not be laghu. Similarly the elision of अ in गण which is a root which ends in य, (see Dhātupātha Churadi 309), is not considered as asiddha for similar reasons.

57. य is optionally substituted for the ड of फिल before the affix ल्यय, after the verb भाद. This however does not apply to the म्यू, substitute for रहः, as भाद्यय गातः: (VI. 1. 48, VII. 3. 36). The maxim of Prati-padokta applies here.

58. In य and च्छ long is substituted for ड, before ल्यय in the Veda.

Thus शान्तितिव्रव्य विद्यः; दशा विद्यः विषण्य परिप्रेक्षः न Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe संक्रम, मात्यूल in the secular literature.

59. A long is substituted for the ड of फिल before ल्यय.

As प्रशीम, वशपीय


60. A long is substituted for the ड of फिल before the Participle in क, when it has not the sense of the future Passive Participle in व्यवह.

The force of व्यवह is to denote condition (Impersonal action) and object (passive). When the Past Participle has not the force of व्यवह, the vowel of फिल is lengthened. Thus नासीयम, धारीम, वर्षीम; all used in the active sense. The क is added to the Intransitive फिल to denote the agent (III. 4. 72). Thus प्रशीमिन्नेवि ‘this is the spot where Devadatta perished’. Here क is used with a Locative force (III. 4. 76). Why do we say ‘not having’ the force of
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73. Observe अक्षिततमणिसंगीतम्: II Here म is added with the force of condition, and akshitam means 'imperishable'. The vowel not being lengthened the म is not changed to म (VIII. 2. 46).

वा सक्रोधैवत्योऽः: II पदानि: II वा, आराध्य प्रवेष्योऽः (सिश्यदेहि: विभाषा) वृत्ति: II आराध्य गम्यावरे: देवी च विभाषा सन्तावनमयार्थं ता बीयं भण्ति: II

61. The long is optionally substituted, for the म of मिर, before the Past Participle अ, not having the sense of the Future Passive Participle वधृ, when the word means 'imprecation' or 'a miserable plight'.

Thus विनायुष्णिं or शीर्णारुषिं, बिनतक: or शीर्षन, बिष्योंमयं सपत्ती, शीर्णोङ्गम्यं तपस्वी: II
When not having the sense of cursing or miserable condition, we have one form only, as शीर्णाननः: II

स्वसिद्धर्ष्युद्दातसतिं भवकरंम्योपदेशा भवभवाहारं त्वाय त्वाय च देशी: II पदानि: II स्व-सिद्ध-सीयुद्द-तातिं, भाष-कलम्यों, उपदेशो, अस्स-हुन-मह-हृदाम, वा, विवेष्य, हि, वा, II

वृत्ति: II वा सिद्ध सीयुद्द ताति हस्तेषु भवकर्म्यविषेषु परस्परेषु रम्यमाहारानं हृद, यह देशी इव वेष्यायं व विवेष्यायं भवार्थं या वस्स विवेष्य तस्मा हृदाण्मानं भवार्थं.

62. Before the affixes य (First Future and Conditional), सिद्ध (S-Aorist), सीयुद्ध (Benedictive) and ताति (the Prphrastic Future), when there are used in the Impersonal (भव) and Passive (कर्म) Voices, (1) the verbal stems ending in a vowel in the Grammatical system of instruction (उपदेश), as well as the verbs (2) हृद (3) मह and (4) रय are treated optionally in the same way as in the third person of the Passive Aorist in विष्णु, and when so treated, they have the augment हृद II

The augment हृद is, of course, added to the affixes या, सिद्ध, सीयुद्ध and ताति and not to the stem. What are the special objects served by this atidesa aphorism? They are given in the following verse :-

Kārika विश्वाद द्विष्रूपः पः हस्येश वस्यं
विश्वादेको यो मिः विश्वादे निः
हृद पालवायस ने सुप्रति निः
विभाषायं वालिनिमित्तविभाषाय)

First:-The Vriddhi takes place as in विष्णु (VII. 2. 116, VII. 3. 34), secondly, there is the addition of ग्रुङ्ग augment (VII. 3. 33), thirdly य is substituted for the म of ग्रुङ्ग (VII. 3. 54), fourthly, the roots having indicatory य
(Bhūṣḍī 809 to 873) optionally lengthen their vowel (VI. 4.93), and lastly the addition of the augment हृ and being considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect by VI. 4. 22, the rule VI. 4. 51 applies and the causative affix त्व 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 Dhātupāṭha with the affix स्य as, त्वः—पादिध्यस्य or चेष्ट्यस्य, भधातिध्यस्य or भधास्यत ॥ So also with स, आस्यस्य or हस्यस्य, भस्यस्यत or भस्यस्य ॥

In सम्य there are three forms, the two भाविध्यस्य or चाविध्यस्य, भधाविध्यस्य and भधाविध्यस्य 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 हृ being a root of तिय class, the हृ is lengthened optionally by VI. 4. 93. The forms पाविध्यस्य and भधापिध्यस्य are given when not treated as त्वः, the causative is retained, the penultimate being shortened by VI. 4. 92. With the affix हित्—भधाविध्यस्य or भधापिध्यस्य, भधाविध्यस्य, भधापिध्यस्य and भधाशिध्यस्य or भधाशिध्यस्य ॥ With the affix साहित्—पाविध्यस्य or चेष्ट्यस्य, भधाविध्यस्य or भधाशिध्यस्य ॥ The त्वः, aorist model of these roots is भधाविध्यस्य, भधाषिध्यस्य (VII. 3. 33), and भधाशिध्यस्य (VII. 3. 34) or भधाँशिध्यस्य (VI. 4. 93).

(2) हृ—Fut. भधाविध्यस्य or चाविध्यस्य; Con. भधाविध्यस्य or भधास्यस्य, Aor. भधाविध्यस्य or भधाशिध्यस्य and भधास्यस्य (II. 4. 44); Ben. भधाविध्यस्य or चाविध्यस्य; Per. Fut. भधास्यस्य or भधाशिध्यस्य ॥ The त्वः model is भधाशिध्यस्य ॥

(3) हृ—Fut. भधाविध्यस्य or चाविध्यस्य; Con. भधाविध्यस्य or भधास्यस्य, Aor. भधाविध्यस्य or भधाशिध्यस्य and भधास्यस्य (भधापिध्यस्य) ? ; Ben. भधाविध्यस्य or (भधाशिध्यस्य) ; वाहित्यस्य, Per. Fut. भधास्यस्य or भधापिध्यस्य ॥ The lengthening of हृ takes place by VII. 2. 37. The त्वः model is भधाशिध्यस्य ॥

(4) हृ—Fut. भधाशिध्यस्य or चाशिध्यस्य; Con. भधाशिध्यस्य or भधाषिध्यस्य; Aor. भधाशिध्यस्य or भधास्यस्य and भधारस्यस्य; Ben. भधाविध्यस्य or चाविध्यस्य; Per. Fut. भधाषिध्यस्य or भधारस्य(भधाविध्य) ? ॥ The त्वः model is भधाशिध्यस्य ॥

Why do we say before स्य &c. ? Observe चैत्यं, चात्म्यं ॥ Why in the Impersonal and Passive ? Observe चेष्ट्यस्य and शास्त्यस्य ॥ Why in Upadeśa ? The rule applies to कारिन्य also, though कार (after guna change) ends in a consonant, but in its original enunciation it ends with a vowel. The atideśa rule being enunciated with regard to stems (ांगा), prevents the substitutions of हृ and हृ and हृ ॥ Thus हास्यस्य, पाविध्यस्य, चेष्ट्यस्य or चाविध्यस्य, भधास्यस्य or भधाशिध्यस्य ॥ The substitutes गा or गा (II. 4. 42, 43, 45, 50) do not come according to the Kāśikā, when these roots are treated as गा ॥

तीस्रो युगीयं कृत्तितः ॥ ६२ ॥ परार्थः ॥ दौऽः युज्, अच्छि, कृत्तितः ॥ तुम् ॥ तिथिः भुपत्रागमनं भृत्य भासः कृत्तितः यस्य पत्रः ॥
63. युद्ध is the augment after दै, of an अर्ध-
भूतुकः affix beginning with a vowel and having an indica-
tory क्र or ख्र।

Thus उपस्थिति, उपस्थिति and उपस्थिति। The Personal ending is क्र by I. 2. 5. दै: being in the Ablative case, the augment is applied to the affix.
This augment, however, is not to be considered as asidha (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 क्र or ख्र? Observe उपस्थिति।

आतो लोप हत्व च || ६४ || पदार्थ || भावः, लोपः, हत्व, च, ||

बुधि: || उपस्थिति न्यायात् वतिष्ठ धातृत्वमास्ति लोपे वा क्वः ||

64. The final आ of a root is elided before an
अर्धभूतुकः affix with the augment हृ as well as when it
begins with a vowel and has an indicatory क्र or ख्र।

Thus परिष्ठिति and लतिपरिष्ठिति। Here the affix has the हृ augment.

युद्य, युद्य, युद्य, युद्य। || Here the affixes are क्र by I. 2. 5. दै: क्वः with the
affix क्र (III. 2. 3). So also प्राप्तिः (fem), प्राप्ति (fem) by दै: III. 3. 106. Before
सहार्धभूतुकः affixes, we have बुधिः, व्यासः, क्वः and व्यासः।
The two latter are the Imperfect 1st Pers. Sing. Atm. of दै and ना with the affix हृ (हृ)। When
it does not begin with a vowel, we have क्वः, क्वः।

इत्यति || ६५ || पदार्थि || हृल, यतिः, ||

बुधि: || इत्यति नवलयो गवलय भावानवत्वास्ति वहि परशः ||

65. The final आ of a stem is changed into हृ be-
fore the क्र-affix यति।

Thus दैः, दैः, दैः, and दैः। The Goṇa takes place according
to VII. 3. 84.

युद्यानामानाहतिः हृ || ६६ || पदार्थि || युद्य, या, स्था, गा, या, जहाति
स्था, हृ ||

बुधि: || युद्यानामानाहतिः हृ गा स्था गा या जहाति या हृ गा स्था क्वः वित्तति पवने परम् इत्यतिः नवलयो हृ ||

66. For the final of the roots of the form of आ
and धा (धा), as well as for that of the roots मा, स्था, गा, या, धा
(अहातिः) and गा (स्थो), there is substituted हृ before an अर्धभूतुकः
affix beginning with a consonant, which has an indicatory क्र or ख्र।

Thus शीवते, शीवते with वह, पैविवते, पैविवते with वहृ। So also शीवते न्यायः
शीवते, शीवते, शीवते, शीवते, व्यासः, यातिः, व्यासः, यातिः, व्यासः, यातिः।

The पा 'to protect' of Adadi (47) is not meant here. be come the
vikarana विश्व is elided in roots of that class. Its form will be पावे. It is Bhāvādi या ‘to drink’ that is taken here. So also या-विष्क्रिय is not to be taken here. Its form is हािने।

Why do we say ‘before a consonant’? Observe त्रिस्पः, त्रिसः। Here had त्रिसः not been used in the sūtra, the त्रा of त्रा would be replaced by हा by the present sūtra, even before a vowel-affix भाषः। दशः; for the lopa of भा taught in VI. 4. 64 is prevented by this subsequent sūtra teaching हा instead. In fact, the employment of the word हा in the aphorism is a ज्ञापका that the rule of vipratisiṣṭha (I.4.2) applies in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22), and the lopa of भा is superseded by the present rule substituting हा instead. So also सता and भाव before non-क्रिया and non-क्रिया affixes.

यार्थिक || ६७ || पदार्थ || त्रा, लिकः, लिकः

श्रवः। युगपत्तांगात्पावालिकामां || विष्क्रिय नरसहस्त्रो भवति ||

67. द्व is substituted for the भा of the above roots in the Benedicitive mood Active.

Thus देवाः, देवाः, देवाः, देवाः, देवाः, देवाः and देवाः। Before non-क्रिया and non-क्रिया we have सापिण्ड and सापिण्ड। By the word त्री is here meant the त्रीक्रिया or the Preceptive mood; the Personal endings of which mood are अर्थात्, अर्थात्, अर्थात्, अर्थात्, अर्थात्, अर्थात्, अर्थात्, अर्थात्। More-over by III. 4. 104 the Parasnaipa affixes only of the Benedicive are विष्क्रिय, so the present rule does not apply to the Atmaneipada affixes of the Preceptive.

धा अन्यस्य संयोगाः। ६८ || पदार्थ || धा, अन्यस्य-संयोग, आदेः। (लिकः)
(आतः)

श्रवः। विष्क्रियाश्च अन्यस्य संयोगानुप्रकारणां भवति || नरसहस्त्रो भवति लिकः परसः ||

68. For the final भा of any other root than those mentioned in VI. 4. 66, द्व may optionally be substituted, in the Benedicive active, when the root begins with a conjunct consonant.

The भा was the only root of VI. 4. 66, which could have been affected by this rule. It has been, however, specially exempted by the word अन्यस्य। Thus नेवात् or नेवात्, नेवात् or नेवात्, but only नेवात् (VI. 4. 66), and नेवात् (not commencing with a double consonant). The phrase विष्क्रिय is understood here and therefore the rule applies to Parasnaipa affixes (III. 4. 104). Thus नेवात् in Atmaneipada. The root considered as an aiga, should consist of a double consonant, therefore in निवाष्ट्र (from निव+ा), द्व is not to be considered as a root having a double consonant, for द्व is no part of the aiga, but of the preposition.

न ल्यपः || ६९ || पदार्थ || न, ल्यपः। द्वारा। द्वारा। युगपत्तांगात्पावालिकिष्टतः ||
69. The त substitution for त śā under rule VI. 4. 66, does not apply when the absolutive affix त्यत follows तमः, रा, गा, पा, हा and सा.

Thus त्रावः, यथाः, करः, प्रस्थाः, वर्गाः, यथाः, प्रावः and अध्यातः. The affix त्यत as the substitute of तत्त्व, is a सज्जा affix by I. 1. 56.

मयेरिण्यतरस्यास्वम || ७० || पदानि || मयेते, इति, अन्यतरस्यावः, ( त्यति ) ||

बुँतः || शब्दकारावलीमध्ये व भवति ||

70. त may optionally be substituted for the त of मा, (मयंति) before त्यत.

Thus यक्षिन्यम or यक्षकम

हृद्यवस्थीकुपराष्टः || ७१ || पदानि || तु, तु, तु, तु, तु, उदासः ( अन्यतरः ) ||

बुँतः || तु तु तु तु तु मयेरिण्यतरस्यास्वमभवति, वर्गाच व भवति ||

71. तृतीयैं acutely accented is the augment of the verbal stem in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus भार्तर्वत्, भार्तर्वत्, भार्तर्वत्, भार्तर्वत् and भार्तर्वत्, भार्तर्वत् ||

आदालोिनाम || ७२ || पदानि || तृतीयः, अर्जु-आदालोिनाम, (उदासः) ||

बुँतः || आदालोिनामे शब्दकारावलीमध्ये तृतीयत्त्वास्वमभवति, वर्गाच व भवति ||

72. तृतीयः acutely accented is the augment of a verbal stem beginning with a vowel, in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus एनित्व, भान्न्त, भान्न्त, भान्न्त, भान्न्त, भान्न्त, भान्न्त, भान्न्त, भान्न्त and भान्न्त ||

The Vriddhi takes place by VI. 1. 90.

The Passive Imperfect (नह) of तृतीयः, तृतीयः and तृतीयः are तृतीयः, तृतीयः and तृतीयः formed by तृतीयः and not तृतीयः || First, the affixes of the Imperfect are added and then the Passive characteristic तृतीयः is added to these roots, which causes the vocalisation of the semi-vowels, and we have तृतीयः, तृतीयः, and तृतीयः stems (VI. 1. 15). The stems having now assumed a form in which they begin with a vowel, take तृतीयः || The addition of tense-affixes being an antaranga operation precedes the addition of augment. After the affixes have been added, the vikaraṇa तृतीयः, being nitya, is added and precedes in order the augment, the latter being so far anitya; after तृतीयः addition the roots assume a form in which we can add तृतीयः. Why तृतीयः is considered anitya depends on the following maxim:—शास्त्रार्थात् पार्थ विभावनां निविन्यां तथा || "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."
73. The augment is found in the Veda also.

It is found there before the roots beginning with a vowel as well as before consonant roots. Thus भाषा, भाषक, and भाषावः is the Aorist of भाषा, the affix being elided by II. 4. 80. भाषक from नास (II. 4. 80), and भाषावः is the Imperfect of भाषा.

न मान्योगे || भाषा || पद्यनि || न, माना, मायेन (छुन छुन छुन) ||

वृत्त: मान्योगे छुन्छुन्छुन्छुन्छु बढ़ते तथा नवते ||

74. In connection with the prohibitive particle मा, the augment अर्थम or अर्थम is not added in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus ना बनया, कार्य, ना बनाया, ना लो लो, ना लो लो, ना बनायिन्द्र, ना लो लोमात्र, ना लो लोमात्र, ना खो लोमात्र ||

बढ़ते छुन्छुन्छुन्छुन्छुन्छु नवते ||

75. There is diversity in the Veda: the augment अर्थम or अर्थम is added even with मा, and sometimes not added even when there is no मा.

Thus in अविषय तथा (Rig X. 73. 1), कार्यवतीष्व (Rig I. 53. 3) and कार्यवतीष्वः; the augment is not added though there is no मा || In ना यावं यावं यावं यावं: ना अविषया या ना अविषया, the augment is not elided, though the particle मा is added.

हर्मो रे || भाषा || हर्मो: रे, (छुन्छुन्छुन्छु) ||

वृत्त: हर्मो इत्यादि छुन्छुन्छुन्छु नवते हर्मो: रे छुन्छुन्छुन्छु नवते ||

76. रे is diversely substituted for हर्मो in the Veda.

Thus सा सा सा सा सा सा (Rig X. 82. 5) या या या या || In रे, the या of या is elided before the affix हर्मो by VI. 4. 64, the रे substitution being considered as asidha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of the elision of मा || Sometimes the substitution does not take place, as परभवी विप्रतिम्मानत्रि चक्करे || Here या augment is first added to रे after the या roots and the affix thus becomes रे, then रे is substituted again for this रे by this सृत्र, thus the affix is brought back to its original condition. To show this repetition—रे—रे—रे the sūtra has exhibited the word हर्मो: in the dual number.

अवि हर्मो त्रि || भाषा || अर्थम, छुन छुन, छुन छुन, छुन छुन, छुन छुन, छुन छुन, हर्मो: हर्मो, हर्मो: ||
77. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the ॐ of झ, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final र, य, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ॐ of स्य, the य (for य or ये) and उ (for उ or ऊ).

Thus आनुष्ठिनि, राष्ट्रीयिनि, शकुष्ट्रिनि, from roots of the 5th class, निजिनि, निर्मि, नित्य, नूनि, नृपि, and नृपि and नृपि.

Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe आनुष्ठिनि, शकुष्ट्रिनि, नानुष्ठिनि, Why "of झु &c."? Observe लक्षि, लक्षि, पल्लि, पल्लि. Why "of य and उ"? Observe चक्रुि, चक्रुि, where the vowel is य.

Vrāṭ:—The Guṇa (VII. 3. 84) and Vṛddhi (VII. 2. 115) however take place to the supersession of ह्रव and ह्रव: as from पि—पिनमि and पिनमि, ह्र—ह्रनमि and ह्रनमि, with ह्रुङ्गु and ह्रुङ्गु.

Vrāṭ:—In the Chhandas there is adversely the substitution of ह्रव and ह्रव in the case of यु &c. Thus सत्य पुष्प or तत्त्व पुष्प, विषय पुष्प, निजिता निजिता, व्याख्यान व्याख्यान, विन्यास विन्यास.

अभ्यासस्यास्ते पदार्थे, अभ्यासस्यात्, अ साधने॥

78. ह्रवर्ण and ह्रवर्ण are substituted for the ऋ and ऊ of a reduplicate, before a non-homogenous vowel.

Thus न्द्रव, न्द्रव, द्यवर्षि, (VII. 4. 77) but न्द्रव, न्द्रव: ऋतुि and ऋतुि: and ऋतुि: before homogenous vowels and द्यव, द्यव, द्यव, before a non-vowel.

व्रते: ॥ ुः, पदार्थे, प्रकारे: (अर्थे ह्रवि) ॥

व्रते: श्रीप्रत्यक्षास्ते प्रकारे प्रकारे: श्रीप्रत्यक्षास्ते श्रीप्रत्यक्षास्ते.

79. ह्रवर्ण is substituted for the ऋ of ऋक्षेत्र before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As ऋक्षेत्र, ऋक्षेत्र, ऋक्षेत्र; but ऋक्षेत्र, the ऋ being added by a subsequent rule, supersedes this rule. The making this a separate सूत्र is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

धा स्मारते: ॥ १० ॥ पदार्थे ॥ श्र, अष्टि, श्रस्ति: (ह्रवि श्रवि: ) ॥

व्रते: श्रां श्रां प्रकारे प्रकारे: प्राणि या श्रांप्रकारे भवि: ॥

80. The substitution of ह्रवर्ण for the ऋ of str is optional before the accusative endings अमि and श्र (अस्ति) ॥

Thus ऋक्षेत्रि प्रकारे प्रकारे, ऋक्षेत्रि प्रकारे प्रकारे: प्रकारे: ॥

ह्रवर्णि या ॥ २१ ॥ पदार्थे: ह्रवि, ऋक्षेत्रि, (अस्ति अस्ति ) ॥

व्रते: ह्रवर्णि श्रांप्रकारे भवि: श्रां प्रकारे: ॥
81. For the अ of the root अग्र (वत्ति) is substituted a semivowel (र), before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus यात्रा, यात्र, यायसं। This supersedes अग्र substitution, and is itself superseded by VII. 2. 115, and VII. 3. 84 which ordain व्रिद्धि and गुप्त on the maxim अनलो अभ्यस्तः पूर्वांसं विशिष्टं अभ्यस्तं, गुप्ताः। “Apavâdas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them.” So we have भवनम्, and भवणसं।

परिवक्ता संस्थोपरिवृद्धि ॥ ८२ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ एं, अनेकाचाः, अ संस्थोपरिवृद्धि, (पात्रं अभिश्च प्रत्येकं) ॥

शुद्धसं: पापवक्ता संस्थो, शुद्धो वस्तुद्देश्यकम् भवति भस्मादसंस्थोपरिवृद्धिस्तलस्तवानादां अस्तरथाचां परसं वशिश्वे भवति।

82. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final अ or ऋ of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

The word पात्रम् is understood here, and the word संस्थो is qualified by अान्त्. i.e. the अ or ऋ which is not preceded by conjunct consonant forming part of the root is called an asamyoga pûrva अान्त्। Thus निन्द्रा, निन्द्र, निन्द्रपी, निन्द्र, निन्द्रपी, निन्द्रणं। All the above examples are of the root अान्त् which is preceded by the gati prepositions अान्त् and अान्त्र, or a Kâraka-upapada सं। The rule will not apply however if the preceding word is neither a gati nor a Kâraka, but an adjective, as सम, its dual and plural will be सम्निश्चित्व् and समनिश्चित्, र् of which ending in ऋ takes सुप्र substitution. This is also shown in the next sutra. Why do we say the stem should be of more than one syllable? Observe वशिश्वे, वशिश्वे, वशिश्वे, वशिश्वे, वशिश्वे, वशिश्वे, वशिश्वे, वशिश्वे। Why do we say the अ or ऋ should not be preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe वशिश्वे, द्वादशी, द्वादशी, द्वादशी, द्वादशी, द्वादशी, द्वादशी, द्वादशी।

Thus we have द्वादशी and द्वादशी। The phrase असंस्थोपरिवृद्धि should in fact be taken as qualifying the letter ऋ, and not as qualifying the word अान्त्र।

अो: शुचि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ अो:, शुचि, (यान, घातो): असंस्थोपरिवृद्धि, अनेकाचाः, असंस्थो: असंस्थो।

शुद्धसं: पापवक्ता संस्थो, शुद्धो वस्तुद्देश्यकम् भवति तस्माता स्तवानादां नेत्रवाचा शुचि परसं वशिश्वे मनोरथ्ये।

83. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel अ is substituted for the final
of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem
ends with a verbal root ending in र, not preceded by a con-
junct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short र, the latter is not
mentioned in the translation. Thus खलु ’a sweeper’—d. कल्पना, pl. कल्पनयोऽस्य भुजः; so also जलकरी and जलस्तयोऽस्य भुजः; and जलकरी and जलस्तयोऽस्य भुजः. But जलकरी and जलस्तयोऽस्य भुजः before tense-affixes, (non—करत्); हृ—हृच्छिल, हृच्छिल (because consisting of
one syllable only), and करत्—करत्, करत् (because र is preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root). The rule does not apply if the
first member is not a Gati or a Kāraka word: as परस्तुऽस्य—परस्तयोऽस्य परस्तयोऽस्य परारधः.

वर्णोऽस्य ॥ ८४ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ वर्णोऽस्य भु, अर्थि छूचि यथः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णोऽस्य इत्यत्वादाय छूचि पति वर्णोऽस्य भवति ॥

वार्तिकः ॥ जून्यास्मिन्नात्यस्य भवति ॥

84. र is substituted for the र of वर्णोऽस्य also, when
a case-affix beginning, with a vowel follows.

As वर्णोऽस्य, वार्तिकः ॥ वर्णोऽस्य ‘what is born in the rains, a kind of herb.’

This is an exception to the subsequent rule.

Vārt.—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when हृः, कार and
करत् precede मृः; as हृमण्डः, हृवक्षः, हृवक्षः, कारणः (कारणः), कारणः (कारणः) ॥

न मृच्छिलयोऽस्य ॥ ८५ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ न, मृ, मृच्छिलयोऽस्य, यथः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मृ मृच्छिलयोऽस्य भवति ॥

85. The semi-vowel substitution does not take
place in the case of stems ending in मृ or the word मृच्छिल, be-
fore affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus मृच्छिल—मृच्छिलयोऽस्य, मृच्छिलयोऽस्य; मृच्छिलयोऽस्य, मृच्छिलयोऽस्य ॥ VI. 4. 77.

मृच्छिलयोऽस्य ॥ ८६ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ मृच्छिलयोऽस्य, मृच्छिलयोऽस्य, मृच्छिलयोऽस्य, मृच्छिलयोऽस्य ॥

86. In the Chhandas, in the case of a stem in मृ
and मृच्छिल, are found sometimes the हृः, उवर्ण, and sometimes
the semivowel substitution.

As हृःमण्डः, हृःवक्षः, हृःवक्षः; हृःमण्डः, हृःवक्षः, हृःवक्षः हृःमण्डः, हृःवक्षः ॥

हृःमण्डः, हृःवक्षः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ हृःमण्डः, हृःवक्षः, हृःवक्षः, हृःमण्डः, हृःवक्षः.

87. The semi-vowel र is substituted for the र of
मृ and for that of मृ (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  is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

Thus ह—हति, हत; भ्वत, भ्व; भवत, भव; य—यति, यत्र, यत्तय; यत्य. Why do we say "of ह and य formed stems"? Observe यति, यत्र, यत्य, from Intensive bases, by the elision of the य affix. The य 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 य, not preceded by a conjunct consonant and followed by a Sārvadhātuka affix, unless the Intensive roots with the elision of य be taken. Nor can we get examples from the Chhandas, for the preceding rule applies only to ardhadhātuka affixes. Why do we say before a Sārvadhātuka? Observe रहस्या; रहस्य (VI. 4. 77). So also not in आति and चान्ति as the  is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

सुक्ति हुए। सुक्ति हुए, सुक्ति हुए, सिद्धि, अच्छि, वृत्ति। सुस्ति हुए। सुस्ति हुए। चाली की चाली परि।

88. ू gets the augment (ू) before the tense-affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect, when beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनुभव, अनुभव; यव, यव, यव, यव; रुद्र, रुद्र, रुद्र.

उत्पत्य गोहा। उत्तर, उपात्याया; मोह, मोह, अच्छि, मल्लया।

बृत्वि। गोहे उद्ध सर्वप्रथम उत्तरात्मा भवति भवाषी भवते परस्ता।

89. For the penultimate ओ of the gānata stem गोहा (from गुहा), there is substituted ू before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus नि गुहा, नि गुहा, साध्वक्तिनिविष्ठ, नि गुहा, नि गुहागृहि, पूर्वे बार्ते।

Why do we say 'penultimate'? So that the substitution should not apply anywhere else. The form गोहा is taken in the sūtra to prohibit the application of the rule to cases where गोहा does not assume the form गोहा. Therefore not here, नि गुहा, नि गुहा. This change will not take place before the affixes beginning with a consonant; as निगोहा, निगोहा। Some say, the word is exhibited as गोहा in order to prohibit the गोहा substitution of नि before नि। As निगोहा।

नि गुहा (VI. 4. 56 not applied), the ू substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) would have brought in गोहा, गुहा being considered as a word having a light vowel for its penultimate. According to Kāśikā the ू substitution, however, is not asiddha, as their places of operation are different.

दूरे पी। ९०। पदार्थि दूरे; पी, उत्पत्याया।

बृत्वि। शंय उपात्याय। असंख्य भवाषी भवति भवते परस्त।
90. The ओ of दोष is replaced by ऋ before the causative ये।

Thus दोषधर्मः, दोषधर्मः, दोषधर्मः। Similar reasons as in गोह, may be given for the root दोष being exhibited as श्रेष्ठ in the सूत्र. When not followed by ये, we have श्रेष्ठो गर्तते।

मा सिद्धिविराजः। ९१। पदतानि। मा, सिद्धिविराजः, दुःष्टिपदार्थः: ये,।

८५१। सिद्धिविद्यायां श्रेष्ठ उपाधायायः श्रेष्ठार्थार्थे महत्ते भी परसः।

91. The ऋ substitution for the ओ of दोष is optional, when the sense is that of the disturbing of the mind.

As चिन्ते or बल्लय दुःष्टिवत or दुःष्टिवत॥ Otherwise सापणं दुःष्टिवत when mental agitation is not meant.

सिद्धिविद्यायः। ९२। पदतानि। सिद्धिविद्यायः, अभचरः, ये, उपाधायाः।

८५२। सिद्धिविद्यायां पदतानो गति दुःष्टिविद्यायां ये महत्ते भी परसः।

92. The roots having an indicatory ऋ, retain their penultimate short vowel before the causative ये॥

The चिन्ता roots are प्रत्ययः a subdivision of ब्रह्म (८०० to ८७३), and all other roots that end in चिन्ता, श्रृङ्खला, and दुःष्टिब्रह्म class. Thus पदतानि, अर्थवर्धि, अनन्ति, रचयि, श्रीयस्ति, दुःष्टि॥ Some read the anuvṛtti of the word ‘optionally’ from the last सूत्र into this. This will then be a limited option only (व्यवस्थिते-विभाव्य). The forms द्वितयाबिन्दुि and संक्रमणिि are thus explained.

93. Optionally a long may be substituted for the penultimate of the causative of चिन्ता roots, before the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिन्ता (४), and before the Absolute affix एशुि (अभस्)॥

चिन्ताभुजाहिि अनुवर्तमानि ८५३। पदतानि। चिन्ता, श्रुङ्खला, दृष्टि, अनन्ति,

तर्थाधिि, ये, दृष्टि, उपाधायः।

८५४। चिन्ताभुजाहिि च ये पतिि चिन्ताभुजाहिि श्रुङ्खला भएिि अनुवर्तर्थाधिि॥

Thus चिन्ताि, अर्थवर्धि, महत्ति, अनन्तिि, श्रीयस्तिि, श्रुङ्खलाि, श्रीयस्तिि, श्रुङ्खलाि, अनन्तिि, श्रीयस्तिि, श्रुङ्खलाि, अनन्तिि। Why have we used the word दृष्टि in the सूत्र? The rule does not teach merely the optional shortening. So that in the alternative of short, we have चिन्ताि and in the other alternative we have चिन्ताि, so that there is long. For had चिन्ताि not been used, it would have taught optional short only, i.e. it would be a अश्रुिि अश्रुिि only, and there will be this difficulty:—when the causative of causative is taken, as in श्रृङ्खलाणिि, there would not be lengthening in the alternative. Because the लोण substitute of ये would be स्थानितः therefore, the ये which would be followed by
If not भन्, would not have in it the भिन्न अंग, because the first ब्य intervenes between the भन् अंग and the भिन्न and भन् अंग, and that भिन्न which is preceded by a भिन्न अंग is not followed by भिन्न and भन्, because the second ब्य (though elided) intervenes. Therefore, there would not be optional short here, but compulsory short, by the preceding सूत्र and no lengthening. The rule, therefore, teaches the optional substitution of the long (सूत्र). For there arises no such anomaly in this view. For taking this rule to be a सूत्र-संस्कार, the lopa-substitution of ब्य would not be स्थानिवत, by the express prohibition contained in I. 1. 58, and so we can get forms of double causatives. But if we take it a ब्रह्मविन्दुपनिवृत्तिः, then the lopa-adeśa of ब्य being स्थानिवत, would prevent getting the alternative long form. Therefore the word सूत्र is used in the सूत्र to make this rule an सूत्र-संस्कार, and prevent स्थानिवत-भव. Thus take the causative of भन्, which will be भान्ति by the last सूत्र. Take its Intensive with भण्, भान्ति + भण् which causes doubling by VI. 1. 9 = भान्ति भानिन् + भण् = भानिन् + भण् (VII. 4. 60) = भानिन् + भण् (तुष्क or nasal being added to the abhyāsa by VII. 4. 85) = भानिन् + भण् = भानिन् + + (VI. 4. 51) = भानिन्. Add ब्य to this ie. make the causative of the Intensive. भानिन् + + + + + Then the य of य is elided by VI. 4. 48 = य + य + य + य. Then य is elided by VI. 4. 49 = य + य + य + य. This य is the causative root of the Intensive of the causative य. Now add ब्य or भन् to this root; and we get two forms short and long भानिन्ति or भानिन्ति with ब्य and भानिन्ति or भानिन्ति with भन्. The long forms could not have been obtained had this not been a सूत्र-संस्कार, for then the lopa-adeśa of ब्य being स्थानिवत would have prevented the application of सूत्र. The roots भण् and भण् (both Divâdi) ending in य do not ever lengthen the root vowel before ब्य and भण् by VII. 3. 34. The present सूत्र, therefore, does not apply to the simple roots. The derivative causative roots of these, namely, भान्ति - भानिन्ति, भान्ति - भानिन्ति, optionally lengthen the penultimate before these affixes. Thus भान्ति + भानिन्ति = भानिन्ति (the य of य being elided by VI. 4. 51) = भानिन्ति or भानिन्ति (with the augment य = भानिन्ति or भानिन्ति) + This rule applies when the Causative of the Causative root takes these affixes. In fact the mention of the word सूत्र implies as much, otherwise the सूत्र could have been made without this word, for the word 'optionally' would have brought in both 'short' and 'long'. Thus in भानिन्ति, भण् के 'he causes another to make quiet,' we add य (the Causative sign.), to the Causative root भानि, as भानि + य = भान + य (VI. 4. 51) = भानि, the lopa-adeśa here is not स्थानिवत for the purposes of lengthening (सूत्र-संस्कार) the य of य (I. 1. 58). From this भानि with ब्य य we get भानिन्ति, and with भन् we get भानिन्ति. But we cannot get the short forms, by taking the other alternative, as the lopa-adeśa will then be स्थानिवत. Hence the necessity of the word सूत्र in the सूत्र. Thus the ब्य and भन् forms of the Causative of the Causative (i.e. the double Causative) of भण् are भानिन्ति or भानिन्ति; भानिन्ति or भानिन्ति and from the form भानिन्ति, we have भानिन्ति or भानिन्ति, भानिन्ति or भानिन्ति.
These latter are from the Causative stems of the Intensive root. The sign भ्र of the Intensive has been elided (VI. 4. 49) as shown above.

94. The penultimate of the Causative stem is shortened before the affix छु.

Thus विनय:, परितः, परंतः. See III. 2. 29 and 41.

95. The penultimate of the Causative of हुः (हर्ष) is shortened before the Participle affixes घ and जन्तु.

Thus विनय:, पशुपतः, but विनयपतः before non-nishtā. The rule applies also when भ्र follows as प्रभर्षः. This is done by splitting up the aphorism into two (1) हुः; (2) निधानः.

96. The penultimate of the Churādi छु is shortened before the affix घ (III. 3. 118), when not preceded by two prepositions (or more).

As वरसः, प्रशसः, इत्यसः. But सुपरशः: with two prepositions. The same when preceded by more than two prepositions, as सुपरशस्यसः.

The elision of भ्र of भर्ष &c., by VI. 4. 51, should not be considered as asidhā (VI. 4. 22) or sthanivāt (I. 1. 57), otherwise there would be no penultimate to be shortened.

Vārd.:—The prohibition with regard to भ्र should be extended to numbers more than two.

97. The penultimate of छर्ष is shortened before the affixes घ, जन, जन्तु and कि.

Thus छर्ष:, छर्ष (neuter), छर्ष, पातिष्ठत् and उपस्थत्. The first three are Unādi affixes.

गामगाम, गामगाम, गामगाम, गामगाम, गामगाम, गामगाम, गामगाम, गामगाम, गामगाम.
98. The root-vowel of गम्य, हृ, जय, यय, and घय is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicatory कर or रु; but not before the Aorist affix अर।

Thus गम्यत्, गम्यस्त्, गम्यतु, गम्यस्तु, अगम्यत्, अगम्यस्त्, अगम्यतु, अगम्यस्तु, अगम्यत्स्त्, अगम्यस्तु।

Why ‘having indicatory क or रु”? See गम्यम्, हृम्॥ Why ‘not भृ, भृन्”? See गम्यः, हृत्॥ Why ‘beginning with a vowel’? See गयते and हृते॥

ललिप्योहद्विश्लोक ४९॥ पदार्थ || तन्विः पदः, छन्दो, (कृष्टि उपवायः क्लोप्यः)॥

चूँचि: || सभी पदिः हेिलोहद्विश्लोक विद्वतन्वायाः सभी अभासी क्लोप्यः पदिः पदः॥

99. In the Chhandas, the root-vowel of त्र and श्र is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicatory कर or रु॥

As विलिते, क्रिया, चन्द्रेण ह्य पदिः॥ In secular language विलिते, क्रिया॥ दसितोहत्ति, तिः १००॥ पदार्थ || पदि, पदः, हृति, च, (अभि कृष्टि)॥

‘हृति: || पदि, पदिः हेिलोहद्विश्लोक विद्वतन्वायाः सभी अभासी क्लोप्यः पदिः पदः॥

100. The root-vowel of घस्त्र and शस्त्र is elided in the Chhandas, before any affix, whether beginning with a vowel or a consonant, which has an indicatory कर or रु॥

Thus संस्कृतम् संस्कृतिष्ठे, कथाते हरी चानाः॥ सृष्टि: is thus derived: कित्रेष्ठि is added to the root गस्त्र; then by II. 4. 39, पन्नि is substituted for गस्त्र; thus गस्त्र + निः = गस्त्र + निः (क्षा being elided by the present sūtra) = गस्त्र + निः (स् being elided by VIII. 2. 26), then निः is changed to न, and नि to न and we have कित्रेष्ठि। Then चम्पा निः = सृष्टि (स्कान्ति changed to सVI. 3. 84). The word चम्पा is the Imperative of चम्प, thus चम्प + निः + सृष्टि = चम्प + निः + सृष्टि = चम्प + निः + सृष्टि (VII. I. 4) = सृष्टि (VIII. 4. 55).

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 बस्ति = बस्तू + स्ति = बस्तू + सत्ति (VII. 4. 55).

Why having an indicatory क or रु? Observe अन्तुस्त्र बस्ति॥ The च has been added into the aphorism by the Vārttikākāra.

101. After हु and after a consonant (with the exception of semi-vowels and nasals), विश्लेषित is substituted for the
Certain substitutes. [Bk. VI. Ch. IV. § 104.

Imperative affix फि, when the latter does not take the augment हुः।

Thus हूः जुधि; सूः consonants; फिलूः फिलूः फिलूः फिलूः। But श्रीमिद्वि, श्रीमिद्वि (VI. 4. 113) not ending in consonants. Why फि only? Observe सूः वापण। Why do we read the anuvṛtti of हलि into this stava? When फि does not begin with a consonant, but with a vowel, i.e. when it takes the augment हुः, the rule does not apply. As श्रीमिद्वि, श्रीमिद्वि। In the case of सूः वापण, when फि is replaced by सूः (VII. 1. 35) this substitution does not take place because दाहिं श्रीमिद्वि is a later rule in the order of अश्वत्थयायी, and because दाहिं श्रीमिद्वि दाहिं श्रीमिद्वि दाहिं श्रीमिद्वि “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 ग्रुः is added by V. 3. 71, फि substitution takes place, as फि दाहिं श्रीमिद्वि। The maxim प्रलोक परलोक परलोक परलोक परलोक applies here: “Occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had been previously superseded by a subsequent rule.”

श्रुः। पदार्थ जूर्युः जूर्युः कोजुर्युः जूर्युः जूर्युः। फिजूः। फिजूः।

102. फि is substituted for हलि in the Vedas, after जूर्युः, प्रलोक, जूर्युः, जूर्युः, जूर्युः.

As गुरुः गुरुः, गुरुः फिजूः, गुरुः, फिजूः, ब्रजसुकृष्टक फि and ब्रजसुकृष्टक।

In श्रुः, the फि is not elided after the द of श्रुः 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 श्रुः are irreplíc; जूर्युः being added diversely by III. 1. 85, and then elided diversely by जूर्युः जूर्युः II. 4. 73.

अहिस्तम || पदार्थ || अहिस्तम, जूर्युः, जूर्युः, जूर्युः।

103. फि is substituted for हलि, when the tense-affix

is not फिजूः।

Under III. 4. 88 फि is also फि in the Vedas: and when it is फिजूः, it is not फिजूः by I. 2. 4. Thus श्रुः, वापण and श्रुः श्रुः in the following श्रुः श्रुः श्रुः श्रुः। ब्रजसुकृष्टक श्रुः।

Why do we say ‘when it is not फिजूः’? Observe श्रीमिद्वि। श्रीमिद्वि is irregularly श्रुः प्रांकुश श्रुः प्रांकुश श्रुः प्रांकुश प्रांकुश प्रांकुश प्रांकुश प्रांकुश प्रांकुश ||

पदार्थ || पदार्थ || पदार्थ, जूर्युः, प्रलोक, जूर्युः, जूर्युः, प्रलोक, जूर्युः, प्रलोक जूर्युः जूर्युः जूर्युः।
104. The personal-endings are elided after विन्ध, the third person, singular Passive of the Aorist.

As भारीः, भागाः, भागाः, भयायिः। So also भगारिः, भगारिः, here the elision of the personal affix भ (III. i. 60) of the Aorist being considered as asiddha, the affixes तप्त and सम्पत्त are not elided: though if the स्त्रां were to be literally interpreted, every affix after विन्ध, ought to be elided. Or the word विन्ध is understood here; so that विन्ध and विन्ध affixes of विन्ध are elided and not every affix.

दहो वे् II १०६ वे् पदार्थे् II अत््, हेव्, अरुक्षय II

105. The Imperative affix दहि is elided after a stem ending in अ् II

Thus दहि, दहिः, दहिः, दहिः. दहि after stems ending in अ्. Why do we say "short अ्"? Observe सुनीिं। दहिः (दहि + दहि, the द substitution by VI. 4. II), should be considered as devisha), here दहि is not elided after the long अ्.

उत्तम प्रयासंयोगदृष्टिः १०६ पदार्थे् II उत््, च, यथायत्, असंयोग पुष्योऽत्॥

दहिः II उत्तम प्रयासंयोगदृष्टिः १०६ पदार्थे् II उत््, च, यथायत्, असंयोग पुष्योऽत्॥

106. The Imperative दहि is elided after the अ् of an affix, in the vikaraṇa with which the Present-stem (special conjugation) is made, provided that the अ् is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

The affix अ् with which the Present-stem is made is अ् and दहि II. Thus दहुः, दहूः, दहूः. Why after दहूः? Observe सुनीिं, दहिः II. Why do we say "अ् being part of the vikaraṇa or affix "? Observe दहि, दहिः, here अ् is part of the root itself, and not of the vikaraṇa. Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant,' Observe मानतृिं, राजतृिं, भाजिः II.

VArt:—The elision of दहि after the अ् of the vikaraṇa अ् and दहि is optional in the Vedas; as भाजिः भाजिः, दहि दहि यथायत्, भाजिः भाजिः. तु भाजिः क्योः ॥

लोकाध्यायिःतर्पीयं स्वः १०७ पदार्थे् II यथा्, च, अस्त्, अस्तत्वस्यायं, घर्योः० II

दहि दहि ॥ यथायत् संयोगदृष्टिः सत्वस्यायत्वस्य शुभी भाजिः ॥

107. The अ् of the vikaraṇa अ् and दहि, where not preceded by a conjunct consonant, may be elided optionally before a personal ending beginning with अ् or च् II.

Thus दहूः or दहूः, दहूः, दहूः, दहूः, दहूः, दहूः, दहूः, दहूः. The अ् must be-
long to the affix, and should not be part of the root. Therefore not in \textbf{षु}, \textbf{षू}: II. Why do we say ‘not preceded by a conjunct consonant’? Observe \textbf{षृ} only. Though the elision word \textbf{षृ} was understood in this शृगा, the mention of \textbf{षृ} indicates that the final is only to be elided, and not the whole affix \textbf{षृ}. It is a general maxim that the words \textbf{षृ}, \textbf{षू} and \textbf{षृ} 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 \textbf{षृ}, Moreover, in \textbf{षृ} षृ, formed by गुणa of षृ, there would have been no गुणa, had the word \textbf{षृ} been used, for I. 1. 63, would have prevented गुणa; but by using the word गुणa we have such गुणa also by I. 1. 63.

लिन्त्र करोते: II २०१ II पद्यनि II निषेधः करोति: II सृचिः II कांतिवेदनाः उक्तायस्य कारणमार्थाः प्रवृत्ते परस्य निषेधे लेखेा भवति II

108. The elision of ढ is invariable before ष and षृ in the case of षृ (करोति).

Thus \textbf{षृ} and \textbf{षृ}: II Thus षृ+ष+षृ=षृ+ष+षृ: (VI. 4. 110)=षृ+ष+षृ: (VI. 4. 108). Now the lopa being not sthānivat, when a vowel is to be lengthened (I. 1. 58), षृ of षृ should be lengthened by VIII. 2. 77. This contingency is prevented by VIII. 2. 79.

ये ये II २०२ II पद्यनि II ये, य, भौप: नियंकरोते: II सृचिः II यक्षार्षी न प्रवृत्ते परस्य कांतिवेदनाः उक्तायस्य लेखेा भवति II

109. The affix ढ of the stem कृष्ण is always elided before a personal ending beginning with a ढ.

Thus \textbf{कृष्ण}: यक्षार्षी and यक्ष्: II The augment यक्षाः is treated here as an affix, and it makes the personal ending to which it is added, as an affix beginning with ढ.

अतु सर्वायातुः II २०३ II पद्यनि II अतु: उऽ, सर्वायातुः के, षृचिः II सृचिः II कांतिवेदनाः कांतिवेदनाः स्यायाम उक्ताय मार्था भवति सार्वायातुः कृष्णते परस्य: II

110. Before a Sārvadhatūka affix with an indicatory ढ or षृ, short ड is substituted for the ढ of \textbf{कृष्ण} when gunated.

Thus \textbf{कृ}+ढ+सर्वायातुः=कृष्ण+ढ+सर्वायातुः=कृष्ण (VI. 4. 110)\(\text{The ढ is कृष्ण by I. 2. 4. So also कृष्णति, कृष्ण II Why do we say ‘before a Sārvadhatūka’? So that the rule may apply to what was once a Sārvadhatūka, though no longer existent. Thus कृष्ण where the personal ending कृष्ण ढ is elided, but it leaves its effect behind. The ढ in षृ shows that this ढ is not to be gunated by VII. 3. 86. When the affix is not कृष्ण or षृ, we have कृष्णति, कृष्णति and कृष्ण (I. 2. 4).}

इनवेदनाः II २०४ II पद्यनि II इनासे, अतु-लोपः, सर्वायातुः कृष्णति II कृष्णति II निषेधायस्य भवति सार्वायातुः कृष्णति परस्य: II
111. Before a Sārvadhātuka फित or फित affix, the य of यः and अस्य is elided.

यः is the characteristic of the roots of the Rudhādi class, while अस्य is the root itself. Thus रघु; रघवि, रसिः; रसिति; So also of अस्य—सत्; सति॥ But निमित्ति and भासि before non—कित्र and non—कित्र affixes. यः+अस्य ought to be यस्य, instead of that we have यस्य in the सूत्रa. The परस्पर single substitution is an irregularity.

112. Before a Sārvadhātuka फित or फित affix beginning with a vowel, the long य of यः (the vikaraṇa of the 9th class) and of the reduplicate stems is elided.

Thus हुनः, हुनाः; भुनः; मिनः, मिनाः, भमिनः, संज्ञावते, संज्ञावते, संज्ञावते, संज्ञावते; शुरुणातवते, शुरुणातवते, शुरुणातवते, शुरुणातवते, शुरुणातवते, शुरुणातवते, शुरुणातवते. Why do we say ‘of यः and the reduplicates’? Observe यः, याः; यः Why ‘of long यः’? Observe यः, याः यः Why ‘before कित्र and कित्र’? Observe यः, याः.

Thus हुनः, हुनाः; भुनः; मिनः, मिनाः, भमिनः, संज्ञावते, संज्ञावते, संज्ञावते, संज्ञावते, संज्ञावते, संज्ञावते, संज्ञावते, संज्ञावते. Why do we say ‘of यः and the reduplicates’? Observe यः, याः; यः Why ‘of long यः’? Observe यः, याः यः Why ‘before कित्र and कित्र’? Observe यः, याः.

113. Before a Sārvadhātuka फित or फित affix beginning with a consonant, the य of यः and of the reduplicate stems is replaced by ई, except when the root is द or च (छ)॥

Thus हुनीत, हुनीत, हुनीत, हुनीत, हुनीत ई त इ त ई त इ त ई त इ त। Of reduplicates we have मिनीत, मिनीत, मिनीत, संज्ञाती, संज्ञाती, संज्ञाती, संज्ञाती, संज्ञाती, संज्ञाती, संज्ञाती, संज्ञाती, संज्ञाती। Why do we say ‘beginning with a consonant’? Observe हुनीत, याः। Why with the exception of छ? Observe छः, छः॥ So also हुनाः and याः before non-कित्र and non-हित्र affixes.

114. ई is substituted for the य of दिरेग्व before a Sārvadhātuka फित or फित affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus शिरीत, शिरित, शिरित, शिरित। But शिरित before a vowel affix (VI. 4. 112) and शिरित before a non-हित्र affix,
_Vårt:_—The final of विषय is elided before an Ārdhadhātu ka affix.

_Vårt:_—And this elision should be considered as siddha, in applying rules relating to affixes. Thus ऐश्रू by loosing ऐ becomes ऐश्रू, and we should apply those affixes which would come after a form like ‘dārīra’, and not what would have come after a form like ‘dārirā’. Thus ऑ comes after roots ending in long ऑ (III. 1. 141): but this affix would not be applied here, but the general affix ग् (III. 1. 134). Thus ऐश्रू = ऐश्रू.

_Kārikā:_—The elision does not take place in the forms सिद्धा and विषय, and the Desiderative may be either विषय or विषय. Siddhānta Kaumudi gives the following rule: “the of विषय should be considered as elided when applying an Ārdhadhātu affix, but optionally so before हृ (Aorist), and not at all before स (Desiderative), ज्ञू and ज्ञु”.

_Vårt:_—Optionally so in the Aorist (adyatana-past) as, ज्ञू or ज्ञु. The latter form is evolved by VII. 2. 73 and elision of वि. The form विषय in the sūtra is Vedic, the root being shortened from विषय to श्रू.

भियो अन्यत्रस्यां ११५ || पदानि || भियो, अन्यत्रस्यां, (तत्त्वज्ञाति कृतिक्रिया सार्थपादु शः) ॥

भियो: || भियो अन्यत्रस्यांनि विषय, विषय सिद्धाः कृतिक्रिया सार्थपादु शः ॥

115. हृ is optionally substituted for the हृ of हृ before a Sārvadhadhātu affix beginning with a consonant and having an indicatory कर्त or कर्त ॥

Thus विम्बय: or विनियः, विनियः or विनियः, विमियः or विमियः, विमियः or विमियः।

But विमियः before a vowel-beginning affix and विमियः before a non-क्रिया affix and विमियः before an Ārdhadhātu affix.

जातेऽस्य ११६ || पदानि || जातेऽस्य, हृ इति अन्यत्रस्यां कृतिक्रियाः सार्थपादु शः ॥

जातेऽस्य: || जातेऽस्य विषयां हृ इति विषय सार्थपादु शः ॥

116. हृ is optionally substituted for the हृ of हृ (जातेऽस्य) before a Sārvadhadhātu क्रिया or क्रिया affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus जातेऽस्य: or हृतेऽस्य: (VI. 4. 113) जाहि: or हृतेऽस्य: (VI. 4. 113). But जातेऽस्य before a vowel affix, and जातेऽस्य before a non-क्रिया affix, and हृतेऽस्य विमियः before an Ārdhadhātu. The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms.

आ व हृ ११७ || पदानि || आ, हृ, हृ (हृ अन्यत्रस्यां) ॥

आ: || जातेऽस्य विषयां हृ इति विषय सार्थपादु शः ॥

117. आ as well as हृ may optionally be substituted for the final of the stem of हृ before the Imperative ending हि ॥
Thus जञि, जञि or जञि (VI. 4. 113).

लोपे चि II १९२ II पदानि II लोपे, चि, (जञाते: सार्वभूतः कुड्दिति) II

वृत्ति: II लोपे जञाते जञाते तालाकाराते कुड्दिति सार्वभूतः परस: I.

118. The final of the stem of हः is elided before an affix beginning with य being a Sārvadhatuka कित्ति or खित्ति affix.

Thus जञाते, जञाते, and जञा: II

सार्वभूतः सार्वभूतःII १९९ II पदानि II घु-अस्ते, एव, ही, अभावः-
लोपे: च, II

वृत्ति: II एकार्यानां गुणाणांलेष एकार्यानां गुणाणां भवति ही परस: अभावः II

119. For the final vowel of the roots दः and धः (घ), and for the न of धः, is substituted प before the Imperative ending ति; and thereby the reduplicated syllable of दः and धः is elided.

Thus देहः, and देहः, of दः, and देहः of धः, the हः being elided by this सूत्र, and धः being elided by VI. 4. 111. This धः of the present सूत्र should be considered as having an indicatory हः so that the whole of the reduplicated and not only the final letter of the abhyāsa (I. 1. 55) is elided.

अत एकालम्बे आदेशायोऽऽविति II १२० II पदानि II अति, एक-हः, मधः,
अनादेशायोऽऽविति II

वृत्ति: II कृष्णतीतिस्ते II निर्धिता परस: पारिधि मार्थितामकाळ्य माति, तत्त्व एकालम्बे, गीतम्योगिनमूलायोऽऽविति कृष्णतीतिस्ते गीतम्योगिनमूलायोऽऽविति परस: II

गार्तिकसं II इत्यत्त्वसंवभवम् II पशो II नदिमांथि कोमाण्डसंवभवम् II

पशो II इत्यत्त्वसंवभवम् II पशो II गार्तिकसं

120. पः is substituted for the short अ standing between two simple consonants of a verbal stem, before the personal endings of the Perfect which have an indicatory यः (I. 2. 5), provided that, at the beginning of the root, in the reduplication, no other consonant has been substituted; and when this पः is substituted, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus राखः, रेखः, रेवः, रेवः, रेवः, रेवः, रेवः, रेवः, रेवः, रेवः, रेवः II Why ‘for अ’? Observe िस्तित्वसं, नित्वसं: the हः is not replaced. Why do we say ‘short अ’? Observe राखः, रेखः, रेवः, रेवः II Why do we say ‘standing between two simple consonants’? Observe राखः, रेखः: II Some say this example is not appropriate, for by I. 2. 5, the Perfect affixes are not ित्वसं: here, as they come after a conjunct consonant. The following is then more appropriate:—तःसंवभवम् and सस्तः II Why do we say ‘which has no substituted consonant in the reduplicate’? Observe शःस्तः, शःस्तः, शःस्तः, शःस्तः, शःस्तः, शःस्तः. II
The substitution referred to here must be caused by the affixes of the Perfect, therefore, the rule will apply to नमस्त, नमी, सेरिक and सेरिक. Though नम and नमि are the roots, and नि and न are changed to न and स. The substitution of ज्ञ ं 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 बाबाराजि, as is indicated by the special exception made in favor of क्ल and मध (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 बाबाराजि.

Thus by VIII. 4. 54, a पर letter (च, द, त, क, ग, घ, च, ज) is substituted for a consonant (other than a nasal and a semi-vowel) in the reduplicate.

Thus in पर्ध the reduplicate is पर्धष, the first प is also a substitute, for the पर substitute of प will be प. Such substitutes, however, are not meant here.

This we learn from the implication (jñāpaka) of sūtra VI. 4. 126 where exception is made in case of तस and त्र. Therefore, where the substitute is a different letter, then the reduplicate becomes अदेदि otherwise not.

When the affixes are not तिक्त or हेतु the rule does not apply: as आह पर्ध, आह पर्ध.

Vārt.:—ए is substituted for the ऋ of ऋम under similar circumstances:—thus ऋमे, ऋमे. 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 ऋ of नश and मन before affixes other than those of निर. As नशेश्य, नशेश्य is the Aorist in नश of नश which belongs to Pushādi roots (III. 1. 55). नशेश्य is formed by हु (III. 1. 150). Padamanjari gives नशेश्य (3rd Pl.), and quotes नशेश्येश्येश्येश्येश्य.

Vārt.:—In the Vedas, ए is substituted for the ऋ of ऋम and पर्ध before affixes other than those of the Perfect, as अन्तमामाम, (वि + अन्त + अनमाम, the augment हु being dropped); पर्धति instead of परमान, the Imperfect of पर्ध. The shortening is also a Vedic irregularity.

Vārt.:—So also of ऋम and पर्ध, as भावेष्य and भावेष्य the Imperfect Vedic forms. The augment भाव इ being added by VI. 4. 73.

121. ए is substituted for ऋ, of a verbal stem standing between two simple consonants, the stem not having any different letter substituted in the reduplicate, when the ending धु of the Perfect having the augment धु follows, and thereby, the reduplicate is elided.
Thus वेष्टिय, शेषिय, अ ङ ङ But पष्टिय before anit य; हिलिय, the vowel being य and not य; तालिय, रालिय, the य not standing between two simple consonants; and जरमिय, बरमिय, the reduplicate having the substitutes य and य different from य and य. This sutra applies even when the affix is not यिय; and याय is read in the sutra only for the sake of clearness, no non-kit Perfect ending can take दृष्टि except दृष्टि.

तुकलमणजलमक || १२२ || पदानि || तू, फल, मज, जप:, य, (अत एक हस्तमें अनादेशमेंतिरितिसमाहितथा) ||

बुँति: || तू फल मज जप इसलिएप्रथमान्यस एकार्याधिकं मयाति, मश्यासामाय, लिति क्रिकिति परस्यथि य सेवि ||

वा विविषय || अनेणोरति वक्तन्यय, ||

122. य is substituted for the य of तू, फल, मज and जप, and the reduplicate is elided, when the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory कृ (or कृ) follow, as well as when याय with the दृष्टि augment follows.

Thus तेरेशु, तेशु, तेशिय, भेशु, भेशिय, भेजु, भेजिय, भेखु, भेखिय, भेपु, भेपिय ||

In the case of तू the rule applies to the य obtained by गुण, 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 जप the य does not stand between two simple consonants.

व्यः || It should be stated that the rule applies to मयाय also:-as, शेपूः, शेशुः. ||

रायों हिसायम || १२३ || पदानि || रायों हिसायम ||

बुँति: || रायों हिसायमेंसर्वस एकार्याधिकं मयाति, मश्यासामाय लिति क्रिकिति परस्यथि य सेवि ||

123. य is substituted for the य of राय when meaning ‘to hurt some one’, and the reduplicate is elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory कृ (or कृ), as well as before याय with the दृष्टि augment.

Thus भारेपूः, भारेशु, भारेशिय, भारेजु, भारेजिय, भारेखु, भारेखिय, भारेपु, भारेपिय in any other sense than that of ‘hurting’. In this sutra the long य of राय is to be replaced by य, the anuvṛtti of short य (अत: VI. 4. 120) is therefore not appropriate here. We should either read the anuvṛtti of य from VI. 4. 112, or we should read the word एकार्याधिकम in this way “in राय whatever stands between two simple consonants is replaced by य”.

वा जानुमुक्तान्यय || १२४ || पदानि || वा, तू, य, याय, त्याय, ||

बुँति: || तू चल य इसलिएप्रथमान्यस रायों एकार्याधिक मयाति मश्यासामाय लिति क्रिकिति परस्यथि य सेवि ||
124. य is optionally substituted for the अ of the stems जर (जू), स्रम, and श्रस, and the reduplicate is thereby elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क्ष (or क्ष), as well as before the थष with the augment दष।

Thus जेतुः, जेस्, जेतिय, or जेत्तुः, जेजः, जेजिय, चेतुः, चेस्, चेतिय, or चेत्तुः, चेजः, चेजिय, थेस्, थेसिय, or थेस्तुः, थेजः, थेजिय। दलित कृतित परत, थमित य सहित।

125. य is optionally substituted for the अ and या of the seven roots फहुः, राजः, चारुः, नाखः, भाजः, र्म and ब्लर; and the reduplicate is elided thereby, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क्ष (or क्ष) as well as before the य with the दष augment.

Thus रङ्गुः, रङ्ग, प्रमिय or प्रमषुः, प्रफळुः, प्रफ़्लिय; र्मुः, र्म, प्रमिय, or प्रमषुः, प्रफ़्लिय; रजः, रज, प्रमिय, or प्रमषुः, प्रफ़्लिय; रस्तुः, रस्त, प्रमिय; रस्तुः, रस्त, प्रमिय, or प्रमषुः, प्रफ़्लिय; राङ्गुः, राङ्ग, प्रमिय; र्मुः, र्म, प्रमिय, or प्रमषुः, प्रफ़्लिय; राङ्गुः, राङ्ग, प्रमिय, or प्रमषुः, प्रफ़्लिय; रस्तुः, रस्त, प्रमिय, or प्रमषुः, प्रफ़्लिय; राङ्गुः, राङ्ग, प्रमिय, or प्रमषुः, प्रफ़्लिय; रस्तुः, रस्त, प्रमिय, or प्रमषुः, प्रफ़्लिय। The Phanḍi is a subdivision of Bhaṣḍi (873-879).

न भासुःभायामिग्नानाम। २९६।। पदानि। न, दस, द्रु, धारि, गुणानाम, (अवे पक हस्ययामि) हद्धेदातारोऽहित्य।।

ृति:। वाद इस वेतनोकारादीन्यं भाषानां गुष इहस्यमिंनिं सत्यं योकारादीन्यं स्मायाकार शतान् वादी न भवति, वर्णासोपेश्च।।

126. य is not substituted for the अ of दसः, द्रुः, or of roots beginning with a य, 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 थष, nor is the reduplicate elided.

Thus विहासदुः, विहासुः, विहासिय, रसः, रसिय, श्रिय, Of roots beginning with क्ष-क्षयुः, क्षयुः, क्षयिय। Of roots where क्ष is the result of Guṇa, विखासः, विखासिय, रसिय, श्रिय। युनासदुःभायामिग्नानाम ज्ञातारादीन्यं शतान् एवं प्रतिपादये।।

The अ of Guṇa may result either from the guṇa of क्ष as क्ष changed to कर or of क्ष changed to यो again changed to यो as कर—कर।।

देवेणान्यानां। १२७।। पदानि। अवेण।, दूः, द्वस्तो, अवेण।।

ृति।। व्याकरणवेद्यास्थितः इहस्यमिंनिं सत्यं योकारादीन्यं स्मायाकार शतान् एवं प्रतिपादये।।
127. (which is changed to in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is , the is for the sake of making this affix an , so that in cases we have augment VII. i. 70. Thus , , , , , , , , , , . But in the Nominative Sing: and , , , , with the Negative Particle .

128. is diversely substituted for the final of .

As , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , .

129. Whatever will be taught in the following up to 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 ‘ is the substitute of .’ It means is substituted for when the latter gets the designation of . Thus , , , , , where the affixes are those of Sarvanāmāsthāna.

130. For is substituted when the former is Bha.

The substitute replaces the whole form and not only the final, on the maxim . It substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule.” Thus , , , (V. 4. 1), , , (V. 4. 1), .
131. The semi-vowel of the affix यस्तः (वस्तः) is vocalised to य in a Bha stem.

Thus निर्वेदः: पदम्, निर्वेदः, निर्वेदः, पदम्, पदम्, निर्वेदः: पदम्. For the purposes of the elision of म (VI. 4. 64), vocalisation under the present sūtra should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22). Thus प्र-चन्दुः (III. 2. 107) = प्र-चन्दुः = प्र-चन्दुः = प्र-चन्दुः (VI. 4. 131, VI. 1. 108). Now if य were to be considered as asiddha, then the affix does not begin with a vowel, and we can not apply VI. 4. 64, which requires the elision of म, but the samprāśāna is not considered as asiddha, and we have प्र-चन्दुः + मस्तः = प्र-चन्दुः: प्राधः. In the nominative, where the stem is not य, we have प्र-चन्दुः + मस्तः = प्र-चन्दुः + मस्तः (VI. 4. 66) = प्र-चन्दुः (VII. 1. 70, VI. 4. 10, VI. 1. 68 and VIII. 2. 23). The affix चन्दुः is included in मस्तः for the purposes of samprāśāna.

वाह उधः १२२ पदानि १२३ वाहाः, उधः १२४

132. The च in वाह is vocalised to अ (उधः), when the compound stem is Bha.

The word चन्दुः is a चन्दुः formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but must be preceded by an upapada: hence we have used the word “compound.” Thus प्र-चन्दुः, प्र-चन्दुः, प्र-चन्दुः, प्र-चन्दुः, प्र-चन्दुः. By VI. 1. 108, द्र+म+ (of म) = द्र and then म+अ+ म = प्र-चन्दुः; the Vṛiddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprāśāna thus: चन्दुः + मस्तः + मस्तः (VI. 1. 108) = मस्तः + मस्तः + मस्तः (the affix चन्दुः III. 2. 64, will produce guṇa) = प्र-चन्दुः (VI. 1. 88). In fact चन्दुः is never added to चन्दुः (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in य and that य+मों+ म of म always produce यमों. The making of this special samprāśāna in चन्दुः indicates the existence of following maxim: चन्दुः चन्दुः चन्दुः; and the samprāśāna 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 चन्दुः

इस्युपलिना मलन्तिते II १२३ पदानि II हत, युप, मलन्तिते II

133. The च of युप, युप and मलन्तिते becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus युप: युप, युप, युप, युप, युप, मलन्तिते: मलन्तिते: मलन्तिते. But मलन्तिते मलन्तिते, मलन्तिते मलन्तिते with Taddhita affixes. युप: is formed by युप: affix (IV. 3. 154) and युप: being added by VII. 3. 4 as युप: belongs dvārādi class.

This vocalisation takes place of the nouns ending in य, but not when they become feminine or do not end in य, as युप: पद्य, मलन्तिते, मलन्तिते. The word युप: of the next sūtra, in a way, qualifies this sūtra also.
134. Of a Bha stem ending in \( \text{अ} \), the \( \text{अ} \) is elided.

As राजः, राजा, राज़े, राज़ा, प्रति, प्राकृतः and तथापि II. \textit{Vart.}—The elision takes place of a stem which actually ends in \( \text{ृ} \), therefore, it does not take place here, राज़ीयाः.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{थूण्रिवर्हृत्तरासामिर्ल} & \quad \text{१३५} \quad \text{पदाति} \quad \text{ष} \quad \text{पूर्णं}, \quad \text{हृदं}, \quad घृतराक्षसं, \quad \text{अति} \\
\text{पूर्ण।} & \quad \text{पक्कापूर्वों यथा उन्महात्मराश्च सकारात्माते} \quad \text{णर्हति} \\
\end{align*} \]

135. Of a Bha stem ending in \( \text{अ} \) with a preceding \( \text{ष} \), as well as of \( \text{हृदं} \) and \( \text{घृतराक्षसं} \), the \( \text{अ} \) is elided before the affix \( \text{णर्हति} \).

Thus ठोरा, ठाण्ड, ठौरा, ठान्डरासः II. \textit{But साम्य.} वैद्यमण्ड. \textit{Why do we say before the affix आ?} \textit{Observe तार्किक.} \textit{Why do we say 'preceded by a ष'? Observe वाक्यां} and वैद्यमण्ड: from सा and विद्या formed with the affix आ.; here neither the \( \text{अ} \) of भर्ती nor the final syllable अ is elided, since VI. 4. 167 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{बिनमित खिन्योः,} & \quad \text{१३६} \quad \text{पदाति} \quad \text{विनमित,} \quad \text{षि,} \quad \text{षियोः} \quad (\text{अड्डोपोर्षि}) \\
\text{षित्ति} & \quad \text{की परस्,} \quad \text{शीघ्रपयो षि गती विनमिता वक्ताः} \quad \text{प्रशांता} \\
\end{align*} \]

136. In a stem ending in \( \text{अ} \), the \( \text{अ} \) is optionally elided before the Locative ending \( \text{र} \) and before the ending \( \text{शी} \) (\( \text{र} \)) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As \( \text{राजिः or राजय} \), साम्य \( \text{साम्य} \), सामी \( \text{सामी} \) or साम्य (VII. 1. 19).

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{न संयोगात्मकाः} \quad \text{१३७} \quad \text{पदाति} \quad \text{न, संयोगात्म, षि,} \quad \text{न, अन्तर्व,} \quad (\text{अड्डो-} \text{पोर्षि}) \quad \text{सः} \\
\text{षित्ति} & \quad \text{पकार्कान्तासंयोगात्मकः तार्किक वैद्यम कर्म म भस्विति} \\
\end{align*} \]

137. The \( \text{अ} \) in \( \text{अ} \) is not elided when the Bha stem ends in \( \text{वर्ष} \) or \( \text{तर्थ} \) with a consonant preceding \( \text{ष} \) or \( \text{म} \).

Thus \( \text{पर्वत, भार्त, भार्ते, भार्ते} \) and \( \text{संत} \). \textit{Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe पार्वतीमण्ड, पार्वती, साम्य, साम्य \textit{Why do we say 'stems in वर्ष and तर्थ'? Observe तार्किक, and तार्किक.} \textit{अति}.} \textit{१३८} \quad \text{पदाति} \quad \text{अति,} \quad (\text{भस्व म भस्व}) \\
\text{षित्ति} & \quad \text{अति हयवर्षपर्वतपार्वतीयांतार्किकः} \quad \text{तार्किक भस्व भस्व भस्व भस्व भस्विति} \\
\end{align*} \]
138. The अ of अन्न (अन्न) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

Thus कृत्वा: पद्, कृत्वा, कृत्वा, कृत्वा, पद्, कृत्वा, श्रृंखः। The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138: and अ of अन्न is elided by VI. 4. 24.

उद्व इत्यं 129. पदानि उद्, इत्यं। (अच:)

वृति: इत्यं उद्व उद्वाच इत्यार्थाय मञ्चि॥

139. Long अ is substituted for the अ of अन्न (अन्न), after the word उद् when the stem is Bha.

As कृत्वा: कृत्वा, कृत्वा, कृत्वा।

आतो धातो: 140. पदानि आतः, धातः, (सर्वो गोपः)

वृति: इत्यार्थाय धातो:भाव्याय नव्याय मञ्चि॥

140. The final अ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

Thus कृत्वा: पद्, कृत्वा, कृत्वा, कृत्वा, श्रृंखः: पश्, श्रृंखः, and श्रृंखः from कृत्वा: and श्रृंखः॥ Why do we say ‘the अ of a root’? Observe श्रृंखः: पश्, श्रृंखः॥ धातः: 141. पदानि धातः, धातः, धातः, धातः, धातः॥

वृति: इत्यार्थाय धातः धातः धातः धातः धातः॥

141. In the Mantras, the beginning of अत्मनु is elided, when the affix of the Instrumental Singular follows.

अत्मनु is the name of the Instrumental singular affix, given by ancient Grammarians. Thus सन्ना इत्यं, सन्ना संगेतु:॥ Why in the Mantras? Observe अत्मनो: क्लर्मः, इत्यार्थाय मञ्चि॥ Why in the Instrumental Singular? वर्णम शस्त्रो: पदित॥

Vārī:—The elision of अ of ‘atman’ is found in other cases also, but not so frequently as in the Instrumental, as भयसामसमजत महाम॥

सि विष्णुते कृत्वा 142. पदानि सि, विष्णुते, कृत्वा, (सर्वो गोपः)

वृति: इत्यार्थाय सिद्ध प्रत्येक गोपः मञ्चि॥

142. Of the Bha stem विष्णुति, before an affix having an indicatory अ, the सि is elided.

Thus विष्णुति: विष्णुति: (with ब्रह्म V. 1. 24), विष्णुति: (विष्णु: पुर्णो विष्णु: with इत affix V. 2. 48), एकादिः॥ Why do we say ‘having an indicatory अ’? Observe विष्णुति॥
143. Before an affix having an indicatory \( \text{र} \), the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided.

Thus क्रुद्ध \( \text{र} \) and वंदनस्य \( \text{र} \) with द्वमुद्रे \( \text{र} \). So also िरि\( \text{र} \) with शुरु \( \text{र} \) of V. 1. 24. The rule applies even to non-bha bases, for effect must be given to the indicatory \( \text{र} \). Thus उपरझा \( \text{र} \) (III. 2. 97 with the krit affix \( \text{र} \)).

144. Of the stem bha, the final \( \text{र} \) with the vowel that precedes it, is elided, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus भात्तिकिमिः, \( \text{र} \)ो
tभःभः, \( \text{र} \)ँ
\( \text{र} \)लोऽमः, अभ्रह्मवः, \( \text{र} \)ऽमः, and \( \text{र} \)लोऽमः with the Taddhita affix द्वर (IV. 1. 96). Why do we say ‘ending in \( \text{र} \)? Observe सावसः: Why ‘before a Taddhita affix’? Observe प्रसाव, प्रसाव.

\( \text{वृत्त:} \):—The final \( \text{र} \) with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following: 1. सम्ब्ध्वारिः—सम्ब्ध्वारः (IV. 3. 120), 2. शीह-सर्पिन्दः—शीहस्यः (IV. 3. 120), 3. शान्तिः—सान्ताः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59), 4. कुष्टिपः—कृष्टिपः (IV. 3. 101), 5. वैतिलिकः—वैतिलिकः (IV. 3. 116), 6. ज्ञेयवः—झेयवः (IV. 2. 59), 7. भरुतिः—भरुतः, 8. विज्ञापिकः—विज्ञापिकः, 9. शिल्पिकः—शिल्पिकः, 10. नृष्णचापः—नृष्णचापः, 11. श्रवणः—श्रवणः. In the above those which end in \( \text{र} \), elide the \( \text{र} \) in spite of VI. 4. 164, and those in रूप contradict VI. 4. 167.

\( \text{वृत्त:} \):—मन्ना, loses its रूप before a Taddhita affix meaning ‘prepared there with’; as, भासः, otherwise भासः.

\( \text{वृत्त:} \):—Of भर्गः, the रू प is elided when meaning ‘a sheath or purse’; as, भर्गः: भर्गः (IV. 3. 134), otherwise भर्गः.

\( \text{वृत्त:} \):—The रू प of भर्गः is elided when the sense is ‘to contract’, as भर्गः: भर्गः (IV. 3. 120), otherwise भर्गः.

\( \text{वृत्त:} \):—The Indeclinables like शार्यातिकः \&c are formed by the रू प elision: as शार्यातिकः, पौः: पौः, भासः, भासः: (formed by रू प IV. 3. 11). But not before the affixes शुरु and शुरु, as भार्यातिकः, भार्यातिकः. पापीनि himself has shown the exception, in the case of भार्यातिकः, by using it in II. 4. 9. So also भार्यातिकः.

अभ्रह्मवः \( \text{र} \) ०४५ \( \text{र} \) पराणमः \( \text{र} \) पराणमः \( \text{र} \) पराणमः \( \text{र} \) पराणमः \( \text{र} \) पराणमः \( \text{र} \) पराणमः. 1301
145. The अन्त्र of अहू न is elided only before the affixes त्र and त्र.

Thus देह भध न समाभेन दृष्टिकोषः (V. 4. 91 with दे). देह भध न बाधिता अंगोऽ वानि या त्राहिनः, त्राहिनः (with त्र V. 1. 87).

Vārṇa:—ह is added to दृष्टिकोष in the sense of तद्योऽ मनुष्य, when referring to a sacrifice. भध न समाभेन वत्तु = त्राहिनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन्त्र of अहू न would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes त्र and त्र, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule: अहू न does not lose its final अन्त्र before any other Taddhita affix, thus अहू न विक्रमः भध न = भध न विक्रमः (with दे V. 1. 79). The word अन्त्र 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहू न alone does not lose its final अन्त्र before त्र and त्र, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of तद्योऽ मनुष्य and अध्योऽ, before त्र, in VI 4. 169.

अत्र:—|| १४४ || पदविन् अऽगुनः, गुनः: ||

वृत्ति: || वर्णोऽन्त्र ताल रान्यो भवति तत्वं पादः: ||

146. For त्र or त्र of a bha stem, there is substituted गुण, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus अस्मात्यत्र from अहू न, अथवामः from गुण, अहू न शास्त्रस्य (from गुण), विषयः कार्यात्यत्र (from गुण) कार्यामः वृत्तिकोषः (from कार्यविष्यः), पराधिकारित्वः जीर्णविष्णः, कार्यस्य &c.

Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying अन्त्र 'let अन्त्र be substituted for त्र or त्र', the employment of the technical phrase गुन: in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संहारको विकर्षणंविष्णव: "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 न्यायस्य from न्यायस्य without गुण. See VII. 4. 30 also.

देह लोपे अकट्ठा: || १४५ || पदविन् || देह, लोपः, अ, कट्ठा: ||

वृत्ति: || देह पत्त्र वर्णांत्रस्य सङ्कायकः लोपे भवति: ||

147. The त्र or त्र of a bha stem is elided before the affix प्रयः (त्र), but not of the stem 'कऽत्रः त्र'.

Thus कामाङ्गस्य, नैस्तिकोऽहः, जामदेवः, माध्यांहः, यत कान्तिको गच्छस्यपदः ||

यस्य यत्र: || १४६ || पदविन् || वयस्य, नैस्तिकोऽक्षः, च (अस्त्रयः, तद्विजः, लोपः) ||

वृत्ति: || इति संहारको विक्रमस्य सङ्कायकः पराधिकारित्वः प्रति पराधिकारित्वः ||

वार्त्तकः || वास्तवादः (क्ष्योधः) विक्रमः: ||

वार्त्तकः || इति सङ्कायकः सङ्कायकः विक्रमकः: ||

148. The final त्र and त्र (both long and short), of a bha stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix त्र.

Thus शमी, श्वासी, सक्ष from श्वास, श्वास and सक्ष with the feminine affix त्र.
(IV. 1. 65) The above forms could also have been evolved by the simple rules of sandhi, as गाथि + ४ — सही. ५ It might be asked, where was then the necessity of eliding ४? There would arise difficulty in the forms like गाथि वा. From the word गाथि formed by the श्री under IV. 1. 62, we form the compound सहीमनःस्माति = गाथि:सही, the final becoming short by I. 2. 48 (the samsānta affix यू is not added here as required by V. 4. 91, that rule applying to the masculine form गाथि and not to the feminine गाथि). Now if in forming गाथि + ४ — सही, had we not elided the letter ४ of गाथि, then the long ४ being the single substitute for both ४ + ४, would be considered as like the final ४ of गाथि by VI. 1. 85. That being so, the word गाथि:सही would be considered a non-५ word by I. 4. 7, for गाथि has been specifically excluded form ५ class. Not being a ५, we cannot have the form गाथि:सही in the Ablative and Genitive singular. Hence the necessity of eliding ४ before the feminine ४, so that the cākṣaṇa rule VI. 1. 85, should not apply.

The short ४ is elided before Taddhita affixes: — दुि — दौिदिः, दाति — दीनिः, दानिः — दानिः. ५ is elided before ४ as: — क्रि — क्रिगी, कृि — कृिगी, धारिः — धारिः, धारिः — धारिः, धी — धीर, धी — धीर. ४ and ४ are elided before the Taddhita: — धारिः — धारिः, धारिः — धारिः, धी — धीर, धी — धीर.

Vārtt.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ४ (४), when it is the substitute of ४ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter, and of certain feminine in long ४. ४ Before this ४, the preceding vowel, ४ and ४ are not elided. The stem before this ४ is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus क्रि + ४ — क्रि; क्रि + ४ — क्रि (the ४ would have been elided by VI. 4. 149). It is owing to this Vārtika, that we have inserted the word ‘feminine’ in the translation of the sūtra. This may also be done by reading the anuvṛtti of ४ of (VI. 4. 136), and ४ of (VI. 4. 137) into this sūtra.

Vārtt.—बहबह and उल्लु are superseded, when they would apply simultaneously with this lopa. Thus बहबह and उल्लु have unimpeded scope in ४ or ४ + ४ or भु (अंश), as भिंभि, विधि, भुि, भुि; ५ Lopa has unimpeded scope in काण्डु — काण्डुनेन: (with हम IV. 1. 135), and भानिः: ५ But in भानिः + हम (IV. 1. 135), both the rules VI. 4. 77 and VI. 4. 148, present themselves. The former is superseded, and we have भानिः: (भां भानिः — भांमी:; भांमी); so also भानिः:—नेत्तिः: with the हम affix, this word belonging to शुभ्रावर class (IV. 1. 123).
149. Of the bha stems सूच्य, लिप्य, अगस्त्य and मर्त्य, (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate ष्ठ is also elided before the long र and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूच्यकार्तिक दृष्टि, प्रसंग + भाष्य under IV. 3, 112 = चौपी, then ष्ठ of ष्ठ = ष्ठी, as ष्ठी बलणा.

So also तिश्य—तीष्ठम्, तीष्ठी राइष्ठ। So also भागस्वर्याभः ष्ठी = भागस्ती (IV. 1. 114), भागस्ती। So also भाग्य—भाग्यी with ष्ठी as it belongs to Gauradi class (IV. 1. 40). If the words सूच्य &c., were to be qualified by the word ष्ठ, then the sūtra would mean सूच्यांसि भागस्तांिसि “of सूच्य &c., when they get the designation of ष्ठ”; and the result of this interpretation would be, that the rule would apply to cases like सूच्य ष्ठी = सूच्यी, भागस्त्य ष्ठी = भागस्ती, &c., only, where the forms सूच्य &c., are Bha, and not to their derivatives, as ष्ठी &c.: and there would not have been the forms like ष्ठी बलणा; because, here the word सूच्य is not Bha before the affix ष्ठ, but the word ष्ठी is Bha. Hence we have introduced the words “and their derivatives” in the translation, so as to cover the cases like ष्ठी बलणा.

In the last example, we again have an illustration, of the rule VI. 4, 22, which says that for purposes of asiddha the भाष्ठम must be the same. Thus सूच्य + ष्ठी = सूच्य + भाष्ठ + भाष्ठी + ष्ठी। But सूच्य itself was formed by the elision of ष्ठ of सूच्य before the affix भाष्ठ, thus, सूच्य + भाष्ठ = सूच्य + ष्ठ (last sūtra) = सूच्य। But if this lopa be considered as asiddha by VI. 4, 22, then we have the following equation सूच्य + ष्ठ + भाष्ठ (of भाष्ठ) + ष्ठी = सूच्य + ष्ठ + भाष्ठ (of भाष्ठ being elided by VI. 4. 148)+ ष्ठी। Here ष्ठ 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 (भाष्ठम) are different. Hence we have the elision of ष्ठ by this sūtra. It should not be objected that the ष्ठ here is not penultimate, but ultimate: as सूच्य + ष्ठ + सूच्य + ष्ठ (ष्ठ elided by the last sūtra), and thus ष्ठ is ultimate. Here, however, rule VI. 4, 22, applies. This elision of ष्ठ will be considered asiddha for the purposes of the elision of ष्ठ, their scope being the same. So being considered asibdha, ष्ठ still retains its designation of upadhā and is elided by the present sūtra. It should be remembered here, that we could not take help of the rule of sthanivat-bhāva, because for purposes of भाष्ठम, that rule is set aside. See I. 1. 58.

Why do we say the penultimate ष्ठ? Observe भाष्ठमपरि। This word ष्ठ is thus formed. The affix एष्ठ is added to ष्ठी by V. 3, 53, in the sense of ष्ठी युज्ञाविष्ठ। Then the ष्ठी becomes masculine ष्ठम by VI. 4. 35, and we...
have मस्त्यम्. This word takes श्रीम् by IV. 1. 15, because it is formed by an affix having an indicatory श्रीम्. Thus मस्त्यम् + श्रीम्, and the word is श्रीम्, but the श्री is not elided, because it is not penultimate. The श्री has been read for the sake of the subsequent sūtras: उपपाध्याय- alone would have been enough for the purposes of this aphorism. The rule contained in this sūtra is rather too general; it is limited by the following vārtikas, which enumerate the conditions under which the elision takes place.

Vart:- The श्री of मस्त्य is elided before the feminine हि only: therefore not here मस्त्यानां गांवसंगमस्त्यम्.

Vart:- Of हुम् and मस्त्य before the affixes श्री, and हि (of the feminine): as सप्तमी, सप्तमी, भागलीवान्, भागलीवा. But not here सप्तमी पदं निवेदयत, भागलवा formed with the Patronymic सत (IV. 1. 114).

Vart:- Of निश्चित and पुनः when referring to asterisms, as, निश्चितं नववेषम् तिश्नः कालस्वरुपः; पौशः (IV. 2. 3).

Vart:- Of मस्त्य before the affix सति, the श्री is elided, and the word has acute on the first syllable: as, मस्त्यते in मस्त्यते न देवता (V. 4. 45).

Vart:- Before the affix सम, it loses the syllable तिंक as well as श्री, as भागलः or मस्त्यः, in भागलः नी भागलः मस्त्यः मस्त्ये मस्त्ये (II).

Vart:- The elision of क् of मस्त्य takes place diversely, before the second member also, as मस्त्यके सप्तमीति मस्त्यकार (क् changed to क् by VIII. 3. 106).

Vart:- The elision takes place also before the affix श्री, as आपलः with the affix श्री, this is found in the Atharva-Veda, (आपलः भवः, भवः with the affix श्री, IV. 4. 110).

हस्तस्तिरित्स्य ॥ १५० ॥ पदार्थम् हृदः, ताणिमस्त्य, (द् उपपाध्यायः लोपः श्रीति)॥ शुचिः ॥ इन उपस्थितिकालस्य उपपाध्यायः श्रीति परस्य लोपे भविति ॥

150. The श्री of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine हि ॥

The anuvritti of “taddhita” ceases, because of its mention in the next sūtra. Hence this sūtra applies to feminine हि only. As गांविः, गांविः from गांविः and मस्त्यिः. Why do we say ‘when preceded by a consonant’? Observe कारिकेण। Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’. Observe वेदफल भागः = वेदः।

आपत्तिक श्री तद्दीव स्माति ॥ १५१ ॥ पदार्थम् आपत्तिक्य, श्री, तद्दीव, भन्ति (लोपः) ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ मस्त्यकालस्य इन उपस्थिति सद्येऽभन्ति भन्ति भन्ति ॥

151. The श्री, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥
Thus गर्गी = गर्गियम् from गर्गिय, गार्गियम् from गार्गिय (IV. 2. 37-40).
Why do we say ‘a Patronymic य’? Observe सांकायकः, काश्यपः (IV. 2. 80).

The repetition of the word Tadhilhta indicates that the elision takes place some-times of the non-patronymic य also, as तात्त्वी इति.

Why do we say ‘not beginning with a long य’? Observe गार्ग्यम्, गार्ग्यम्. The य should be preceded by a consonant, otherwise we have कार्तिकेयस्मां = कार्तिकेयस्माणि. Why do we say ‘when followed by a Tadhilhta affix’? Observe गार्ग्यम्, गार्ग्यम् (before the Genitive and Locative dual affixes).

वधुल्लोऽऽ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ य, वधु, योः, य, (हुः, लोः:) ॥ वृत्ति: ॥ य स्य वधु वधुवधु वधु स्य भाष्यकारस्य हि उन्नरक्ष हृद्योऽऽ भविष्यः ॥

152. The य belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix यः, and the adverbial affix न्यः ॥

Thus गार्ग्यम् or गार्ग्यम्, गार्ग्यम्, गार्ग्यम्. So also गार्ग्यम्, गार्ग्यम्, गार्ग्यम्. But सांकायकः (where य is not Patronymic) and so also सांकायकः, and not also in कार्तिकेयस्मां, कार्तिकेयस्माणि, the य not being preceded by a consonant.

विन्याविन्यासस्य यः १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विन्याविन्यासः, यः, यः (यस्य तद्भिः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ नमः विन्याविन्यासः पञ्चायते ॥ पञ्चार्थां यः यः यः यः यः हि विन्याविन्यासाय विन्याविन्याः भविष्यते तथा उन्नरक्ष यः यः यः यः यः पञ्चायते पतितो यः यः यः यः ॥

153. The affix य of the bha stems विन्य औऽ is elided before a Tadhilhta affix.

The विन्य औऽ are a subdivision of Nāḍī class (IV. 2. 91), and the augment य is added to them by IV. 2. 91. After these words, with the augment य, the affix य is elided. Thus विन्याविन्यासः यः यः यः यः यः यः यः यः यः (IV. 3. 53) जालकः. Similarly वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः, वेषायः. There is shortening of the final य of the Vārtika कुण्डः यः यः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः यः कुण्डः ॥

The affix य is specifically mentioned in order to show that the affix only should be elided and not the augment य. Otherwise य would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim —सन्तिकोषिकासन्तेकावस्य (or वशये) उभ्यायेमयायेम (or शर्याये), “When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise”. The य indicates the elision of the whole affix यः, and not merely of य ॥

द्वितिश्चित्वस्तु १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृत, यु, यु, यु, यु, यु, (लोः:) ॥
154. The affix रू is elided before the affixes दछ, दसनि and देयसनि.

Thus करिः, निरिविः, वकः, विकः च चैदुः। The whole affix रू is elided; otherwise only the last vowel (रू) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules. The anuvṛtti of ख्रू of the last aphorism should not be read into this, for had the elision taken place by रू, then the mark of the affix would also have disappeared likewise (I. 1, 63), and there would have remained no guṇa in रिविजः and करिः। See V. 1, 122, and V. 3, 59; for these affixes. The affix दम्म has been read into this aphorism for the sake of the subsequent śūtra, there being no example of रू followed by दम्म। रू is followed by दज and दस्य by V. 3, 59.

त्रे। रूः। पद्धति। त्रे।।शम्य लोप। दम्मेरस्य।।

तृसिः।।शम्य वेसी। नसिः। दम्मेरस्य पत्र।।

पालिकम।। आविश्वासपालिकम। खर्द। भलानति। खस्य।।

बा।। आविश्वासपालिकं। खस्या।।

155. The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes दछ, दसनि and देयसनि follow.

Thus पद्रिः, परिः, and परिवृत्ति from पद्र, and लाधिः, लाधिः and लाधिः from लुः।

Vart:—The Prātipadka followed by the causative शि, undergoes all the changes, as it would have undergone, had the affix दछ followed it. Those changes are (1) दुःसत्र: the feminine noun becomes masculine: as, एतमाचेः—एत्तविः, द्वेपविः। दछ belongs to दत्रेभिः affixes and causes masculisation by VI. 3, 35, (2) गहा:—the change of रू to त, as दुहुःमेचेः—प्रभयति, अभयति; see VI. 4. 161. (3) दिलेचेः—सम, पुरुषाचेः—प्रयति, स्मृति by this śūtra, (4) वानिरपत्र: i.e. the application of Rule VI. 4. 156, as, स्त्रुचचेः—स्पष्टति। According to the school of Bhāradvāja, three more purposes are served: (5) विच नतोऽचेः—सो आरण्यचके द्वेपविः, द्वेद्वत्वतः—वस्यांति, see V. 3, 65. (6) कथितः—the substitution of दफ for दुहुः and दस्य (V. 3, 64)—as दुहुःचेः or दस्याचेः—द्वेपविः। (7) वामित्र: substitution, as required by VI. 4. 157: as, वामित्रचे—प्राप्तति।

स्त्रुचचेः सुयंचंचित्तमेष्टज्ञानं वर्गितं पुर्तस्य च गुणः।।156। पद्रानि। स्त्रूच, दूर, युव, इत्र, विस्म, चुटायम्, युप्त, आदिपरम, एदुंस्य, च गुणः।।

वृत्ति। स्त्रूच दूर युव इत्य युव इत्य युवविः वर्गितं पुर्तस्य च गुणोऽन्वितं।

156. Before the affixes दछ, दसनि and देयसनि, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guṇa is substituted, in स्त्रूच, दूर, युव, इत्र, विस्म and चुटुः।
That is त, त्र, प्र, व्र, and र are elided. Thus श्वरिः, श्वरीश्व, शवलं श्वरीश्व, शवल; शवल; शवल: श्वरीश्व, शवल; शवल: श्वरीश्व, शवल. The words श्र, त्रि, and र्षृ are read in Prthvādi class and take ‘iman’ affix (V. 1. 122). श्रार्ति, श्रार्ति, श्रार्ति. Why do we say प्र in श्वरिः i.e. ‘the last semi-vowel’? The first semi-vowel of पुत्रम and हस्त i.e. ॐ of यू and ॐ of शृ should not be elided. The word ॐ is employed for the sake of distinctness.

157. Before the affixes ॐ, हमन and ह्यसर the following substitutions take place:—ॐ for त्रग; त्र for त्रिद्व, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रिज्ञ, त्र for त्रि
augment being र। Or र may be taken to have lost its र by the foregoing sūtra, and to the र, the augment र may be added.

160. आ is substituted for the first letter of उष्ण, after उ.[V. 3.61]

As उष्ण, र is substituted for the र by V. 3. 61. ‘Lopa’ being shut out by the intervening िर, VI. 4. 159, the आ is read in this sūtra. If the anuvṛtti of ‘lopa’ were present here, then the र of र would be lengthened before य by VII. 4. 25, and we would get the form उष्ण. The peculiar construction of this sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—भारते प्रथमस्थानिकिति: ‘when an operation which is taught in the नगद्धिकार (VI. 4. end—VII. 4. end) has taken place, and another operation of the नगद्धिकार is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place.’ In VII. 4. 25, however, हिष्ठ is understood, and lengthening could not have taken place by that rule.

र भूतो हलायते भूतो: ॥१६१॥ पदानि ॥ र, भूत:, हल, आँत:, घो:, (हठे००सु) ॥

161. Before the affixes रु, रम्य, and उष्ण, र is substituted for the र in a stem, when this र is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodically long (on account of being followed by a double consonant).

Thus ग्रमिष्ठत:, ग्रमिष्ठत: and ग्रमिष्ठत: from रूप (V. 1. 122), विराज:, विराज: and विराज:।

Why do we say ‘the र’? Observe परिवर्जित: &c. Why do we say ‘preceded by a consonant’? Observe रूक्षिण:, रूक्षिण:। Why do we say ‘when prosodically short’? Observe कृषिण:, कृषिण:, कृषिण:। The following are the six words to which this rule applies and to none else:—पुष्य:, पुष्य:, पुष्य:, पुष्य:, पुष्य:। It therefore, does not apply to words like कृष्य:, कृष्य:, कृष्य:, &c, as तस्मानापि—तस्मादिकि, नामाचारचारि—नास्तत्वि।

विविधावृक्ष्यन्ति तथा ॥१६२॥ पदानि ॥ विविधावृक्ष्यन्ति, रूक्षिण: (हठे००सु) ॥

162. Before the affixes रु, रम्य, and उष्ण, the र of ग्रमिष्ठत: may optionally be changed to र, in the Chhandas.

As रम्य: and रम्य:, in रम्य:स्वत: प्रथमान्त:, रम्य:।

प्रकृत्या ॥ १६३॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, प्रकृत्यां-अच्, (हठे००सु) ॥
163. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes 
ह, हम, and \( \text Numero \) ।

Thus सङ्क, सङ्कीय, सङ्क from शारिण, the वित्त being elided by V. 3, 65, the stem thus becoming monosyllabic. सङ्क is the causative, formed on the model of ह्र by the वार्तिक under VI. 4, 155. So also सुधित, सुधीताः, and सुधीत from सुधित, the नुः being elided as before. Why do we say 'a monosyllabic stem'? Observe वार्तिक: from सत्ता कृष्ण । This rule is an exception to VI. 4, 155.

**Vārt.:—** राजनय, महुष्य and उष्ण retain their original form unchanged, before the affix अन्त । As, राजनयांसि शारिणः = राजपाणि, गाथाप्रथमी । This debars the elision of श् श् required by VI. 4, 151. So सोः भाषाः = चौरावृक्ष: with ह्र affix (V. 1, 133), in supersession of VI. 4, 144.

164. The final ह्र of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अन्त affix.

Thus साय्यु, साय्यु, साय्यु (III. 3, 44 and V. 4, 15). These are formed by the Krit-affix ह्रु (III. 3, 44), and then अन्त is added in स्वार्थ by V. 4, 15. So also साय्यु from साय्यु । Why 'when अन्त follows'? Observe श्रुण्या स्थरः = श्रमा । It is formed by अन्त (IV. 2, 44). Why do we say 'non-Patronymic'? Observe नेपालीसङ्गमादिः = नेपाल: ।

165. गार्हिक, विद्यमान, कैशिन, गार्हिक, पाणिन्, च ( अन्तप्रक्रिया ) ।

Thus गार्हिक, विद्यमान, कैशिन, गार्हिक, पाणिन, and पाणिन remain unchanged before the Patronymic अन्त also.

Thus गार्हिकात्मकः = गार्हिकः, विद्यमानः, कैशिनः, गार्हिकः, and पाणिनः । This सूत्र applies to Patronymics.

166. The syllable ह्र of a stem ending in ह्र remains unaltered before अन्त, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus साय्यु = साय्यु: साय्यु: साय्यु: ।
167. The syllable अश्र of a stem ending in अश्र remains unchanged, before अश्र affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As सामान्य, नैसर्गिक, नि-सामान्य, from सामान्य, नैसर्गिक, नि-सामान्य and नि-नैसर्गिक.

ये चाराधातुरूपोःः १६७ ॥ पदार्थाः ॥ वे, च, अमाव, कर्मणोःःः (तत्सिद्धे अश्र प्रकृत्य)

168. The syllable अश्र of a stem ending in अश्र remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus सामान्य सामान्यः ॥ भाषणः ॥ बुद्धि ॥ राजा ॥ राजा भाषणः ॥ शास्त्रः भाषणः ॥ शास्त्रः शास्त्रः ॥

169. The finals of the stems आत्मनः and अप्यन्त remain unchanged before the affix या.

Thus भाषणेऽद्वारे भाषणीःः ॥ (V. I. 9), भाषणमन्नामीःः ॥ (V. 2. 16) भाषणीःः ॥ ज्ञानः ॥ अप्यन्तः ॥ अप्यन्तः ॥ The first is formed by the samāsanta affix या added to the avayāyibhāva (V. 4. 108), and the latter by अश्र (V. 4. 85).

न मुद्राः पुनः स्वाधिनःःः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदार्थाःःः ॥ न, म, पूर्वः, अपप्तः, अमावःः; (अपि) ॥

170. In a stem in अश्र with a preceding य, with the exception of बर्मन्त, the ending अश्र does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अश्र.

Thus स्वाधिनः ॥ स्वाधिनः ॥ वाच्यांसामान्यः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by य'? ॥ Observe सङ्क्रमणः, preceded by य ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? ॥ Observe प्राचीनः ॥ सङ्क्रमणः ॥ (स्वाधिनः), the अश्र not being changed by VI. 4. 167. Why do we say 'with the exception of बर्मन्त'? Observe चक्रवर्त्योऽपिः चक्रवर्त्योऽपिः ॥

वाहतःः—Optionally so in हितान्तरः, as हितान्तरः ॥ हेतुतांः ॥ हेतुतांः ॥ ज्ञाताति ॥ ज्ञाताति ॥ ॥

बृहतः ॥ बृहतः ॥ बृहतः ॥ बृहतः ॥ बृहतः ॥ बृहतः ॥ बृहतः ॥ बृहतः ॥
174. The following are irregularly formed: 1.

173. From उद्धर्तः is formed ओऽवर्तः, when not meaning a descendant.

As शीत् प्रभुः but लोकः: दः प्रभुः, the श is elided in the latter example by VI. 4. 135.

स्वाभिनामनात्मचतुर्मित्रस्वात्मसारस्वात्मसारस्वात्मसारस्वात्मसारसारस्वात्मसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसार

These words are thus derived (1 and 2) सावीणायन and हांदिनायन from श्वीर and श्विन, belonging to श्वारि class. The affix is द्व (IV. 2. 91). If they do not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly: श्वीस्वाक्षरा-सावीणायन: &c. The final द्व is not elided. (3) अर्पेन belongs to Vasantādī class (IV. 2. 63). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvaṇika: the final is not elided before the द्व affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिम्त्यायन and ब्राह्म are Jāilmaśīneya and Vāsināyani, the former with the affix श्व, of the Subhrādī class (IV. 1. 123), and the latter with the affix द्व of IV. 1. 157. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from धृत्य and धृत्य with the affix श्व, and श being replaced by न=धृत्य, धृत्य. धृत्य: धृत्य takes श before affixes having an indicatory ज or श by VII. 3. 32: it might be said श would be added to धृत्य before श्व by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like योगिन, येष्ठिन: The श in Bhraunāhatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) तार is from सावध with the affix श्व, the final द्व being elided, तारत्वम : सावधतुस्क: (9) The son of वेदशाक, with मग affix (IV. 1. 168), the final श is elided, or वेदशाक अन्तप्रेष मगः: वेदशाक: with मग affix (IV. 2. 132). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final श. As one word is वेदशाक and the other वेदशाक, the sūtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sūtra gives वेदशाक without any accent (eka-śrutī), and consequently includes both (एकवर्तिः श्व र्त्वनाताः).

(10) नेवेन is from निृष्ठ of Grishtyādī class IV. 1. 136, and takes श्व as निृष्ठ + श्व, here VI. 4. 146, requires Guṇa, but VI. 4. 146, prevents it, and requires lopa of श्व, but VII. 3. 2, required the substitution of श्व for श्व. The irregularity consists in eliding श्व altogether as नेवेन, the श of निृष्ठ cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, before श्व, as the lopa of श्व is considered asiddha VI. 4. 22; however the result is the same, for श्व + श्व = श्व by VI. 1. 97; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The plural of नेवेन will be निश्वेन: (the plural of निृष्ठ); as it belongs of Yaskādī class and loses the affix in the plural (II. 4. 63). Another form of this word is नेवेनिक formed under VII. 3. 2. It might be objected that had निृष्ठ (not नृष्ठ) been read in Bidādī class (IV. 1. 104), it would have taken the affix श्व, and the form नेवेन would have been evolved regularly: as निृष्ठ = नेवेन + श्व (VII. 3. 2) + श्व = नेवेन: This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskādī class (II. 4.
63), for then by II. 4. 63, भग्न formed words would lose the affix in the plural
and we would have got the form विषयम: in the plural. So far it would have
been all right, but if वेध्य were to be formed with भग्न affix, as proposed, then
the संव derivative of this word would have required to be formed with भग्न
affix under IV. 3. 127, and not with दुध under IV. 3. 126; but we require दुध,
as मेष्यकः संव: II (11) हिर्यम: from हिर्य with नव, with the elision of व, हिर्यस्य
विकारः = हिर्यामः II

अहुत्त्वास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यास्तव्यागुप्त

175. In the Veda the following are irregularly formed: रित्या, वास्तव्या वास्तव्या, माधव्या, and Hiranyayya.

The word द्यात्त is derived from द्यातु, and वास्तव्य from वास्तु with the affix वाते, व being changed to व II द्यातु माधव्य = द्यात्त, वास्तु माधव्य = वास्तव्य वास्तु is from वास्तु, as वास्तु माधव्य = वास्तु: with the affix वाते II माधव्य from माधु with the affix बातु in the feminine, as माधव्य: सात्तीयाम: II हिर्यम: from हिर्य with the affix माधव्य the व being elided.